

# Varieties of Creativity

**Types and Levels** 

# Three Arguments

#### First, creativity is a

- heterogeneous rather than homogeneous phenomenon
- that can be partly captured by a single dimension
- along which we can place the principal domains of creative activity

# Three Arguments

- Second, this single dimension is correlated with psychological traits and experiences of creators who practice in a given domain; these variables are
  - dispositional (e.g., personality)
  - developmental (e.g., education)

# Three Arguments

Third, an individual's magnitude of creativity in a chosen domain corresponds at least in part with the fit between his/her dispositional traits and developmental experiences and those that are typical of that domain

# First Argument:

# Hierarchy of the Sciences

#### Classic concept: Auguste Comte

- astronomy
- physics
- chemistry
- biology
- sociology

# First Argument:

# Hierarchy of the Sciences

- Contemporary concepts:
  - physical, biological, and social sciences
  - "exact" versus "non-exact" sciences
  - "hard" versus "soft" sciences
  - "paradigmatic" versus "pre-paradigmatic" sciences
  - "natural" versus "human" sciences
  - sciences, humanities, and the arts

# First Argument:

# Hierarchy of the Sciences

- Empirical Research
  - D. K. Simonton (2004). Psychology's status as a scientific discipline: Its empirical placement within an implicit hierarchy of the sciences. *Review of General Psychology*, *8*, 59-67.

# Simonton (2004)

#### Two classes of measures:

- Primary:
  - strong logical or empirical connection with the scientific status of a discipline
  - available for physics, chemistry, psychology, and sociology at the minimum
- Secondary:
  - also connection with scientific status, but
  - not available for one or more of the four core disciplines for the comparison

# Primary Measures

#### Positive indicators:

- Citation concentration (Cole, 1983)
- Early impact rate (Cole, 1983)
- Obsolescence rate (McDowell, 1982)
- Peer evaluation consensus (Cole, 1983)
- Graph prominence (Cleveland, 1984)
- Negative indicators:
  - Consultation rate (Suls & Fletcher, 1983)
  - Theories-to-laws ratio (Roeckelein, 1997)

# Secondary Measures

#### Positive indicators:

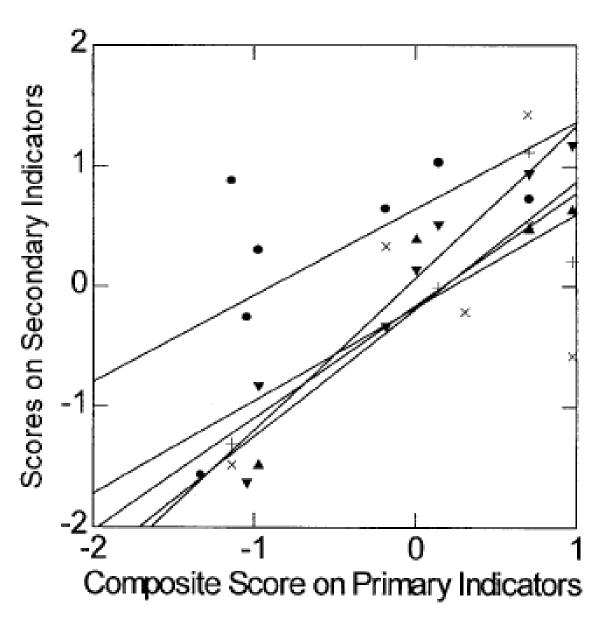
- Citation immediacy (Cole, 1983)
- Anticipation frequency (Hagstrom, 1974)
- Rated disciplinary hardness (Smith et al., 2000)

#### Negative indicators:

- Age at receipt of Nobel prize (Stephan & Leven, 1993; see also Manniche & Falk, 1957)
- Lecture disfluency (Schachter, Christenfeld, Ravina, & Bilous, 1991)

# Data Analyses

- Principal components analysis: disciplinary scores on the seven primary measures can be explained in terms of a single latent variable
- Correlation analysis: the forgoing principal component correlates highly with each of the five secondary measures

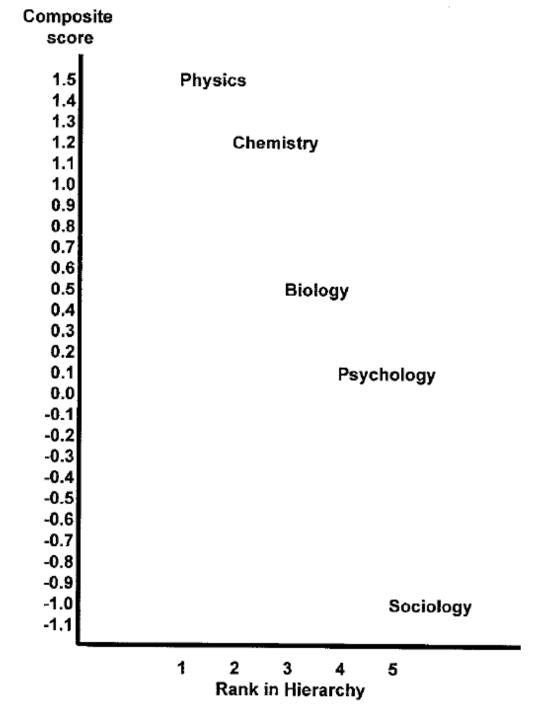


Secondary Indicator

- Lecture disfluency
- × Citation immediacy
- Anticipation frequency
- Age at Nobel Prize
- Disciplinary hardness

# Data Analyses

 Hence, it's possible to provide an objective arrangement of five principal scientific disciplines along a Comte-like scale, namely



Former hierarchical arrangement consistent with scientists own perceptions,

e.g. ...

Prpić (2008)	Natural scientists <i>N</i> = 310	Social scientists <i>N</i> = 167		
Objectivity as the property of the research process	69.0%	54.8%		
Objectivity as the researcher's impartiality and nonsubjectivity	33.6%	54.7%		
Objectivity as attainable and attained	76.2%	52.5%		
Objectivity as its complete realization doubtful	20.4%	30.3%		
Objectivity as impossible or nonexistent	3.4%	17.2%		

# Two Elaborations

- One: This hierarchy can be *extrapolated* beyond scientific disciplines:
  - Scientific versus artistic creativity
  - Formal versus expressive artistic creativity (Apollonian versus Dionysian; Classical versus Romantic; linear versus painterly; etc.)

# Two Elaborations

- Illustrations using criteria used in constructing scientific hierarchy:
  - Obsolescence rate: psychology/sociology > history > English
  - Lecture disfluency: psychology/sociology < political science < art history < English (cf. philosophy)

# Two Elaborations

- Two: This hierarchy can be interpolated within scientific disciplines:
  - Paradigmatic disciplines in "normal" versus "crisis" stages (e.g., classical physics in middle 19<sup>th</sup> versus early 20<sup>th</sup> century)
  - Non-paradigmatic disciplines with contrasting theoretical/methodological orientations (e.g., the two psychologies)

#### Illustration:

- Coan (1979) / Simonton (2000)
- Objectivistic versus Subjectivistic
- Quantitative versus Qualitative
- Elementaristic versus Holistic
- Impersonal versus Personal
- Static versus Dynamic
- Exogenist versus Endogenist

#### Illustration:

Coan (1979) / Simonton (2000)

- Factor analysis reveals that the six bipolar dimensions can be consolidated into a single bipolar dimension
  - "Hard," "tough-minded," "natural-science" psychology versus
  - "Soft," "tender-minded," "human-science" psychology
- Moreover, evidence that two psychologies are distinct (see also Kimble, 1984):

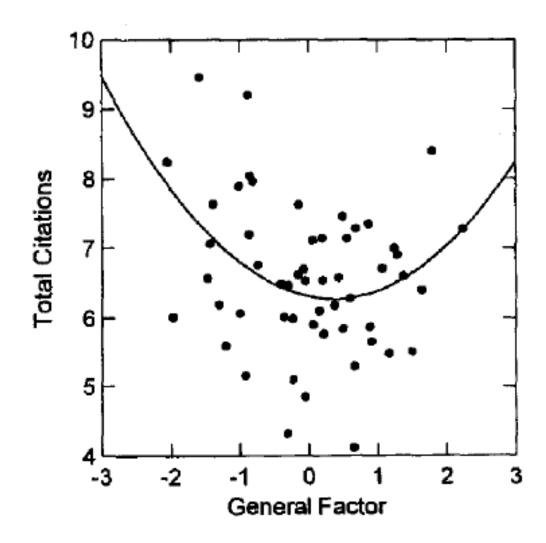


Figure 1. Scatterplot of the relation between the general factor and total citations for 54 eminent psychologists (see Appendix for raw scores). Also shown is the best-fitting quadratic function defining the curvilinear backward-J curve describing the association between the two variables.

# Second Argument

- Could creators working in different disciplines display dispositional traits and developmental experiences that correspond to the chosen domain's placement along the single dimension?
- That is, to what extent does the dimension have a psychological basis?

# What Determines Preferences Regarding

- Objectivity versus Subjectivity
- Consensus versus Dissent
- Exactness versus Vagueness
- Constraint versus Freedom
- Formality versus Informality
- Rationality versus Emotion
- Logic versus Intuition

#### Potential Answers:

Review the Relevant Literature on

- Dispositional Traits
- Developmental Experiences

# Caveats to Literature Review

- Evidence often scattered and piecemeal; all we possess right now are the "puzzle pieces"
- Empirical results are focused more on scientific than artistic creativity; the former often deemed more important than the latter even though the latter is often seen as more "creative" than the former

### Disposition – Science to Art

 Psychopathology/emotional instability (Ludwig, 1998; cf. Jamison, 1989; Ludwig, 1992, 1995; Post, 1994; Raskin, 1936):

Magnification	Professional Categories						
x 1	SCIENCES		<		ARTS		
x 2	NATURAL SCIEN	CE	s <		SOCIAL SCIENCES		
x 2	FORMAL ARTS	<	PERFORMING ARTS	<	EXPRESSIVE ARTS		
x 3	NONFICTION	<	FICTION	<	POETRY		
<b>14</b>	FORMAL STYLE	<	SYMBOLIC STYLE	<	EMOTIVE STYLE		

N.B.: Psychoticism and reduced latent inhibition

# Disposition – Science to Art

- Convergent versus Divergent Thinking (Hudson, 1966; English school children; also Smithers & Child, 1974):
  - Scientific "converger"
  - Artistic "diverger"

# Disposition – Science to Science

- 16 PF (Chambers, 1964; see also Cattell & Drevdahl, 1955)
  - Chemists < Psychologists on Factor M:</p>
  - The latter more bohemian, introverted, unconventional, imaginative, and creative in thought and behavior
  - Or, more toward the artistic end of the spectrum

### Disposition – Science to Science

# **TAT (Roe, 1953)**:

- Physical scientists (chemists + physicists)
- less emotional, more factual, less rebellious, less verbal
- than Social scientists (psychologists + anthropologists)

### Disposition – Within a Science

- Mechanistic versus Organismic behavioral scientists (Johnson, Germer, Efran, & Overton, 1988)
  - former are orderly, stable, conventional, conforming, objective, realistic, interpersonally passive, dependent, and reactive
  - the latter are fluid, changing, creative, nonconforming, participative, imaginative, active, purposive, autonomous, individualistic, and environmentally integrated

# Disposition – Within a Science

- Integrative complexity of APA presidential addresses (Suedfeld, 1985) :
- Natural-science oriented < human-science oriented

#### Development – Science to Art

- Family background of Nobel laureates (Berry, 1981; omitting peace and physiology or medicine):
  - Father academic professional: physics 28%, chemistry 17%, literature 6%
  - Father lost by age 16: physics 2%, chemistry 11%, literature 17%
  - 30% of latter "lost at least one parent through death or desertion or experienced the father's bankruptcy or impoverishment" whereas "the physicists, in particular, seem to have remarkably uneventful lives" (p. 387; cf. Raskin, 1936)

#### Development – Science to Art

For 300+ 20<sup>th</sup> century eminent (Simonton, 1986):

- fiction and nonfiction authors tend to come from unhappy home environments, whereas better home conditions produce scientists and philosophers
- scientists have the most formal education, artist and performers the least, with poets least likely to have any special school experiences

### Development – Science to Art

#### Birth order:

- Firstborns are more likely to become eminent scientists (Galton, 1874; Roe, 1953; Simonton, 2008; Terry, 1989),
- but laterborns more likely to become eminent writers (Bliss, 1970),
- yet classical composers are more prone to be firstborns (Schubert, Wagner, & Schubert, 1977)

### Development – Science to Art

- Scientifically versus Artistically Creative Adolescents (Schaefer & Anastasi, 1968): family backgrounds
  - CrS < CrA diversity (foreign, mobility, travels)</p>
  - CrS > CrA conventionality (parental hobbies, interests)

### Development – Science to Art

#### Formal education

- Eminent scientists > eminent writers (Raskin, 1936)
- Mentors
  - Eminent scientists < eminent artists (Simonton, 1984, 1992);</li>
  - with eminent psychologists between but closer to scientists in general

### Development – Science to Science

- Rebelliousness toward parents: chemists < psychologists (Chambers, 1964; see also Roe, 1953)</li>
- Early interests (Roe, 1953):
  - physical scientists: mechanical/electrical gadgets
  - social scientists: literature/classics (early desire to become creative writers)

### Development – Science to Science

#### Side note:

- Although 83% of married eminent scientists enjoyed stable marriages (Post, 1994),
- Roe (1953) found that 41% of the social scientists experienced divorce, in comparison to 15% of the biologists and 5% of the physical scientists

### Development – Within a Science

#### Birth order

- Although firstborns are more likely to become eminent scientists, Sulloway (1996) has offered evidence that revolutionary scientists are more likely to be laterborns, where
- the latter is a consequence of the positive correlation between openness and ordinal position

### Development – Within a Science

- N.B.: According to Sulloway (1996), the forgoing birth-order effect is moderated by other factors, such as
  - pronounced parent-offspring conflict
  - age spacing
  - early parental loss and surrogate parenting
  - gender and race
  - shyness
- Several of these factors also differentiate scientific from artistic creators

#### Development – Within a Science

Those psychologists whose mothers where extremely religious are more likely to subscribe to scientifically oriented beliefs, such as behaviorism, quantification, and elementarism (Coan, 1979)

- Some dispositional traits and developmental experiences are orthogonal to placement along the hierarchy and yet predict differential success within any chosen domain within that hierarchy
- To offer just a few examples ...

- CPI personality factors: Sci v NonSci correlates ≠ Cr v Lc Sci (Feist, 1998; also see Simonton, 2008b)
- Motivation, drive, determination, persistence, perseverance (Cox, 1926; Duckworth et al., 2007 Matthews et al., 1980)
- Domain-specific expertise acquisition (Ericsson et al., 2006)

- However, other traits/experiences that determine an individual's disciplinary preference may also determine his or her disciplinary impact
  - There are three main possibilities:

- First, the most successful creators may be those whose dispositional traits and developmental experiences put them closest to the disciplinary centroid
  - I.e., "domain-typical" creator
  - E.g., disciplinary stasis or stagnation
- The lower-impact creator will be peripheral relative to this centroid

- Second, the most successful creators may be those whose dispositional traits and developmental experiences put them closer to the centroid for disciplines more advanced in the hierarchy
  - □ I.e., "domain-progressive" creators
  - Cf., behavior geneticists, cognitive neuroscientists, evolutionary biologists

- Third, the most successful creators are those whose dispositional traits and developmental experiences put them closer to the centroid for a discipline lower down in the hierarchy
  - □ I.e., "domain-regressive" creators
  - E.g., scientific creativity as contingent on "regression" toward artistic creativity

- Empirical data indicate that the third option may apply to the most dispositional and developmental predictors
- That is, the major figures in a given domain are more similar to creators lower down in the disciplinary hierarchy

# Dispositional Predictors

- Self-description: Highly productive scientists more original, less conventional, more impulsive, less inhibited, less formal, more subjective (Van Zelst & Kerr, 1954)
- Ludwig (1995): psychological "unease"
- EPQ Psychoticism scores :
  - scientific productivity and impact (Rushton, 1990)
  - artistic creativity and eminence (Götz & Götz, 1979a, 1979b)

# Disposition – Within a Science

- Normal versus Revolutionary Science (i.e., paradigm preserving versus paradigm rejecting contributions (Ko & Kim, 2008)
- Psychopathology:
  - None,
  - Personality Disorders,
  - Mood Disorders, and
  - Schizophrenic Disorders

#### Eminence

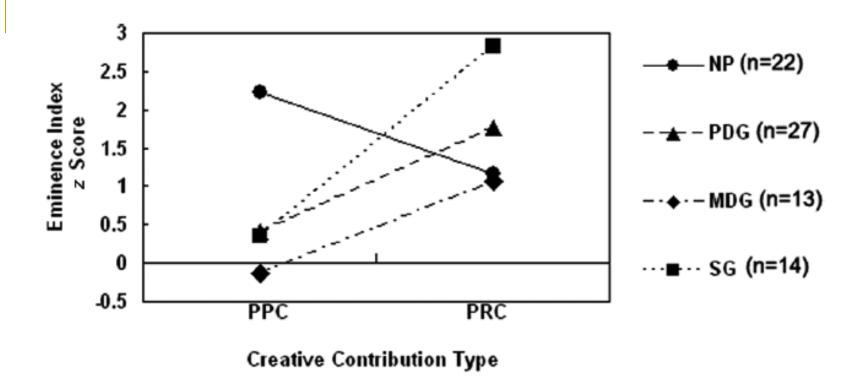


FIGURE 1 Interaction effects between creative contribution type and group. NPG = No Psychopathology Group, PDG = Personality Disorders Group, MDG = Mood Disorders Group, SG = Schizophre-Schizophrenia Group, PPC = paradigm preserving contributions, PRC = paradigm rejecting contributions.

# Dispositional Predictors

- Avocational interests and hobbies:
  - Scientific creativity positively associated with involvement in the arts (Root-Bernstein et al., in press):
    - Nobel laureates > RS & NAS > Sigma Xi & US public
- Compare with introspective reports:
  - Max Planck: creative scientists "must have a vivid intuitive imagination, for new ideas are not generated by deduction, but by an artistically creative imagination."
  - Albert Einstein: "to these elementary laws there leads no logical path, but only intuition, supported by being sympathetically in touch with experience."

# Developmental Predictors

- Domain-typical creator unlikely given Simonton's (1986) N = 314 study of biographical typicality and eminence
- What about the other two options?
  - Some indirect support for domain-regressive creator if we can assume that revolutionary scientists more creative than normal scientists
  - But also some inconsistent results (e.g., birth order)

# Conclusion

#### Three arguments

- Creativity is heterogeneous, domains of creativity falling along at least one dimension
- That dimension has a psychological basis in terms of dispositional traits and developmental experiences
- Creative accomplishment within a domain partly depends on the same dispositional and developmental variables (viz. domain-regressive creators)