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Dissimilar Mechanisms Underlie Perceived Happiness of the Introverts and Extraverts: A Thematic Analysis*

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SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH ARTICLE

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Abstract

The study explored the mechanisms behind differences in the perceived happiness of introverts and extraverts. Using a qualitative research design, 22 introverts and 27 extraverts were chosen through their scores on the revised Eysenck personality questionnaire. The data were collected through a semi-structured interview that included questions on the meaning, causes and sources of happiness. The verbatim transcriptions were analysed through the thematic analysis method. Five themes were identified: dissimilar conceptualizations of happiness, differences in the inclination towards happiness, dissimilar loci of happiness, differences in the temporal quality, and the sources of happiness. The extraverts were more inclined towards short-lived and dynamic nature of happiness whereas permanency, meaningfulness, and stability pervaded in the meaning of happiness of the introverts. The introverts value internal and achieved sources whereas external and ascribed sources of happiness find expressions in extraverts. For introverts, happiness originated from individual activities whereas interpersonal activities caused happiness in extraverts. These differences may be due to their dissimilar conceptualizations and sources of happiness.

Keywords: extraversion, happiness, introversion, thematic analysis method, personality.

Mecanismos Diferentes Subyacen a la Felicidad Percibida por los Introvertidos y los Extrovertidos: Un Análisis Temático

Resumen

El estudio exploró los mecanismos detrás de las diferencias en la felicidad percibida de los introvertidos y extrovertidos. Utilizando un diseño de investigación cualitativo, se eligieron 22 introvertidos y 27 extrovertidos a través de sus puntajes en el cuestionario de personalidad de Eysenck revisado. Los datos fueron recolectados a través de una entrevista semiestructurada que incluyó preguntas sobre el significado, las causas y las fuentes de la felicidad. Las transcripciones textuales fueron analizadas a través del método de análisis temático. Se identificaron cinco temas: disímiles conceptualizaciones de la felicidad, diferencias en la inclinación hacia la felicidad, lugares diferentes de la felicidad, diferencias en la calidad temporal y las fuentes de la felicidad. Los extrovertidos estaban más inclinados hacia la naturaleza dinámica y de corta duración de la felicidad, mientras que la permanencia, el significado y la estabilidad impregnaban el significado de la felicidad de los introvertidos. Los introvertidos valoran las fuentes internas y logradas, mientras que las fuentes externas y atribuidas de felicidad encuentran expresión en los extrovertidos. Para los introvertidos, la felicidad se originaba en actividades individuales, mientras que las actividades interpersonales causaban felicidad en los extrovertidos. Estas diferencias pueden deberse a sus diferentes conceptualizaciones y fuentes de felicidad.

Palabras clave: extraversión, felicidad, introversión, método de análisis temático, personalidad.

Introduction

Happiness refers to satisfaction with life coupled with a higher frequency of positive affect with a relatively low occurrence of negative affect over a period (Fors Connolly & Gärling, 2024; Furnham & Petrides, 2003; Singh et al., 2023). Three major sources of happiness have been suggested: life circumstances and demographic, traits and dispositions, and intentional behaviours (Kerstetter et al., 2022; Lyubomirsky et al., 2005). Out of these, personality denotes an important source of happiness (Diener & Seligman, 2002). Personality refers to a coherent patterning of affect, behaviour, cognition, and desires over time and space which has been reported to be associated significantly with individual differences in affective level and environmental responsiveness (Corr, 2008). The traits of extraversion and introversion nurture different cognitive and affective behaviours that, in turn, create differences in the experiences of positive and negative emotions of individuals (Cloninger, 2013; Costa & McCrae, 1980; Tohver, 2020; Walker, 2020). Extraversion and neuroticism have been popular personality traits that have been reported to be stable over time and observable across different cultures (Lu et al., 1997; Walker, 2020). Individuals with high extraversion are talkative, dominant, and gregarious while the opposite is true about an individual with low on this personality trait (McCrae & Costa, 1987; Petric, 2022). Research suggests that personality traits have high predictive validity on many life outcomes including emotional experience. Besides, extraverts have been suggested to be inclined to experience more positive emotions, happiness, and lower level of depression than those who score lower on this measure (Cloninger, 2013; Harris et al., 2017; Margolis & Lyubomirsky, 2020).

In their meta-analysis, DeNeve and Cooper (1998) have concluded that emotional stability, conscientiousness, extraversion, and agreeableness predispose individuals to experience the happiness of a particular level. Some researchers have argued that extraversion appears to mediate happiness

through assertiveness and social behaviours rather than any inherent bias towards happiness (Argyle et al., 1989; DeNeve & Cooper, 1998). Emotional stability and extraversion are linked with temperamental differences in positive and negative affect that are rooted in the biological basis of happiness (Chamorro-Premuzic et al., 2007). It has been posited that different personality traits predispose individuals to choose the situations that fulfil specific personality trait needs (Furnham, 1981). In essence, different personality traits have been reported to be linked closely with varying degree of happiness. It led to conclude that happiness is a thing called stable extraversion (Eysenck & Kelly, 1983; Lucas & Diener, 2001). Thus, the majority of these studies have reported extraversion to be closely linked with happiness than introversion (Card & Skakoon-Sparling, 2023; Lucas, 2007; Steel et al., 2008).

If people with two personality traits carry dissimilar inclination, then it may be argued that they may be different in their conceptualizations of happiness as personality traits have been suggested to shape cognitions, environmental orientations and affective attributes (Corr, 2008). This conclusion seems empirically wrong. Is it possible that all extraverts are happier than introverts? We argue that the question raised by the previous researchers studying the personality differences in happiness was itself wrong. The real research question should have been as “What are the basic differences in the meaning, nature and sources of happiness of introverts and extraverts?”

Studies that suggest that extraverts are happier than introverts define happiness through subjective well-being (SWB) that include frequent positive affect, infrequent negative affect and high life satisfaction (Lucas, 2007; Lucas & Diener, 2001). They often evaluate happiness based on self-report scales as the Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS) for the affective well-being and Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS) for cognitive well-being. Findings indicate that extraverts experience greater happiness due to higher reward sensitivity, increased social engagement, and stronger positive affect

reactivity, reinforcing the role of personality traits in shaping subjective well-being. The majority of the research work used the happiness measure developed by Lyubomirsky and Lepper (1999), which conceptualized happiness as a global and subjective assessment of well-being, independent of objective life circumstances. It measures individuals' overall perception of their happiness relative to others and their own standards. Happiness was measured through self-comparisons and implicit judgments rather than relying solely on momentary affect.

The measurement of happiness in previous studies may reflect a narrower concept of happiness, or there may be an alternative construct that better captures the enjoyment introverts derive from various activities. For instance, while extraverts may indeed experience higher levels of happiness, introverts might instead experience greater "satisfaction" or "calmness". These experiences could, in turn, contribute to positive outcomes as improved physical and psychological well-being for introverts. This suggests that "happiness" may not be as beneficial for introverts as it is for extraverts, rather than implying that happiness holds different meanings for the two groups.

Hills and Argyle (2001) have suggested that extraversion and introversion personality traits may be differently linked with happiness due to the differences in their sociability and social relationships but there are certain tendencies as empathy and affiliation which are common to both and they are linked with happiness. These researchers also argued that both introverts and extraverts exhibited a similar preference for privacy, social relations and reflective activities which are essential ingredients of experiencing happiness. Besides, they also suggested that introverts and extraverts may differ in their mechanisms mediating their nature and extent of happiness and the relationship between introversion and extraversion personality traits need a fresh look to understand the nature and mechanisms of happiness of introverts and extraverts (Hills & Argyle, 2001).

In essence, these findings act as a reasonable ground to speculate that the differences in the happiness of introverts and extraverts reported in the previous studies may be due to the overlooking the differences in the conceptualization of nature, sources, processes and mechanisms of happiness in introverts and extraverts. It may be argued that dissimilar nature, mechanisms and sources of happiness along with contrasting emotional, cognitive, interpersonal and social goals of introverts and extraverts may underlie their experiences of dissimilar happiness. We argue that the happiness of introverts and extraverts are guided by their dissimilar meanings and sources of happiness. Dynamic systems theory has suggested combining state and trait dimensions by reflecting upon the study of short-term and live experiences of individuals that may be an essential source of deeper understanding personality processes and outcomes (Fleeson & Jayawickreme, 2015; Sosnowska et al., 2020). Accordingly, we chose a thematic analysis approach, a form of qualitative research design, to explore the real causes behind differences in the happiness of introverts and extraverts based on their momentary and live experiences. A qualitative method has been suggested to be useful where the nature and attributes of the construct/s are not explicit or there is no guiding framework (Creswell, 2004). In this background, the study aimed to explore the meaning, nature and sources of happiness of introverts and extraverts.

Methods and procedure

Research Design

A qualitative research design was used to come up with a deeper understanding of the various aspects of happiness of the introverts and extraverts. The study used a constructivist approach which refers to a dialogical exchange between the interviewers and interviewees to the experiences and meanings held by them (Levitt et al., 2018).

Participants

The extreme scorers were screened from a pool of 225 participants who were initially administered Eysenck Personality Questionnaire (Tiwari et al., 2009) to identify introverts and extraverts ($N = 49$, $Age\ Range = 18\ to\ 25\ years$, $Mean\ Age = 21.76$, $SD = 2.16$). Out of these, 22 were introverts ($Mean\ Age = 21.57$, $SD = 2.62$) and the rest 27 were extraverts ($Mean\ Age = 21.93$, $SD = 1.70$). The participants were

students who were pursuing their undergraduate and postgraduate programmes from the various departments of Dr. Harisingh Gour University, Sagar, Madhya Pradesh, India who belonged predominantly to the lower-middle-class of the various Indian states. More details of their biographic attributes are given in Table 1.

Table 1

Demographic Features of the Introverts (n = 22) and the Extraverts (n = 27)

Demographic Features	Frequency	Percentage
Age (Years)		
18-20	15	30.61%
21-23	27	55.10%
24-26	7	14.29%
Personality		
Introverts	22	44.90%
Extraverts	27	55.10%
Gender		
Males	20	40.82%
Females	29	59.18%
Religion		
Hindu	39	79.59%
Muslim	3	6.12%
Jain	7	14.29%
Domicile		
Rural	19	38.78%
Urban	30	61.22%
Educational Levels		
Graduation	15	30.61%
Postgraduation	34	69.39%

Research Team

There were nine researchers in the team who had a good knowledge of the qualitative research. Authors placed from third to ninth numbers contributed in collecting, processing and analysing the data, and preparing the first draft while the first two authors conceptualized, monitored, and prepared the final draft of the manuscript. All the authors were well-practised in qualitative studies. The differences in their age, experiences and academic background were minimized by a regular discussion.

Recruitment of the Participants

The study was conducted during July 2019 and March 2020. No compensation was paid to the participants for their participation in the study. The study was approved by the Ethics Committee of the Department of Psychology, Dr. Harisingh Gour University, Sagar, Madhya Pradesh, India. The inclusion criteria for the introverts and extraverts were their scores above 75 percentile and below 25 percentile on the personality measure (Tiwari et al., 2009), respectively. The participants were debriefed about the basic goals of the study and gave written consent. The participants were chosen

through a purposive sampling method which has been suggested to be useful when the goal of the research is to explore about the experiences more relevant to the phenomenon of interest (Creswell, 2014). Only the adults were chosen as they were easily available and represented an information-rich group and were able to describe and reflect upon the experiences of happiness (Patton, 2015). The sample size was sufficient as it was beyond the recommended size of 12 for qualitative study using purposive sampling (Guest et al., 2012).

Data Collection

The participants gave their written consent to participate in the study before the actual data collection was started. They were debriefed about the study goals. A semi-structured interview protocol was used to collect the data. The structure of the interview protocol was developed as per the study goals which were identified in the beginning. The interviews were conducted thoroughly focusing on the goals of the study which took 63 to 81 minutes (*Mean Length* = 72.16 min.). The questions were based on the meaning of happiness, causes, and sources of happiness of the introverts and extraverts. Devices available in mobile phones were used to record the contents of the interviews which were later transcribed verbatim. Initially, some consensus meetings and a pilot study on 5 participants (2 introverts and 3 extraverts) were conducted to develop a preliminary interview protocol. These data were not included in the final analysis. These initial efforts helped to make decisions and to understand the ability of the participants that they will be able to report their experiences of happiness.

In this study, the participants were prompted through open-ended questions in semi-structured interviews. Open-ended questions as “Can you describe a recent experience that made you feel truly happy?” and “How do social interactions influence your happiness?” encouraged rich and detailed responses. Questions encouraged introspection on their happiness experiences, social

interactions, and coping strategies. Probes ensured depth and clarity. Rigour was maintained through reflexivity (journaling biases), data triangulation (multiple sources), and member checking (participant validation) to enhance credibility. A systematic coding process, audit trails, and thematic saturation ensured reliability and dependability. Rich and thick descriptions enhanced transferability. Additionally, inter-coder reliability was ensured through independent coding and discussion among researchers, enhancing credibility and consistency in thematic analysis. These measures strengthened the study’s validity and trustworthiness of the findings, ensuring that findings accurately captured participants’ lived experiences and provided meaningful insights into the happiness perceptions of introverts and extraverts. The saturation was indicated when no new themes and codes emerged from additional interviews consistent with the research questions (Saunders et al., 2018). The saturation was reached after the completion of 41 data and 8 more interviews were conducted to confirm it.

Data Analysis

The thematic analysis method was used in this study. It consists of organizing and preparing, obtaining a general sense, coding, generating categories or themes and interpreting the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Confidentiality was maintained by assigning codes to each participant whereas multiple scrutiny of the data and codes determined the reliability. The data were read again and again to enhance the acquaintance of the contents and inherent meaning in the interview contents and to develop insights (Barbour, 2001). According to the suggestions of Guest et al. (2012), these generated codes were organized, merged and re-categorized to identify relevant codes. The analysis of the data was completed with the help of inductive and deductive thematic analysis method (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

A codebook was maintained to keep a vigil on the incorporations and deletions of the codes.

After generating codes, they were assessed and reviewed for the sake of appropriate modifications and revisions. The assessments and reviews helped to find out codes and refrain from irrelevant ones. An iterative approach was employed until the analysis was completed to enhance the quality of coding. A gap of one week was observed to reduce the distortion due to over-involvement in the data (Braun & Clarke, 2016; Guest et al., 2012). These efforts facilitated to come up with the final codes and relevant themes. Methodological integrity was achieved with the help of regular discussions, evaluation, focus, dependable analysis, and managing a codebook.

Audio-recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim, followed by familiarization with the data. Initial codes were generated inductively, capturing meaningful segments related to happiness. Codes were then collated into potential themes through iterative comparison, ensuring alignment with participant narratives. Themes were refined through discussions, maintaining coherence and distinctiveness. A reflexive approach was used to minimize distortions. The final themes covered psychological and social mechanisms that influence happiness in introverts and extraverts and provide an insight into individual differences in happiness. The following steps were involved in the data analysis process (Braun & Clarke, 2006):

1. Familiarization: Researchers transcribed and repeatedly read the data to gain a deeper familiarity.
2. Initial coding: Data that captured key patterns related to happiness were systematically coded.
3. Theme Generation: Codes were clustered into potential themes that reflected the meaning, sources, and mechanisms behind perceived happiness differences in introverts and extraverts.
4. Reviewing themes: Themes were refined that ensured coherence and relevance.
5. Defining and naming: Clear definitions and names were assigned to each theme.

6. Reporting: Themes were structured to illustrate key findings with supporting quotes.

Results

The analyses resulted in five major themes: dissimilarities in the conceptualizations of happiness, inclination towards happiness, loci of happiness, the temporal quality of happiness and the sources of happiness. A summary of the major findings is presented in Table 2. (Note: M = Male Participant, F = Female Participant, I = Introvert, E = Extravert and the numerals = Serial number of the participants).

Theme 1: Dissimilar conceptualizations of happiness

Introverts and extraverts reported significant differences in their meanings and conceptualizations of happiness. Introverts reported durability, permanency, calmness and meaningfulness as the core of their happiness (For me, happiness emanates from involving oneself in the logical and realistic activities leading to satisfaction and security). Calmness, meaningfulness, self-sufficiency, systematicity and orderliness, rational end, quality, intrapersonal logical acts, self-reflective actions, emotion suppression, less-adherence to the social norm and less cheerfulness were the core features of the perceived happiness of the introverts.

Introverts reported that a smaller number of friends makes life easier to manage well while a larger number of friends always make disturbance and place demands which make it difficult to carry out important tasks of life.

I feel happy about making a lesser number of friends. It helps me to avoid unnecessary interpersonal conflicts and negative competitions. (M_I_9)

The larger number of friends place multiple demands that directly disturb my routine and activities. (F_I_5)

Instead of making too many relationships, I find satisfaction and happiness in limited and close relationships. (F_I_8)

The introverts reported happiness in activities which were comparatively solitary and required a small number of persons.

I enjoy reading books as it helps to understand the meanings of various aspects of life. (F_I_2)

I enjoy a movie alone with a rational and meaningful end. (M_I_5)

I never wait for much anyone for gossip or anything for help or games. (M_I_1)

The lifestyle of the introverts is more systematic and orderly. They liked to place things in a systematic manner which gave satisfaction and happiness.

I keep my things in a systematic manner that gives me satisfaction and ease. (M_I_12)

When I get free time, I devote it to arrange the things around me. I help my family to keep things a good and approachable order. (M_I_5)

I like to think and imagine things about my life which satisfy me a lot. (F_I_5)

The introverts reported that they liked to maintain closeness and durable relationships that gave them security and dependability.

I like informality in relationships. True and inner nature is important for a good relationship. (M_I_3)

I enjoy solving problems that demand challenge and grey matter. (M_I_11)

The emotional expressions of the introverts were reported to be comparatively restricted and controlled.

I do not like laughing openly. I usually like to remain serious. (F_I_7)

I like to say jokes and laugh with my close friends and family members. (M_I_12)

I hesitate to laugh in front of strangers. (M_I_11)

I usually remain serious and sometimes get depressed as and when less familiar persons visit my home. (F_I_1)

The introverts reported that they logically assessed their part and did not care about others when they thought they were right. Thus, they showed lower social conformity.

I do not care much about other people and society if I am doing right in my views. (M_I_7)

I do enjoy things when I think they are logically correct and does not infringe on others rights.

(M_I_3)

On the other hand, the meaning inherent in the perceived happiness of the extraverts involved novelty, excitement, and immediacy (I find the greatest happiness in thinking of the realities that are novel, creative and enjoying. I do like to involve myself deeply in things that give me satisfaction, security and new ways of life problems). Thus, the happiness of extraverts comprised of interpersonal dependence, working relationship, high arousal, positive end, tangible life goals, interpersonal orientations, strong-adherence to the social norm, high cheerfulness, less emotional control and happy-go-lucky inclination.

I usually enjoy playing with my friends and even I like to let new persons join my play. (M_E_1)

I make friends for particular purposes and remain dependent on many for various purposes. (F_E_3)

I gossip with my friends. It gives me happiness and laughter. I read books on jokes. (M_E_9)

I become very sad when I have to watch a movie in which the hero gets dead at the end. (F_E_7)

I have many types of friends. Some are studious and good players while others are businessmen. (M_E_18)

I even do not enjoy a tasty food dish alone. I share the Tiffin with my friends. (F_E_9)

I do not want to disregard my friends. (M_E_6)

I usually laugh loudly after listening to jokes. (F_E_2)

I mostly cannot control my laughter. (M_E_13)

I do not put my things in order. It's all right. Others are there to care for me and my things. (M_E_4)

Theme 2: Differences in the inclination towards happiness

Introverts and extraverts differ in their inclination towards happiness. Thus, permanency (I do regularly enjoy in a task that is well-defined and satisfying), meaningfulness (I am attracted towards useful and logical activities), and stable attributes (I enjoy doing things that are predictable

and logical) pervaded in the meaning of happiness of the introverts. Introverts were more orientated towards faithful relationships, logical aspect, long-term emotional aspects of an event, peacefulness, controlled, cold and engaging tasks with past and future orientations.

I am attracted to useful and logical activities. (F_I_3)

I enjoy doing things that are predictable and logical. (M_I_2)

I usually play games at my home with my neighbouring friends to get enjoyment and satisfaction for long as they are always available for me. (F_I_5)

I do regularly enjoy in a task that is well-defined and satisfying. (M_I_10)

I usually avoid watching games in the playground as there is very noise and audience often makes hooting and disruption. (M_I_4)

I do not play cricket as it consumes much time and energy. (M_I_7)

I usually think of the past and take a lesson from there for future goals. (F_I_4)

Contrarily, the extraverts showed more preference for short-lived (I enjoy to meet many people regularly even for a very brief period) and dynamic nature of happiness (I enjoy participating in multiple activities that are arousing, thrilling and involve interactions). The extraverts were directed more towards exciting, action-orientation, working relationships, arousal and excitability aspects, short-term emotional aspects of an event, less-controlled, over-engagement, and present-orientation.

I enjoy meeting many new people regularly. (M_E_2)

I enjoy participating in multiple activities that are arousing, thrilling and involve interactions. (F_E_1)

I do not much care about others for their inconvenience. (M_E_3)

I enjoy and like activities which are thrilling and action-oriented. (M_E_7)

I do not much involve myself in activities that give pain for long. (M_E_14)

I generally do not take it seriously of others' criticism. (M_E_16)

I frequently visit my friends' home because their parents care about me. (M_E_17)

I like to enjoy moments of life and get satisfaction in the activities that do not bore me. (F_E_8)

Theme 3: Dissimilar loci of happiness

Introverts and extraverts exhibited dissimilar loci of their happiness. For example, the introverts emphasized internal sources (I do enjoy frequent imaginations, sometimes in day-dreaming) and achieved sources (I do not want to share things to new people and I also do not like to use others). The happiness of introverts lends the genesis of their happiness from self or close groups, solitary place, passive and inward stimulations.

I like to meet my close and reliable friends and relatives. (M_I_6)

I do not want to share things with new people and I do not like to use others also. (F_I_4)

I don't play with new persons and like to remain to lie on the bed in holidays. (M_I_8)

I do enjoy frequent imaginations, sometimes in day-dreaming. (F_I_6)

Conversely, external (I regularly take lunch of my friends. I regularly want to watch movies and enjoy happenings around me) and ascribed sources (My friends purchase books and other study materials which are also useful for me) find expressions in the happiness of the extraverts. Extraverts' happiness lies in the activities of larger groups, interpersonal, social and team interactions, open place, action and outward stimulations.

I regularly take the lunch of my friends. I regularly want to watch movies and enjoy happenings around me. (M_E_4)

My friends purchase books and other study materials which are also useful for me. (M_E_5)

I cannot remain aloof during my long holidays. (F_E_2)

I get pleasure in places where they are many people in a large space. (M_E_8)

I like to play or watch cricket or football as it provided me with the opportunities to remain engaged and active. (M_E_11)

I get pleasure in thinking people who love play and travel. (F_E_4)

Theme 4: Differences in the temporal quality of happiness

Introverts and extraverts differ significantly in their temporal quality of happiness. For example, the introverts reported happiness as significant when the sources of happiness are permanent and stable (My friendships are very limited as making many friends may result in interpersonal conflicts and negative competitions). The happiness of the introverts was of gradual nature and long-term.

I believe that regular efforts on any task give much pleasure and satisfaction. (M_I_6)

My friendships are very limited as making many friends may result in interpersonal conflicts and negative competitions. (F_I_8)

We have limited talks with others. I remain angry for long when something does not happen according to my wish. (M_I_8)

My lifestyle is well-organized. (M_I_12)

I have very fixed choices for my food. (F_I_2)

The extraverts reported short-lived and changing sources of happiness (I have many friends. Sometimes, we get involved in interpersonal quarrels and tease one another. We never stop talking. We settle the issues within a day or two). The happiness of extraverts was of fast and speedy, moving and immediate nature.

I have many friends. Sometimes, we get involved in interpersonal quarrels and tease one another. We never stop talking. (M_E_10)

We settle the issues within a day or two. (F_E_5)

I do not enjoy a disciplined lifestyle. It bores me. (M_E_12)

I enjoy taking food dishes that are very tasty and spicy. (F_E_6)

Theme 5: Differences in the sources of happiness

Introverts and extraverts differ in their sources of happiness. For example, the happiness of the introverts had its origin from individual activities (study, indoor games, reading, gardening, crafting, writing, watching movies), close relationships and rational incidents. The introverts reported that they get their happiness in individual activities (I enjoy chess or such games that involve a lesser number of well-familiar participants. I always want to win. I avoid conflicts).

I like games that involve a lesser number of players.

I always want to win. (M_I_1)

I avoid conflicts. (F_I_5)

I like to write poems. I enjoy emotional stories. (M_I_3)

I enjoy chess or such games that involve a lesser number of close and well-familiar participants as there is no chance of cheating. (M_I_10)

I do not enjoy things that are useless. I do invest my efforts for my career development. (F_I_2)

Conversely, the extraverts reported their happiness mostly occurring in interpersonal contexts (I do not enjoy watching a movie alone. I like to play games that involve teams. I do not take it seriously either to lose or win a game). The extraverts' happiness had its genesis from other people, outdoor activities, large groups, jokes and thrilling activities.

I do not enjoy watching a movie alone. (M_E_1)

I like to play games that involve teams. I do not take it seriously either to lose or win a game. (M_E_4)

I get most enjoyment and happiness in activities that provide me with an opportunity to meet new places and people. (F_E_3)

I have close relationships with all my classmates. (M_E_11)

I like jokes. I too frequently tell jokes to my friends. (F_E_9)

I like movies which involve action and thrill. (M_E_12)

A summary of the major descriptions of the meaning, conceptualizations, sources and mechanisms of the perceived happiness of the introverts and extraverts have been presented in Table 2.

Table 2*Summary of the Perceived Happiness of the Introverts (n = 22) and the Extraverts (n = 27)*

Personality Dimensions	Major attributes of happiness	Conceptualizations of Happiness	Inclinations in Happiness	Loci of Happiness	Temporal Features of Happiness	Sources of Happiness
Introverts	Durability Permanency Calmness Meaningfulness	Self-sufficiency, systematic environment, rational end, quality, intrapersonal, logical acts, self-reflection actions, orderly, Emotion suppression, less-adherence to the social norm, less cheerful	faithful relationships, logical aspect, long-term emotional aspects of an event, peaceful, controlled, cold, less engagement, past and future orientation	Self or close groups, solitary place, passive, inward stimulation	Gradual nature, long-term,	Study, indoor games, close relationships, rational incidents, reading, gardening, crafting, writing, gaming, watching movies
Extraverts	Novelty Excitation	Interpersonal dependence, working, arousing, happy and go, positive end, quantity, interpersonal, emotional appraisal, strong-adherence to the social norm, high cheerful	Exciting, action-orientation, working relationships, arousal aspect, short-term emotional aspects of an event, excitability, less-controlled, warmth, over- engagement, present-orientation	Larger groups, interpersonal, social and team orientation, open place, action, outward stimulation	Fast and moving nature, immediate	Other people, outdoor activities, large groups, enjoy jokes, thrilling incidents,

Discussion

The findings proved the contention that introverts and extraverts significantly differed in their meaning, nature, sources and mechanisms of happiness and their personality traits significantly shaped the nature of happiness. The introverts reported endurance, serenity, and sense to be important for happiness whereas newness, meaningfulness and propinquity were relevant in the meaning of happiness of the extraverts. These conceptualizations of happiness may be linked with the basic features of introverts and extraverts. For example, introverts are shy, imaginative, and tend to solitude whereas extraverts are talkative, sociable, and cheerful (Card & Skakoon-Sparling, 2023; Costa & McCrae, 1980; Costa & McCrae, 1998; Hills & Argyle, 2001; McCrae & Costa, 1987; Tohver, 2020). It has also been argued that these personality traits significantly shape the cognitive and affective structuring of people (Costa & McCrae, 1998; Hills & Argyle, 2001).

It was observed that introverts showed meaningfulness and endurance as important ingredients of happiness while extraverts reported transient and exciting attributes relevant for happiness. Introverts are more rational and imaginative and confined to smaller relationships as compared to the extraverts (Costa & McCrae, 1980; Hills & Argyle, 2001; Walker, 2020). This might be the possible reasons behind dissimilar inclinations towards happiness. The two groups also differed in the predisposition of their nature of happiness. The introverts reported happiness to be originating from within and accomplished things whereas extraverts referred to external and given sources for their happiness. Their different orientations to receive happiness and satisfaction may be argued to be originating from their different preference for arousability, liking, and neurological makeup (Abdullahi et al., 2020; Fishman et al., 2011; Walker, 2020). Most importantly, introverts showed their interest in personal sources of happiness

whereas extraverts recognized the importance of interpersonal sources for their happiness. In earlier studies, it has been argued that introverts and extraverts exhibit their sensitivity to different social stimulations and reward sensitivity (Ashton et al., 2002; Fishman et al., 2011; Tohver, 2020; Walker, 2020). The happiness of the two groups also reflected dissimilar temporal attributes. This may be due to their dissimilar emotionality and temperaments (Schmidt, 2016). The findings explicitly suggest that both introverts and extraverts experience happiness but their happiness is guided by dissimilar conceptualizations, sources, and mechanisms.

There is a lack of studies in this line of research. We could find only a single study that can be said to be a bit close to the arguments of the present study and support our findings to some extent. It was Hills and Argyle (2001) who argued that introverts and extraverts are similar in their preference for solitude, relations with friends and participating in reflective activities. Both introverts and extraverts experience happiness but they may differ in their meanings, sources, and mechanisms of happiness. It has been argued that the relationship of a particular personality trait with the happiness may be mediated by some social skills and interpersonal interaction styles, social conditions and environmental attributes, verbal and non-verbal cues of extraverts and introverts. Some cultural values associated with happiness may also be important (Kirkpatrick, 2015). For example, children in India who were social, active and less shy were happier. Besides, personality differences in happiness may be associated with social affiliation, partying and clubbing, mental control, instrumental goal pursuit, passive leisure, active leisure, religion, and direct attempts (Kirkpatrick, 2015).

The differences in happiness experiences of introverts and extraverts in previous studies may be due to their different conceptualizations of happiness that may lead to potential biases in traditional happiness measures. Previous research

suggests that extraverts often derive happiness from social interactions and external high-arousal activities, which are typically emphasized in standard traditional assessments of happiness (Card & Skakoon-Sparling, 2023; Smillie et al., 2015). In contrast, introverts may find contentment in solitary activities or low-stimulation activities and internal experiences as reading or deep reflection (Abdullahi et al., 2020; Cabello & Fernandez-Berrocal, 2015), which may not be adequately captured by standard happiness measures. These forms of happiness are less frequently captured by conventional measures, which may potentially underestimate happiness of introverts. Therefore, it is crucial to develop more inclusive measures beyond hedonic happiness that account for diverse sources of happiness across personality types. Future research should include alternative constructs as eudaimonic well-being and psychological richness to improve measurement validity (Oishi & Westgate, 2022). In short, the findings of the present study prove the contention that introverts and extraverts differ in their conceptualizations, processes, sources, and mechanisms of happiness not as reported by earlier studies which were exclusively based on the quantitative measurements of objective happiness through happiness questionnaires.

Small sample, use of only student sample and use of only qualitative method were some of the limitations of the study. These findings may be generalized with cautions as they are based on only a small student sample drawn from the Indian population. These findings provide initial clues to understand personality differences in happiness in a novel way. It requires further exploration of the relationship between personality and happiness in cross-cultural settings. The study may represent a unique contribution to the field of personality and happiness with significant theoretical and practical implications. The future researchers may consider age, gender, socio-cultural, and socialization differences while studying the relationship between personality and happiness.

Besides, conceptualizing personality in terms of a dynamic system that combines stable and dynamic aspects of personality, traits and states levels of analysis and regulatory mechanisms, dynamic interactions between the elements and temporal dimensions may be more insightful (Sosnowska et al., 2020). Future researchers may contribute to this field by understanding the dynamics of personality differences in other areas of human performance and functioning adopting qualitative or mixed methods. Practitioners may develop unique invention plans for enhancing positive life outcomes keeping the findings of this study in their minds. Future researchers may find these findings useful while planning to devise new measures of happiness.

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