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Studying personality and social structure

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Abstract

People's personalities are expressed and develop amidst a range of social structures, such as laws, social networks, cultural practices, and institutions, which produce and maintain hierarchies in society. In turn, the purpose and form of social structures are impacted by people's personalities. Yet, research on how personality and social structure interact is still rare. Here, I introduce theoretical framework that can help guide research on this topic. I first define personality and social structure and then use concepts from theoretical work on person–environment transactions to describe how personality and social structure interact. I highlight selection, manipulation, evocation, and socialization as transactions between personality and social structure through which hierarchies are enhanced or attenuated. Supported by this conceptual work, I describe two examples of dynamics in which personality and social structure reinforce each other in the U.S.: Conscientiousness and voting, and Openness and protest. Finally, to motivate future research, I propose novel questions that psychologists can ask about how personality and social structure interact, and I address possible limitations of the framework.

KEYWORDS

lifespan development, person-environment transactions, social psychology

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1 | INTRODUCTION

People inherit a world full of laws, norms, institutions, and cultural practices that predate them. A large part of life is developing a way of navigating and locating oneself within these social structures, and in consequence, enhancing or attenuating the hierarchies that they produce. How do people do this? As central as social structures are to social life and the expression of personality, they have received limited attention from personality psychologists.

Recently, intellectual tides have changed. Some personality psychologists have begun to illuminate how personality shapes the navigation of social structures, including racially diverse social networks, the acquisition of power and status, and support for political parties and policies. Others have examined how social structures shape personality, including psychological well-being, narrative identity, and personality traits.

Why study the interplay of personality and social structure? There are three reasons. First, as recognition of structural problems increases within the field of psychology and the broader public, understanding how structures arise and are maintained from a psychological perspective will be important. Second, personality psychology already excels at studying people in their everyday environments; the field is well-poised to help address questions related to social structures, which are best studied naturalistically. Third, studying social structures will help integrate disparate literatures and generate novel explanations for links between personality and life outcomes.

In this paper I present a framework for studying the interplay of personality and social structure. It draws from the strengths of existing developmental, political, and sociocultural theories of personality and social structure and appropriates the mechanisms described in theories of person–environment transactions to elucidate how personality and social structure mutually produce each other. After describing the framework, I show how to use it in two examples. I close by addressing some potential critiques of the framework and point toward future research questions that psychologists might pursue with this framework.

2 | WHY DO WE NEED A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR STUDYING PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE?

A range of theories in psychology have offered insight into how personality and social structure interact. These theories can be roughly grouped into developmental theories and political and sociocultural theories. Developmental theories primarily focus on how social structure produces personality. Political and sociocultural theories primarily focus on how personality produces social structure. To gain fuller insight into the mutual influence and constitution of personality and social structure, a new framework is needed that combines the strengths of developmental, political and sociocultural theories.

Developmental theories—such as Ecological Systems Theory (Bronfenbenner, 1986), Carol Ryff's work (Ryff, 1987), M(ai)cro Theory (Rogers et al., 2021), Chrono/Macro-Centered Ecological Systems Theory (Fish & Syed, 2018), and the Master Narratives Framework (McLean & Syed, 2015; Syed & McLean, 2021)—typically acknowledge that people try to shape and cope with social structures but focus on socialization processes: How did social structures guide the person to become who they currently are? This is an important question to ask, for it answers how social structures shape people's thoughts, feelings, and behaviors. These developmental theories' emphasis on socialization, however, comes with the risk of depicting people as primarily receivers of external influence, with unclear mechanisms for linking personality and agency back to social structure.

Political and sociocultural theories—such as Social Dominance Theory (Pratto et al., 1994; Sidanius, 1993); the Dual-Process Motivational Model of Ideology, Prejudice, and Politics (Duckitt & Sibley, 2009); the Dynamic Structural Model of Racism (Jones, 1972, 1997); and the TRIOS model (Jones, 2003, 2023)—recognize socialization processes but emphasize the thoughts, feelings, and behaviors that people adopt to shape or cope with social structures in a way that serves their personal needs. These are important questions to ask, for they address how individuals try to change or locate themselves within the social structures that they inhabit. Focusing on individual action, however,

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risks depicting individuals as static or as "coming from nowhere" and does not show how the structures produced or reproduced by individuals in turn affect those same individuals.

Ideally, a framework for studying personality and social structure would combine the insights of these developmental, political, and sociocultural theories. The study of mutual influence and constitution requires theory about how structure affects personality and how personality affects structure. Moreover, such a framework would ideally provide more specific language for the mechanisms through which personality and social structure interact (see Pratto et al., 1994, p. 758, for a similar desire). Below, I describe a framework for studying personality and social structure that appropriates the mechanisms described in theories of person–environment transactions (Buss, 1987; Caspi & Bem, 1990; Scarr & McCartney, 1983) to describe how people continually develop in response to social structures while also sorting and being sorted into different positions in social structures and trying to change the nature of social structures.

3 | ELEMENTS OF THE PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE FRAMEWORK

A few elements need to be specified in a theory of personality and social structure. These are agents, social structure, personality, the relation of action to hierarchy, and personality–structure transactions. Below, I describe how each of these elements is understood and used in the Personality and Social Structure Framework.

3.1 | Agents, personality, and social structure

Agents, or people, are defined by their ability to make decisions and to alter their environments (Giddens, 1984). Agents make decisions but cannot completely control their environments. People, when they are born, do not decide what laws or norms will apply to them, or what institutions they will inhabit. Luck and other people (e.g., parents) do. Within their inherited structures, agents can make decisions about where to locate themselves (e.g., friendships and social networks, how much education to pursue) and, with the right social structure, can attempt to change their inherited structures (e.g., voting). This ability of agents to causally impact the world and to make a difference in the order of events in their environments is power (Giddens, 1984). Moreover, agents' decisions about where to locate themselves in various social structures create daily routines that reinforce their structural learning. The decisions and routines that agents pursue are informed by their rich, unique psychological tapestries, or *personalities*.

Following Allport (1937), I define *personality* as "the dynamic organization within the individual of those psychophysical systems that determine [the individual's] unique adjustments to [the individual's] environment" (p. 48). I include in personality a range of categories of constructs that includes the usual categories of traits, narratives, selves, goals, and values, as well as categories of constructs sometimes excluded from personality, such as attitudes, well-being, emotional tendencies, and cognitive abilities. I exclude from personality both physical qualities, like athleticism, height, and physical appearance, and other people's perceptions of the individual, such as reputation. At a high level, personality is studied by asking what psychological properties differentiate people from each other, differentiate people from themselves over time, or are unique to people, as well as how those properties motivate particular actions.

Following Giddens (1984), I define a *social structure* as "rules and resources" or "the properties [of social systems] which make it possible for discernibly similar social practices to exist across varying spans of time and space and which lend [social systems] 'systemic' form" (p. 17). These structures arise from human action and are maintained by human action while at the same time regulating the thoughts, feelings, and behaviors of people. Rules, for instance, provide both sanctions on possible thoughts, feelings, and behaviors (e.g., being loud at parties is permissible) and meaning and interpretive schemes (e.g., loud people at parties are having fun). When people mobilize resources (e.g., ability to project voice, speaker systems, alcohol) to express themselves and act upon the world in a particular setting

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(i.e., be loud at a party), people reproduce the rules guiding their behavior (i.e., being loud at parties is permissible). Examples of social structures include norms, laws, institutions, social networks, cultural narratives, and modes of economic organization. That there are rules and normative sanctions guiding social life—that certain gestures and objects, for example, have particular meanings and not others and are, thus, encouraged or discouraged—is domination (Giddens, 1984). Social structures are generally distinct from material environments like weather, topography, and seating arrangements in a classroom; but these material environments can become structural resources when used in social relations (e.g., to create segregation between groups of people). Social structures also tend to exist across longer spans of time and, thus, are distinct from more fleeting, microscale environments like talking to strangers or the framing used to present information. Social structures are studied by asking how they are designed or operate (e.g., educational incentives, social network structure).

Social structures are both constraining and enabling forces in individuals' lives. For instance, learning the default language(s) of one's community constrains one's ability to learn languages of other communities but enables one to have rich communications within one's own community. Social structures are created by people in the past and inherited by people in the present. They lack the capacity for decision-making that is the signature of agents. A law does not decide that someone has broken it and deserves punishment; people working in legal enforcement, guided by norms, public opinion, precedent, and their own personality, make those decisions. In addition, structures provide daily routines for people's lives. The capitalist dictum to sell one's labor for money helps create a routine where people travel from their homes to work and then back to their homes (Eagle & Pentland, 2009).

At risk of oversimplification, social structure can be concretized as the social contract, or the rules of engagement that people "agree" to when they come to live together (e.g., Hobbes, 1651; Locke, 2003; Rousseau, 1987). Important critiques of social contract theory notwithstanding (e.g., Mills, 1997; Pateman, 1988), the metaphor of social structure as the social contract is useful for two reasons. First, the metaphor highlights that there is interdependence and purpose to the various social structures. Social structures may come into conflict and work in confusing ways, but they work in dependence with one another and always for some purpose. To understand how personality and social structure interact, an important first step is to understand how the particular social structure under investigation functions. Second, the metaphor makes it clear that the relationship between personality and social structure is one of negotiation. What strategies are available to individuals for negotiating their place in the social contract? How might individuals' place be negotiated for them?

Importantly, these definitions make personality and social structure recursive upon each other. Social structure, as an environment, can shape how personality is expressed and develops. Personality, as a core organization of human psychological attributes, can shape the purposes people choose for the social structures they create (for similar ideas, see Giddens, 1984; Howard, 1994).

3.2 | The relation of action to hierarchy

Two approaches to describing how people's actions relate to hierarchy are available in the developmental, political, and sociocultural theories I referenced earlier. The present framework uses the terms *hierarchy-enhancing* and *hierarchy-attenuating* (Sidanius, 1993), in contrast to the terms *resistance* and *conformity* used by other frameworks (e.g., M(ai)cro, Master Narratives Framework), to highlight that societies tend to distribute resources unequally (i.e., be hierarchically organized), that social structures often uphold these hierarchies, and that people's actions thus have the consequences of aiding or maintaining (enhancing) or diminishing (attenuating) these hierarchies. These terms help maintain consistent meanings of thoughts, feelings, and behaviors when social structures become more hierarchy-attenuating. For instance, holding egalitarian political views in the U.S. when public opinion in the U.S. has become more liberal and egalitarian (Hout, 2022) remains hierarchy-attenuating, and holding inegalitarian views in the U.S. remains hierarchy-enhancing and does not become resisting egalitarian social norms.

Three approaches to studying the relationship between action and hierarchy can be identified in the developmental, political, and sociocultural theories I referenced earlier. The first approach is to make little to no mention of

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the relationship. Ecological Systems Theory embodies this approach. The second is to examine how processes operate differently across groups, or uniquely for particular groups. The narrative and identity-focused frameworks (e.g., M(ai)cro, Master Narratives Framework) embody this approach. The third is to examine how individuals orient themselves toward structural phenomena that impact social groups differently. The political frameworks (e.g., Social Dominance Theory, Dual-Process Motivational Model) embody this approach. Both the second and third approaches can be used in the Personality and Social Structure Framework. The second approach is necessary insofar as structures and hierarchies exist in particular places at particular times and these particularities must be attended to when studying structures and hierarchies (for a related argument, see Davis-Stober & Regenwetter, 2019). The third approach is necessary to use for identifying how individuals' actions and experiences ultimately relate to hierarchy.

3.3 | Personality–structure transactions

Personality–structure transactions are processes through which personality and social structure influence each other. Because social structures involve issues of hierarchy, all personality–structure transactions involve enhancing or attenuating hierarchy. Below, I describe four personality–structure transactions appropriated from existing theories of person–environment transactions (Buss, 1987; Caspi & Bem, 1990; Ryff, 1987; Scarr & McCartney, 1983): selection, manipulation, evocation, and socialization. Notably, each of these personality–structure transactions is rather coarse, encompassing a range of mechanisms and phenomena. This coarseness is deliberate and intended to capture at a high level the processes through which people navigate social structures.

Selection describes a process wherein a component of personality guides a person's entry into a particular social structure via actions performed by the person, such as educational attainment via studying and personal network structure via initiating social interactions. Selection processes, such as consumption behavior, relationship formation, and goal-directed behavior, highlight that people attempt to situate themselves within social structures in a way that best satisfies their needs and preferences.

Manipulation describes a process wherein a component of personality guides how a person seeks to change a social structure, such as advocating for leniency in policies on homework tardiness and advocating for programs to promote social interaction between members of different groups. Manipulation processes, such as voting, protest, policy-crafting, and institutional development, highlight that people attempt to alter social structures in a way that best satisfies their needs and preferences.

Evocation describes a process wherein someone other than the focal person perceives an aspect of the focal person's personality and based on that perception guides the focal person's entry into a particular social structure—for instance, educational attainment via teacher expectations and personal network structure via being sought out by other people. Evocation processes, such as stereotyping, impression formation, reputational processes, and assumed similarity, highlight that other people can affect how we navigate social structure.

Socialization describes a process wherein a component of personality changes because of a change in a person's place in a social structure, such as becoming more conscientious from having a job instead of going to college and becoming less prejudiced toward an outgroup from befriending someone from the outgroup. Socialization processes, such as role transitions, social learning, historical events, and indoctrination, highlight that other people and larger social structures can change people's thoughts, feelings, and behaviors.

Selection and manipulation include more self-initiated actions. They refer to ways in which people attempt to navigate and negotiate social structures for themselves. Evocation and socialization include more other-initiated actions. They refer to ways in which other people attempt to navigate and negotiate social structures on behalf of other people.

Many study designs can be used to learn about personality–structure transactions. At minimum, cross-sectional surveys, interviews, quasi-panel surveys, archival studies, longitudinal studies, experience sampling studies, agent-based modeling, natural experiments, and field experiments can all be valid ways to learn about how personality

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TABLE 1 The personality and social structure framework.

Element	Definition	Example questions
Personality	The psychological makeup of the agent who acts in a structure	How do people differ from each other psychologically?
Social structure	The rules and resources in which an agent expresses their personality	What are structures like? How are they designed? How do they operate?
Transactions		
Selection	Seeking out a structure deemed personally compatible or stimulating	How does personality shape engagement with or avoidance of structures?
Manipulation	Purposefully altering, changing, or influencing structures	How does personality shape people's attempts to alter structures?
Evocation	Eliciting particular responses from structures to one's personality	How do structures select who gets to engage with them?
Socialization	Changing personality in response to structures	How does engagement with or exclusion from a structure affect personality development?
Relation of action to hierarchy		
Hierarchy-enhancing	Transactions that have the effect of aiding or maintaining a hierarchy	Does a personality–structure transaction aid or maintain an unequal distribution of resources?
Hierarchy-attenuating	Transactions that have the effect of diminishing a hierarchy	Does a personality–structure transaction diminish an unequal distribution of resources?

and social structure interact. In addition, these transactions can be flexibly combined and ordered to explain phenomena under investigation. Table 1 below collates the elements of the Personality and Social Structure Framework.

4 | EXAMPLES OF STUDYING PERSONALITY IN SOCIAL STRUCTURES

Below, I describe two examples of how personality and social structure interact to mutually constitute each other. The first example is on how the design of the U.S.'s economic system and conscientious Americans' advantageous experience of the U.S.'s economic system might give conscientious Americans self-interested reasons to vote conservatively and preserve the structures that advantage them. The second example is on how the role of protest in the U.S. and open-minded Americans' more diverse social networks might give them more social incentives to participate in protests and, thereby, challenge existing social structures while also reaffirming the role of protest in the U.S. The orderings of personality–structure transactions in these examples are specific to these examples, and other orderings are possible and potentially more appropriate for different pairs of personality components and social structures.

4.1 | Conscientiousness and voting

Conscientious Americans are more likely to vote for conservative policies (*manipulation*), which tend to enhance hierarchy (e.g., Grumbach, 2023; Koch, 2013), such as balancing the federal budget through cutting spending (Gerber, Huber, Doherty & Dowling, 2011), opposing affirmative action policies in work and school, opposing increases to welfare, opposing the Affordable Care Act, and approving of the use of the death penalty (Chen & Palmer, 2018). Why? Traditional perspectives emphasize intrapsychic dynamics like Right Wing Authoritarianism, perceptions of a dangerous world, and love of order (Duckitt & Sibley, 2009). But how Conscientious Americans experience the U.S. economic structure might also play a role.

Structurally, U.S. economic law and practice are designed to support stable ownership of property and stable economic position (e.g., Piketty, 2014) and to reward long-term investment in skills and capital (e.g., Krueger & Lindahl, 2001). Conscientious people excel at this kind of long-term investment (e.g., Barrick & Mount, 1991; Galla

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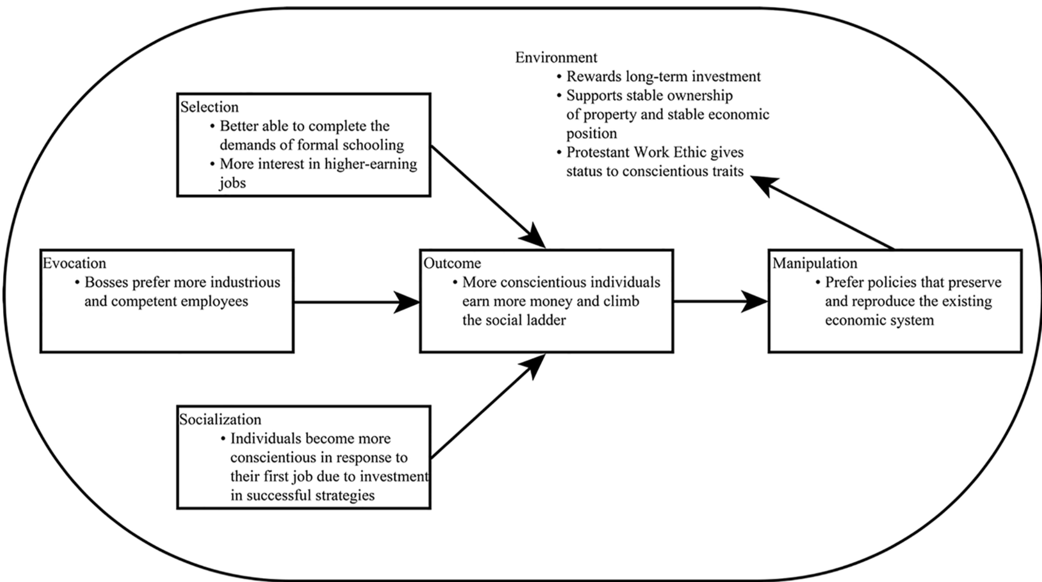

FIGURE 1 How Conscientiousness and the U.S. economic system produce each other.

et al., 2019; Letkiewicz & Fox, 2014; Poropat, 2009; Spielmann et al., 2022). As well, U.S. cultural values venerate the traits subsumed in Conscientiousness—working hard, foregoing immediate wants for long-term goals, fulfilling one's duties—via the Protestant Work Ethic, which provides moral justification for the accumulation of wealth (Furnham, 1984).

Given this concordance between the skills of conscientious people and the economic and cultural structures of the U.S., it may be unsurprising to learn that employers perceive conscientious employees as more desirable (*evocation*; Sy, 2010) or that conscientious people seek out jobs in accounting, banking, and financial management that provide higher wages and make use of the skills conscientious people possess (*selection*; Larson et al., 2002; Mount et al., 2005; Prediger & Vansickle, 1992; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2022) or that the social system itself presses people to become more conscientious as they begin full-time employment and learn the strategies that help them succeed at work (*socialization*; Bühler et al., 2023; Golle et al., 2019; Lüdtke et al., 2011). Together, these factors make conscientious Americans culturally celebrated and materially rewarded and push people to adopt the conscientious traits that the system approves of. Perhaps conscientious Americans vote conservatively because doing so preserves a system in which they excel.

Figure 1 below portrays how these personality–structure transactions work together to produce psychological patterns of Conscientiousness that maintain an overall social and economic system.

4.2 | Openness and protest

Open-minded people are more likely to attend protests (*manipulation*), whether in former East Germany (Brandstätter & Opp, 2014), in South Korea (Cha, 2016; Ha et al., 2013), or in Spain (Gallego & Oberski, 2012). Assuming that this result holds in the U.S.—and theory suggests it should, as does some empirical work (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, Raso & Ha, 2011)—why? Traditional perspectives emphasize intrapsychic dynamics, in particular curiosity leading to heightened political knowledge, interest, and efficacy (Gallego & Oberski, 2012; Mondak & Halperin, 2008). But protests are fundamentally social events (Taylor & Van Dyke, 2004), so how might the social lives of open-minded Americans shape their protest behavior?

Structurally, protests are understood in the U.S. as an unconventional mode of collective political participation that is primarily appropriate for groups that lack access to conventional modes of political participation (Taylor & Van Dyke, 2004). As well, the U.S. is a representative democracy, with only occasional opportunities for direct

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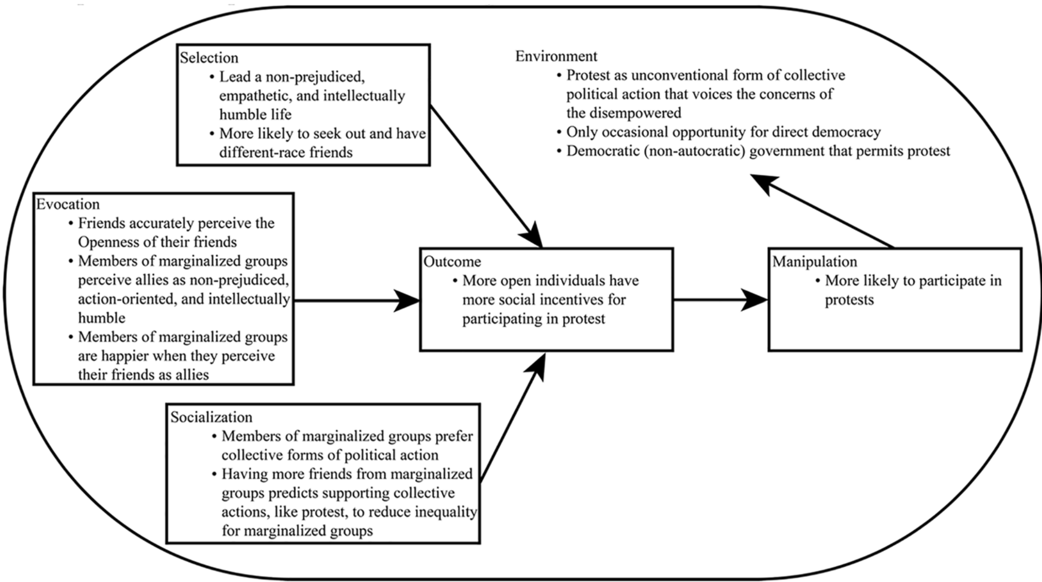

FIGURE 2 How Openness to experience and the role of protest in the U.S. produce each other.

participation in democracy (i.e., voting), making protest a more appealing mode for expressing political frustration and will (Ackermann, 2017), especially since participation in protest is less likely to result in murder or imprisonment by the state compared to in more autocratic countries (Chang et al., 2021). Thus, protest constitutes something like a "voice of the unheard" in the U.S. How do open-minded Americans relate to the unheard of the U.S.?

Open-minded Americans are more likely to lead lives that are non-prejudiced (*selection*; Sibley & Duckitt, 2008), empathetic (Bainbridge et al., 2022), and intellectually humble (Davis et al., 2016). They are also more likely to seek friends and acquaintances who differ in racial and ethnic background from themselves (*selection*; Antonoplis & John, 2022; Laakasuo et al., 2017). The friends of open-minded individuals tend to accurately perceive them as open-minded (*evocation*; Connelly & Ones, 2010), and the friends who are racially minoritized may be more likely to perceive open-minded individuals as allies in the fight against racism because of their non-prejudice, empathy, and intellectual humility (*evocation*; Bettencourt, 2020; Chen et al., 2023; Ostrove & Brown, 2018; Warren & Bordoloi, 2021). These racially minoritized friends are also more likely to prefer collective forms of power and political action (Belmi & Laurin, 2016; Kraus & Torrez, 2020) and may be happier when they perceive their friends as allies (Chen et al., 2023). Moreover, individuals with more racial and ethnic minority friends are more likely to support engaging in high-cost collective actions, such as protest, to reduce inequality for marginalized groups (*socialization*; Hässler et al., 2020). Thus, these social network dynamics might provide open-minded Americans with more social incentives to participate in protest (Opp & Brandstätter, 2010). Perhaps open-minded Americans attend protests because doing so supports the relationships and social networks in which they are embedded.

Figure 2 below portrays how these personality–structure transactions work together to produce psychological patterns of Openness that maintain a general understanding of protest and that aim to attenuate hierarchy.

5 | LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Although this framework offers psychologists a powerful tool for studying the mutual constitution of personality and social structure, it has some limitations. One limitation is that it offers no advice for assembling coalitions for change. Relatedly, it does not offer a program for understanding local power structures and where individuals or coalitions can influence local power structures (e.g., power mapping). These two limitations are both to say that the framework

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seems unlikely to be immediately useful in applied settings. Like much of social scientific theory, its more immediate utility is to aid the assemblage of evidence into research narratives (Giddens, 1984), in this case as narratives that depict the mutual constitution of personality and social structure. Ideally, these research narratives would help readers reflect on their own lives and the state of the world they live in and to question their own and others' roles in maintaining hierarchy. Perhaps the framework can be used to identify points for disrupting hierarchy, but I suspect that its more immediate use will be for prompting self- and public reflection.

Another possible limitation of the framework is that it will have limited utility for constructs outside of traits. I suspect, however, that the processes I described are generic enough to apply to a range of psychological constructs. Certainly, personality constructs beyond traits (e.g., narratives, well-being, attitudes) are easy to use within the framework. For instance, psychologists might investigate how personal narratives and life stories relate to political behavior (*manipulation*) by studying how themes in personal narratives of meritocracy and pulling oneself up by one's bootstraps are shaped by media (*socialization*), perceived and treated by close others (*evocation*), and predict the occupational and economic choices of individuals (*selection*) in a way that provides self-interest for individuals to vote or act in favor of a particular political agenda. As well, there is no reason why manipulation processes must be political behaviors or why manipulation must be the final process connecting personality back to social structure. In addition, by highlighting that social structure is itself worth studying, the framework adds to the growing call in personality psychology to make the environment an object of study (Rauthmann et al., 2014; Springstein et al., 2022). As well, the framework might be used to study how shared notions of personality traits (e.g., conscientious people are responsible and organized) arise from public observation of personality–structure transactions. Finally, future theoretical work ought to consider the role of unintended consequences in the mutual constitution of personality and social structure. I have portrayed the structural consequences of personality as intentional, but they need not be (e.g., Schelling, 1971). Indeed, it is worthwhile to question how intentional the dynamics I described are: Do conscientious Americans choose occupations with the ramifications of these choices for voting in mind? Do open-minded Americans choose friends so that they can go to protests? Understanding both intended and unintended consequences of personality and social structure for each other will be an important area for future research.

A third and final potential critique of the framework is that it places too much responsibility on individuals to reduce inequality, rather than on structures. To this charge, I must confess guilt. The primary goal of this theory is to encourage psychologists to view personality and social structure as mutually constitutive and constantly shaping each other. People learn social structures and subsequently reenact or challenge them, in the process reinforcing or changing the larger social structure. Changing a social structure, thus, requires changing individuals (See Hamedani et al., 2023; Madva et al., 2023; Skinner-Dorkenoo et al., 2023, for similar perspectives.). Structural reforms, like policies, programs, or laws, require individual buy-in. People in relevant roles must agree with the goals of the reform, agree with the strategy of the reform, think the reform can be implemented, seek buy-in from other stakeholders, and then act to implement the reform. Psychologists should aim to change inequitable structures rather than the people harmed by inequitable structures, but this goal does not get psychologists out of the problem of needing to change people.

6 | CONCLUSION

The field of personality psychology has made massive strides in the last several decades, contributing some of the most important findings in the recent history of psychology. As attention turns to social structures both within the field and in society at large, personality psychologists must turn their gaze, too. People do not operate or develop independently of social structures. Social structures do not exist without people to give them a purpose and maintain them. Personality psychology is well-poised to contribute to psychology's understanding of social structures, and doing this work will improve understanding of how personality systems are organized and develop over time.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Stephen Antonoplis conceived the project and drafted the manuscript.

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CONFLICT OF INTEREST STATEMENT

The author declares no competing interests for this work.

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