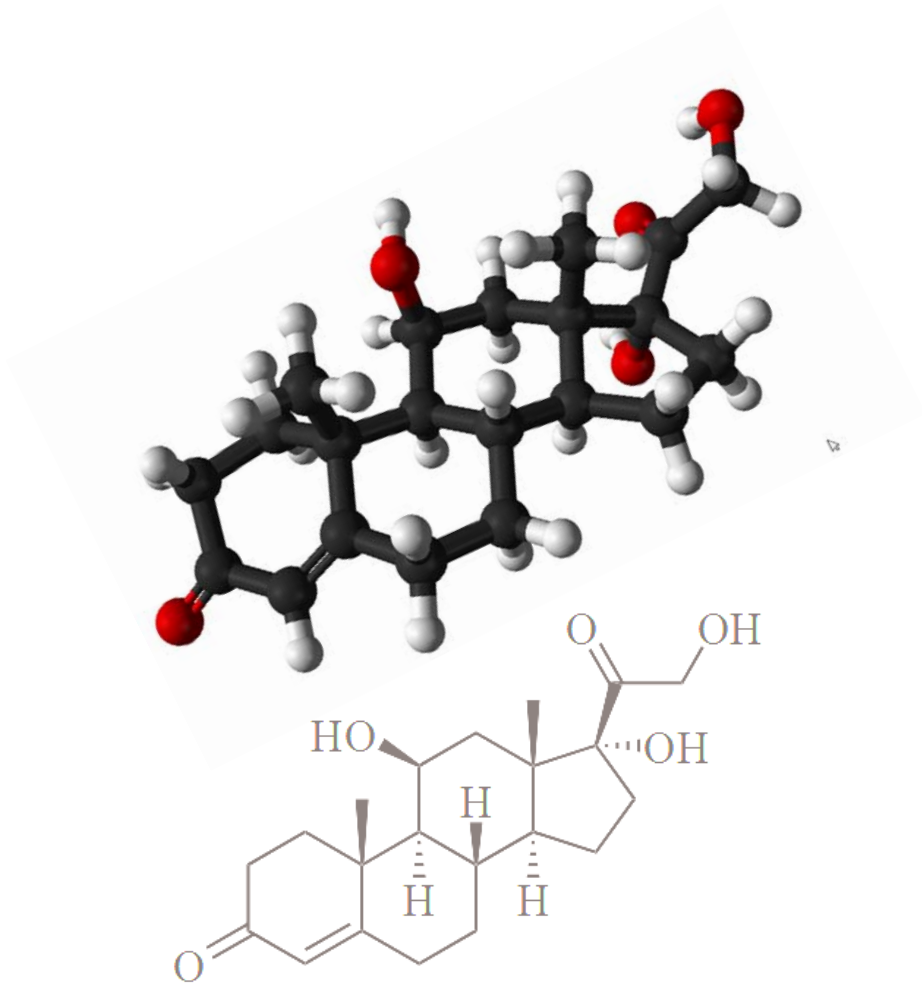


# Stress & Creativity

## A Hormetic Relationship to Optimize the Social Adaptation of the Phenotype?

Prof. Dr. Wulf Schiefenhövel,  
- *Max Planck Human Ethology Institute*  
Prof. Dr. Karsten Müller,  
- *University of Mannheim*



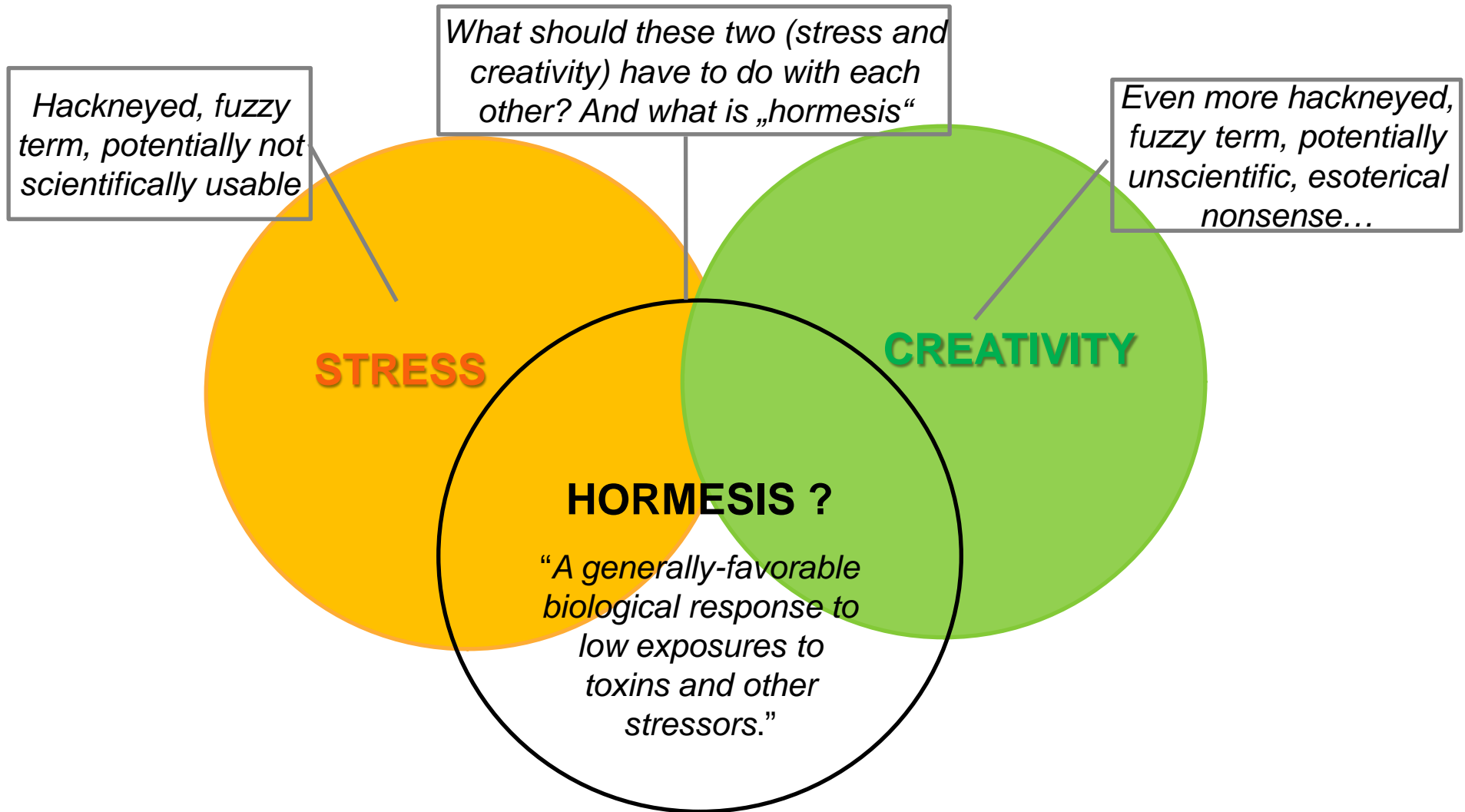
## Agenda

### Stress and Creativity?

Experimental Setting

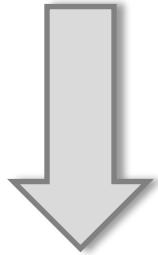
First Results

# STRESS & CREATIVITY – HOW DO THEY COME TOGETHER?



# CREATIVITY

„There are, certainly, many definitions of creativity. ... most definitions, while using the creative product as the distinguishing sign of creativity, propose that the general qualities of **novelty** and **appropriateness** differentiate creative from uncreative products. ... In other words, the product or response must be unusual ... and it must also be **correct in the context of the problem or audience to which it was addressed**.



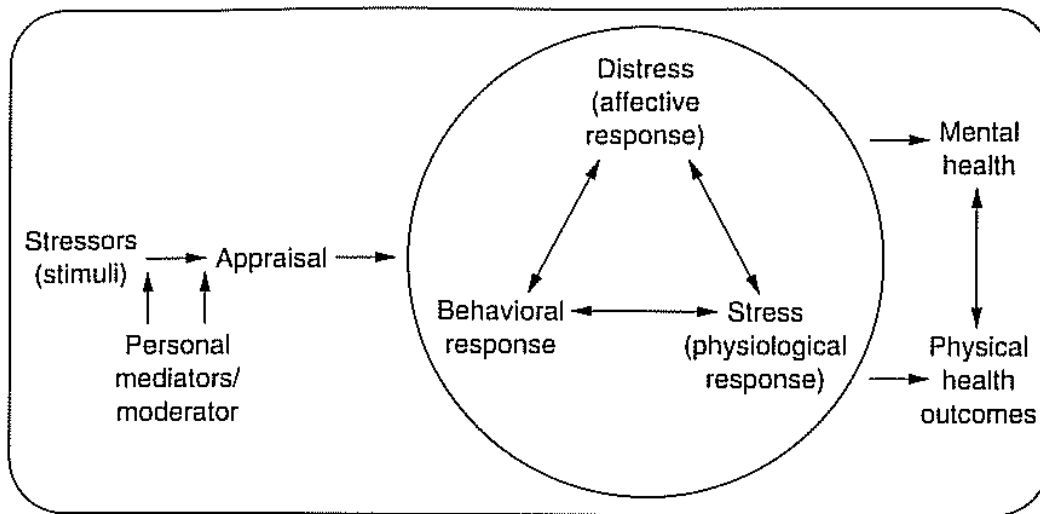
...

***A product or response is creative to the extent that appropriate observers independently agree it is creative. Appropriate observers are those familiar with the domain in which the product was created or the response articulated.***

## Creativity is hard to grasp.

- Common ground among creativity researchers is very small: **novelty & appropriateness** as only „common denominators“.
- There is no universal definition of „appropriateness“, meaning, there is no context-free creativity-definition: Creativity is a „**genuinely social phenomenon**“.
- Not only the assessment of creativity but also its **emergence is determined by social factors**: extrinsic constraints (like rewards or external evaluation) can lead to decrements in creativity.

# STRESS



## What is Stress?

**Stress** is a biological term which refers to the response of a human or animal to emotional or physical demands, whether actual or imagined.

It includes a state of alarm and adrenaline production, short-term resistance as a coping mechanism, and exhaustion.

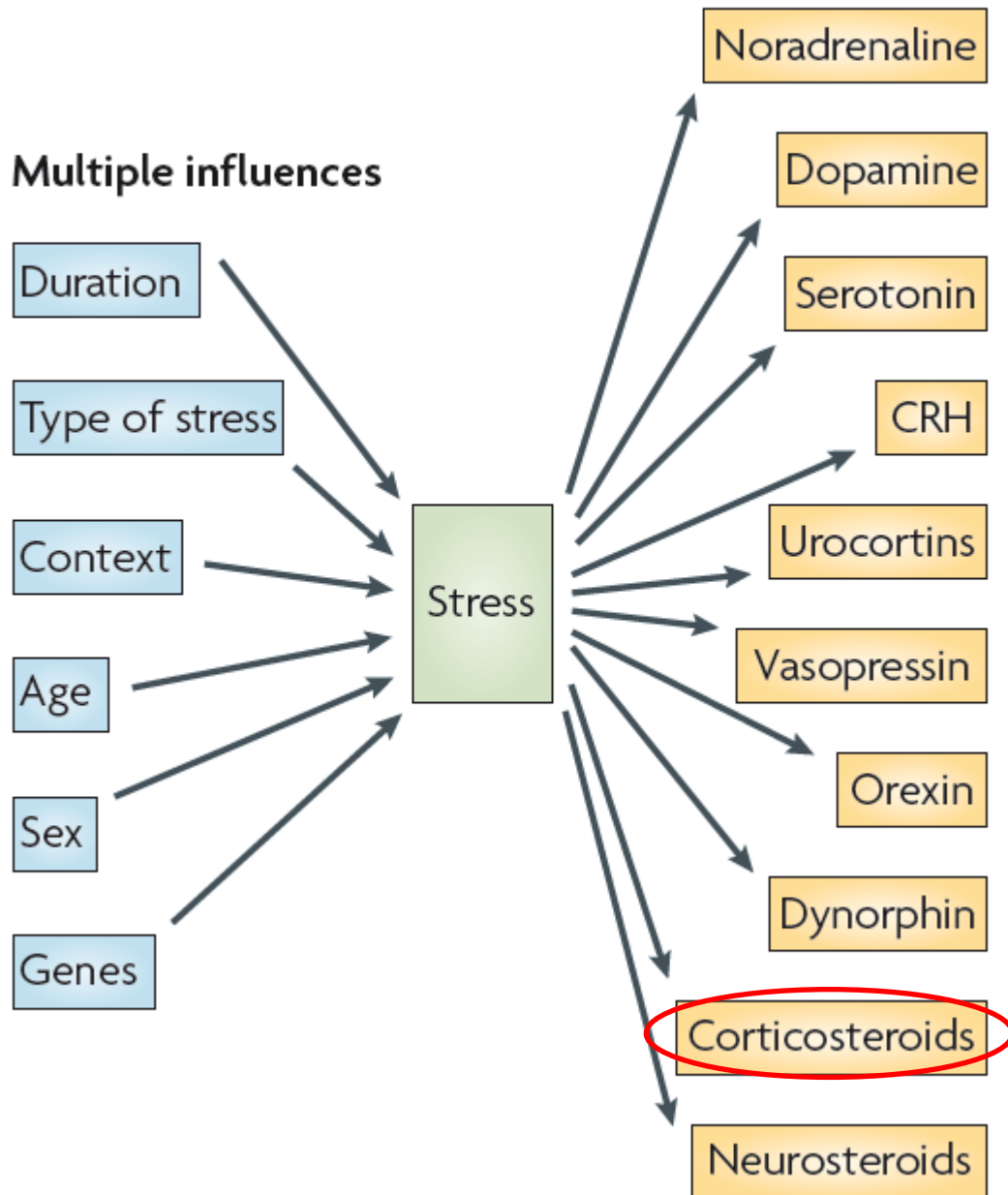
Common stress symptoms include irritability, muscular tension, inability to concentrate and a variety of physical reactions, such as headaches and elevated heart rate.

When the body is under stress, the adrenal gland increases secretion of a **hormone called cortisol**. Short-term, this hormone can help aid in survival, for example by mobilizing energy reserves. Long-term elevation of cortisol, however, can have detrimental effects.

# STRESS

Multiple mediators

Multiple influences



## Complex chains of effects

Stress is no easy cause-and-effect-relationship!

- Multiple influences determine style and intensity of the stress reaction.
- Multiple mediators are channeling the stress response with regard to bodily reactions.
- ... and the psychological aspects and processes of stress are not yet factored in!

# STRESS & CREATIVITY: WHERE IS THE CONNECTION?

CREATIVITY

**SOCIAL  
INFLUENCE**

Is it the same  
underlying  
mechanism?

STRESS

- There is no context-free creativity-definition: creativity is a „**genuinely social phenomenon**“.
- **Social constraints** (like rewards, competition or external evaluation) can lead to decrements in creativity (Amabile, 1979, 1986).
- As human **intelligence is social**, and creativity is part of it, creativity must also have a social quality (van Schaik, 2007; Jäger et.al. 1997).

**Sources:** van Schaik, C.P., 2007. Culture in primates and other animals. In: Dunbar, R.I.M & Barret, L. (Eds.). The Oxford Handbook of Evolutionary Psychology. 103-113.

Jäger, A.O., Süß, H.-M., & Beauducel, A. 1997. Berliner Intelligenzstruktur-Test. Handanweisung. Göttingen: Hogrefe.

Amabile, T.M. 1979. Effects of External Evaluation on Artistic Creativity. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol. 37, No. 2, 221-233.

Amabile, T.M., Hennessey, B.A., & Grossman, B.S. 1986. Social Influences on Creativity: The Effects of Contracted-for Reward. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol. 50(1), 14–23.

- Human neuroendocrine stress system is highly sensitive to **social challenges** (Flinn, 2007; Kirschbaum et.al. 1993)
- Stressing life events are almost all **social** (Holmes & Masuda, 1967)
- Early life exposure to stress via constrained **maternal care** may result in a vulnerable, chronically stressed phenotype (Bardi et.al. 2005).

**Sources:** Flinn, M.V. 2007. Evolution of stress responses to social threat. In: Dunbar, R.I.M & Barret, L. (Eds.). The Oxford Handbook of Evolutionary Psychology. New York: Oxford University Press, 273-288.

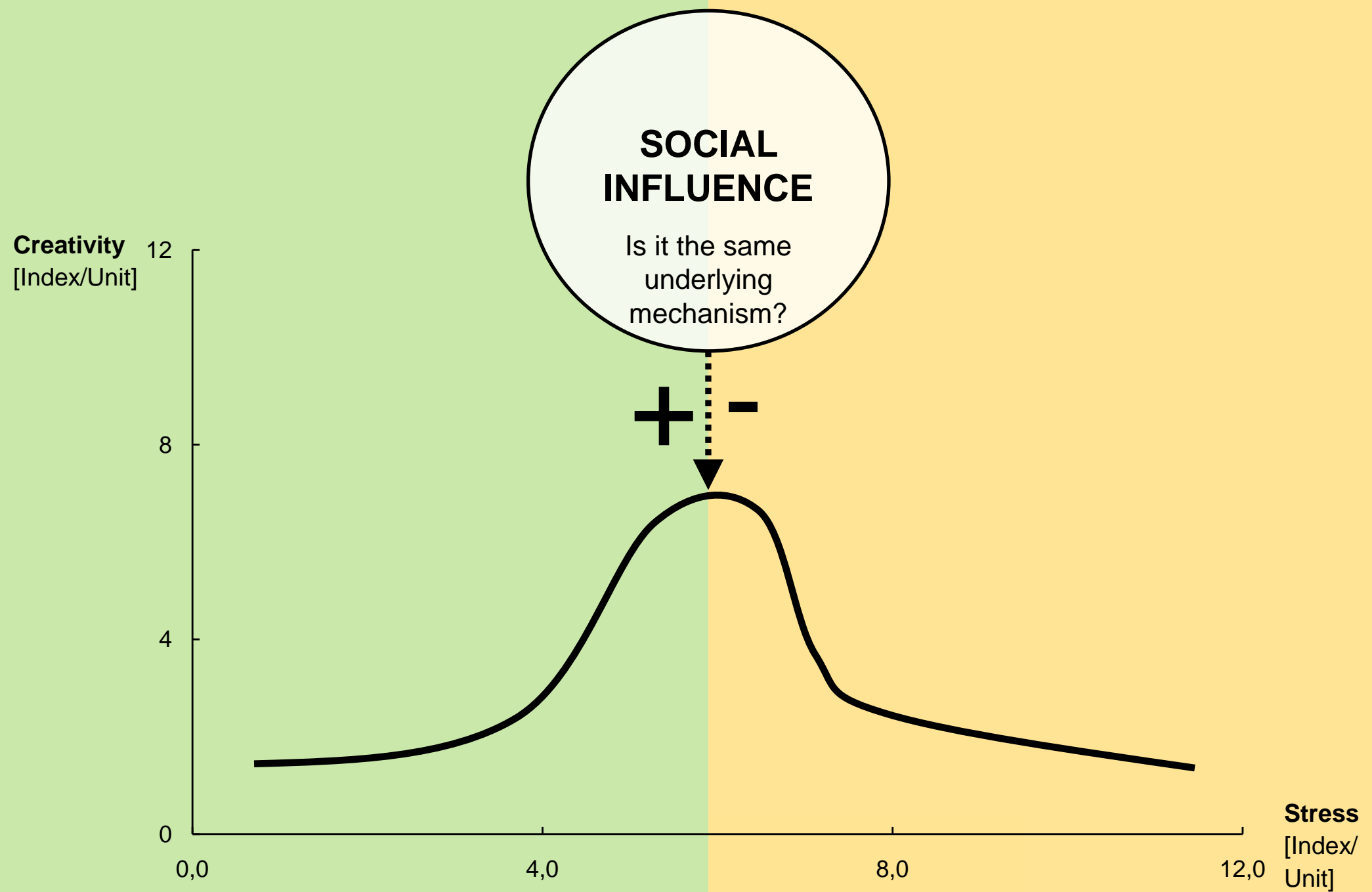
Holmes, T.H., Masuda, M. 1967. The Social Readjustment Rating Scale. Journal of Psychosomatic Research. Vol. 11. pp. 227 to 237.

Bardi, M., Bode, A.E., Ramirez, S.M. and Brent, L.Y. 2005. Maternal Care and Development of Stress Responses in Baboons. American Journal of Primatology. Vol. 66, 263–278.

Kirschbaum, C., Pirke, K. M., & Hellhammer, D. H., 1993. The 'Trier Social Stress Test' - a tool for investigating psychobiological stress responses in a laboratory setting. Neuropsychobiology 28(1-2), 76-81.



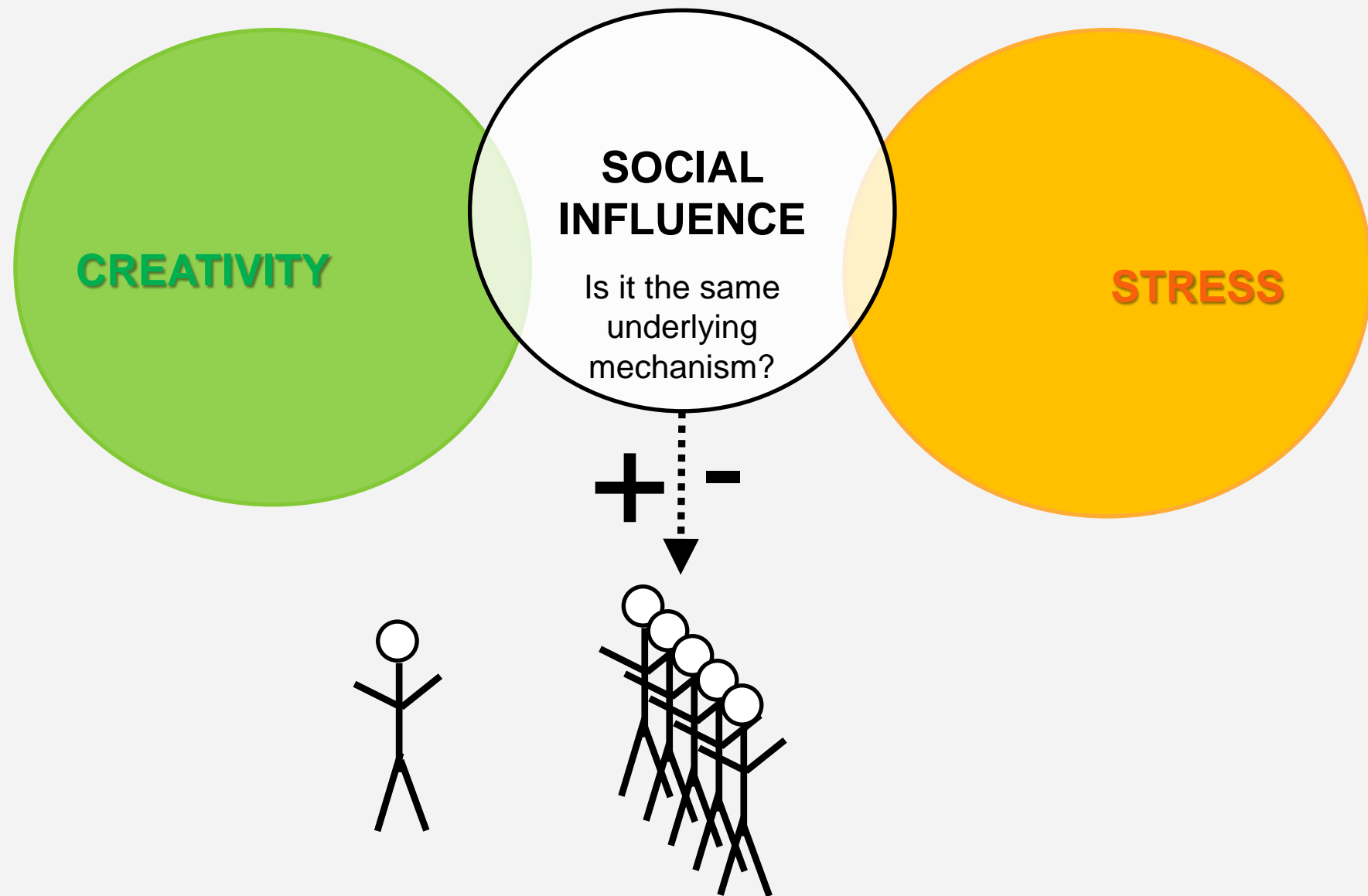
# STRESS & CREATIVITY: WHERE IS THE CONNECTION?



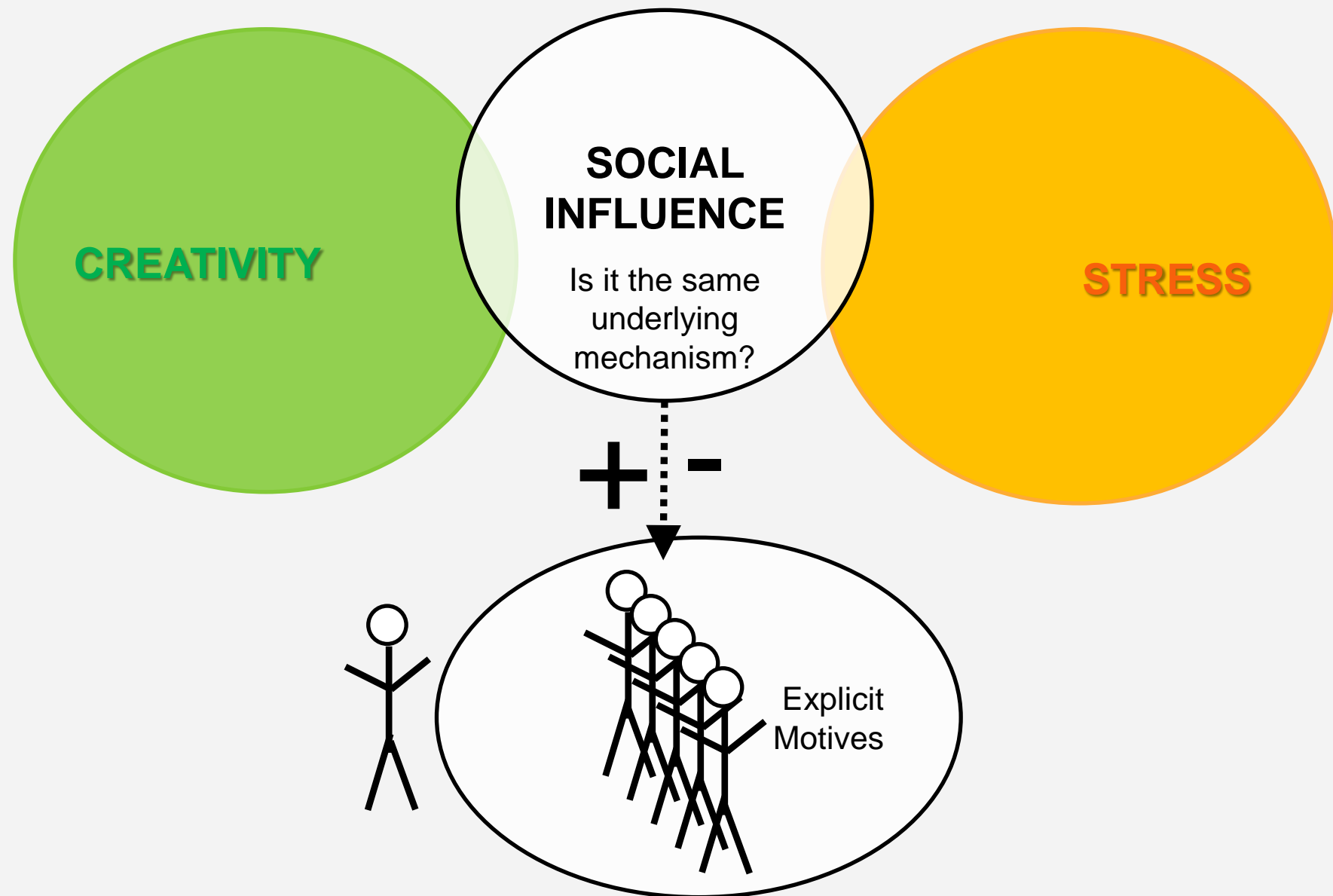




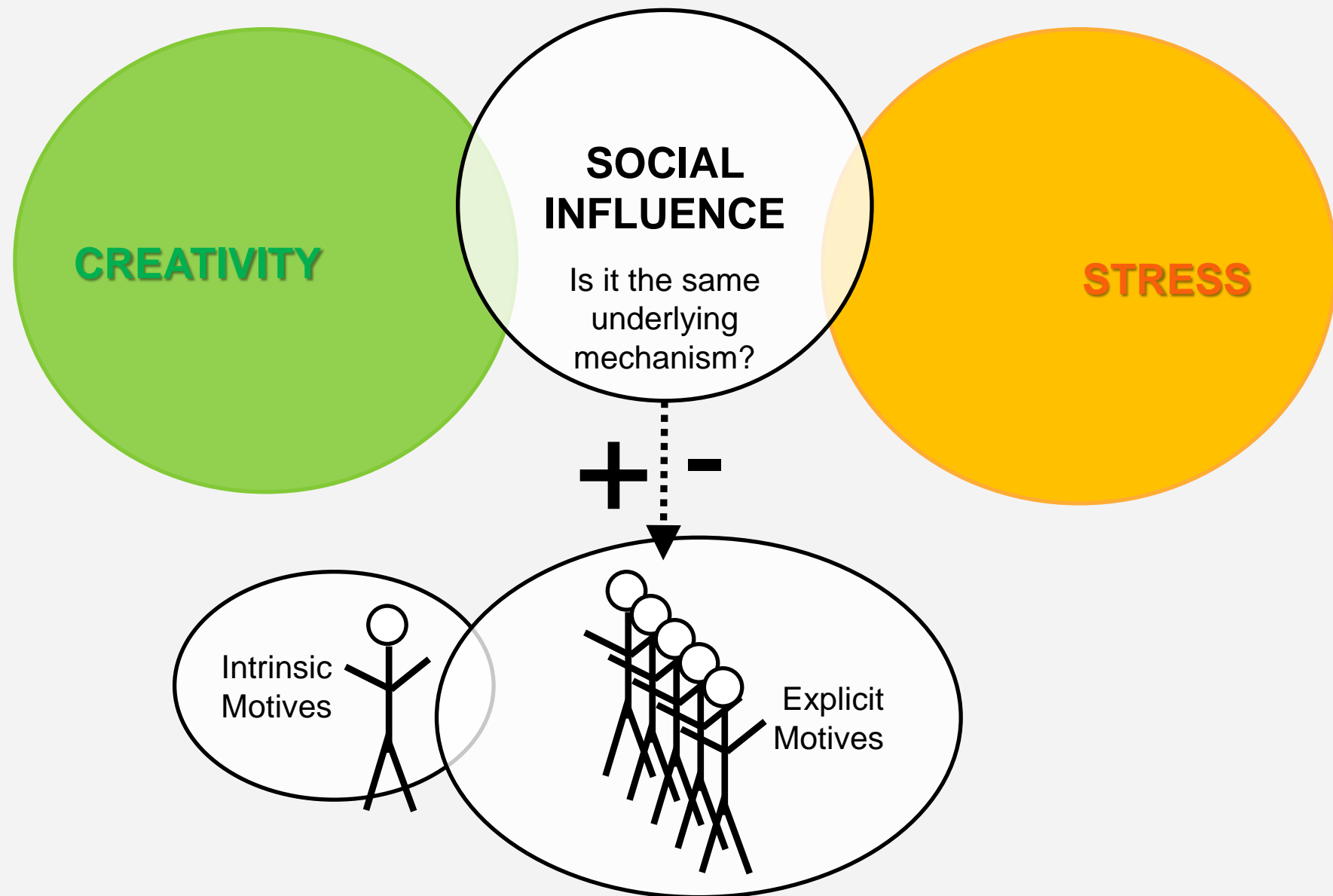
# STRESS & CREATIVITY: WHAT/HOW IS THE CONNECTION?



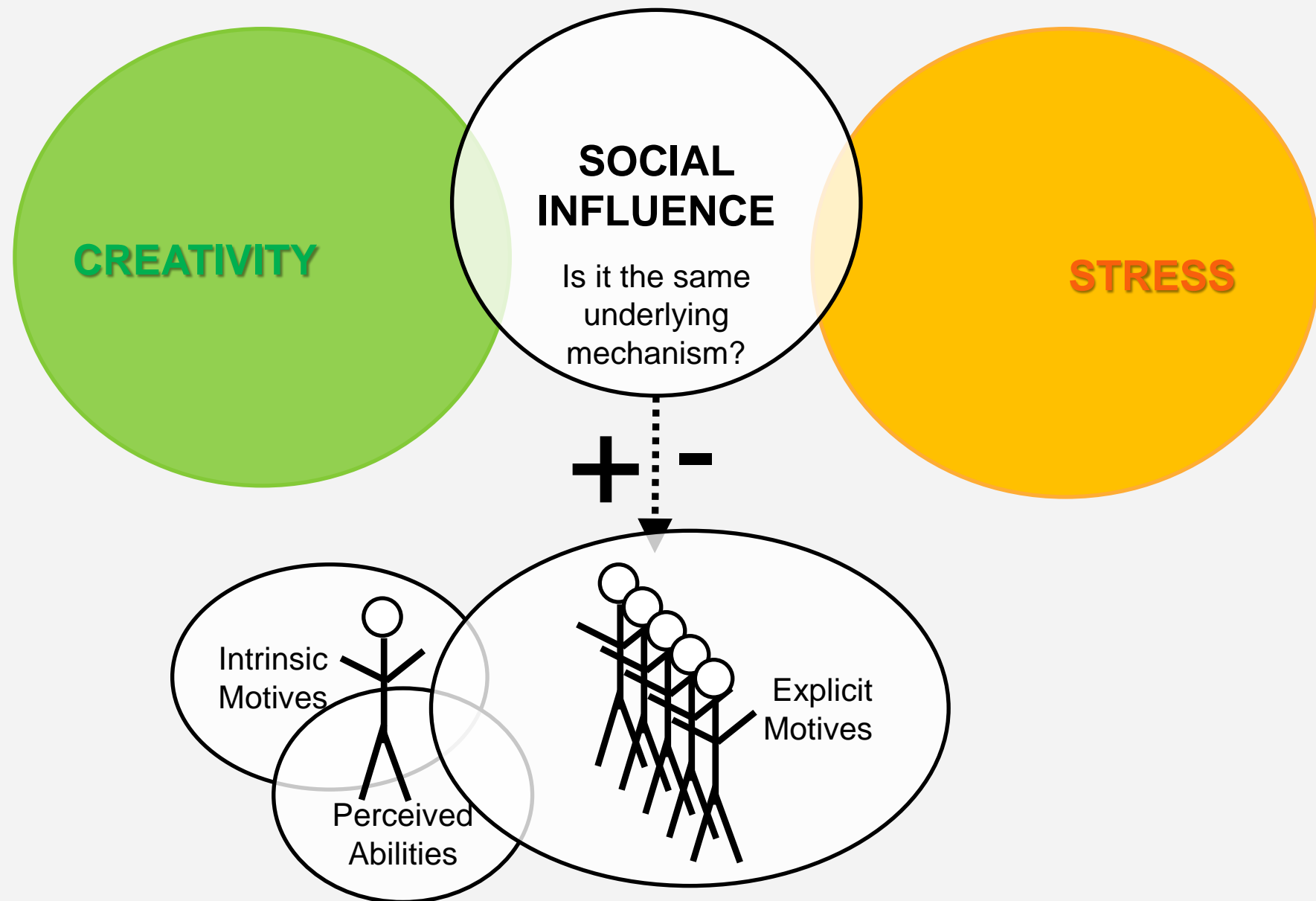
# STRESS & CREATIVITY: WHAT/HOW IS THE CONNECTION?



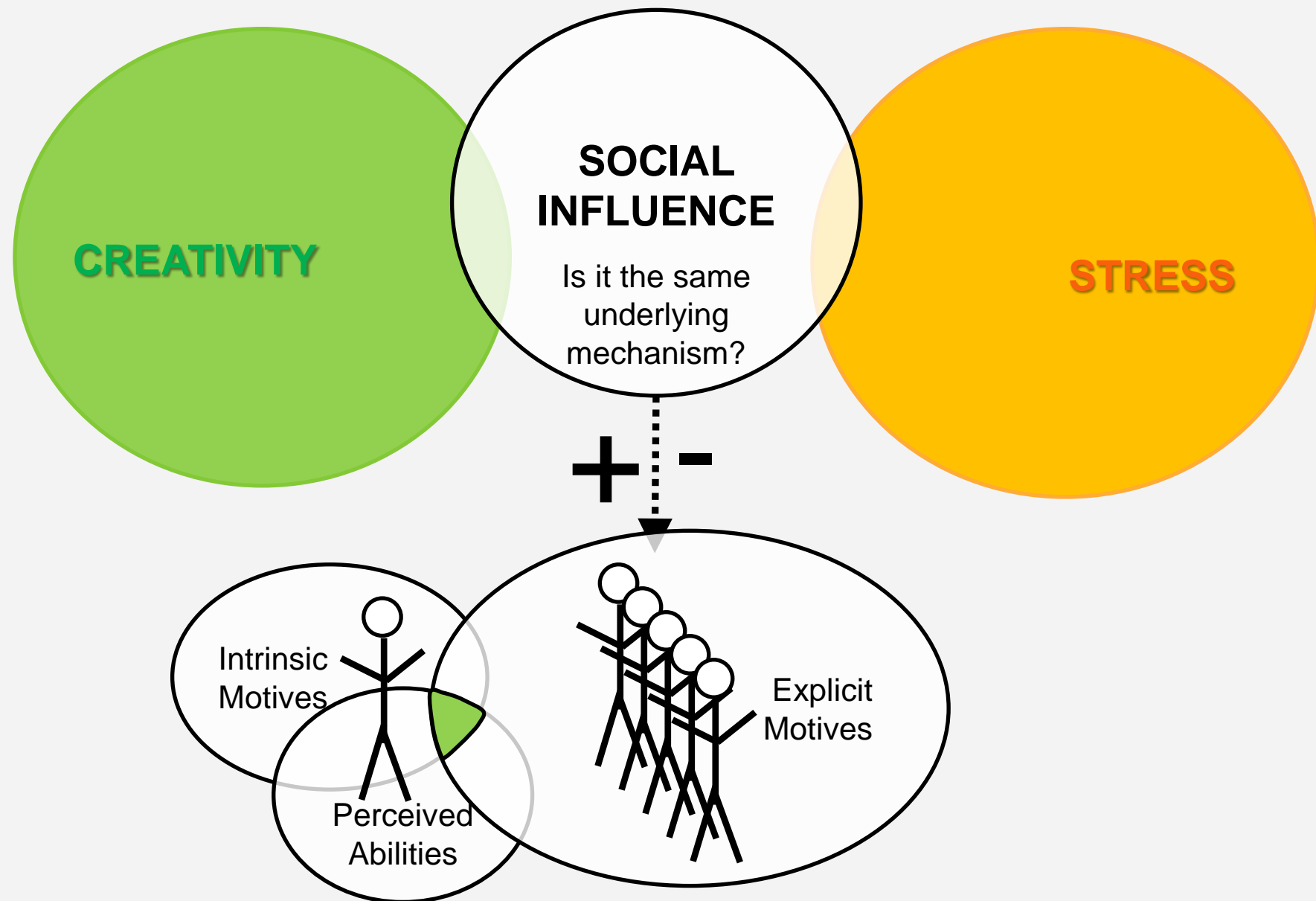
# STRESS & CREATIVITY: WHAT/HOW IS THE CONNECTION?



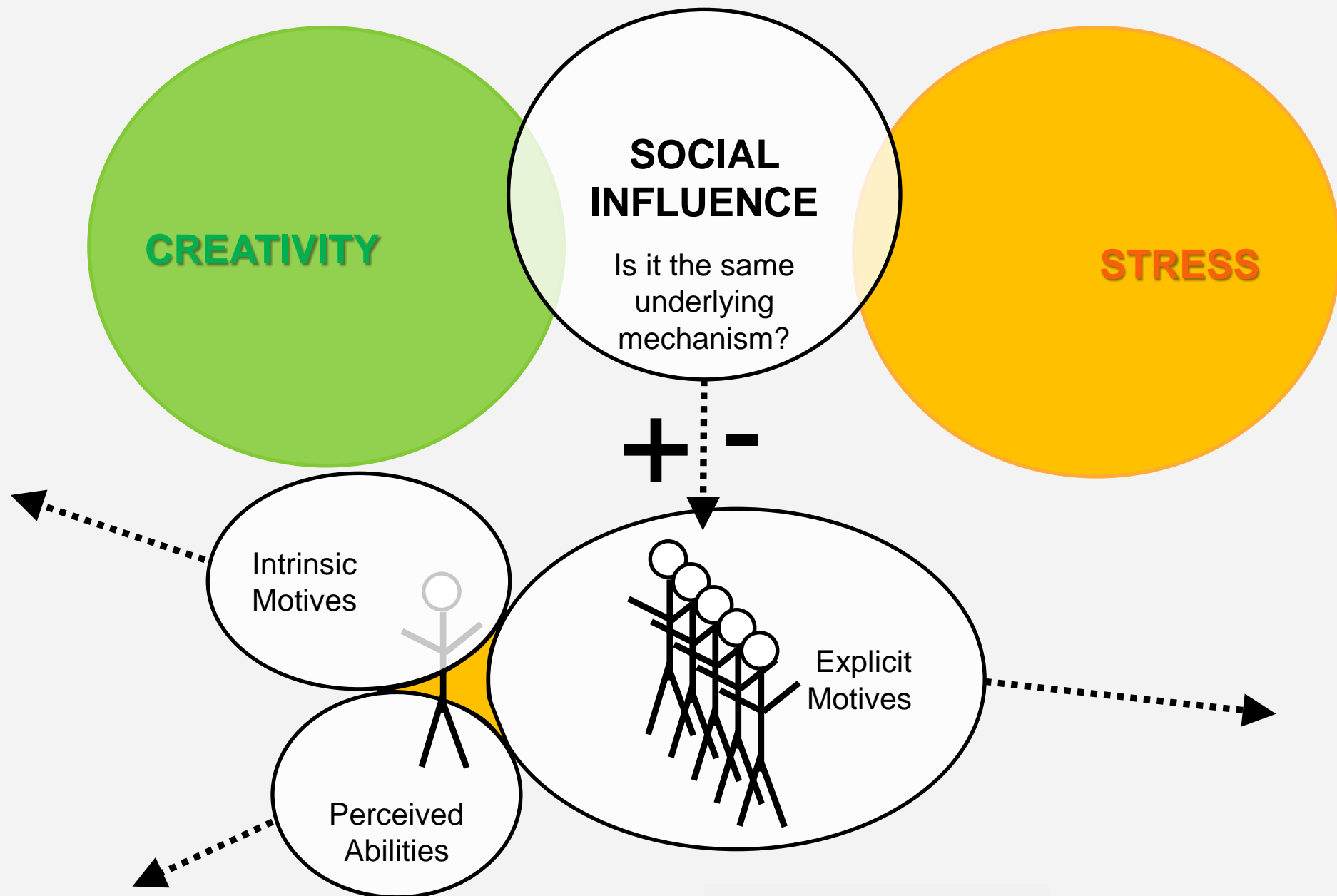
# STRESS & CREATIVITY: WHAT/HOW IS THE CONNECTION?



# STRESS & CREATIVITY: WHAT/HOW IS THE CONNECTION?

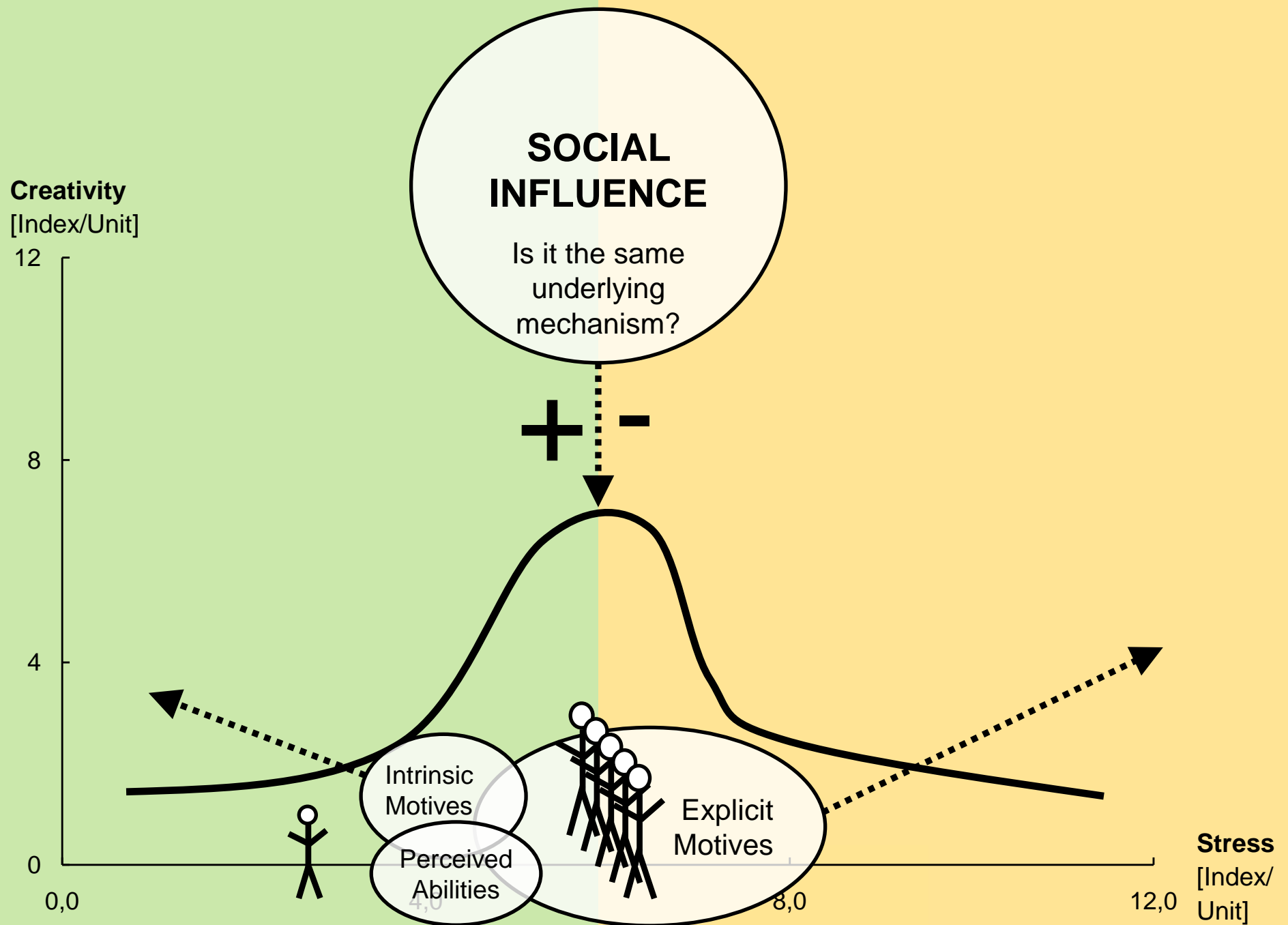


# STRESS & CREATIVITY: WHAT/HOW IS THE CONNECTION?



**Source:** Kehr, H.M. 2004. Integrating Implicit Motives, Explicit Motives, and Perceived Abilities: The Compensatory Model of Work Motivation and Volition. *Academy of Management Review*, Vol. 29, No. 3, 479-499.

# STRESS & CREATIVITY: WHAT/HOW IS THE CONNECTION?



# STRESS & CREATIVITY: WHAT/HOW IS THE CONNECTION?

**Creativity**  
[Index/Unit]

12

8

4

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0,0

**SOCIAL  
INFLUENCE**

Is it the same  
underlying  
mechanism?

**+** **-**

Internalization of extrinsic  
motivation → „*autonomy*“

Creativity eliciting  
Sympathetic Distress

Intrinsic  
Motives

Perceived  
Abilities

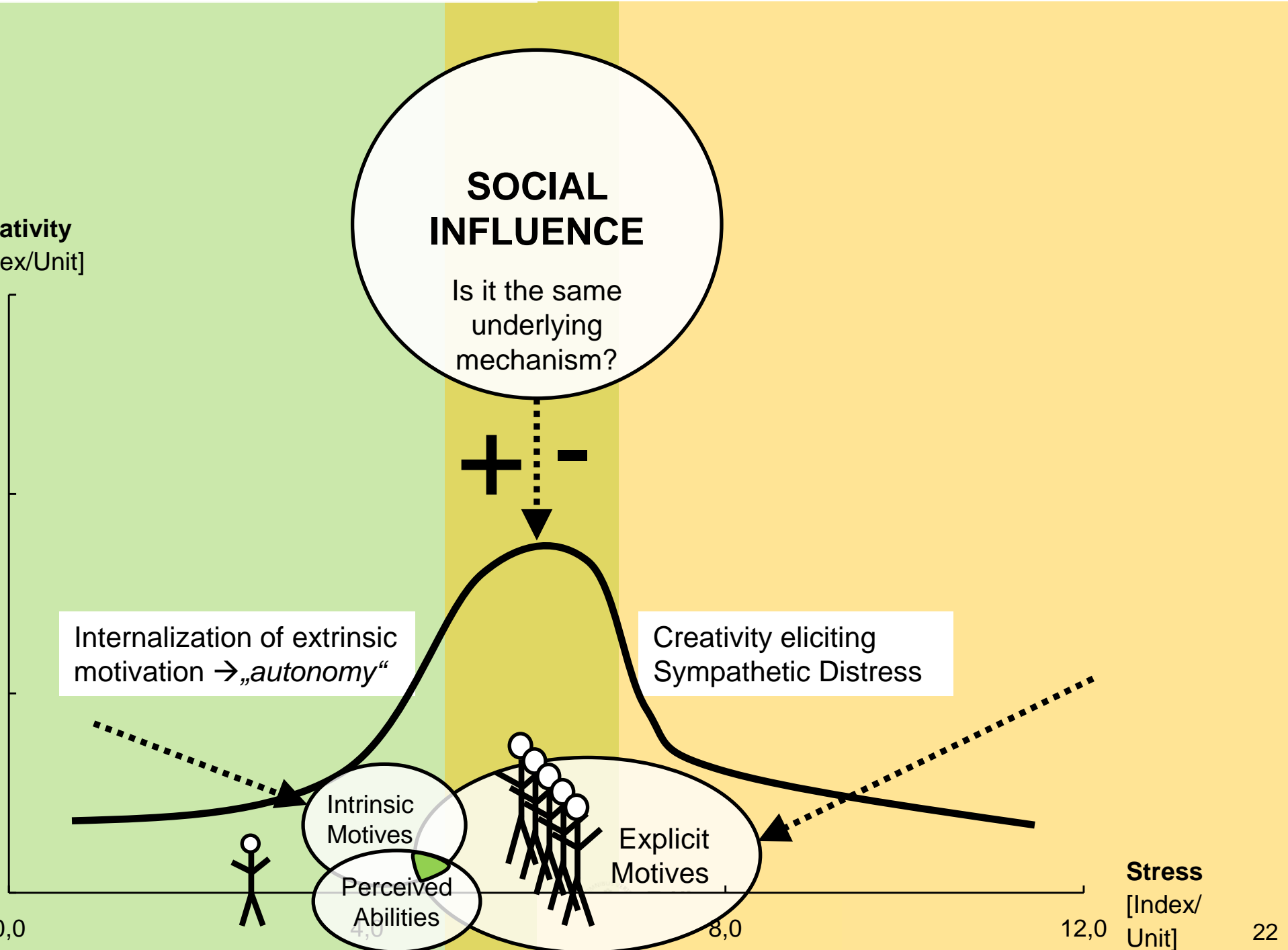
Explicit  
Motives

**Stress**  
[Index/  
Unit]

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12,0

**Sources:**  
Ryan, R.M.,  
Koestner, R., & Deci,  
E.L. 1997. Nature  
and autonomy: An  
organizational view of  
social and neurobio-  
logical aspects of  
self-regulation in  
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development.  
Development and  
Psychopathology,  
Vol. 9, pp. 701–728.  
Hoffman, M.L. 1975.  
Developmental  
Synthesis of Affect  
and Cognition and Its  
Implications for  
Altruistic Motivation.  
Developmental  
Psychology. Vol. 11,  
No. 5, pp. 607-622.





# STRESS & CREATIVITY: WHAT/HOW IS THE CONNECTION?

**Creativity**  
[Index/Unit]

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INFLUENCE**

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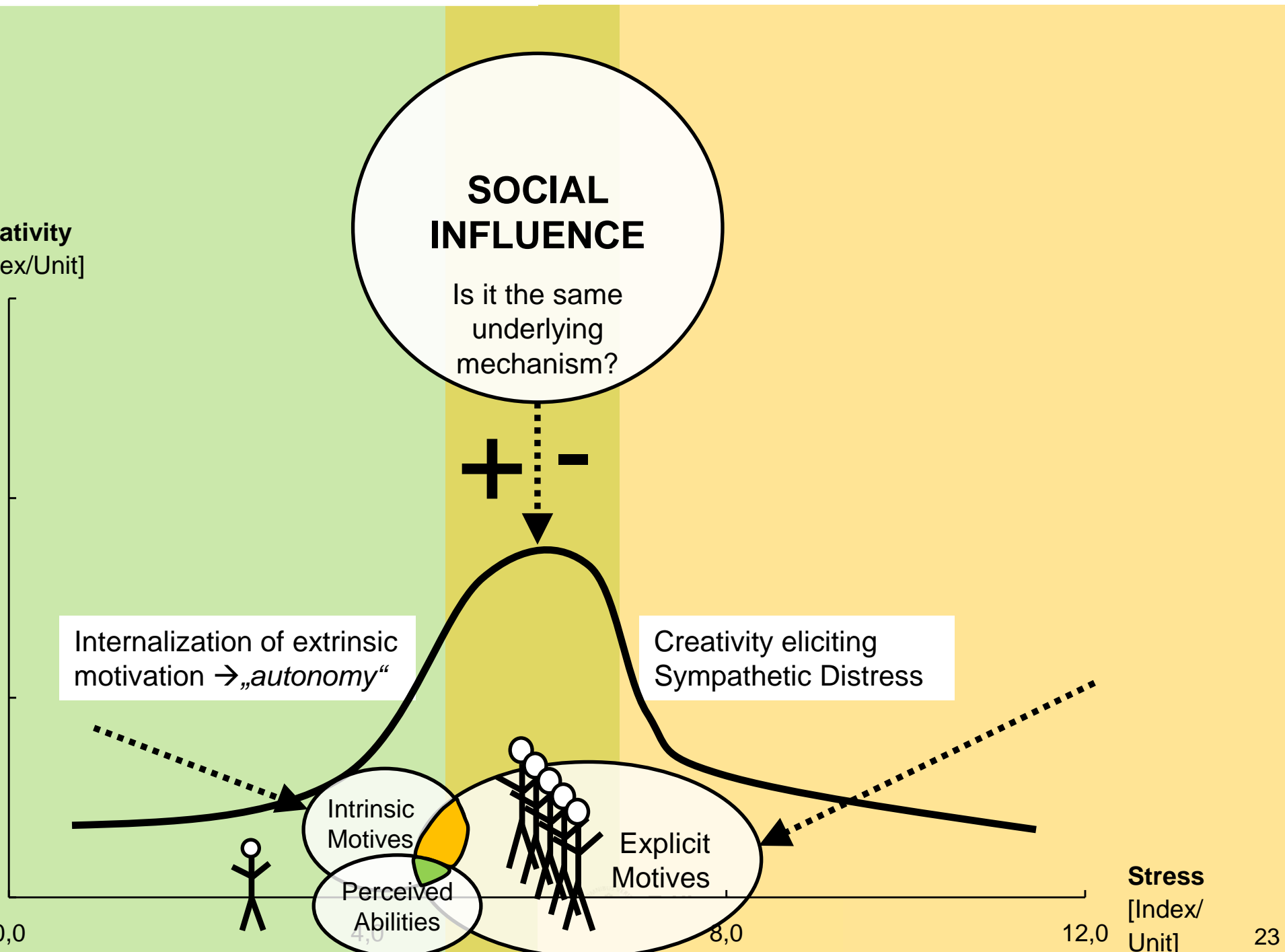
Explicit  
Motives

**Stress**  
[Index/  
Unit]

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12,0

**Sources:**  
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Development and  
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Hoffman, M.L. 1975.  
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Implications for  
Altruistic Motivation.  
Developmental  
Psychology. Vol. 11,  
No. 5, pp. 607-622.



# STRESS & CREATIVITY: WHAT/HOW IS THE CONNECTION?

**Source:**  
 McKay R.T. &  
 Dennett D.C.  
 2009. The  
 evolution of  
 misbelief.  
 Behavioral and  
 Brain Sciences  
 32, 493–561

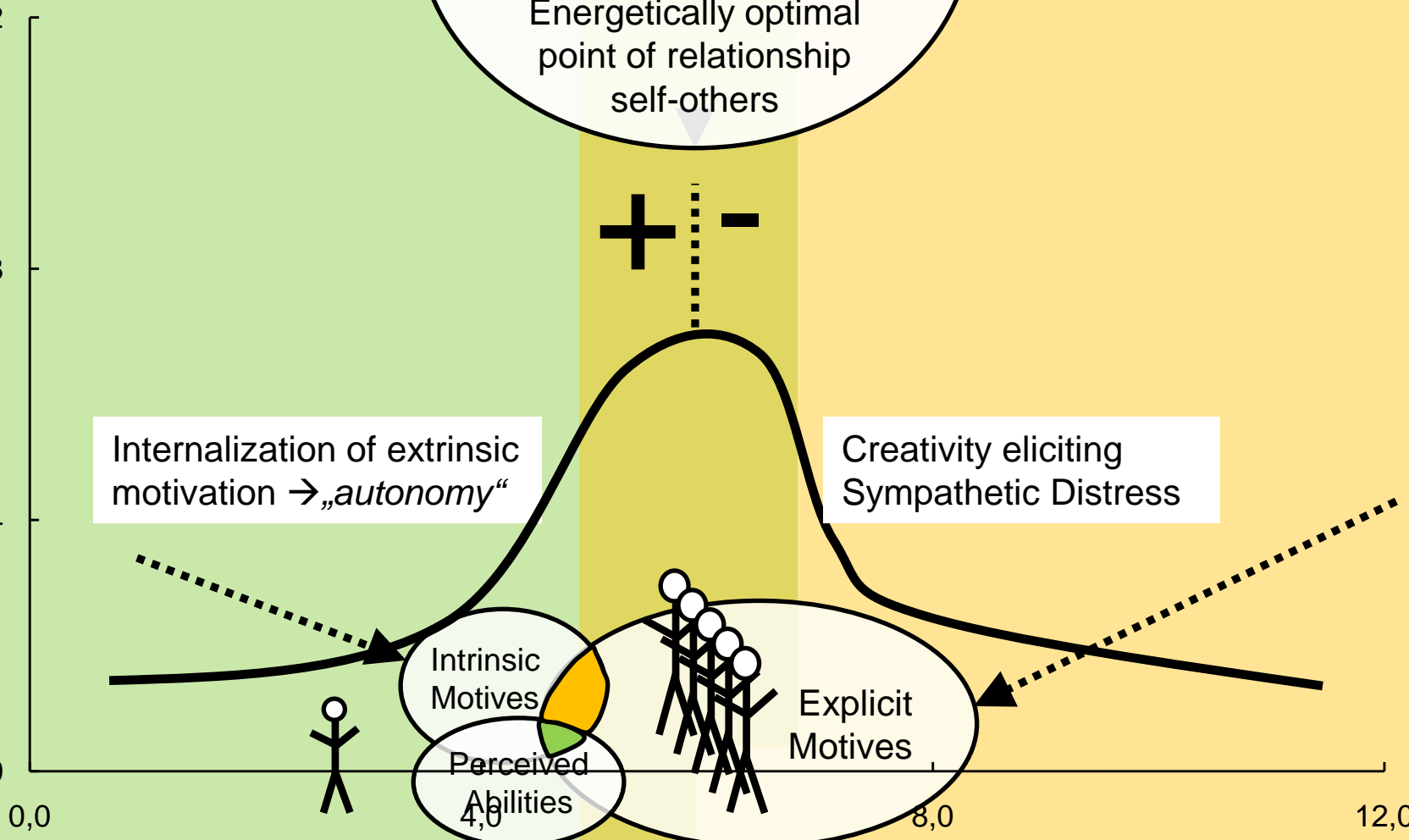
**Creativity**  
 [Index/Unit]

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Internalization of extrinsic  
 motivation → „autonomy“

Creativity eliciting  
 Sympathetic Distress

Intrinsic  
 Motives  
 Perceived  
 Abilities  
 Explicit  
 Motives

**Stress**  
 [Index/  
 Unit]

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**Sources:**  
 Ryan, R.M.,  
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 E.L. 1997. Nature  
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 logical aspects of  
 self-regulation in  
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 Development and  
 Psychopathology,  
 Vol. 9, pp. 701–728.  
 Hoffman, M.L. 1975.  
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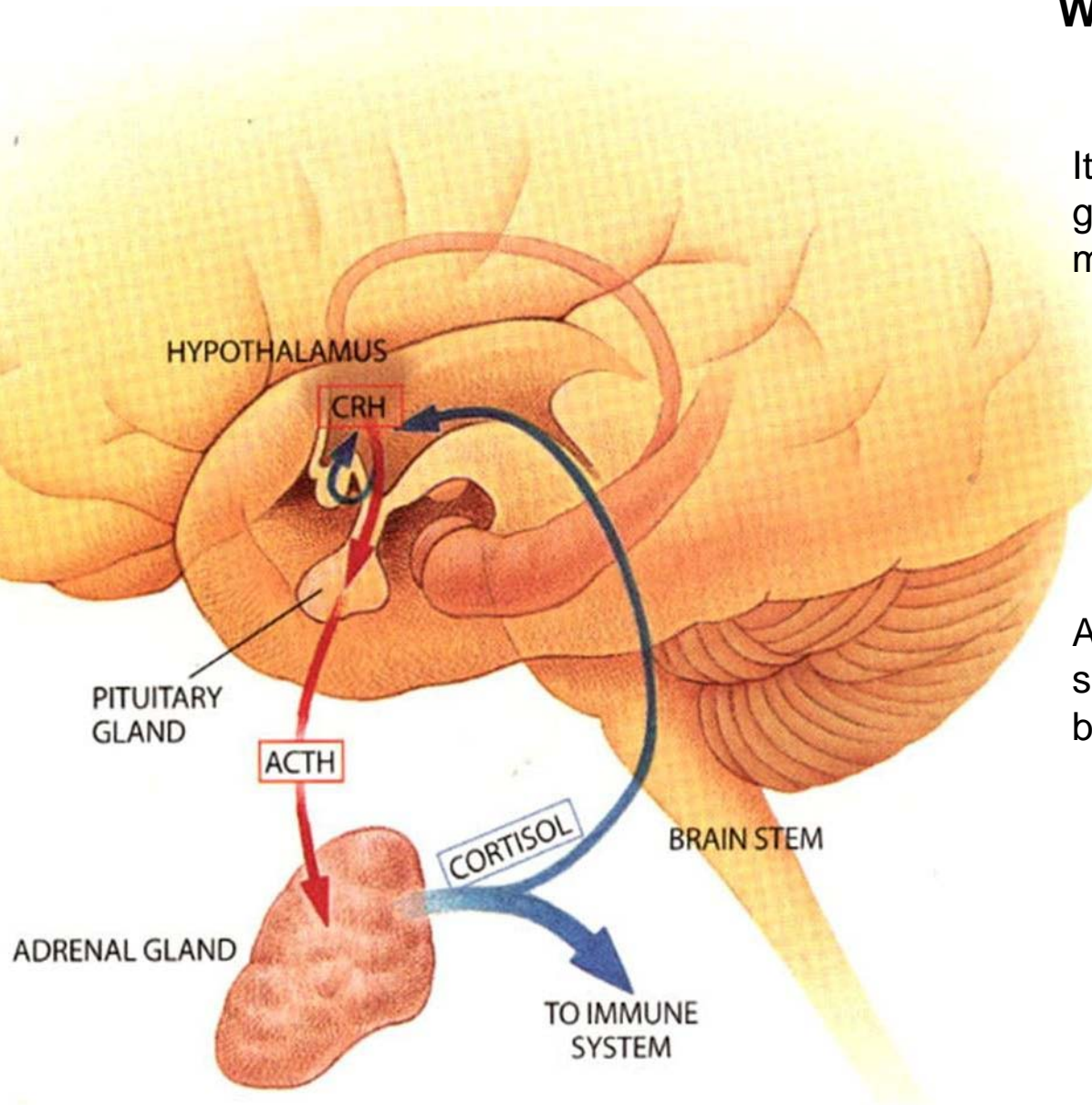
# THE HPA AXIS

## What is the HPA axis?

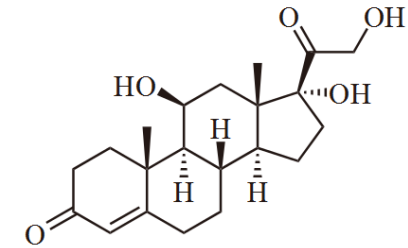
It is the common mechanism for interactions among glands, hormones, and parts of the midbrain that mediate the general adaptation syndrome (GAS).

→ **The HPA axis is the endocrine core of the stress regulation system.**

As such, it links the individual to its social surrounding, setting the stage for the individual's behavioral as well as creative options!



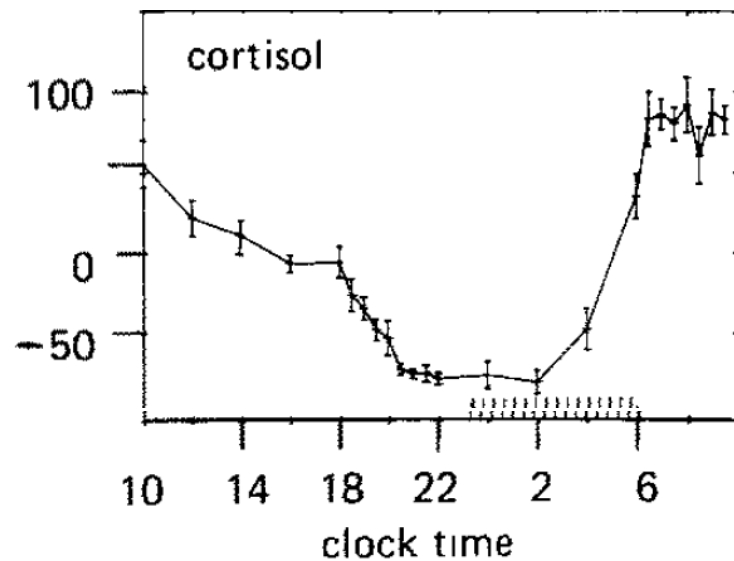
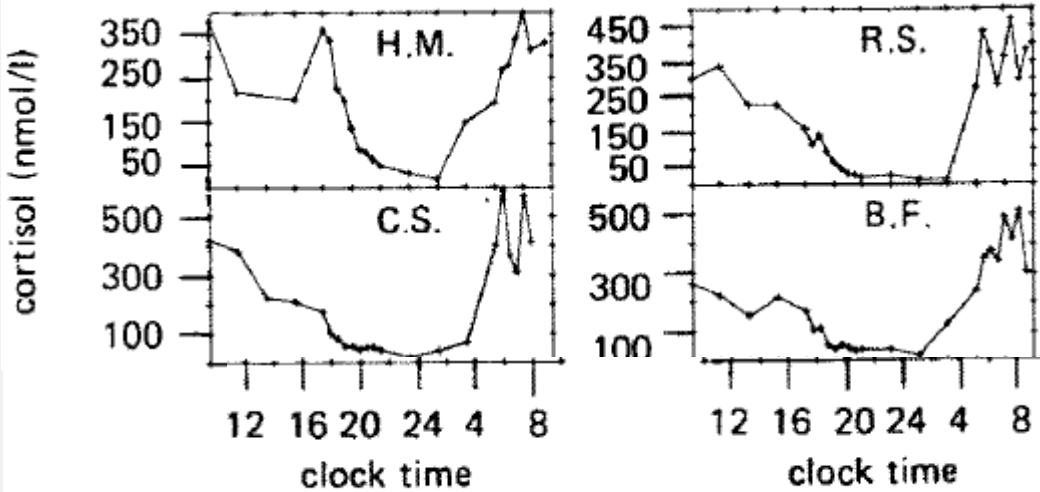
# CORTISOL



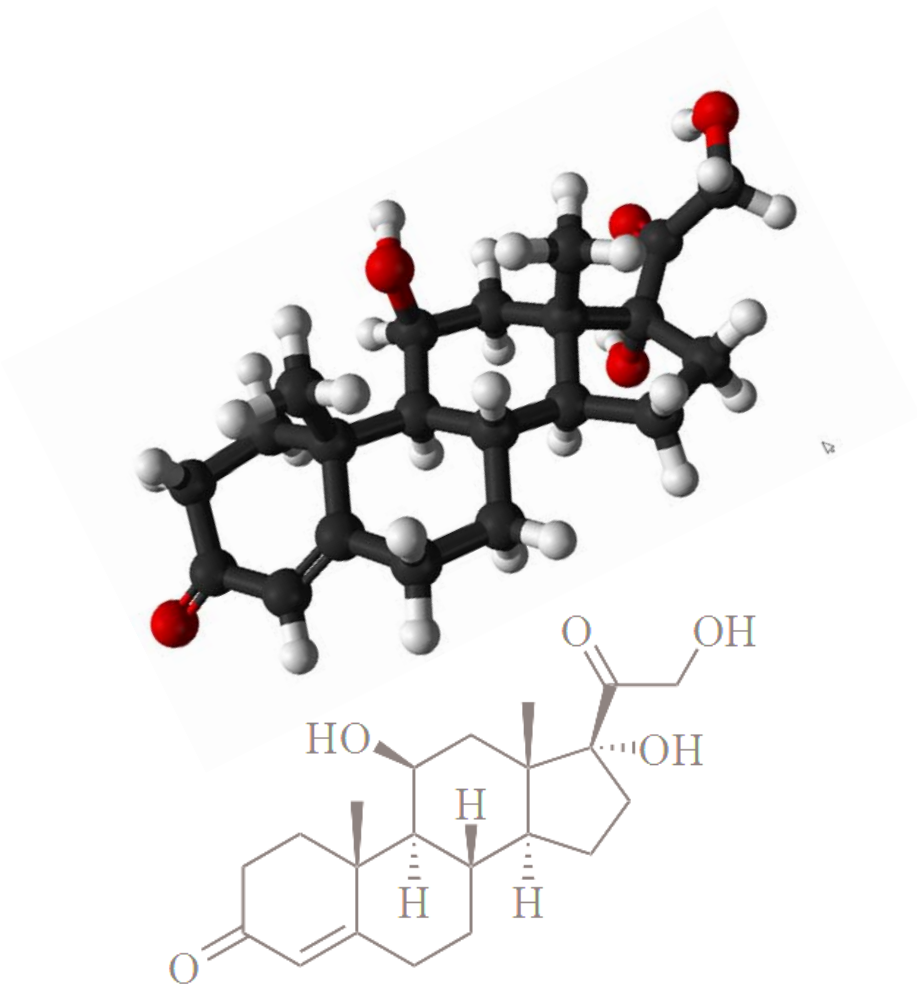
## What is Cortisol?

Cortisol is the body's primary stress hormone. When the brain stimulates its release in response to physical or emotional stress, the adrenal glands secrete cortisol into the blood. Cortisol helps the body regulate blood sugar levels and blood pressure. It also is an anti-inflammatory, an anti-allergic agent and reduces the actions of the immune system.

It is known that in normal people the level of cortisol in the bloodstream peaks in the morning, then decreases as the day progresses. In depressed people, however, cortisol peaks earlier in the morning and does not level off or decrease in the afternoon or evening. Chronically elevated cortisol may potentially contribute to the emergence of clinical depression by affecting the serotonergic neurotransmission.



**Source:** Kage et.al. 1982. Diurnal and Ultradian Variations of Plasma Concentrations of Eleven Adrenal Steroid Hormones in Human Males. *KlinWochenschr* 60, 659-666.



## Agenda

Stress and Creativity?

**Experimental Setting**

First Results

# EXPERIMENTAL SETTING

## Group 1: Reward

Saliva Cortisol 1st sample

-

Announcement  
Reward

**Creativity Task**

Reward

Perceived Stress  
Questionnaire

Saliva Cortisol 2nd sample

Intrinsic Motivation  
Inventory

## Group 2: Stressful Task

Saliva Cortisol 1st sample

**Stressful Task**

-

**Creativity Task**

-

Perceived Stress  
Questionnaire

Saliva Cortisol 2nd sample

Intrinsic Motivation  
Inventory

## Group 3: **Stressful Task + Reward**

Saliva Cortisol 1st sample

**Stressful Task**

Announcement  
Reward

**Creativity Task**

Reward

Perceived Stress  
Questionnaire

Saliva Cortisol 2nd sample

Intrinsic Motivation  
Inventory

## Group 4: **Control Group**

Saliva Cortisol 1st sample

-

-

**Creativity Task**

-

Perceived Stress  
Questionnaire

Saliva Cortisol 2nd sample

Intrinsic Motivation  
Inventory

# EXPERIMENTAL SETTING – Saliva Cortisol

## Saliva Cortisol Samples:

Pre- and post experimental sample using „Salivette“ system:

A: Complete Salivette

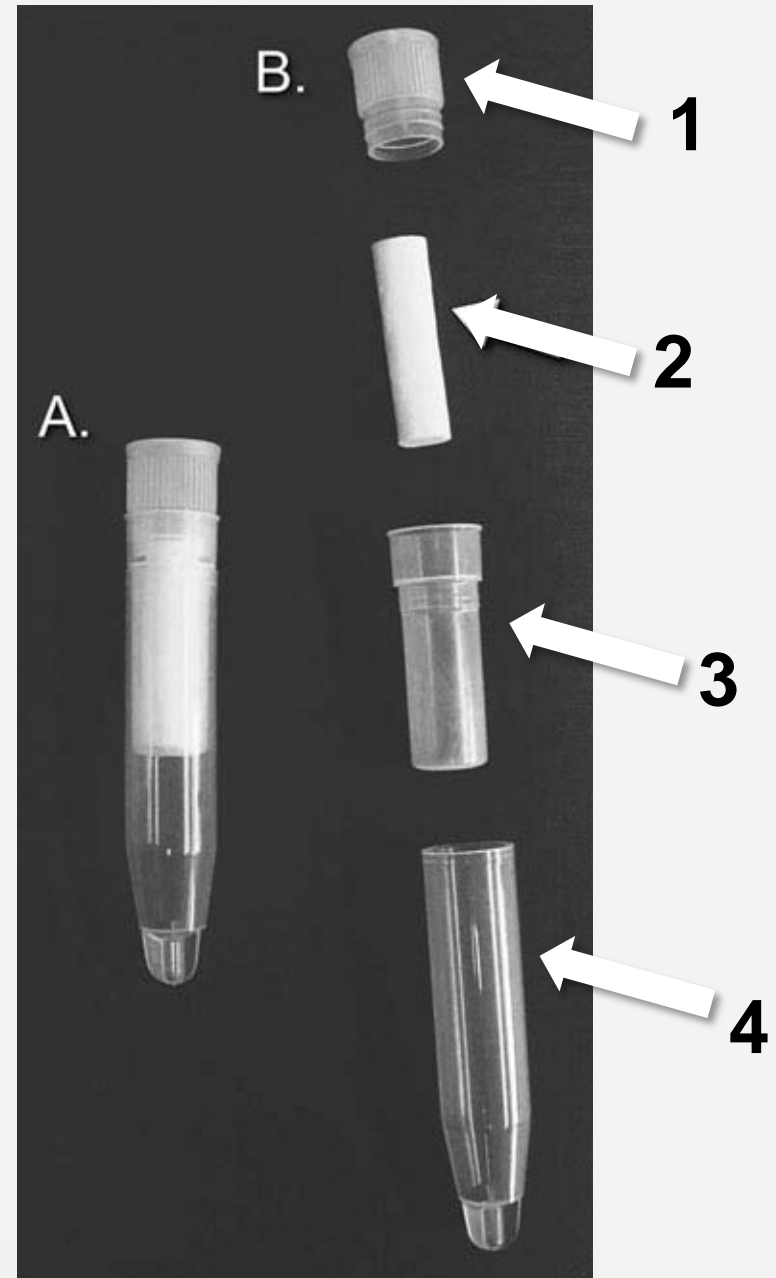
B: Parts:

1: Stopper

2: Swab

3: Suspended Insert

4: Centrifuge Vessel





# EXPERIMENTAL SETTING – measuring creativity

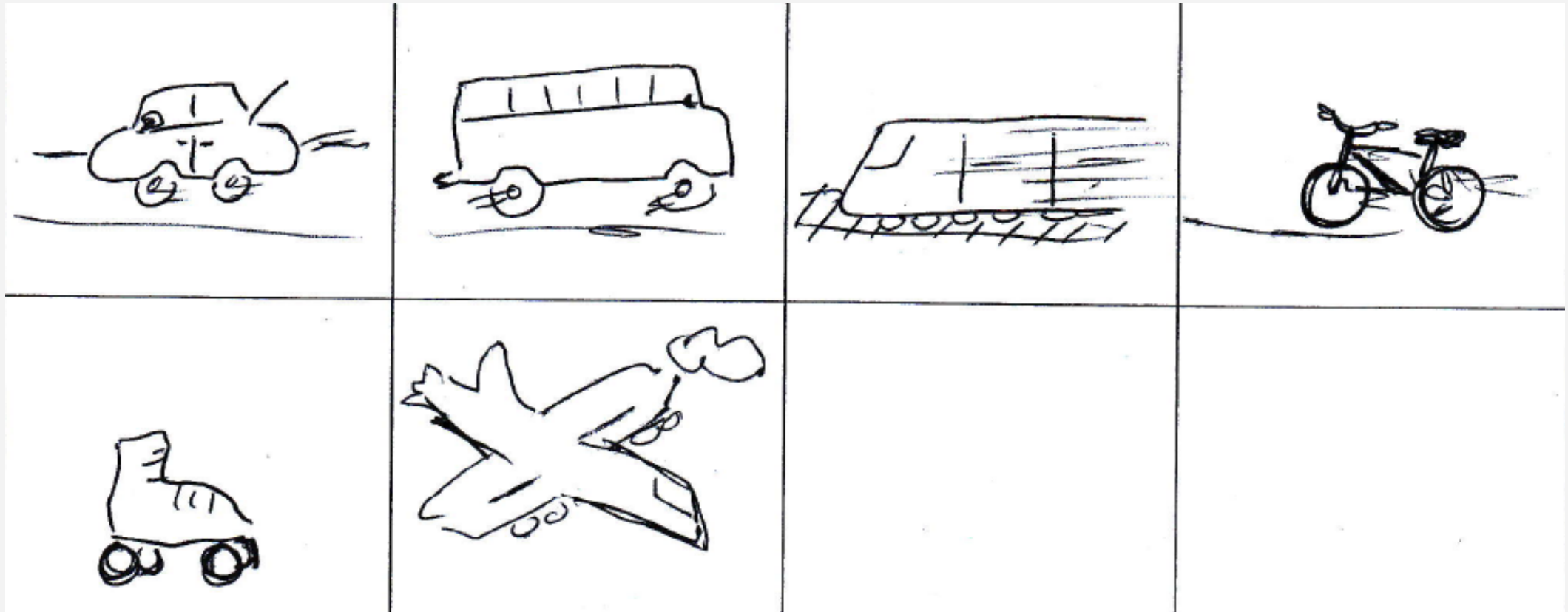
## Sample „drawing task“ (task 1)

### Task 1

2:30

Please draw in the boxes below as many different pictures on the subject „mobility“.

Please start only after the lab supervisor tells you to!





# EXPERIMENTAL SETTING – measuring psychological aspect of stress

The **Perceived Stress Questionnaire** (Fliege et al., 2005; Levenstein et al. 1993)

For each sentence, mark the number that describes how often it applies to you during the last 4 weeks. There are no right or wrong answers. Please work quickly, without bothering to check your answers, and do not skip any question.

|    |  | Almost<br>never<br>1 | Some-<br>times<br>2 | Often<br>3 | Usually<br>4 |
|----|--|----------------------|---------------------|------------|--------------|
| 01 | You feel rested                                      |                      |                     |            |              |
| 02 | You feel that too many demands are being made on you |                      |                     |            |              |
| 03 | You have too many things to do                       |                      |                     |            |              |
| 04 | You feel you're doing things you really like         |                      |                     |            |              |
| 05 | You fear you may not manage to attain your goals     |                      |                     |            |              |
| 06 | You feel calm  |                      |                     |            |              |
| 07 | You feel frustrated                                  |                      |                     |            |              |

# EXPERIMENTAL SETTING – measuring intrinsic motivation

## The Intrinsic Motivation Inventory (Ryan, 1982)

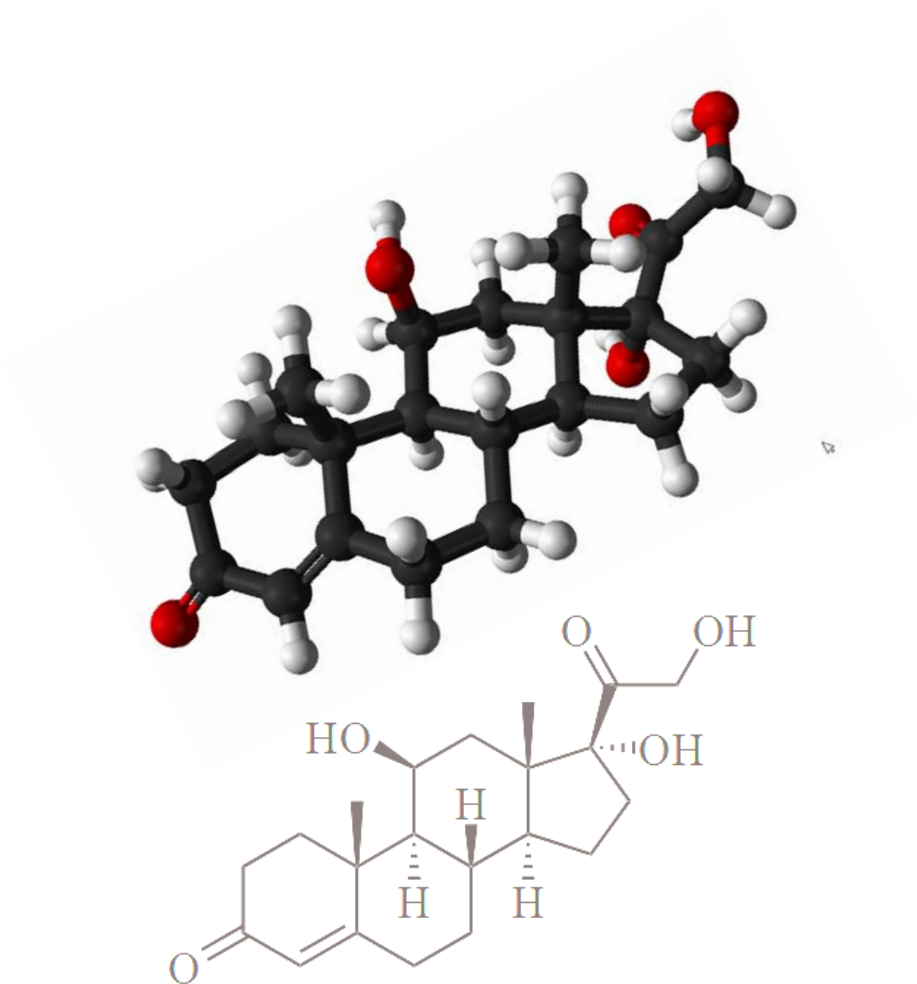
The following is a 22 item version of the scale that has been used in some lab studies on intrinsic motivation. It has four subscales: interest/enjoyment, perceived choice, perceived competence, and pressure/tension. The interest/enjoyment subscale is considered the self-report measure of intrinsic motivation; perceived choice and perceived competence are theorized to be positive predictors of both self-report and behavioral measures of intrinsic motivation. Pressure tension is theorized to be a negative predictor of intrinsic motivation. Scoring information is presented after the questionnaire itself.

### TASK EVALUATION QUESTIONNAIRE

For each of the following statements, please indicate how true it is for you, using the following scale:

1                      2                      3                      4                      5                      6                      7  
not at all true                      somewhat true                      very true

1. While I was working on the task I was thinking about how much I enjoyed it.
2. I did not feel at all nervous about doing the task.
3. I felt that it was my choice to do the task.
4. I think I am pretty good at this task.
5. I found the task very interesting.
6. I felt tense while doing the task.



## Structure

Stress and Creativity?

Experimental Setting

**First Results**



# FIRST RESULTS – Did the “stressing” work?

## Analysis of variance: „Condition“ as Independent Variable

### Descriptives

|                                   |                         | N             | Mean     | Std. Deviation | Std. Error           | 95% Confidence Interval for Mean |                     | Minimum | Maximum | Between-Component Variance |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------|----------|----------------|----------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|---------|---------|----------------------------|
|                                   |                         |               |          |                |                      | Lower Bound                      | Upper Bound         |         |         |                            |
|                                   |                         |               |          |                |                      |                                  |                     |         |         |                            |
| <b>Cortisol Delta (2 minus 1)</b> | Reward                  | 9             | ,00578   | ,036911        | ,012304              | -,02259                          | ,03415              | -,054   | ,050    |                            |
|                                   | Stressful Task          | 9             | ,00378   | ,065553        | ,021851              | -,04661                          | ,05417              | -,155   | ,072    |                            |
|                                   | Stressful Task + Reward | 7             | -,01343  | ,052990        | ,020028              | -,06244                          | ,03558              | -,080   | ,080    |                            |
|                                   | Control Group           | 14            | -0,01193 | ,043498        | ,011625              | -,03704                          | ,01319              | -,111   | ,052    |                            |
|                                   | Total                   | 39            | -,00449  | ,048564        | ,007776              | -,02023                          | ,01126              | -,155   | ,080    |                            |
|                                   | Model                   | Fixed Effects |          |                | ,049777              | ,007971                          | -,02067             | ,01169  |         |                            |
|                                   | Random Effects          |               |          |                | ,007971 <sup>a</sup> | -,02985 <sup>a</sup>             | ,02088 <sup>a</sup> |         |         | -,000159                   |
| <b>Q3 Total Score</b>             | Reward                  | 13            | 39,608   | 20,2073        | 5,6045               | 27,397                           | 51,819              | 16,7    | 83,3    |                            |
|                                   | Stressful Task          | 10            | 46,500   | 19,1161        | 6,0451               | 32,825                           | 60,175              | 8,3     | 70,0    |                            |
|                                   | Stressful Task + Reward | 7             | 52,129   | 13,2082        | 4,9922               | 39,913                           | 64,344              | 35,0    | 78,3    |                            |
|                                   | Control Group           | 14            | 38,557   | 15,3140        | 4,0928               | 29,715                           | 47,399              | 18,3    | 68,3    |                            |
|                                   | Total                   | 44            | 42,832   | 17,6628        | 2,6628               | 37,462                           | 48,202              | 8,3     | 83,3    |                            |
|                                   | Model                   | Fixed Effects |          |                | 17,5245              | 2,6419                           | 37,492              | 48,171  |         |                            |
|                                   | Random Effects          |               |          |                | 2,9493               | 33,446                           | 52,218              |         |         | 6,4729                     |

a. Warning: Between-component variance is negative. It was replaced by 0.0 in computing this random effects measure.

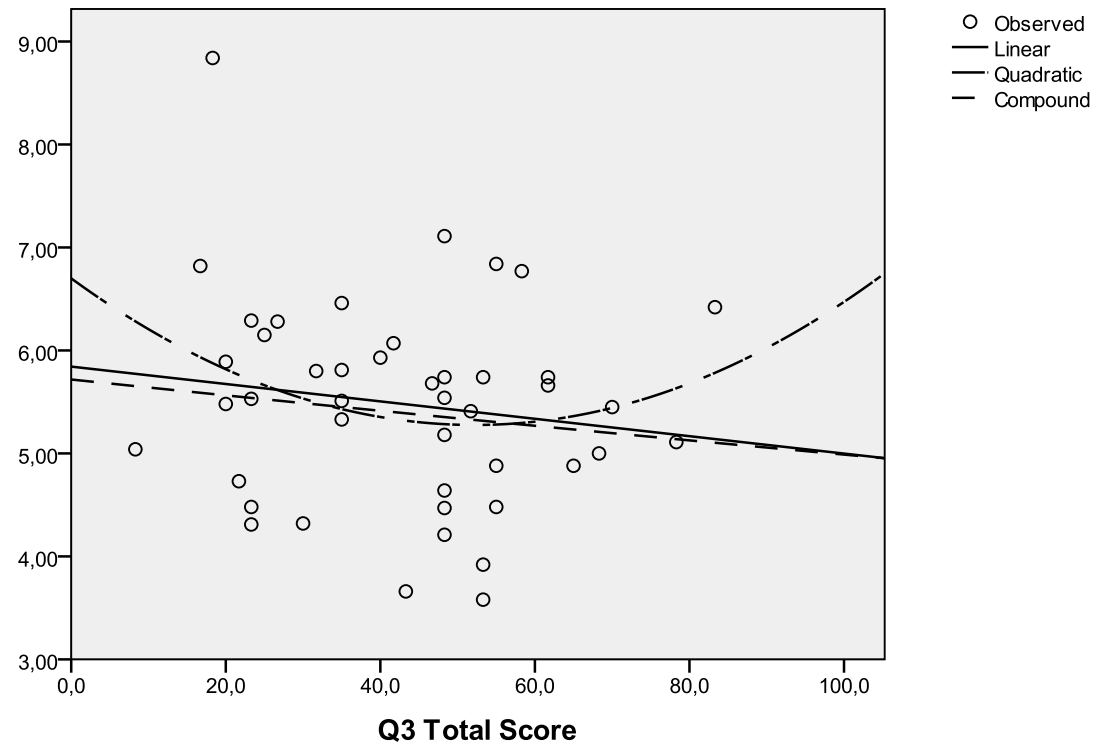
# FIRST RESULTS – How does the relation stress & creativity look like?

Regression – curve fit: **Perceived stress** as independent, average creativity as dependent variable

Dependent Variable: Q2 Avg Creativity

| Equation  | Model Summary |       |     |     |      | Parameter Estimates |       |      |
|-----------|---------------|-------|-----|-----|------|---------------------|-------|------|
|           | R Square      | F     | df1 | df2 | Sig. | Constant            | b1    | b2   |
| Linear    | ,022          | ,946  | 1   | 42  | ,336 | 5,843               | -,008 |      |
| Quadratic | ,057          | 1,234 | 2   | 41  | ,302 | 6,700               | -,055 | ,001 |
| Compound  | ,017          | ,746  | 1   | 42  | ,393 | 5,718               | ,999  |      |

Q2 Avg Creativity

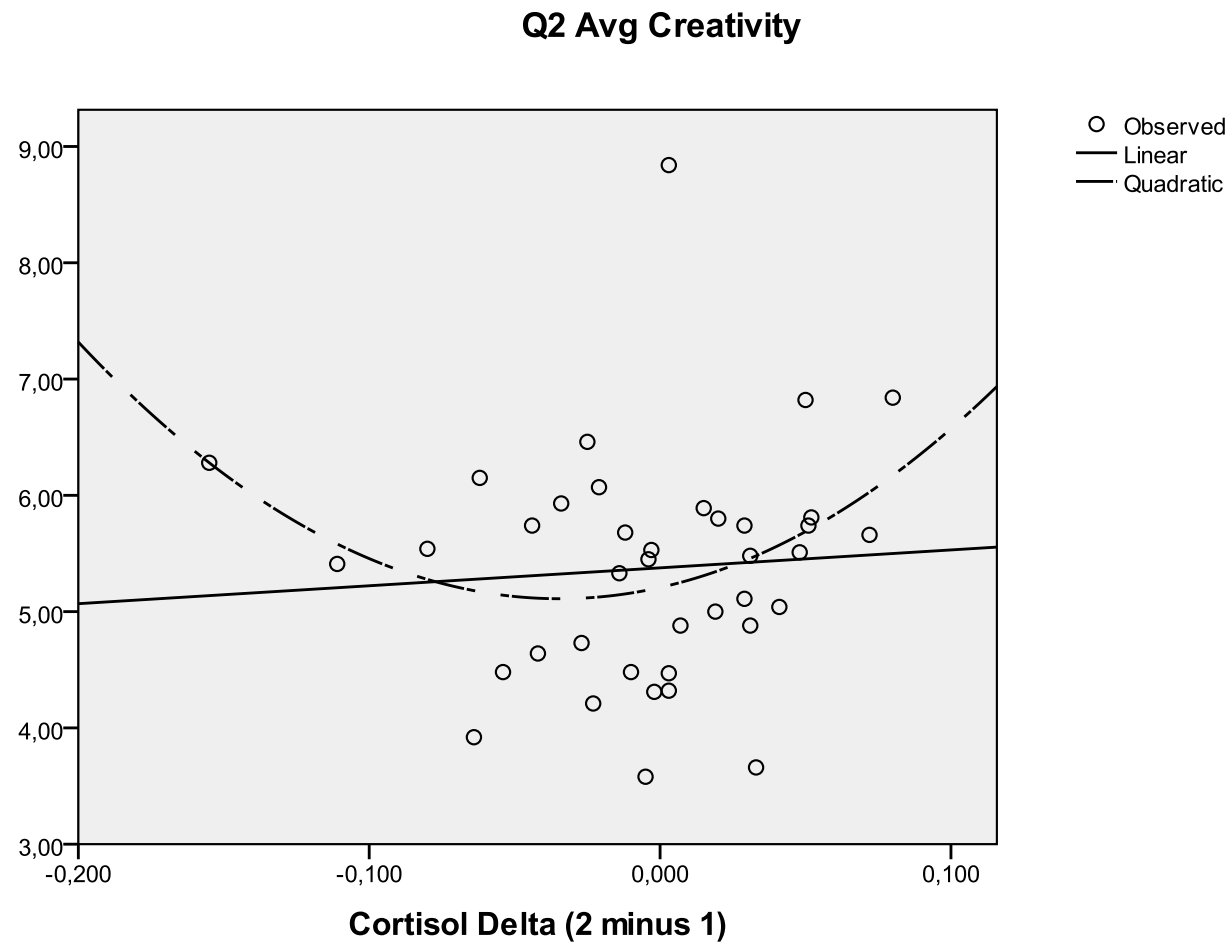


# FIRST RESULTS – How does the relation stress & creativity look like?

Regression – curve fit: **Cortisol delta** as independent, average creativity as dependent variable

Dependent Variable: Q2 Avg Creativity

| Equation  | Model Summary |       |     |     |      | Parameter Estimates |       |        |
|-----------|---------------|-------|-----|-----|------|---------------------|-------|--------|
|           | R Square      | F     | df1 | df2 | Sig. | Constant            | b1    | b2     |
| Linear    | ,006          | ,214  | 1   | 37  | ,646 | 5,376               | 1,541 |        |
| Quadratic | ,091          | 1,808 | 2   | 36  | ,179 | 5,208               | 5,584 | 80,685 |



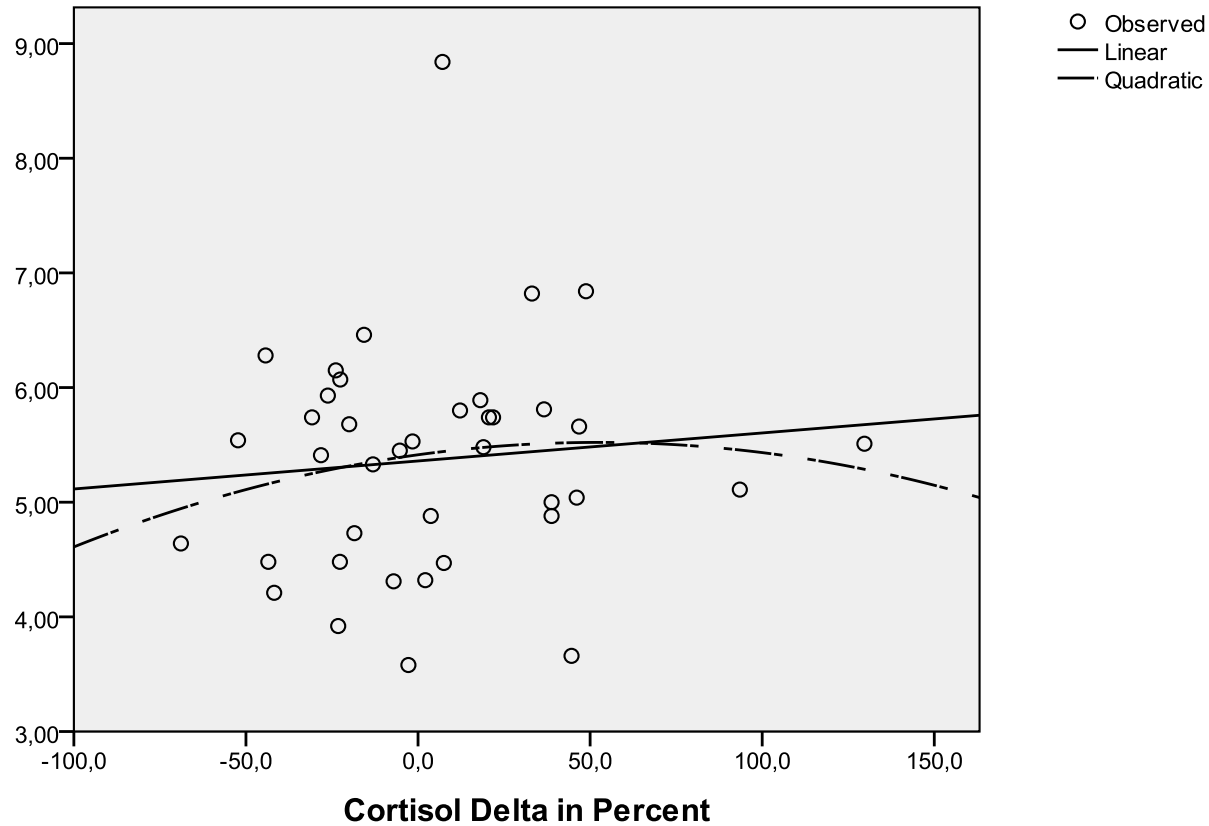
# FIRST RESULTS – How does the relation stress & creativity look like?

Regression – curve fit: **Cortisol delta %** as independent, average creativity as dependent variable

Dependent Variable: Q2 Avg Creativity

| Equation  | Model Summary |      |     |     |      | Parameter Estimates |      |           |
|-----------|---------------|------|-----|-----|------|---------------------|------|-----------|
|           | R Square      | F    | df1 | df2 | Sig. | Constant            | b1   | b2        |
| Linear    | ,010          | ,361 | 1   | 37  | ,552 | 5,360               | ,002 |           |
| Quadratic | ,019          | ,352 | 2   | 36  | ,706 | 5,414               | ,004 | -3,924E-5 |

Q2 Avg Creativity





# FIRST RESULTS – Does stress always feel bad?

Validation of **self-rated wellbeing**: Correlation between PSQ „joy“ and IMI „interest & enjoyment“

Correlations

|                             |                                   | Q3 Joy Scale | Q4 Interest/Enjoyment Scale |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------|
| Q3 Joy Scale                | Pearson Correlation               | 1            | ,419**                      |
|                             | Sig. (2-tailed)                   |              | ,005                        |
|                             | Sum of Squares and Cross-products | 16588,619    | 368,762                     |
|                             | Covariance                        | 385,782      | 8,576                       |
|                             | N                                 | 44           | 44                          |
| Q4 Interest/Enjoyment Scale | Pearson Correlation               | ,419**       | 1                           |
|                             | Sig. (2-tailed)                   | ,005         |                             |
|                             | Sum of Squares and Cross-products | 368,762      | 46,684                      |
|                             | Covariance                        | 8,576        | 1,086                       |
|                             | N                                 | 44           | 44                          |

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

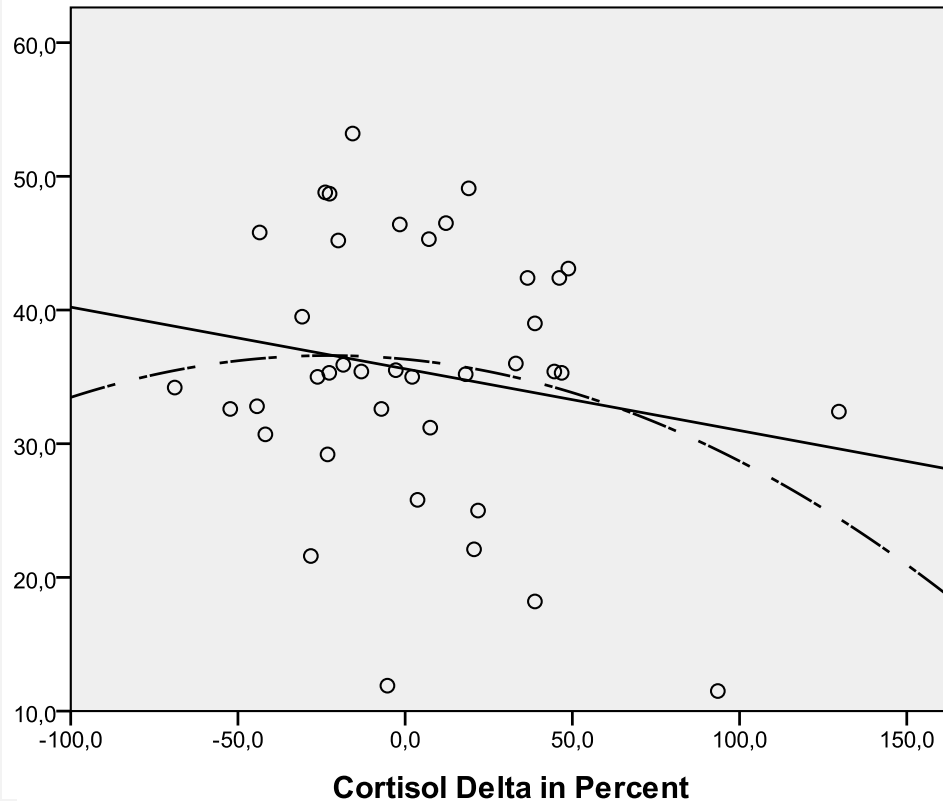
# FIRST RESULTS – Does stress always feel bad? **Yes?**

Regression – curve fit: **Cortisol delta %** as independent, self-rated wellbeing as dependent variable

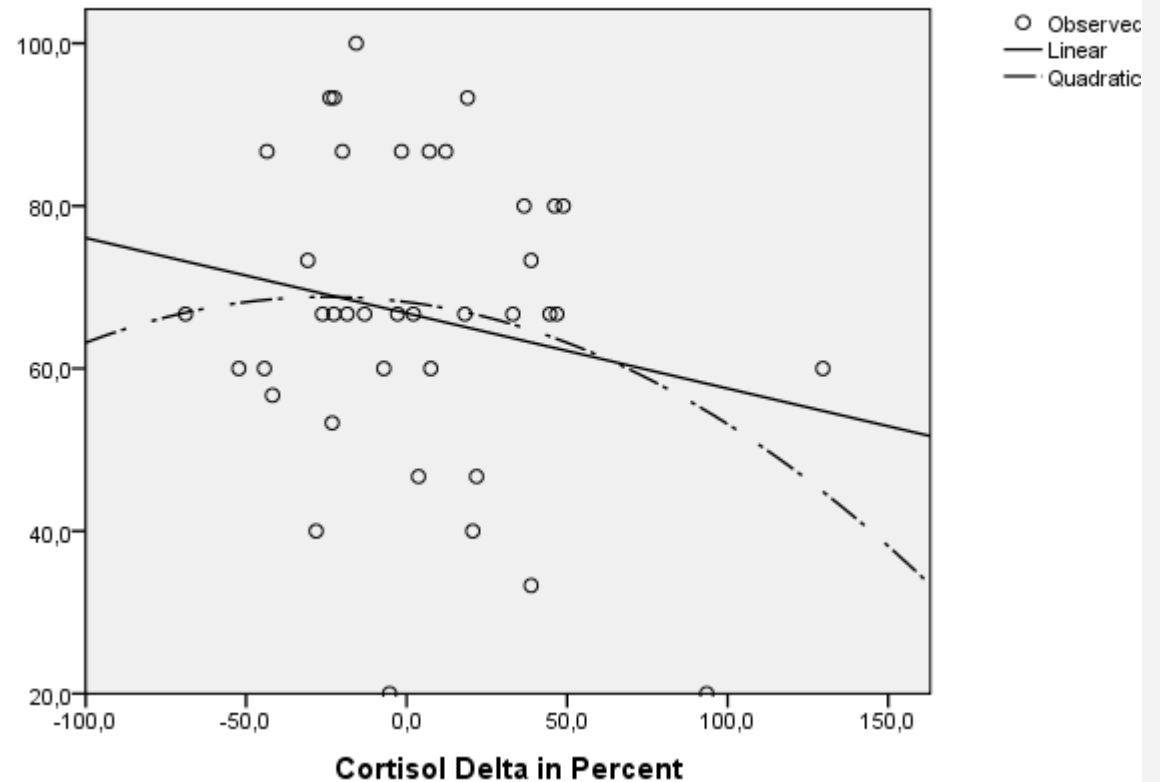
Dependent Variable: Joy-Index

| Equation  | Model Summary |       |     |     |      | Parameter Estimates |       |      |
|-----------|---------------|-------|-----|-----|------|---------------------|-------|------|
|           | R Square      | F     | df1 | df2 | Sig. | Constant            | b1    | b2   |
| Linear    | ,035          | 1,322 | 1   | 37  | ,258 | 35,600              | -,046 |      |
| Quadratic | ,052          | ,977  | 2   | 36  | ,386 | 36,324              | -,024 | ,000 |

Joy-Index



Q3 Joy Scale



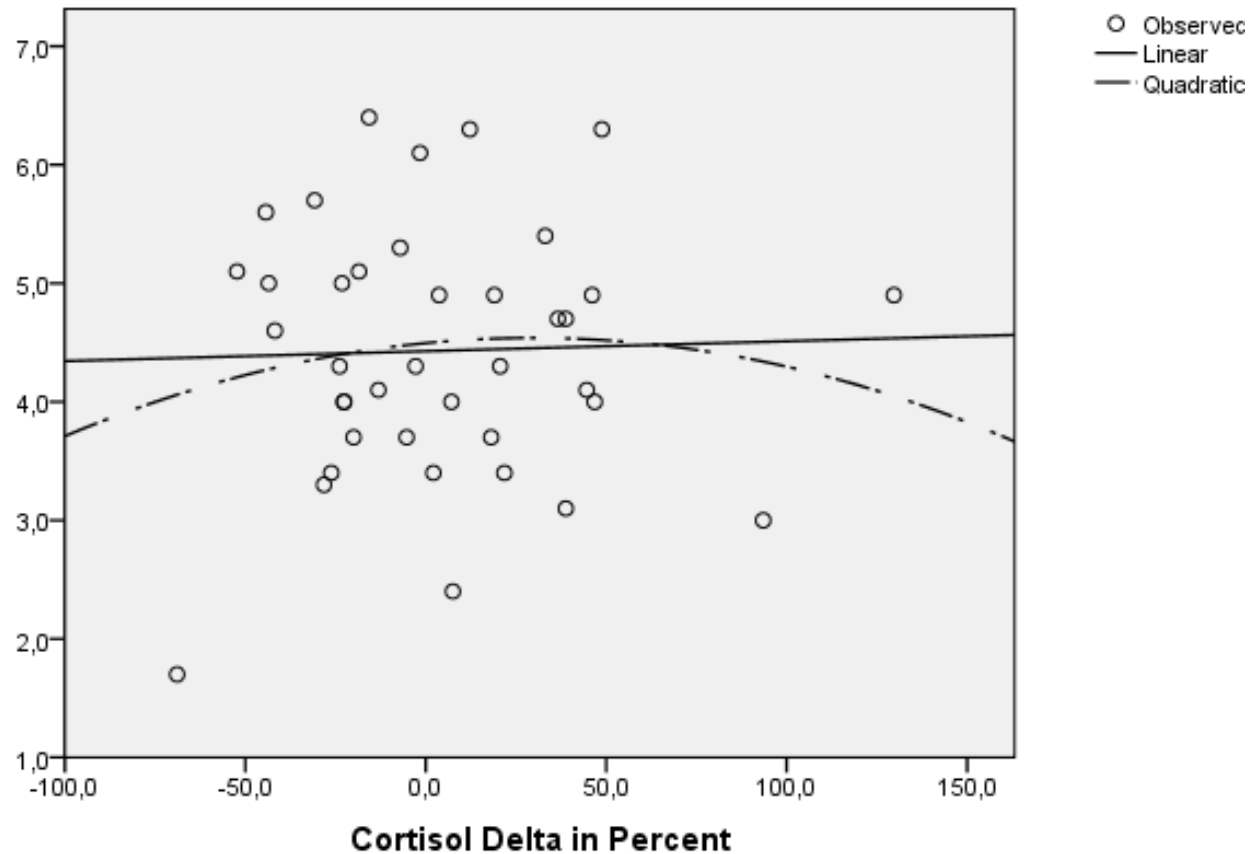
# FIRST RESULTS – Does stress always feel bad? **NO! Not if is of interest!**

Regression – curve fit: **Cortisol delta %** as independent, self-rated wellbeing as dependent variable

Dependent Variable: Q4 Interest/Enjoyment Scale

| Equation  | Model Summary |      |     |     |      | Parameter Estimates |      |           |
|-----------|---------------|------|-----|-----|------|---------------------|------|-----------|
|           | R Square      | F    | df1 | df2 | Sig. | Constant            | b1   | b2        |
| Linear    | ,001          | ,036 | 1   | 37  | ,851 | 4,427               | ,001 |           |
| Quadratic | ,014          | ,250 | 2   | 36  | ,780 | 4,495               | ,003 | -4,918E-5 |

Q4 Interest/Enjoyment Scale



# FIRST RESULTS – Is there a connection between group size and stress?

Anova: Factor **group size**, cortisol delta % and creativity as dependent variables

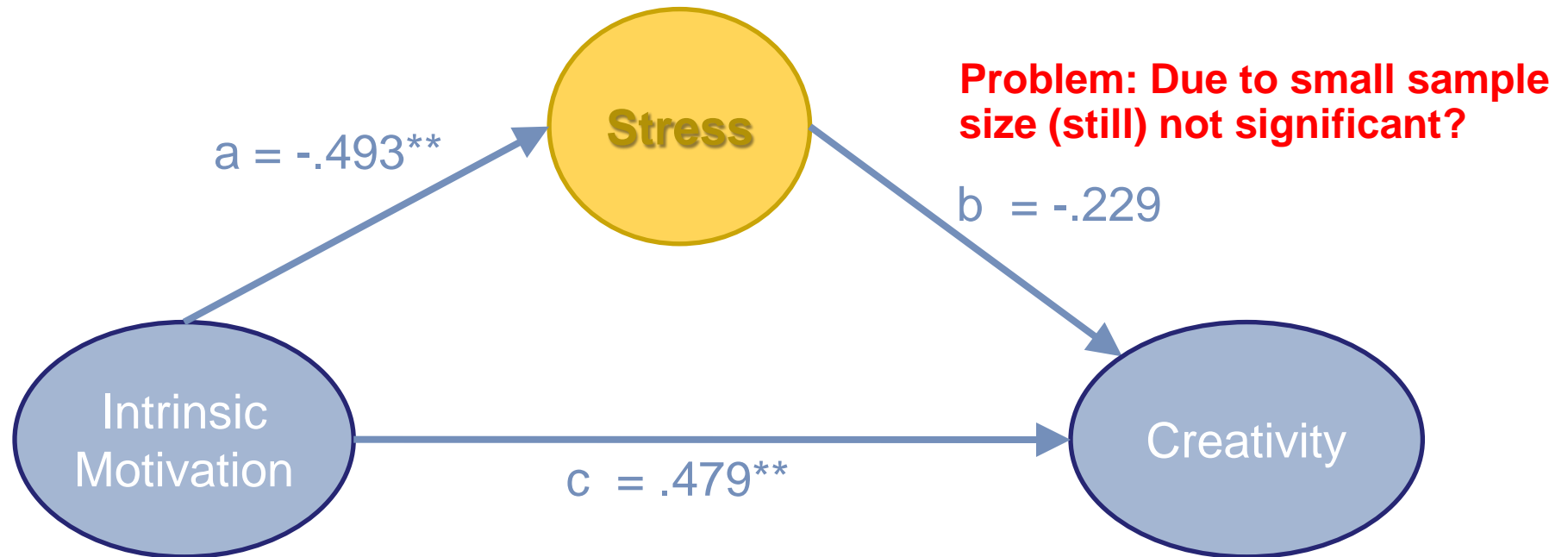
|                           |                | Sum of Squares | df | Mean Square | F     | Sig. |
|---------------------------|----------------|----------------|----|-------------|-------|------|
| Cortisol Delta in Percent | Between Groups | 1892,877       | 4  | 473,219     | ,278  | ,890 |
|                           | Within Groups  | 57937,719      | 34 | 1704,051    |       |      |
|                           | Total          | 59830,596      | 38 |             |       |      |
| Q2 Avg Creativity         | Between Groups | 8,072          | 4  | 2,018       | 2,226 | ,084 |
|                           | Within Groups  | 35,355         | 39 | ,907        |       |      |
|                           | Total          | 43,428         | 43 |             |       |      |
| Q3 Total Score            | Between Groups | 3623,356       | 4  | 905,839     | 3,608 | ,014 |
|                           | Within Groups  | 9791,499       | 39 | 251,064     |       |      |
|                           | Total          | 13414,855      | 43 |             |       |      |

# Mediation of creativity-decreasing effect of lowered intrinsic motivation?

Mediation model – revised

Step 1: Calculate correlations

Step 2: Calculating regression analysis (regressing creativity to intrinsic motivation and stress)



# Mediation of creativity-decreasing effect of lowered intrinsic motivation?

## Mediation model – revised

Step 1: Calculate correlations

Step 2: Calculating regression analysis (regressing creativity to intrinsic motivation and stress)

Step 3: Sobel test: using SPSS syntax of Preacher, K. J., & Hayes, A. F. (2004), including bootstrapping

INDIRECT EFFECT And SIGNIFICANCE USING NORMAL DISTRIBUTION

|        | Value  | s.e.  | LL 95 CI | UL 95 CI | Z      | Sig(two) |
|--------|--------|-------|----------|----------|--------|----------|
| Effect | -,0050 | ,0853 | -,1723   | ,1622    | -,0588 | ,9531    |

BOOTSTRAP RESULTS For INDIRECT EFFECT

|        | Data   | Mean  | s.e.  | LL 95 CI | UL 95 CI | LL 99 CI | UL 99 CI |
|--------|--------|-------|-------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| Effect | -,0050 | ,0002 | ,0851 | -,1555   | ,1895    | -,2190   | ,2969    |

NUMBER OF BOOTSTRAP RESAMPLES

5000

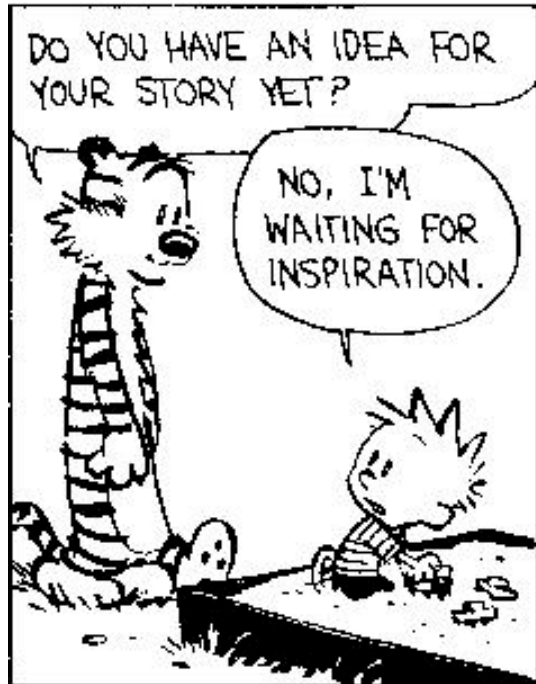
FAIRCHILD ET AL. (2009) VARIANCE IN Y ACCOUNTED FOR BY INDIRECT EFFECT:

,0524

→ No significant reduction of path Creativity-Intr.Mot. by Stress!

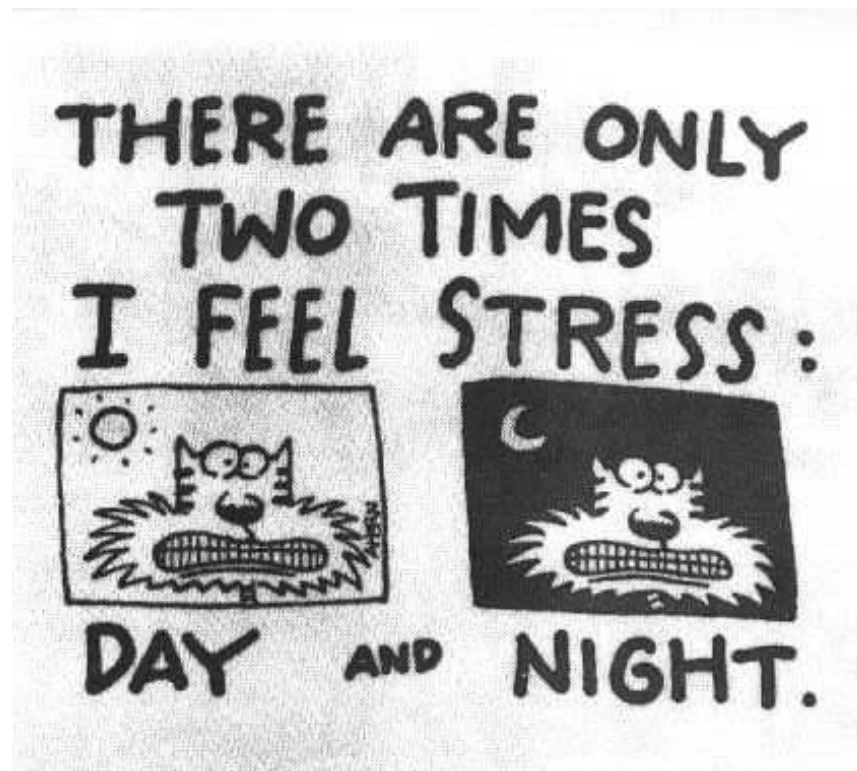
# Discussion

So, what do YOU think about the relation between stress and creativity, after all?



# Discussion

What does the results imply for the creative potential of chronically stressed people?





# Discussion

What does the results imply for allday creativity?



# Discussion

## Interesting Questions:

- What is the relation between cortisol and the conditions? Did the „stressing“ work? ✓
- How do people „feel“ stress – is there something like „eustress“? (relation between cortisol values and joy-scale of PSQ / interest enjoyment-scale of IMI)? ✓
- How about the correlation between Cortisol and PSQ? ✓
- Does an overall stress-index constituted from cortisol- and PSQ-values make sense? Would it more clearly reflect an actual stress-level? **From current data rather not!**
- What does the change in cortisol say about the stress system of the respective person? ?
- Is there a connection between groupsize and stress-level (in terms of psychosocial stress / stress mediated via group pressure)? ✓
- Does stress better explain the crowding effect within creativity research?