Chapter 4
The Influence Matrix

"And so I became an emotional stone," said Eduardo[1] to me stoically after he relayed some powerful stories from his childhood. He and his ex-wife Maria had come to therapy because their 7-year-old son, Juan, was having difficulty during weekend transition periods. Juan was emotionally reactive toward Eduardo, becoming angry or fearful in ways that seemed unpredictable, and he would often cling to his mother prior to being dropped off with his father. In the intake, Eduardo denied utilizing major forms of physical punishment. He did acknowledge spanking Juan twice in the past year but reported these came after Juan had done something particularly bad. Eduardo did admit to having angry outbursts and frequently yelling at Juan, but at the start of therapy he stated he was comfortable with his parenting and insisted that the focus be on getting Juan's emotional reactivity under control. However, it became clear to me early in the therapy (and later to Eduardo) that his angry, aggressive displays were central to the difficulties he was having with Juan. Indeed, problems managing his explosive anger were at the center of Eduardo's difficulty in many life domains.

Eduardo's mother had died when he was 10. His father had capricious moods, sometimes being quite loving, other times being authoritarian, and occasionally being physically and emotionally abusive. Eduardo recalled that as an adolescent he retreated from connecting with others and vowed to look out for himself—that is what he meant by becoming an emotional stone. He also became, in his words, "obsessed with issues of trust," and he was having significant problems with his current fiancé in large part because he discovered she had lied to him several months ago. His ex-wife Maria and he met when they were in their early 1920s. She was attracted to him and thought he was a loving person behind the cold exterior. She discovered, however, that he could become filled with rage, withholding, and be very cruel just when she needed him the most. She finally decided he could not change and left him, shortly after which he became depressed and made a serious suicide attempt. He was then hospitalized, diagnosed with Bipolar disorder, given medication, and saw a therapist twice. But he hated the medication and the therapy and quickly discontinued both. He then decided he needed to rely on himself to get

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[1] All of the identifying information as well as some details of these cases have been changed.

his life back in order. He went back to trade school to learn how to be a carpenter and had been successful in making a good living over the past 2 years. However, he reported frequent blow-ups that his boss warned could cost him his job.

Now consider another therapy case I supervised. Jennifer was a 19-year-old college freshman who presented to the college counseling center with feelings of anxiety and depression. She reported that she grew up in a loving home, although probing revealed it was somewhat emotionally restricted. She reported her mother was quite protective of her, and it was a relationship that could be described as enmeshed. Jennifer described herself as sensitive, accommodating, and reported having a strong desire to be liked and accepted. She stated that she had a generally happy if somewhat sheltered childhood, but her mood and sense of security changed when she entered college.

The problems started with her roommate, who was both popular and somewhat dominating. Although they had initially gotten along fairly well, trouble emerged when her roommate started having her boyfriend stay over. This made Jennifer feel uncomfortable. She tried to state her feelings but was brushed off by her roommate. She told her mom about the situation, who became upset and told Jennifer she did not have to put up with it and that she should be more assertive. Jennifer again went to her roommate and made the request that the boyfriend should not stay over, and in the course of the exchange she let it out that she had told her mother about it. Although her roommate stopped having her boyfriend stay over, she teased Jennifer, sometimes in front of their mutual friends, for "running to her mother."

This incident had occurred 2 months prior to her entering therapy and had initiated a cascade of problems. She and her roommate now rarely spoke. Jennifer also felt her other friends looked at her negatively, and, consequently, she started feeling much more anxious, alone, and homesick. She also started having difficulty attending to her schoolwork, and she ended her first semester with Bs and Cs rather than As and Bs. This resulted in emerging doubts about her ability to succeed in college. When she came to therapy, she had started having trouble getting to sleep and getting out of bed in the morning. She had stopped attending one of the academic clubs she belonged to and was thinking about transferring to another school closer to home.

To those who engage regularly in psychotherapy with adults, these two cases should sound quite familiar in the sense that the presentations and dynamics are not at all uncommon. I chose them both because they are rather prototypical and because the two presentations represent two sides of an important continuum on the Influence Matrix, the self-other dimension. As will be clarified in greater detail, the Influence Matrix suggests that humans are motivated to acquire social influence and much of the relational exchange between people involves negotiating that influence. Such negotiations take place on what might be referred to as "Self:Other" ratios, whereby individuals are theorized to represent their own interests and the interests of those they are interacting with. In most cooperative relationships, individuals initially attempt to maximize mutual interests. That is, initially pathways are chosen that maximize mutual social influence, which explains why people often

work together to save face, frequently compliment one another, and so often have mutually reinforcing, reciprocal relationships. But it is often not possible to find jointly beneficial pathways because interests differ and sometimes, as in the case with Jennifer and her roommate, people have interests that are mutually exclusive. Thus, in conflicting situations, individuals must decide whether they will primarily emphasize their own interests or the interests of others. And it is in this way that Eduardo and Jennifer are quite different.

Eduardo's relational structure—a highly defensive, overly self-reliant, angry position—can readily be characterized as a highly self-centered position, meaning that his focus is initially and primarily on his own needs and interests. For him, depending on others is threatening. This position is quite common in individuals who have long standing interpersonal difficulties, and is somewhat more common in men than in women. In contrast, Jennifer's relational structure can be characterized as much more other-centered. That is, her first inclination is to focus more on others' interests, to accommodate rather than challenge and be self-sacrificing. She is more concerned with being liked than getting power, and she feels dependent on others' attitudes toward her. This is also a common position, and somewhat more so in women than men. Of course, despite these differences, both Eduardo and Jennifer have motives and emotions associated with the "opposite side" of the equation. Eduardo wanted to get along with others if he could only trust them, and Jennifer was willing to challenge her roommate and assert her own desires, especially with her mother's encouragement.

Now consider the following questions. If we take these descriptions at face value, how did the relational structures of these two individuals develop? Why do some people develop self as opposed to other orientations? Even more basically, where do the social motives come from? What is the relationship between social emotions like shame and social motivations? How do people's social motivations and needs guide the reasons they give for their behavior? Is there a way to connect a more clinical understanding of social motivations and emotions with the notion that the mind evolved as a system of behavioral investment articulated in the previous chapter? The Influence Matrix allows us to answer these questions.

This chapter proceeds as follows. First, the Influence Matrix is described in greater detail. Like the ToK System, the Influence Matrix comes with a diagram and that is shared and the various components and their interrelations are articulated. Each of these components is defined and explained, and several examples are offered. In ways that are similar to Behavioral Investment Theory and the Justification Hypothesis, the Influence Matrix is an integrative idea that works by consolidating many different lines of theory and research on social motivation, emotion, and relational processes into a coherent whole. The way the Influence Matrix lines up with modern psychodynamic theory, attachment theory, parenting styles, modern approaches to self-esteem and trait theory will be reviewed. Then utility of the Influence Matrix in explaining complex human relational processes is demonstrated by analyzing a scene in depth from the Academy Award winning film, *Ordinary People*.

The Basics of the Influence Matrix

The Influence Matrix is an extension of Behavioral Investment Theory to the domain of human social motivation and emotion. As such, it incorporates the principles of energy economics, evolution, behavioral genetics, computational control, learning, and development. In addition, the $P - M => E$ formulation is an integral part of the structure of the Influence Matrix. Given that, let us think some about the social world from the perspective of Behavioral Investment Theory. Behavioral Investment Theory posits that evolutionary pressures will shape the mind (or neuro-behavioral investment system) to have perceptual, motivational, and emotional structures that allow the animal to control resources historically associated with survival and reproductive success. Thus, to understand which resources were likely to be important, we need to consider the evolutionary history of the species. Since our focus here is on humans and their relationships, we can start by asking two very basic questions. "Were our hominid ancestors primarily solitary or social?" and "If they were social, did these relationships matter in terms of survival and reproductive success?" There is consensus regarding the answers to these two questions. First, it is very clear that ours has been a very social species, long before we were even human, and our hominid ancestors lived in close knit groups of fifty to two hundred. Second, these relationships mattered. Unlike some herd mammals that live in groups but do not form complicated reciprocal relationships, humans have always lived in groups that are marked by interdependency and frequent, intense, and lifelong patterns of social exchange.

Given these facts, we can make the assertion that other humans were an extremely important resource in the ancestral environment. Using Geary's (2005) motive to control formulation discussed in the previous chapter, we can then make the assertion that the ability to influence the actions of others in accordance with one's interests would have been highly advantageous, whereas the inability to do so would have been potentially catastrophic. This brings us to the first foundational assumption of the Influence Matrix, which is that social influence, defined as the capacity to influence others' actions in accordance with one's interests, is a resource humans are motivated to acquire. That is, like nutritious food, social influence reflects a basic, primary need and desire. It is, of course, not the only foundational motivation humans have, but it is theorized to be a central one.

The concept of social influence is admittedly quite abstract and, as we will see, there are many details to be added to this very basic notion. For example, we can immediately see that not all people in one's relational field are equal; it may be more important to influence those with whom one is and will be intimate than to influence strangers. With some additional reflection, we can also see that the nature of social influence varies across the lifespan. The problem of social influence to an infant is very different than to a tribal shaman. And yet even here there are some important similarities. For example, in both cases the amount of attention the individual receives, the relative displays of positive to negative affect from significant others, and the willingness of others to sacrifice on the individual's behalf are all good indications of the degree of social influence.

These universal commonalities bring us back to Geary's (2005) argument regarding soft modularity. Recall that soft modularity posits patterns that are relatively constant in nature across the generations will become ingrained in the automatic neuro-information processing systems that frame the animal's initial perceptions and responses to certain events. These processing systems will then evolve with the developmental experiences of the animal, forming, in La Cerra's and Staat's language respectively, a complex of adaptive representational networks and basic behavioral repertoires. Soft modularity, which explicitly incorporates both evolutionary and learning processes, is the conceptual frame employed by the Influence Matrix. The Influence Matrix diagram (Fig. 4.1) can be thought of as a diagram of the basic structure of the socio-emotional "exoskeleton" that all healthy humans should share. Genetic differences will influence the structure resulting in individual differences in temperament. And, as was suggested by the cases of Eduardo and Jennifer, an individual's life experiences shape the specific representations and strategies developed for solving problems associated with acquiring and maintaining social influence.

Starting with the motivations, notice the two boxes inside the circle, one toward the upper right and the other toward the lower left, labeled high and low influence, respectively. These boxes represent core motivational templates that function as reference ideals. If you recall the arguments from the previous chapter regarding the P − M => E equation, the "M" stands for motivation, which are referential schema of animal–environment relationships that the individual will work to either
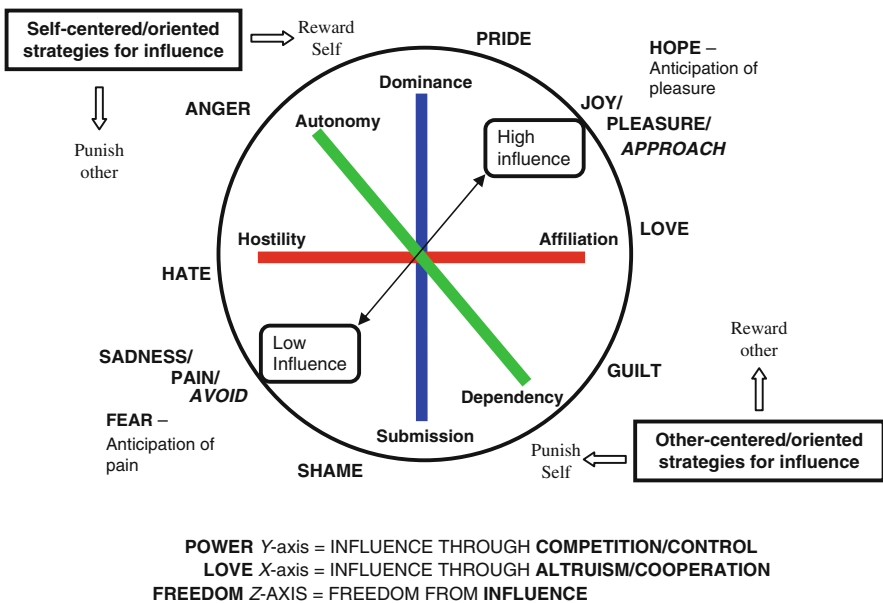

Fig. 4.1 The Influence Matrix

seek and approach or avoid and withdraw from. "P" stands for perception, which in this case would refer to the social cognitive processes involved in assessing others in relationship to one's self. "E" stands for the emotions that result when there are changes in the relationship between the perceived situation and the individuals' motivational states.

The Key Elements of the Influence Matrix

The Need for Social Influence

The Influence Matrix posits that there are universal characteristics associated with high relative to low social influence and that humans have built-in capacities for perceiving these characteristics and are generally motivated to seek and approach indicators of high influence and avoid and withdraw from indicators of low influence. I have already mentioned some of the major variables that should universally define these templates. The amount of attention from others, the amount of positive relative to negative emotions expressed by others, and the degree to which others will sacrifice for one's interests are three powerful indicators of high relative to low influence. Consequently, the prediction is that humans have built-in capacities for detecting these variables and are intrinsically motivated to work toward acquiring indicators of high influence and to avoid indicators of low influence.

  If social influence is something we are motivated to achieve, then a question that follows is: How do we achieve it? At first glance it seems that there are almost an infinite number of ways that we influence others. We can try to make ourselves look strong or attractive, we can give money or complements, we can tell others we need help, we can share information, we can threaten others with punishment or ridicule, we can smile and say hello, and so on. Although true, the Influence Matrix suggests that the relational processes underlying the acquisition of social influence can be grouped into three broad categories: (1) care elicitation, (2) competition, and (3) altruism. If you turn your attention back to the diagram, you will see three axes in the middle. The y-axis is labeled "Power," which refers to competitive influence and is marked by the poles of dominance and submission. The x-axis is labeled "Love," which refers to cooperative influence and is marked by the poles of affiliation and hostility. The z-axis is labeled "Freedom" and is marked by the poles of autonomy and dependency. I describe each of these dimensions in greater detail below.

The Initial State of Dependency

At birth, human infants are completely dependent on the investment from others for their protection and survival. Of course, much of the variance on whether or not such investment occurs resides in the desires and abilities of the primary caretakers. Nonetheless, as any parent who has heard an infant cry in distress or cooed in

satisfaction can attest, infants have powerful capacities to influence caretakers and elicit investment. Care-eliciting behaviors can be conceptualized as expressions of the infant's dependency needs. Broadly speaking, there are two related but separable kinds of dependency needs, the biological and the socio-emotional. Biological needs refer to basic survival needs and include protection from harm, food, temperature regulation, and so forth. Socio-emotional needs refer to relational needs and include cuddling, eye contact, and the expression of positive emotion by the caretakers in the service of fostering a sense of emotional security. Although both early psychoanalytic and behavioral paradigms argued that biological resource needs were primary and that the socio-emotional needs were acquired via learned associations, animal research, and careful observations of infants who were orphaned or abandoned clearly revealed that socio-emotional dependency needs are not simply learned through association but in fact are built into the basic architecture of the human mind. The argument from the vantage point of the Influence Matrix is that the ability to influence caretakers via care-eliciting expressions of underlying dependency needs represents the developmental foundation of an individual's social influence structure. Later we will explore the connection between attachment theory and the Influence Matrix.

Competition and Dominance

As infants develop into toddlers and young children, relationships in addition to the primary caretaker(s) become crucial, and competition, cooperation via altruism, and autonomy become vital to effectively navigating the social world. Direct competition is probably the earliest form of social relating from an evolutionary perspective, and for many nonsocial animals social influence is entirely defined by brief episodes of direct competition, most often for access to important resources like food, territory, or mates. The goal of such actions is usually to display superiority in a manner that redirects the competitor's investments away from the resource of interest. In animals with more complicated and longstanding social relationships, the goal of competitive influence is to establish and maintain dominance in the social hierarchy. Many social mammals have relatively clear dominance hierarchies, and an animal's place in those hierarchies directly relates to access to crucial resources such as territory, mates, and food.

For humans, with their incredibly complex, longstanding relationships, dominance is much more complicated than simply having the power to make another individual submit. Indeed, most of our competition is much less obvious than that. Consequently, it is appropriate to divide competitive relations into two broad categories: direct and indirect. As the name implies, direct competition occurs when there is a resource desired by two or more individuals and the outcome involves clear winners and losers. Wars, brawls, and games are all examples of direct competition, although the latter occurs in a broader cooperative context whereas the former two do not. In contrast, indirect competition does not involve clear winners and losers, but instead involves processes of social rank and comparison, where we evaluate

ourselves in relationship to others and work to acquire capacities, characteristics, or resources that are valued by the group and thus elevate our relative position. When we work to make ourselves more physically attractive, or buy an expensive new car to impress our neighbors, or advertise that we obtained high scores on our college boards, we are engaging in indirect competition.

Research on achievement motivation is relevant here. There are two broad dimensions that underlie achievement motivation. One is achievement mastery, in which the individual is motivated to develop competence in skills that allow them to effectively control some aspect of their environment. Mastery motivation can be understood from the basic principles that underlie Behavioral Investment Theory and the general motive to control the flow of resources. But there is also a separate dimension of the achievement drive called performance motivation. Performance motivation refers to the degree to which an individual is attempting to excel in an activity because excelling affords positive approval from others. Thus a child who desires to get an A in a class so she can show her parents and friends that she is worthy is demonstrating performance motivational needs. Performance motivation is an example of indirect competitive motives at work. The A in the class increases the social approval, admiration, and respect of her parents, thus signaling an increase in her social influence.

Cooperation, Altruism, and Affiliation

Effectively competing for resources, either directly or indirectly, is not the only way to influence the actions of others. Think about it this way. Who would you rather spend time with, someone who takes your resources and is always trying to be better than you at everything, or someone who is giving and attentive to your needs and desires? As the obvious answer to this question suggests, by being giving and deferential an individual can become a rewarding stimulus and that, in turn, can translate into social influence for the altruist. In addition, the altruist can avoid the hostility or anger that competition can readily elicit. Thus, according to the Influence Matrix, cooperative influence or influence through altruism is another basic way to achieve social influence.

Perhaps even more so than competition, altruism is a complicated construct that has been examined from the perspective of many different disciplines, such as psychology, biology, anthropology, and philosophy. In the service of getting a practical feel for the Influence Matrix, I will gloss over some of the complexities and offer a basic definition of altruism, explain why it is conceptually separable from the competitive dimension, and articulate the main forms of cooperative influence. At a basic definitional level, altruism involves some form of self-sacrifice for the benefit of another. To be an effective giver, one must have the capacity to identify another's interests and have the motivation to act in accordance with those interests. Indeed, the x-axis on the Influence Matrix is defined by the poles of affiliation and hostility because affiliation means to unite with or to bring or receive into close connection with, and it is the process of identifying, sharing, and emphasizing another's

interests that makes the cooperative dimension fundamentally different from the competitive dimension.

There are at least four distinct kinds of altruism, although they all involve basic capacities for recognizing others interests (i.e., empathy), having positive feelings toward that person or group, and a willingness to make at least some sacrifices on their behalf. The kind of altruism that first evolved is nepotistic altruism, which is giving to kin. Putting this in very concrete terms, we can ask, "Why, from an evolutionary perspective, would a mother spend so much time and energy caring for her young?" The answer is that such actions are obviously valuable in terms of reproductive success. If she did not do so, her young would die, and her genetic line would come to an end. Nepotistic altruism is altruistic at the level of the individual animal (i.e., one animal is sacrificing time and resources for another), but is selfish at the level of the gene. In Chapter 6 I provide an overview of sociobiology, which examines in detail how and why tendencies toward altruism toward kin (not just direct offspring, but siblings, cousins, and other relatives) evolved.

The second form of altruism is reciprocal altruism. Reciprocal altruism involves sacrificing in the short term to receive some benefit at a later time. When you buy a friend's lunch who forgot their wallet and they return the favor the following week, you have engaged in reciprocal altruism. Although not incredibly common, there are clear examples of reciprocal altruism in other animals. Vampire bats, for example, have been well documented to share food with unrelated individuals and expect the favor to be returned. Reciprocity is enormously common in human relations, and it is one of the defining features of long-term relational bonds. Children, for example, are frequently taught that a friend is someone who will sacrifice for you. Although we are all embedded in a sea of reciprocity, the nature of the reciprocity in humans varies as a function of the intimacy of the relationship. Casual acquaintances tend to engage in much more immediate and clear tit-for-tat exchanges than more intimate friendships and romantic relationships. For example, if a new acquaintance has you over for dinner, it is likely that there will be much stronger pressure to acknowledge the act and return the favor than if a best friend does so. Nevertheless, both friendships and romantic relationships are built on the bonds of reciprocity, and warmth, kindness, and reciprocal liking (the positive attitude both individuals feel toward one another) are some of the most influential factors in determining friendships.

The third form of altruism is sacrifice for the good of the group. When the Arizona Cardinal Pat Tillman gave up his football career and joined the armed forces—and was subsequently killed in Afghanistan—that was a prototypical example of group-based altruism. The concept of group-based altruism has a long and controversial history in biology. In the 1950s and early 1960s, group-based selection, the idea that evolutionary forces would shape behavioral tendencies such that organisms might engage in self-sacrifice for the good of the group, was generally considered a viable position. In 1966, George Williams' vigorously attacked the concept, arguing that individual level selection pressures would always outstrip any group-based tendencies. For several decades, group-based selection was generally seen as a misguided concept. But Elliot Sober and David Sloan Wilson (1998), who

were recently joined by none other than E. O. Wilson, revived the concept, and it is gaining increasing credibility. Examples of group selection processes have been observed in organisms as diverse as bacteria and lions. From a human psychological perspective, it is clear that humans identify with and invest in groups.

The fourth form of altruism is moral altruism, which entails sacrifice for others mediated via the individual's justification system. It is uniquely human, although it likely has its motivational and emotional roots in the other three forms, especially reciprocal and group-based altruism. Darwin, for example, saw moral altruism as evolving because it benefited groups:

> Although a high standard of morality gives but a slight or no advantage to each individual man and his children over the other men of the same tribe. . . advancement in the standard of morality will certainly give an immense advantage to one tribe over another. (Darwin, 1871)

Perhaps the most universal moral message involves a form of "do unto others" and as will be clear in the discussion of the Justification Hypothesis, a powerful motivating force is the need to maintain a justifiable state of being. Thus, individuals are expected to experience dissonance when they behave in a manner that is morally unjustifiable.

Autonomy and the Freedom from Influence

Dependency needs expressed via care-eliciting behaviors, competition, and altruism define the vectors of acquiring social influence from the vantage point of the Influence Matrix. But if you return to the figure you will see that the *z*-axis is called "Freedom" and is represented by the poles of autonomy and dependency. Although dependency is an inevitable starting condition, it nevertheless is, by definition, a rather vulnerable state. If the interests or capacities of the individual on whom one is dependent change away from the individual, then difficulties inevitably follow. In addition, achieving social influence via competition and altruism are endeavors that, from the vantage point of behavioral investment, take time and energy that could potentially be spent doing other things. These opportunity costs occur in the best of cases. In worst case scenarios, social exchanges can result in individuals either being dominated and controlled or sacrificing without receiving any beneficial return. As a consequence of all of these dynamics, individuals are theorized to be motivated toward self-reliance and the avoidance of excessive dependency on others.

Autonomy, which is defined as the capacity to function independently and be free from the undue influence of others, has been emphasized as a key psychological motive or need by a number of clinical theorists and researchers. For example, Carl Jung emphasized the importance of individuation, and the separation–individuation dynamic remains central to many psychodynamic theories. Similarly, autonomy versus shame and doubt is the second developmental task in Erikson's model of ego development. Carl Rogers argued the fully functioning person had an internal locus of evaluation and Marie Jahoda argued that self-direction and the freedom from the control of others were central to mental health. More recent psychological

researchers have argued strongly that a sense of autonomy is crucial to psychological well-being and represents a basic psychological need (e.g., Ryff, 1989).

Like power, dependency, and altruism, autonomy is a complicated construct that, as Hmel and Pincus (2002) point out, carries with it various meanings in the literature. One meaning of autonomy is self-governance, which is the ability to make choices based on self-awareness and self-interests without undue control from others or external factors. This is what Edward Deci and Richard Ryan mean by the term and is reflected in the title of their tripartite model of psychological needs, which is called self-determination theory. Although self-determination clearly relates to the current conception of autonomy, it is not identical because it draws explicitly on notions of identity, self-concept, and self-consciousness. The current conception is closer to Hmel and Pincus' (2002) second definition, which is separation and individuation. Murray (1938) argued that autonomy was one of the key psychological needs, and he offered a clear conception of the second meaning when he characterized individuals who are high in autonomy as being motivated to "go their own way, uninfluenced and uncoerced by others" (p. 151). This captures quite directly the meaning employed here.

Of course with too much independence, the opportunities for one's other social needs to be met are greatly diminished. Indeed, extreme independence is likely to be a function of counter-dependence, meaning that the individual separates from others out of fear of failure, betrayal, rejection, or other costly social encounters. Counter-dependence relates to Hmel and Pincus' (2002) third meaning of autonomy, and it closely relates to what Beck (1983) meant when he argued that there were autonomous personality types vulnerable to depression, and this is a conception we will return to later in the chapter. According to the Influence Matrix, a balance between independence and dependency, what might be called a state of autonomous-interdependence, is expected to be associated with optimal relational functioning and the highest levels of social influence. Consistent with the idea that some dependency is important, research has found that the capacity to appropriately acknowledge dependency needs (e.g., when a spouse acknowledges they are sometimes emotionally dependent on their partner) is associated with more self-efficacy and greater relationship satisfaction than extreme independence (Feeney, 2007).

The Negatively Reinforcing Defensive Strategies of Hostility and Submission

There are two other relational positions—hostility and submission—that are listed on the Influence Matrix but have not been elaborated on. Hostility and submission are different from the other four motivational states because they are not needs per se but instead are negatively reinforcing goal states that are activated in the service of avoiding the loss of social influence. Hostility is the polar opposite of altruistic affiliation and is defined as desiring to punish or hurt another instead of sacrificing for them. Hostility is a stance elicited when others are perceived to diminish or threaten to diminish one's social influence (or resources more generally). Thus,

hostile inclinations emerge when we perceive that others are trying to take our resources, control or dominate us, fail to reciprocate, or fail to respond to our needs to be cared for. For some individuals (e.g., bullies and sadistic psychopaths), hostile states can become fused with power needs such that the experience of others' pain and destruction actually is a rewarding stimulus. However, for most of us, hostile states and inflicting punishment on others is generally experienced as aversive but nonetheless necessary to alter the actions of others. That is what makes hostility a negatively reinforcing strategy. It is generally activated in the service of avoiding additional loss of social influence or other resources.

Submission, which involves deferring to the power of others, is also a negatively reinforcing strategy. It is most commonly enacted to avoid furthering competitive encounters that the individual perceives he or she will likely lose and be in some way damaged from. Thus the fifth grader gives up his lunch money to the bully at recess to avoid getting punched, an employee submits to her boss to avoid a negative rebuke, a student stops working on her homework because she believes no matter how hard she tries her performance will not match that of her brother, or a football team gives up because it is down 35-0 in the fourth quarter are all examples of submitting either directly or indirectly. An important distinction is made between forced submission and voluntary submission in the service of other social influence goals. Voluntary submission occurs in a relational context where deferring to authority is nonetheless clearly associated with increasing one's overall social influence. For example, if the President of the United States called me and wanted to use me as a psychological consultant, my response would be, "Yes, sir, whatever you need, sir." I would not feel shame but would instead feel both pride and joy. The reasons are obvious. The phone call would allow me to establish a connection to a person with tremendous social influence. In contrast, forced submission occurs when there is a concomitant perceived loss of social influence, and the submissive stance is activated to submit to powerful others and to disengage the competition to avoid further loss. Shame is an emotion associated with defeat or the experience of forced submission.

To summarize the Influence Matrix theory of social motivation, humans have a foundational motive to acquire high levels of social influence and avoid the loss of influence. Influence is defined as the capacity to move others in accordance with one's own interests, and the Influence Matrix posits that the basic influence templates for high and low social influence have been shaped via evolutionary forces because there are universal features associated with influence. These basic templates or schema are then molded by the developmental experiences of the individual. By looking at relational process variables, the Influence Matrix posits that humans acquire social influence via competition, cooperation, care-elicitation, and its counterbalancing tendency, autonomy. Hostility and submissiveness are two negatively reinforcing strategies that are activated to avoid situations that will result in the further loss of social influence. There are four other elements to the Influence Matrix that need to be articulated, which are as follows: (1) the three relational process dimensions are often in conflict with one another, with increases in one dimension often being associated with decreases in another; (2) the emotions on the outer ring serve as response sets that guide action in response to real or imagined changes in

motivational dimensions; (3) relational exchanges take place on "self:other" ratio calculations; and (4) individuals have a sphere of influence that consists of the important people in their lives.

The Dynamic Interrelationships Between the Dimensions

The first element that needs to be clarified is that the three relational process dimensions of social influence are dynamically interrelated. That is, changes in one dimension often, if not always, lead to changes in another. Of course, sometimes the changes are all in the right direction. For example, when a football team wins the Super Bowl, the team members' Power, Love, and Freedom may be all elevated. And, not coincidentally, such events are generally associated with strong feelings of elation. But it is often the case that increases in one dimension of social influence is associated with decreases in another. Consider, for example, how increases in exerting power over an individual may decrease his or her affiliative feelings. Indeed, the old political adage, "It is better to be feared than loved," reflects an appreciation for this dynamic. Likewise, adopting a loving attitude toward others can complicate the task of being dominating or controlling when necessary. Furthermore, if one asks for help or attempts to elicit care from others, such behavior often can result in a decrease in power or autonomy or even affiliation if the request is perceived as a burden. Even increases in power, love, and dependency inevitably raise the rate of social exchange, which inescapably impacts on the amount of autonomy one can have.

When these facts are considered, we see then that the Influence Matrix clearly posits a conflict model of social motivation and affect. Although there will certainly be some situations whereby the motivational path toward high influence is clear, much of the time individuals will feel conflicted regarding which pathway will result in the most effective outcome. For example, consider what would occur if an individual is working on a team, and another team member is not pulling his load. At what point does one speak out and complain? In such a situation the relational poles of dominance, dependency, and hostility will orient the individual to engage the situation and either explicitly ask for his help (dependency), directly tell him he needs to contribute more (power), or punish him by proclaiming him lazy (hostile). In contrast, the autonomy, affiliative, and submissive poles orient the individual to not complain, either because it is not worth the effort to get involved (autonomy), he might get angry in return (submissive), or sympathetic feelings might emerge because perhaps it seems he has had a tough time as of late (affiliative). In the final section of the chapter, a scene is analyzed from a film that captures the intrapsychic and interpersonal conflicts highlighted by the Influence Matrix.

Emotions on the Outer Ring

The next point that need to be made is that the outer ring on the Influence Matrix represents the notion that emotions are the perceptual response sets that provide feedback as individuals either succeed or fail in relationship to achieving social

influence. These emotions function to orient the individual toward corrective action and are theorized to become activated based on the $P - M \Rightarrow E$ equation discussed in the previous chapter. Thus acquiring social influence in general is associated with positive emotions and losing it is associated with negative emotions. Furthermore, different emotions are designed to address different problems of social influence. For example, guilt orients one to the needs and feelings of others, whereas anger serves to protect one's own interests. Shame is the self-punishment that signals defeat and motivates disengagement and withdrawal. Hate orients one toward punishing or eliminating the other.

A point that needs to be clarified is the relationship between the autonomy–dependency axis and the emotions. It may at first appear confusing that the social motivations are represented in three-dimensional space, whereas the outer emotion circle is only in two dimensions. The reason for this is that the autonomy–dependency dimension represents the degree of social involvement, and emotions are activated in response to social involvement. Thus, as one moves toward a state of pure relational detachment, the emotional responses diminish greatly. In contrast, as involvement in the relationship increases there is greater emotional reactivity. This is seen more clearly when we look at extremes on this dimension as manifested in personality disorders. At the dependency/social involvement extreme, histrionic personality disorder is characterized by both an intense need for social attention and excessive emotionality. In contrast, schizoid personality disorder represents the extreme end of the autonomy dimension and is characterized by both a pervasive pattern of detachment from social relationships and the almost complete absence of emotional expressivity. This analysis should not be taken to mean that individuals in relationships who are motivated toward greater autonomy will not experience strong emotions. As anyone who has ever struggled with whether or not to leave an important relationship knows, such situations are associated with intense emotions. The reason for the intense emotions is that the individual is still heavily involved in the relationship and thus is in the process of navigating crucial social influence dynamics.

The Self-Other Quadrants

Another element to be highlighted in this overview is how the Influence Matrix represents the "self-other" dialectic, a point introduced in the beginning of the chapter with the examples of Eduardo and Jennifer. The Influence Matrix posits that human relational processes can be conceptualized as a form of social exchange, whereby people are negotiating with one another the acquisition of social influence. To effectively negotiate such exchanges, individuals have motivational and emotional structures that allow for the representation of one's self-interests and the interests of important others. Dominance, autonomy, and hostility, along with the emotions of pride, anger, and hate orient an individual toward promoting one's own self-interests. When these relational poles are activated one's self-interests will become salient and the interests of others will diminish in importance and validity.

In contrast, the poles of affiliation, submission, and dependency, along with the emotions of shame, guilt, and love orient the individual toward the importance and validity of others' interests relative to one's own. The Influence Matrix posits that when we experience interpersonal conflict, both sides of the self-other dialectic become activated. Consequently, interpersonal conflict often produces a state of intrapsychic conflict, whereby individuals experience inclinations both to challenge and defy based on self-interests and accommodate and defer based on the other's interests. Such tensions are referred to as "anger–guilt" splits, which are very common to observe in the clinic room, as individuals struggle to define their relational conflicts either primarily through their own eyes or the eyes of the other parties involved.

Although the Influence Matrix posits that the potential for both components are part of the basic human mental architecture, developmental processes often channel individuals to emphasize one side or the other of the self-other quadrants. For example, a common child behavioral disorder distinction is between internalizers and externalizers. Internalizers frequently worry about rejection, have problems with self-esteem, shy away from conflict, and often go unnoticed. Externalizers are defiant, exhibit more anger and hostility, and tend to blame others for their problems. In the language of the Influence Matrix, then, externalizers are children who tend to adopt self-centered strategies, whereas internalizers tend to adopt other-centered strategies. Likewise, as is discussed below, agency and communion are two central constructs in personality theory and generally refer to the degree to which an individual is self or other focused.

We can use this lens and return to two case examples offered at the beginning of the chapter. In addition to genetically influenced differences in temperament, the Influence Matrix would posit that Eduardo's developmental experiences channeled him heavily into a self-centered frame of reference. That is, for a host of reasons he was more successful initially (or in the short term) in achieving social influence via dominance, autonomy, and hostility, rather than expressing affiliation, dependency, and submissiveness. In contrast Jennifer's predominant style was in the opposite quadrant. Affiliation, submissiveness, and dependency were much more likely to be relational stances that historically led to social influence for her.

Spheres of Influence

The final point that needs to be made about the Influence Matrix is that individuals will develop their own sphere of influence, which represents the relatively obvious point that not everyone in the world is equally important to influence. Instead, individuals with whom one has long standing reciprocal exchanges with or kin ties to are much more central than strangers. Thus the sphere of influence consists of the important people in the individual's life, and can be usefully represented with the inner portions consisting of those closest and whose relationship is most important, and expanding outward until the contact or connection is minimal or nothing at all. There are, of course, large individual differences in the size of the sphere of

influence. Some dependent individuals will become almost exclusively concerned with one individual and neglect all other domains in the service of the positive opinion of that one person. Most individuals' sphere of influence will consist of one's immediate family and friends, along with peers and colleagues at work. Of course, some leaders and entertainers have vast spheres of influence, and their constituents or fans become central to their considerations. With this outline of the Influence Matrix offered, we can now turn to survey research in human relational processes to see how the model relates to existing lines of research.

Assimilating and Integrating Major Programs of Research with the Influence Matrix

In this section I examine how the Influence Matrix aligns, organizes, and consolidates much research in social motivation and emotion. Of course there is an enormous psychological literature on human relational processes and a truly comprehensive review would itself require many volumes. The argument here is that, very much like BIT, the Influence Matrix provides a heuristic frame that allows much research in this area to be assimilated and integrated. That is, by starting with the theoretical frame afforded by the Influence Matrix, we can knit together many different lines of investigation and see themes emerge that tend to be separated by vast oceans of empirical studies. Specifically, we will review work in psychodynamic theory, Interpersonal Circumplex Models, attachment theory, parenting styles, agency and communion, modern theories of self-esteem, and trait theory, and show how they all line up rather directly with the model of social motivation and emotion posited by the Influence Matrix.

The Influence Matrix and Psychodynamic Theory

In the opening chapter I differentiated psychoanalytic perspectives from psychodynamic perspectives and argued that while the unified theory was not consistent with several hallmarks of traditional psychoanalytic theory, it was, nevertheless, very congruent with modern psychodynamic theory. In the next chapter, we examine connections between the model of human consciousness as a justification system and the nature of defense mechanisms. While the dynamic relationship between self-conscious and subconscious thinking is a hallmark of modern psychodynamic theory, so, too, are neo-Freudian theories of social motivation and emotion, and I see many of these perspectives as being highly congruent with the Influence Matrix. For example, Alfred Adler was a prominent neo-Freudian theorist who broke with Freud's contention that sex and aggression were the two foundational motives and instead posited that the ultimate goal was social superiority. Adler argued that many individuals feared never achieving a sense of superiority and as a consequence developed subconscious inferiority complexes, which could result in much neurotic

behavior. The focus on status and social influence clearly moves Adler closer than Freud to the conception afforded by the Influence Matrix.

Erik Erickson was one of the most influential psychodynamic theorists and is probably best known for his revision of Freud's psychosexual model into a lifespan psychosocial model of development. In direct connection to the Influence Matrix, each stage in Erickson's sequence consists of navigating the tensions between self and others, specifically ways in which an individual expects other people will either gratify or threaten him (Swanson, 1988). For example, first there is basic trust versus mistrust, where the infant learns whether or not his dependency needs will be gratified. Second, there is autonomy versus shame and doubt, whereby, with his new found capacities to walk and talk, the child begins to explore his environment and is either successful in separating from others and gaining some mastery over his world, or is injured or punished if the parents are either neglectful or too harsh and demanding, resulting in feelings of shame and insecurity. Later stages such as initiative versus guilt, industry versus inferiority, and intimacy versus isolation, are replete with themes of power and competition, love and affiliation, and autonomy and dependency.

Karen Horney is probably best known for her consideration of the importance of social and cultural factors on the development of neurotic relational styles, as well as her original ideas about the development and growth of the self. What is striking about Horney's observations is how her conception of neurotic relational styles corresponds to the relational process dimensions on the Influence Matrix. Horney (1945) theorized neurotic relational tendencies had their roots in a "basic anxiety," which results from feelings of insecurity, helplessness, and abandonment. Horney originally identified 10 defensive strategies (or neurotic needs) that individuals developed to manage their basic anxiety. Importantly from the vantage point of the Influence Matrix, she subsequently clustered these ten strategies into three basic types of interpersonal styles: *moving against*, *moving toward*, and *moving away from others*.

The first trend, termed compliant, is associated with *moving toward others*. These individuals have neurotic needs to be liked, wanted, loved, appreciated, protected, and guided by a partner who can solve all their problems. These individuals are often overly solicitous, compliant, and malleable in interpersonal interactions. Needs for love, approval, and affection are so pervasive among the extreme *moving toward* that all other urges are subjugated. The second strategy, termed aggressive, is *moving against others*. In contrast to *moving toward*, *moving against* individuals have neurotic needs for power, exploitation, social recognition, personal admiration, and personal achievement. Often regarded as troublemakers or bullies by teachers and peers, or as hostile or volatile by employers, the extreme *moving against others* has an explicit Machiavellian worldview, grounded in the need for control and a tendency to exploit others for self-serving needs. The third strategy, detached, is associated with *moving away from others*. Detached types have neurotic needs for self-sufficiency and perfection. Individuals with extreme tendencies to *move away from others* are frequently identified as shy or withdrawn or isolated. The tendency toward isolation and detachment in the *moving away from others* is a source of both

discomfort and solace to the individual who feels that it is perhaps best to fend for oneself because others cannot be relied upon to provide security.

It should be noted that, consistent with the Influence Matrix, Horney believed each of the three broad neurotic trends had positive, as well as negative, attributes. Such positives found in the relational trends are the following: the value of compliance allows individuals to create friendly relationships with the outside world; hostility or aggression allows individuals to survive in a competitive society; and detachment allows individuals to attain integrity and serenity in a disturbing and conflict-ridden world. Horney argued that each trend is present in healthy individuals and is employed largely dependent on the context. In contrast neurotic individuals employ these styles excessively, inappropriately, and rigidly across different situations in a way that is not balanced.

Horney also believed that although these inclinations are present in everyone, they are mutually exclusive and incompatible with one another; therefore, the individual must negotiate with competing urges within the self. Quoting from Horney's 1937 work, Paris (1994) describes such incompatible ways people may use to cope with basic anxiety:

> They may "at the same time be driven imperatively toward dominating everyone and wanting to be loved by everyone, toward complying with others and imposing [their] will on them, toward detachment from people and a craving for their affection." This generates "insoluble conflicts which are most often the dynamic center of neuroses." (p. 110)

The parallels between Horney's theorizing and the Influence Matrix are quite striking. First, the three styles of moving against, moving toward, and moving away directly correspond to the dimensions of power, love, and freedom. Second, her conception that the potential for each style exists in everyone, that there are liabilities and advantages to each, and that a balanced rather than rigid and fixed approach is healthiest, all fit well with the framework afforded by the Influence Matrix. Third, the fact that there is conflict between the poles is also central characteristic of the dynamic control model employed by the Influence Matrix. In summary, the neo-Freudian psychodynamic theorists like Adler, Erickson, and Horney all saw human social motivation in a light very similar to that outlined by the Influence Matrix and much closer to it than the picture painted by Freud's early conceptions.

The Influence Matrix and the Interpersonal Circumplex

To those familiar with the interpersonal tradition in psychology and psychiatry, the Influence Matrix will likely have a somewhat familiar feel to it. The reason is that it is an extension and adaptation of a major line of research in personality called the Interpersonal Circumplex. Interpersonal Circumplex (IC) models describe personality and social behavior on the two relational axes of dominant–submissive and affiliative–hostile. IC models began with the work of Timothy Leary (1957), whose work in turn grew out of the works of several theorists, most notably Harry Stack Sullivan.

Interested in developing a theory of personality, Leary classified 16 personality characteristics based on various combinations of affiliation and power, which form the *x* and *y* axes of IC models. He placed the variables in a circular sequence around the axes, which paired to form eight diagnostically descriptive octants. Starting at the top and moving clockwise around the circle formed on the axes of power and affiliation, these descriptors were as follows: Managerial—Autocratic, Responsible—Hypernormal, Cooperative—Over-Controlled, Docile—Dependent, Self-effacing—Masochistic, Rebellious—Distrustful, Aggressive—Sadistic, Competitive—Narcissistic.

Leary (1957) argued that individuals could then be plotted onto the Circumplex model depending on a number of evaluations made by an observer in a psychotherapeutic setting. He also emphasized that data needed to be considered in various domains of interpersonal and intrapsychic processes. Five domains or levels were given. The first domain was public communication, "the social impact one human being has on another" (p. 91). The second was conscious descriptions, an "individual's perceptions of himself and his world as he reports them" (p. 132). The third domain was preconscious framing, which Leary thought could be accessed through projective measures, "expressions that an individual makes, not directly about his real self in his real world, but indirectly about an imagined self in his preconscious or symbolic world" (p. 154). The fourth domain consisted of repressed or unconscious motives, specifically "those interpersonal themes which the patient consistently, significantly, and specifically omits in the other three levels" (p. 192). The fifth domain was comprised of the "ideals held by the individual—his conceptions of 'rightness,' 'goodness,' of what he should like to be" (p. 200). IC models have been researched extensively over the past 50 years and have generally stood well the test of time. In 1994, an American Psychological Association symposium honoring Leary's legacy noted that more than a dozen major research lines can be traced to his work.

Although the Influence Matrix clearly falls in the IC tradition, it should be noted that it does expand on current IC models in several novel and important ways. First, by virtue of its association with Behavioral Investment Theory and the Justification Hypothesis, it is embedded in a system that provides a much more explicit picture of the architecture of the human mind, something that IC models have been quite limited in specifying. Second, it adds the dimension of autonomy and dependency, which, interestingly, some IC theorists have done recently. Third, it is explicitly embedded in a modern evolutionary approach to human behavior and motivation, thus providing an explanatory framework for why humans have the social motivations they do. Fourth, in a related vein, the Influence Matrix argues that social influence underlies these strategies and that human behavior is tied to the motive to acquire social influence. Fifth, although the Influence Matrix is congruent with Leary's and other IC formulations of personality styles, the Influence Matrix model is a dynamic control systems model that allows for much more nuanced analysis of real time interpersonal exchange than a trait-based personality framework. Sixth, closely related to the dynamic control systems model, the Influence Matrix framework explicitly articulates how emotions work in conjunction with motivational systems.

The Influence Matrix and Attachment Theory

John Bowlby's attachment theory has been one of the most influential paradigms in psychology in the past 30 years. Bowlby was a psychoanalyst who argued infants were drawn into attachments with the primary caregiver out of powerful innate dependency needs. Bowlby argued that the nature of this relationship was crucial in understanding the socio-emotional development of the child and has long-standing developmental ramifications. His ideas were initially excluded from the psychoanalytic mainstream for many years because they emphasized the reality of the social bond over intrapsychic processes and fantasy. But there was a "relational turn" in the psychoanalytic community (Wachtel, 2008) and with recognition of the importance of real relationships both in the past and in the here-and-now, attachment theory has gained new acceptance and now represents a strong current among mainstream psychoanalytic perspectives.

Importantly, Bowlby characterized attachment theory both as an ethological theory (i.e., grounded in an evolutionary analysis of animal behavior) and as a control theory (i.e., there are internal goal states the individual is working to maintain), thus sharing a basic model of mind similar to the one offered here. Building off of the work of Lorenz and others, the key control related variable that Bowlby emphasized was feelings of security associated with the primary attachment figure. I hope it is apparent, then, that the basic assumptions of attachment theory are consistent with Behavioral Investment Theory and the Influence Matrix. Given these formulations, it should come as no surprise that evolutionary forces have shaped the basic perceptual, motivational, and emotional structures of both infants and parents in a way that is conducive to survival and reproduction. After all, humans are notable in the animal kingdom for their extended periods of dependency. For the first several years of their life, humans are completely dependent on caretakers for their survival needs, and it is difficult to imagine how this situation could evolve without deep parent–child attachments.

Much of Bowlby's work centered on examining and explaining the sequelae of what happens when infants and toddlers work to reduce the discrepancy between themselves and their caretakers but fail to effectively do so (i.e., because of forced separation). Specifically, children who are involuntarily separated from their caretakers almost universally exhibit distress and protest, becoming angry, fearful, and demanding. The developmental psychologist Mary Ainsworth introduced the concept of the caretaker being a "secure base" from which to operate and explore the world. She also developed an enormously influential experimental paradigm called the strange situation. The strange situation involves the child and parent initially in a room together. A stranger appears, briefly converses with the parent, and then the parent leaves the room. The parent then returns, comforts the infant, while the stranger inconspicuously leaves the room. The parent then leaves again, and shortly the stranger returns. Finally, the parent returns, completing the protocol. The child's behavior is primarily analyzed in terms of the reaction to the departure and return of the parent and the nature of play and exploration exhibited.

Ainsworth used this paradigm to reliably identify three different attachment styles: secure, insecure ambivalent, and insecure avoidant. Secure children tend to explore freely while the primary caretaker is present, engage with strangers when the caretaker is there but not when she is not, become visibly upset when the caretaker departs, and are happy to see the caretaker return. In contrast children with an ambivalent attachment style are anxious of exploration and of strangers even when the mother is present. When the mother departs, they become extremely distressed. These children are ambivalent when she returns and seek to remain close to the caretaker. However, they also can be resentful and may hit or push their caretaker when reunited. Children with insecure avoidant attachments styles tend to ignore the caretaker and show little emotion when they depart or return. Such children may run away from the caretaker when she approaches and fail to cling to her when she picks them up. Often such children treat strangers similarly to the mother. There is not much emotional range displayed regardless of who is in the room or if it is empty.

These attachment styles, examined from the vantage point of the Influence Matrix, can clearly be understood as representing different socio-emotional strategies for influence that emerge as a consequence of various relational patterns. Along with attachment theory, the Influence Matrix would posit that securely attached children have their basic needs for social influence met and, consequently, feel more positive, safe, and comforted by the presence of the caretaker. In contrast, insecure children are theorized to not have their dependency needs met, which results in a general registering of low social influence, and this is associated with negative emotions, most notably fear. The two insecure attachment styles represent two different influence strategies on the autonomy–dependency axis. Namely, ambivalent children adopt a hyper-dependent strategy, characterized by strong emotional displays of need and fear of not receiving the necessary parental investment. In contrast avoidant children adopt a hyper-autonomous strategy that can be understood as minimizing dependency needs and care-eliciting displays.

The Influence Matrix and Parenting Styles

Parenting styles refer to the broad and general relational patterns that parents utilize to socialize their children. In the mid-1960s Diana Baumrind (1966) developed one of the most widely cited models of parenting. She argued that there were two primary dimensions of parenting style: demandingness and responsiveness. Parental responsiveness (also referred to as parental warmth or supportiveness) refers to "the extent to which parents intentionally foster individuality, self-regulation, and self-assertion by being attuned, supportive, and acquiescent to children's special needs and demands" (Baumrind, 1991, p. 62). Parental demandingness (also referred to as behavioral control) refers to "the claims parents make on children to become integrated into the family whole, by their maturity demands, supervision, disciplinary efforts, and willingness to confront the child who disobeys" (Baumrind, 1991, pp. 61–62).

Categorizing the parents according to whether they are high or low on parental demandingness and responsiveness creates a typology of four parenting styles: indulgent/permissive, authoritarian, authoritative, and uninvolved/neglectful. Each of these parenting styles reflects different naturally occurring patterns of parental values, practices, and behaviors and a distinct combination of responsiveness and demandingness. Specifically, permissive parents are far more responsive than they are demanding. They are loving and lenient, do not require disciplined behavior, and tend to avoid confrontation. In contrast, authoritarian parents are highly demanding and directive, but not responsive. They insist on obedience to authority and expect their commands to be obeyed without challenge. Authoritative parents are both demanding and responsive. Such parents monitor their child's behavior and impart clear standards for conduct. They are assertive but not intrusive and restrictive. Their disciplinary methods are supportive, rather than punitive, but they still maintain control. They want their children to be assertive as well as socially responsible and self-regulated as well as cooperative. Neglectful parents are low in both responsiveness and demandingness. They allow their children enormous freedom and are generally uninvolved.

It is apparent that these parenting styles are congruent with the relational process dimensions posited by the Influence Matrix. Through the lens of the Influence Matrix, authoritative parents have an effective balance of power, love, and freedom. Authoritarian parents, in contrast, overemphasize power relative to love and freedom. Likewise, permissive parents tend to overemphasize love over power and freedom, whereas neglectful parents emphasize freedom relative to love or power.

The Influence Matrix and Sociometer Theory

The concept of self-esteem has long been thought to be a factor in people's interpersonal behaviors. But only recently have models emerged that connect the concept directly to social influence in a manner fully consistent with the Influence Matrix. Mark Leary's sociometer theory (ST; Leary & Baumeister, 2000; Leary, Tambor, Terdal, & Downs, 1995) posits that the self-esteem system functions as a sociometer, or gauge, that monitors the degree of social influence. Directly consistent with the first foundational assumption of the Influence Matrix, Leary and colleagues argue that, given the importance of social acceptance and rejection throughout human evolution, human beings developed a monitoring system that responds to cues indicating real or potential rejection, which evokes feelings that alert the individual to the threat of rejection, and motivates the person to behave in ways that minimize the probability of rejection and promote acceptance. This subjective indicator monitors the quality of one's relationships with other people with changes in state self-esteem signaling either improvement or deterioration in the degree of social inclusion and acceptance.

Leary and colleagues (1995) developed sociometer theory as a response to the enormous body of research on self-esteem that leaves many unanswered questions. Most notably, sociometer theory contends that despite the fact that the self-esteem

motive has been used to explain so many psychological phenomena, little attention has been paid to the source or function of the self-esteem motive itself. Additionally, Leary argued the field of psychology has non-critically accepted fundamental assumptions and explanations about self-esteem. He offered sociometer theory as a viable and functional explanation of self-esteem that begins to explain such assumptions, as well as some of the challenges that plague the self-esteem literature. It is a formulation consistent with the Influence Matrix.

The Influence Matrix, Agency and Communion, and the Self-Other Dialectic

The self-other dialectic is one of the most fundamental dimensions of personality that researchers have identified, and the Influence Matrix provides a clear way of framing the "self-other" dialectic. Specifically, the upper left quadrant of dominance, hostility, and autonomy are poles that orient one toward "self" interests and the lower right quadrant of affiliation, dependency, and submission orient one toward other interests. The examples of Eduardo and Jennifer that opened the chapter were chosen in part because they offered prototype examples of individuals who were operating at opposite sides of the self-other dimension, a dimension that has been a key focus of personality and social psychological theorists and researchers for quite some time.

Much research on the self-other dialectic has been advanced under the terms agency and communion, terms made famous by Bakan (1966). Agency refers to self-assertion and the condition of being a differentiated individual; it is manifest in strivings for mastery, power, and differentiation. Communion refers to interpersonal involvement and relational interconnectedness, and is manifested in strivings for intimacy, union, and solidarity (Wiggins, 1991). Agentic qualities include self-assertion, self-expansion, and the urge to master; whereas communal qualities are manifested by selflessness, openness, concern with others, and a desire to be at one with others. On the Influence Matrix, the upper-left quadrant corresponds to agentic strivings, whereas the lower right corresponds to communal strivings.

Gender differences in agency and communion have received much attention from researchers. Men and masculine traits tend to be more agentic; whereas, women and feminine traits exhibit greater communal tendencies. Communication styles are an area where research has revealed gender differences. Leaper (1987) describes the following differences in styles:

> Women typically have been found to demonstrate a communal orientation by discussing topics concerned with people more than men; women's communion also has been revealed through the use of more supportive and expressive language forms. Conversely, men have been found to manifest an agentic orientation by discussing topics like their work or sports more than do women; men's agency also has been seen in their greater use of controlling and instrumental language forms. (p. 138)

In the clinical arena the cognitive psychotherapist A. T. Beck (1983) posited that there were two major depressogenic personality styles, which he labeled sociotropic

and autonomous, conceptualizations that were remarkably consistent with the formulations offered by the psychodynamic researcher and theorist Sydney Blatt (1974). Beck argued that sociotropy, or social dependence, is characterized by intense needs for positive interchange with others, with such individuals focusing intensely on acceptance, intimacy, support, and guidance, coupled with an intense fear of rejection or criticism. In contrast autonomy involves an investment in independent functioning, mobility, choice, achievement, and integrity of one's domain (Beck, 1983). Autonomous individuals are theorized to be vulnerable to depression situations in which they fail in their own eyes.

The Influence Matrix offers a readily accessible framework for understanding the agentic-communal dimension and the clinical conceptions of sociotropy and autonomy. Specifically, the Influence Matrix posits that a relative balance between agency and communion would be associated with higher social influence and better psychosocial adjustment, a point that has been made by several researchers. Beck's sociotropy and autonomy represent extreme ends of the agentic-communal dimension. Interestingly, although the correspondence between Beck's constructs and agency and communion are rarely noted, Bruch (2002) argued precisely this point, claiming that sociotropy could be conceptualized as unmitigated communion, whereas Beck's autonomy was unmitigated agency.

The Influence Matrix and Personality Trait Theory

Over the past century, one of the most successful developments personality researchers have made is the establishment of a taxonomy of personality traits, known as the Big Five. Specifically, the existence of five broad clusters of personality traits have been replicated across many studies. Benet-Martínez and John (1998) describe the Big Five personality traits as such:

> Extraversion summarizes the traits related to activity and energy, dominance, sociability, expressiveness, and positive emotions… Neuroticism contrasts emotional stability with a broad range of negative effects, including anxiety, sadness, irritability, and nervous tension…Agreeableness contrasts a prosocial orientation toward others with antagonism and includes traits such as altruism, tender-mindedness, trust, and modesty… Conscientiousness describes socially prescribed impulse control that facilitates task- and goal-directed behavior…Openness describes the breadth, depth, and complexity of an individual's mental experiential life. (p. 730)

The Influence Matrix is theorized to be directly related to three of the Big Five personality traits, extraversion, neuroticism, and agreeableness, whereas it is theorized to be much less related to conscientiousness and openness. This relationship is visually represented in Fig. 4.2. My students and I tested this model by constructing a measure based on the Influence Matrix and examining its relationship with a standard Big Five measure, the Neo-FFI. Specifically, we developed a 48-item measure, with six items assessing each of the eight social poles on the Influence Matrix (high and low influence, dominance and submission, affiliation and hostility, and autonomy and dependency), as well as items assessing the frequency of
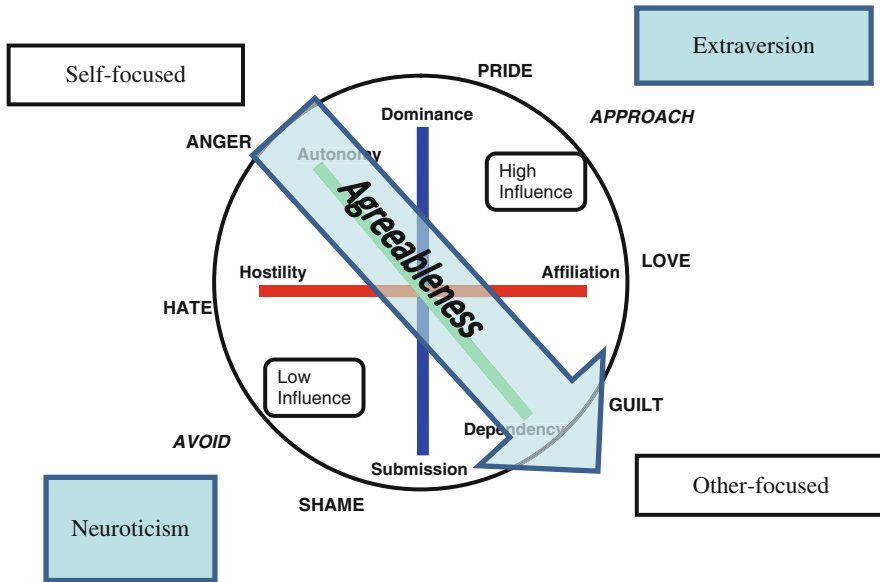
Fig. 4.2 Cross-validation of NEO-FFI and the influence matrix

each emotion. Using the Influence Matrix and its hypothesized connections with trait theory, we made the following predictions: negative affect, low influence, submissiveness, and hostility would be significant predictors of neuroticism; positive affect, high influence, dominance, and affiliation would be significant predictors of extraversion; affiliation, hostility, other-oriented affect, and self-oriented affect would significantly predict agreeableness.

A hundred and thirty college students filled out both measures. As a set, negative affect, low influence, submissiveness, and hostility significantly accounted for 53% of the variance in neuroticism. Forty-five percent of the variance in extraversion was explained by the set of predictors comprised of positive affect, high influence, dominance, and affiliation, with each predictor significantly contributing to the model. As a set, affiliation, hostility, other-oriented affect (love, guilt, and shame), and self-oriented affect (hate, anger, and pride) significantly explained 55% of the variance in agreeableness. In contrast less than 10 percent of the variance in either openness or conscientious was accounted for by the Influence Matrix scale. This was a preliminary study, and replication as well as much greater sophistication is required in scale development to draw strong conclusions. Nevertheless, it does serve as an example of how empirical research can be conducted based on the Influence Matrix, and how it connects to existing theories and research.

In this section, I have reviewed a wide variety of perspectives in human relationship processes that have tended to exist as completely separate lines of research but can be assimilated and integrated from the vantage point afforded by the Influence Matrix. Given the current disconnected nature field, psychologists could spend their

entire careers focusing on any one of these specific lines of thought without considering how they are interrelated. Such separateness is particularly problematic for practitioners who must deal with whole people facing unique problems in unique contexts. In addition to providing a theoretical framework that assimilates and integrates many different lines of research, the Influence Matrix is also a powerful clinical tool that provides a framework for viewing complex human interaction taking place in real time.

Putting the Influence Matrix into Action: An Analysis of Ordinary People

There is a climactic scene in the academy award winning film *Ordinary People* that captures the dynamic flow of motivational states represented by the Influence Matrix. The story is about an upper-middle-class family dealing with the traumatic death of the elder son Buck and is replete with themes of power, love, autonomy, and dependency. The mother, Beth, is an emotionally restrictive woman who dearly loved Buck and just cannot process his loss. The father, Calvin, is an accommodating, other-oriented individual who attempts to keep the peace. Much of the story focuses on how their son Conrad attempts to deal both with the loss of his older brother and with his mother's confusing, emotionally distant, withholding behavior.

When the film starts, Conrad had made a serious suicide attempt approximately 6 months ago and had been subsequently hospitalized for several months. He continued to have symptoms of post-traumatic stress and depression and enters psychotherapy early in the film, with the process focused on his grief, exploring his emotions, and individuating from others, especially his mother. One of the most unique aspects of the Influence Matrix is the manner in which it captures the dynamic flow of relational processes, both intrapsychically and interpersonally. Consequently, rather than offer an analysis of each character, I analyze a scene in the movie through the lens of the Influence Matrix.

The analysis focuses on the social motivational and emotional dynamics that are guiding the characters. However, because we will be analyzing transcript of the scene, much of our data will actually be the justifications offered by the characters. As introduced in Chapter 1, justifications are the claims we use to legitimize our beliefs and actions to ourselves and to others. And yet because justifications are guided in part out of nonverbal social motivational and emotional processes, we can readily analyze these processes through the justifications the characters offer. Of course, if one were to watch the actual interaction, the manner in which the emotions organize the facial expressions, body postures, and other actions becomes readily apparent.

The scene begins with Beth appearing with an angry look on her face as Calvin and Conrad are starting to decorate a Christmas tree in the living room. Although Conrad was a good swimmer, he had decided to quit the swim team, in part as a way of asserting his independence. However, he did not inform his parents of this

decision, and Beth has just found out about it through a family friend. Enormously concerned with the image of the family, she is furious with Conrad for the deceit.

> "What's wrong?" Calvin asks Beth.
> Irritated, Beth responds, "Why don't you ask him what is wrong? Then you won't have to hear it from Carol Lazenbee."
> Knowingly, Conrad turns to his father and says, "Dad, I quit the swim team."
> "Carol thought I knew," Beth snaps. "Of course why wouldn't I, it happened over a month ago!"

From the vantage point of the Influence Matrix, by violating an implied social contract, Conrad has betrayed Beth and cost her social capital in terms of her image. This activates in Beth anger and indignant pride. Beth's goal state is to have Conrad apologize and submit, as this would at least restore some equilibrium in the relationship. The conflict escalates because, as a consequence of his therapy and getting more in touch with his conflicted feelings about his mother, Conrad is not feeling inclined to apologize, as he experiences her as cold and withholding.

> "Where have you been every night?" Calvin asks Conrad.
> Somewhat sheepishly Conrad responds, "Around. . .at the library mostly."
> In a concerned voice, Calvin asks, "Why didn't you tell us, Connie?"
> "I don't know. . .I didn't think it mattered."
> "What do you mean? Why wouldn't it matter? Of course it matters—"
> "No, that was meant for me, Calvin!" Beth interjects sharply. Turning to Conrad, "It is really important for you to try to hurt me, isn't it?"

Not having received an apology, and indeed being somewhat ignored by Conrad as he turned to engage Calvin, she attempts to punish Conrad by characterizing him as being mean-spirited.

> Now angry, Conrad replies, "Don't you have it backward?"

Instead of submitting and avoiding as Conrad's depressive mindset had often previously inclined him to do, this time, in part with the help of a therapeutic process that had allowed him to access his feelings of anger and hurt toward his mother, he engages defiantly in the conflict, attempting to show that in fact his mother has been the one who violates reciprocity and acts to hurt him. As is often the case in intense interpersonal conflicts, both parties now feel wronged and have activated power and hostile frames that emphasize their own self-interests.

> "Oh?" Beth replies. "And how do I hurt you? By embarrassing you in front of a friend? 'Poor Beth, she has no idea what her son is up to. He lies and she believes every word of it'."

We here see explicitly Beth's impression management concerns. Her needs for impression management and saving face are apparent throughout the film.

> "I did not lie," Conrad complains.

Lying is clearly unjustifiable and would put Conrad in a one-down position of being guilty. His anger energizes him to challenge this characterization. Beth responds by justifying why it is a lie of omission and then why she needs control over him.

"You did! You lied every time you came into this house at 6:30." Becoming visibility distraught, Beth declares, "It is starting all over again, the lying, the covering up, the disappearing for hours. I will not stand for it. I cannot stand for it."
Conrad angrily replies, "Well, don't then! Go to Europe!"

A counter-dependent claim, justifying disengagement and thus challenging her need to control his actions.

"Connie!" Calvin motions to calm Conrad.
Conrad yells, "No, the only reason she cares—the only reason she gives a fuck about it—is that someone else knew about it first!"

Here we see, for the first time in the film, Conrad explicitly expressing his core concern that his mother doesn't really care about him, except insofar as it impacts other people's impressions about their family. Consistent with both attachment theory and the Influence Matrix, this core concern is at the center of Conrad's emotional disturbance.

Stepping in actively between them, Calvin turns to Conrad. "Now just settle down. Stop it, just stop it."
"No! You tell her to stop it," Conrad says in an aggressive stance. "You never tell her a goddamn thing! And I know why she never came to the hospital she was busy going to goddamn Spain and goddamn Portugal. Why should she care if I am hung up by the balls out there?"

Now Conrad's anger associated with his unmet dependency needs is flowing. He is finally giving voice to a dark, secret fear. It is also useful to note here that memories are categorized in part based on emotional content. Thus as his anger becomes increasingly activated he is flooded with past adaptive representational networks of emotionally similar situations (i.e., times in which his mother was withholding when he needed her care). It is also useful to note that his response to his father is telling. Even though he knows his father loves him, it is clear that Calvin's accommodating style left Conrad feeling unprotected from his mother's cold distancing behavior.

Indignant, Beth responds, "Maybe this is how they sit around and talk at the hospital but we are not at the hospital."

Ignoring the content of Conrad's claim, Beth seeks to regain power and control by reminding him of his "pathology" and insisting that his actions are completely unjustifiable.

Conrad yells, "You never came to the hospital! How do you know about the hospital?"

The hurt and anger remain strongly activated.

Calvin again tries to lower the intensity of the exchange. "You know that she had the flu and she couldn't come inside, but she came and. . ."

Calvin's goal state of maintaining amicable relations is clear throughout this exchange. Here he attempts to justify Beth's actions in manner very different than Conrad's interpretation. It shifts the attribution of her not going to the hospital from Beth's lack of love for Conrad to external factors.

> Conrad interrupts, "She wouldn't have had any flu if Buck was in the hospital, she would have come if Buck was in the hospital!"

Conrad challenges Calvin's justification with a direct comparison to Buck, attempting to demonstrate that it was not external factors, but her feelings for him that explains why she never came to the hospital.

> In a cutting voice, Beth replies, "Buck would have never been in the hospital!"

Beth's comment is a searing poker into Conrad's heart. Feeling unloved by his mother, Conrad had spent much emotional energy struggling for the reason why. First, he wondered if it was in his head. Then as he came to believe she did not in fact love him, he had to ask why. Was it because his mother was incapable of loving? No, because she clearly loved Buck. Was it because she was mean-spirited and enjoyed withholding from him? If so, that led to feelings of anger and hostility. But what if it was because there was something fundamentally wrong with him? What if he did not deserve to be loved? Core fears and beliefs about being unlovable are central to many theories of psychopathology. It was the fear that she withheld her love because there was something fundamentally wrong with him that made it such a searing comment for him. It basically says to him: "Yes, you are right. I did not come because I did not care and I did not care because you were not worthy."

> "That is enough!" Calvin yells.
> Conrad runs off to his room.
> "What the hell just happened there?" Calvin asks, bewildered. "Somebody should go up to him."
> Frustrated, Beth turns to Calvin. "Oh god yes, that is the pattern, he walks all over us and you go up and apologize!"

Notice here how Beth has power-related frames for the relational exchange and directly accuses Calvin for being overly giving and accommodating.

> "I am not going to apologize..."
> Cutting him off, Beth says, "Yes, of course you are. You always do. You have been apologizing to him ever since he got home from the hospital, only you don't see it."
> Angrily, Calvin defends himself. "I am not apologizing." Gritting his teeth, "I am trying to goddamn understand him!"
> Once again indignant, Beth replies, "Don't talk to me that way. Do you talk to me the way he talks to you!"
> Taking a deep breath, Calvin attempts to calm the situation. "Beth, let's not fight, okay? No fighting, okay? Please, let's go upstairs..."
> She stares back at him, but doesn't move.

We see in this exchange Beth attempting to maintain her dominant position in regards to Conrad and the situation generally. From her frame of reference, Conrad has acted irresponsibly and should have apologized. Instead, he was defiant, which justified in her mind that there is simply something wrong with him. In contrast, Calvin is willing to listen, understand, and give the benefit of the doubt. Calvin's anger almost reaches a boiling point but he quickly regains control and reasserts the need to be amicable.

Calvin leaves and goes to Conrad's room. Entering, he finds Conrad on the bed crying, with his face in his arms.
"I need to sleep," Conrad whimpers.
"In a minute."
"I did not mean it," Conrad says sobbing. "I did not mean any of it, I am sorry. Please don't be mad."

The shift in Conrad's motivational–emotional tone is striking. Instead of continuing to be angry and defiant, he is now apologetic, fearful, and deferential. He does not aggressively deride his mother, justifying what he was entitled to from her as he had just been doing but instead he appears riddled with guilt, apologizing over and over for unleashing his rage and begging his father not to be angry with him. What could possibly explain the shift? This is where the dynamic control theory of the Influence Matrix does some of its most impressive work. Beth's comment activated a shame-based, forced submissive reaction in Conrad. That resulted in a flip in his Influence Matrix orientation from upper left to lower right. Having lost the battle because she struck at his emotional Achilles heel, Conrad was flooded with feelings of guilt and shame, and is now motivated both to apologize and escape the consequences of the encounter.

"I am not mad. I am just trying to figure out what happened down there."
"I don't know what happened, I am sorry about it all. I am sorry about the whole thing. Just tell her I didn't mean it. Just tell her I am sorry, will you?"

His feelings had been stuffed for a long time, for good reason. They were enormously anxiety provoking because they carried potentially catastrophic implications, either for Beth (i.e., that she was a mother who did not love her son) or Conrad (i.e., that he was unlovable). Conrad now just wants to undo the damage and restore equilibrium in the relationship.

"Why don't you tell her?" Calvin asks.
As if a knife pierced his heart, Conrad calls out, "Oh God no, I can't. . .don't you see I can't talk to her?"
"Why not?" Calvin asks, puzzled.
"Because it doesn't change anything, it doesn't change the way she looks at me," says Conrad, still covering his face with his arm.

Conrad's experiences of his mother's coldness exist at the core of his being. Although he longs to be closer, he does not experience the feeling to be reciprocated. Thus out of counter-dependency motives, he needs to maintain his distance to protect himself.

Trying to help, Calvin explains, "She was upset, Conrad. Your mother was hurt because you quit the swim team. I don't understand it myself. . ."
"No, I don't mean just now," Conrad's voice rises in desperation, "Don't you see? I don't mean just today."
"What then? Explain it to me."
"I can't Dad. Everything is Jello and pudding with you, you don't see things."

Calvin's nonconfrontational, accommodating style comes with consequences. To maintain an amicable view of things, he filters out many of the conflict-ridden dynamics of the family.

> "What things. What things. . .I want you to tell me"
> "That she hates me, can't you see that?" Conrad cries out.
> Incredulous, "Your mother doesn't hate you, Conrad."
> Despondently giving up, Conrad says, "Alright, alright. She doesn't. Please leave me alone."
> After a moment, Calvin gets up and walks out.

And here we see Conrad's central emotional dilemma playing out. Desperately needing validation from his father, but fearing his father's inability to recognize what he sees, Conrad obviously vacillates between explaining his feelings and pushing his father away. Finally, he blurts out his experience, but for a host of motivational and cognitive reasons, Calvin does not see the dynamic Conrad feels. Of note, later in the film, Calvin does come to see the truth in Conrad's claim, and it comes with significant ramifications for his relationship with Beth.

Summary and Conclusion

The Influence Matrix is a model of social motivation and affect that is consistent with the logic of Behavioral Investment Theory and integrates and assimilates many traditions in personality, clinical, and social psychology. Several lines of research were reviewed here including psychodynamic relational perspectives such as those advocated for by Karen Horney, Interpersonal Circumplex Models, attachment theory, parenting styles, sociometer theory, agency and communion, and trait theory. The analysis of the film clip from *Ordinary People* shows how the Influence Matrix provides a conceptual frame that allows us to track very complicated socio-emotional processes in real time. It is in that regard that the Influence Matrix can be an extremely useful clinical tool, a heuristic that allows one to frame both interpersonal and intrapsychic processes. It is a lens that aligns very well with interpersonal theory, modern psychodynamic approaches like Paul Wachtel's (1993) cyclical psychodynamic perspective, as well as humanistically integrative approaches like Leslie Greenberg's (2002) emotion-focused approach.

The Influence Matrix connects to the Justification Hypothesis by providing an understanding of the underlying social motivational and affective forces that influence an individual's justification system. Specifically, it will be argued in the next chapter that the self-consciousness system was designed in part to solve the problem of social justification, and it is to that issue we now turn.