Key Question Chapter Outline

What Forces Shape Our Personalities?

- Psychodynamic Theories
- Humanistic Theories
- Social-Cognitive Theories
- Current Trends

What Persistent Patterns Are Found in Personality?

- Personality and Temperament
- Personality as a Composite of Traits

What "Theories" Do People Use to Understand Each Other?

- Implicit Personality Theories
- Personality across Cultures

Personality: The State of the Art

CORE CONCEPTS

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According to the psychodynamic, humanistic, and cognitive theories, personality is a continuously changing process, shaped by our internal needs and cognitions and by external pressures from the social environment.

▼

Another approach describes personality in terms of stable patterns known as temperaments, traits, and types.

▼

People everywhere develop implicit assumptions ("folk theories") about personality, but these assumptions vary in important ways across cultures.

Psychology in Your Life

Explaining Unusual People and Unusual Behavior

You don't need a theory of personality to explain why people do the expected.

Finding Your Type

When it comes to classifying personality according to types, a little caution may be in order.

Developing Your Own Theory of Personality

You'll probably want to be eclectic.

USING PSYCHOLOGY TO LEARN PSYCHOLOGY:
Your Academic Locus of Control

Chapter

10

Personality

WHAT DROVE MARGARET SANGER? A psychologist trying to understand this powerful and charismatic figure might conclude that the balance in her life shifted on a sweltering day in July of 1912. She had responded to a call from the slums in New York City's Lower East Side, where Jake Sachs had found his wife, Sadie, unconscious and bleeding on the kitchen floor. The cause: Sadie had attempted to give herself an abortion. It was Sanger's job as an emergency-response nurse to save Sadie's life.

In those days, unwanted pregnancy—and botched abortions—were often the result of ignorance. Giving medical advice on sex was illegal, and birth control devices, such as condoms and diaphragms, were nearly impossible to obtain. As a result, some 100,000 illegal abortions were performed in the state every year—many of them by dangerous quack practitioners. People like Sadie, the poor and uneducated—those least able to bear the costliness of many children—had nowhere to turn for competent help with reproduction and family planning (Asbell, 1995).

Thanks to swift action by Margaret Sanger, Sadie Sachs survived. Nevertheless, Sanger was angry that she could do nothing to help prevent unwanted pregnancies. She was limited by the law to providing after-the-fact treatment for the victims of incompetent abortionists. It only added fuel to her inner fire when she later heard Sachs ask the doctor, "What can I do to stop having babies?" and heard his sarcastic reply, "Better tell Jake to sleep on the roof" (Sanger, 1971).

Sanger saw Sadie Sachs only one more time: Three months later, pregnant once again, Sadie died of another abortion attempt. This needless death spurred Sanger to seek an answer to her patients' pleas for safe contraception, "no matter what it might cost" (Sanger, 1938, in Conway, 1992, p. 567).

The cost was high. Sanger left the nursing profession and put her own family in the background as she began to research and promote contraception full time. In 1914 the threat of a prison term for "indecency" forced her to flee for England, where she spent a year waiting for the charges to be dropped. But she couldn't avoid jail altogether: In 1916, when she opened a public birth-control clinic, Sanger had to serve several jail sentences for illegally distributing information about contraception.

For 40 years, Sanger persistently challenged laws making contraception a criminal act and insisted that women take control of—and responsibility for—their bodies, sexuality, and childbearing (Kennedy, 1970; Sanger, 1971). But her single-minded focus on the birth-control cause eventually cost her a marriage to a man who had adored her and supported her work. Finally, in 1952, Sanger, then in her 70s, joined forces with philanthropist Katharine McCormick to commission the development of an oral contraceptive. The result: The first birth-control pills for women were approved for prescription eight years later.

■ **Personality** The psychological qualities that bring continuity to an individual's behavior in different situations and at different times.

The pattern of dogged determination seen in Sanger across these 40 years of struggle illustrates the central idea of this chapter: **Personality** consists of the psychological qualities that bring continuity to an individual in different situations and at different times. So, the *theories* of personality we will discuss in this chapter are "big picture" explanations that attempt to tie together all the important influences on an individual's thoughts and behavior. Thus, we might think of personality as the thread of consistency that runs through our lives (Cervone & Shoda, 1999). And when the "thread" of personality breaks, we see certain mental disorders involving extreme inconsistencies in personality: bipolar disorder, schizophrenia, and so-called "multiple personality" disorder.

CONNECTION: CHAPTER 12

Multiple personality and *split personality* are older terms for *dissociative identity disorder.*

What processes were at work to produce the pattern and consistency that we see in the life of Margaret Sanger? Was her personality shaped primarily by the people and events in her life? Those events were often so chaotic that we are forced to consider another possibility—that her strength and determi-

● Personality is the thread of continuity in an individual in different situations.

nation arose from internal traits—from her basic makeup. You may recognize these alternatives as another instance of the nature–nurture question. The answer, of course, lies with *both:* Experience *and* innate factors shaped Margaret Sanger's personality, just as they shape our own.

In this chapter we will examine a number of theoretical explanations for personality. As we do so, you will find that some place more emphasis on nature and others on nurture. You will also find that particular theories are suited to dealing with particular kinds of issues:

- If your goal is to understand a depressed friend, a troublesome child—any individual—as a developing, changing being, you will probably find one of the *psychodynamic, humanistic,* or *cognitive theories* of personality most helpful. These theories are described in the first part of the chapter.
- If what you need is a snapshot of a person's current personality characteristics—as you might want if you were screening job applicants for your company—a theory of *temperaments, traits,* or *types* may be your best bet. You will find these in the second section of the chapter.
- If you are most interested in how people understand each other—as you might be if you were doing marriage counseling or conflict management—you will want to know the assumptions people make about each other. That is, you will want to know their *implicit theories of personality.* These will be discussed in the final section of the chapter.
- And, if you are wondering whether people understand each other in the same ways the world around, you will want to know about the *cross-cultural* work in personality. Such issues are also discussed in the final section of the chapter.

WHAT FORCES SHAPE OUR PERSONALITIES?

If you have ever attended a family or high school reunion, you know that people change and grow relentlessly. They develop new interests and new friends, they move to new places, and they have new experiences. In this section we will consider three ways of accounting for the paths their personalities take: the *psychodynamic,* the *humanistic,* and the *cognitive theories.* Each describes personality from a different perspective, but all portray it as a dynamic, developing process. And all emphasize the interplay of internal mental processes and external social interactions—as our Core Concept says:

According to the psychodynamic, humanistic, and cognitive theories, personality is a continuously changing process, shaped by our internal needs and cognitions and by external pressures from the social environment.

Although the three viewpoints we will consider in this section of the chapter—the psychodynamic, humanistic, and cognitive theories—share some common ground, each emphasizes a different combination of factors. Most *psychodynamic theories* of personality call attention to motivation, especially unconscious motives, and the influence of past experiences on our mental health. *Humanistic theories* emphasize our present, subjective reality: What we believe is important now and how we think of ourselves in relation to others. Because the humanistic and psychodynamic theories were influenced so much by clinical practice—psychologists working with people who seek counseling and therapy—we grouped them together as the *clinical perspective* in Chapter 1.

The *social-cognitive theories* come out of the research experiments in psychology, rather than clinical practice. They are based on the idea that personality is influenced by learning, perception, and social interaction. In some respects, however, the social-cognitive theories complement rather than contradict the clinical perspective: All agree that our lives include past, present, and future; that our minds have both conscious and unconscious levels; and that our behaviors are sometimes emotional and impulsive and at other times cooler and more calculated. (As you are coming to see, it is impossible to place these theories in neat and tidy categories.) Which theory you choose will depend, to some extent, on what aspect of personality and behavior you want to explain. So, let us look more closely at each perspective.

Psychodynamic Theories

Sigmund Freud was the founder of psychoanalysis and the psychodynamic perspective. He is seen here walking with his daughter Anna Freud, who later became a psychoanalyst in her own right.

The psychodynamic approach originated in the late 1800s with a medical puzzle called *hysteria,* now known as *conversion disorder.* In this condition, the physician finds physical symptoms, such as a muscle weakness, loss of sensation in a part of the body, or even paralysis—but no apparent physical cause, such as nerve damage. The psychological nature of hysteria finally became apparent when the French physician Jean Charcot demonstrated that he could make hysterical symptoms disappear by suggestion. He did this while his patients were in a hypnotic trance.

Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), a young and curious doctor, heard of Charcot's work and traveled to Paris to watch his renowned hypnotic demonstrations. Inspired, Freud returned to Vienna, resolving to try the hypnotic cure on his own patients. But to his dismay, Dr. Freud found that many could not be hypnotized deeply enough to affect their symptoms. Moreover, even the ones who lost their symptoms under hypnosis regained them after the trance was lifted. Finally, a frustrated Freud resolved to find another way to understand and treat the mysterious illness. The new approach he created became known as **psychoanalysis** or **psychoanalytic theory.** Technically, *psychoanalytic theory* is the term for Freud's explanation of personality and mental disorder, while *psychoanalysis* refers to his system of treatment for mental disorder. In practice, however, it has always been difficult to separate Freud's theory from his therapeutic procedures. Thus the term *psychoanalysis* is often used to refer to both (Carver & Scheier, 2000).

Psychoanalysis Freud's system of treatment for mental disorders. The term is often used to refer to psychoanalytic theory, as well.

Psychoanalytic theory Freud's theory of personality.

Unconscious In Freudian theory, this is the psychic domain of which the individual is not aware but that is the storehouse of repressed impulses, drives, and conflicts unavailable to consciousness.

Freud's Psychoanalytic Theory

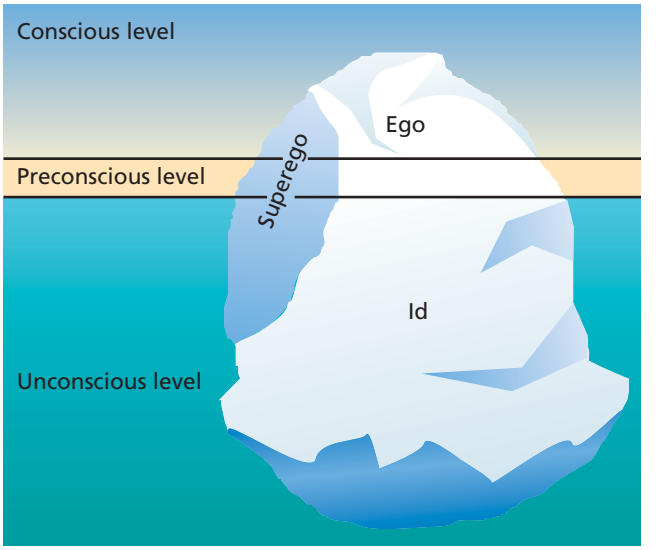
At center stage in the personality, Freud placed the concept of the **unconscious.** He saw this hidden part of the mind as the source of powerful impulses, instincts, motives, and conflicts that energize the personality. We are normally unaware of this psychic domain, said Freud, because its contents are too threatening and anxiety-provoking. Only by using the special techniques of psychoanalysis would we find that a person who had, for example, been sexually molested in childhood still holds these memories in the unconscious. But these memories attempt to escape from the unconscious and reemerge in disguised form—perhaps as a dream or a symptom of a mental disorder, such as depression or a phobia. Even in the healthiest of us, said Freud, behavior originates in unconscious drives that we don't want to acknowledge. Consequently, we go about our daily business without knowing the real motives behind our behavior. Today, many psychologists consider this concept of the unconscious to be Freud's most important contribution to psychology. (See Figure 10.1.)

Drives and Instincts

The actions of the unconscious mind are powered by psychological energy—that is, by motives, drives, and desires. In one of his graphic analogies, Freud described the personality as the mental equivalent of steam in a boiler. Psychoanalysis focuses on how the mind's energy is exchanged,

transformed, and expressed. For example, the "mental steam" of the sex drive could be expressed directly through sexual activity or indirectly through joking or creative pursuits. Freud named this drive *Eros,* for the Greek god of passionate love. And the energy behind this drive he called **libido,** from the Latin word for "lust." It is libidinal energy that fuels not only our sexual behavior but also our work and our leisure activities: drawing, dancing, reading, body building—nearly everything we do.

But Eros did not explain everything that fascinated Freud. Specifically, it did not explain acts of human aggression and destruction. It also did not explain the symptoms of the war veterans he saw who continued to relive their wartime traumas in nightmares and hallucinations. Such misery could only be explained with another drive, which he called *Thanatos* (from the Greek word for "death"). Freud conceived of Thanatos as the "death instinct" that drives the aggressive and destructive acts that humans commit against each other and themselves.



● **FIGURE 10.1** Freud's Model of the Mind

In another famous metaphor, Freud likened the mind to an iceberg, because only a small portion appears "above the surface"—in consciousness. Meanwhile, the vast unconscious mind lurks "beneath the surface" of our awareness.

Was Freud right about Eros and Thanatos? You might gauge his theory against your own experience. Have you observed any human behavior that could not, broadly speaking, be assigned to one of these two categories: life and death—or, if you prefer, creation and destruction?

Personality Structure Freud pictured a continuing battle between two antagonistic parts of the personality, the *id* and the *superego.* This conflict is moderated by yet another part of the mind, the *ego.* (See Figure 10.1.)

He conceived of the **id** as the primitive, unconscious reservoir that houses the basic motives, drives, and instinctive desires that determine our personalities. Like a child, the id always acts on impulse and pushes for immediate gratification—especially sexual, physical, and emotional pleasures—to be experienced here and now without concern for consequences. It is the *only* part of the personality present at birth.

By contrast, the superego serves as the mind's "police force" in charge of values and morals learned from parents and from society. The **superego** corresponds roughly to our common notion of conscience. It develops as the child forms an internal set of rules based on the external rules imposed by parents and other adults. It is the inner voice of "shoulds" and "should nots." The superego also includes the *ego ideal,* an individual's view of the kind of person he or she should strive to become. Understandably, the superego frequently conflicts with the id's desires because the id wants to do what feels good, while the superego insists on doing what is right and moral.

Resolving the conflicts between id and superego is the job of the third major part of the personality's trinity, the **ego**—the conscious, rational portion of the mind. The ego must choose actions that will gratify the id's impulses but without violating one's moral principles or incurring undesirable consequences. For example, if you found that you had been given too much change at the grocery store, the superego would insist that you give it back, while the id might urge you to spend it on ice cream. The ego, then, would try to find a compromise, which might include returning the money and buying ice cream with your own money. That is, when the id and superego conflict, the ego tries to satisfy both. However, as pressures from the id, superego, and environment intensify, it becomes more difficult for the ego to find workable compromises. The result may be the conflicted or disturbed thoughts and behaviors that signify mental disorder.

■ **Libido** The Freudian concept of psychic energy that drives individuals to experience sensual pleasure.
■ **Id** The primitive, unconscious portion of the personality that houses the most basic drives and stores repressed memories.
■ **Superego** The mind's storehouse of values, including moral attitudes learned from parents and from society; roughly the same as the common notion of the conscience.
■ **Ego** The conscious, rational part of the personality, charged with keeping peace between the superego and the id.

Personality Development and Early Experiences As Freud talked with his patients about their past, he began to understand that personality follows predictable patterns of development throughout childhood and adolescence. He concluded, however, that "forgotten" experiences in infancy and early childhood have the strongest impact on personality formation and later behavior. These early experiences continue to influence the unconscious mind as the child progresses through a series of **psychosexual stages.** These stages consist of successive periods in which the developing child associates pleasure with stimulation of specific bodily areas.

In the *oral stage,* pleasure is associated with the mouth: suckling, crying, spewing. In the *anal stage,* pleasure comes from stimulating parts of the body associated with elimination. Next, in the *phallic stage,* pleasure comes from "immature" sexual expression, such as masturbation. (This also explains the humor popular with the prepubescent set.) Finally, after a quiet period of *latency,* the adult *genital stage* brings (to some) mature sexual relationships. These stages are detailed in Table 10.1.

■ **Psychosexual stages** Successive, instinctive patterns of associating pleasure with stimulation of specific bodily areas at different times of life.

Why such a seemingly bizarre theory of psychosexual development? Among the issues that Freud was trying to understand with his theory of psychosexual development were those of gender identity and gender roles. Why is it that boys usually develop a masculine identity, even though most boys are raised

TABLE 10.1 Freud's Stages of Psychosexual Development

Psychosexual Stage		Later Signs of Problems Beginning at This Stage	
Oral Stage (1st year)		Smoking	Obesity
Desires:	Oral stimulation by sucking, eating, crying, babbling	Nail-biting	Talkativeness
Challenge:	Overcoming dependency	Chewing	Dependency
		Gluttony	Gullibility
Anal Stage (approximately 1–3 years)		Messiness	Excessive cleanliness
Desires:	Anal stimulation by bladder and bowel function	Temper tantrums	Stinginess
Challenge:	Toilet training	Destructiveness	Coldness, distance, aloofness
	Self-control	Cruelty	
Phallic Stage (approximately 3–6 years)		Masturbation (not considered abnormal by modern psychology and psychiatry; see Chapter 9)	
Desires:	Stimulation of genitals	Jealousy	
Challenge:	Resolving Oedipus complex, involving erotic attraction to parent of opposite sex and hostility to parent of same sex	Egocentric sex	
		Sexual conquests	
		Problems with parents	
Latency (approximately 6 years to puberty)		Excessive modesty	
Desires:	Repression of sexual and aggressive desires, including those involved in the Oedipus complex	Preference for company of same sex	
Challenge:	Consciously: learning modesty and shame	Homosexuality (considered by Freud to be a disorder, but not by modern psychology and psychiatry; see Chapter 9)	
	Unconsciously: dealing with repressed Oedipal conflict		
Genital Stage (puberty and adulthood)		(none)	
Desires:	Mature sexual relationships		
Challenge:	Displacing energy into healthy activities		
	Establishing new relationship with parents		

primarily by their mothers? Why do girls, as they become adults, most often develop a sexual attraction to males—and boys to females? And why do some not follow this pattern?

Freud's answers to these questions were convoluted and, many psychologists would say, contrived. His inside-the-mind perspective ignored the influence of vastly different forms of socialization for boys and girls. It also ignored the possibility of differences in genetic programming, about which little was known in Freud's day. Instead, he invoked the notion of the **Oedipus complex,** whereby boys feel an erotic attraction toward their mothers. Successful resolution of the Oedipal conflict requires boys to *displace* (shift) their attraction to females of their own age and, at the same time, develop an **identification** with their fathers. Girls, he proposed, develop **penis envy** (because they don't have one!) and are usually attracted to males (who do). Most psychologists today reject these Freudian notions of psychosexual development because they lack scientific support. It is important, however, to remember two things: First, these Freudian concepts—strange as they may seem—continue to have a wide impact outside psychology, particularly in the humanities. Second, while Freud may have been wrong about the details of psychosexual development, he may have been right about other aspects of human personality (Bower, 1998b).

During the phallic stage, a child must resolve feelings of conflict and anxiety by identifying more closely with the same-sex parent–said Freud.

Freud might have been right, for example, in his assertion that certain difficulties early in life lead to **fixation:** arrested psychological development. An *oral stage* fixation, caused by a failure to throw off the dependency of the first year of life, may lead to dependency on others in later childhood and adulthood. We also see an oral fixation in certain behaviors involving the mouth, such as overeating, alcoholism, and tendencies toward sarcasm. Among these diverse problems we find a common theme: using the mouth as the way to connect with what one needs. Fixation in the *anal* stage is presumed to come from problems associated with the second year of life when toilet training is a big issue. Anal fixations can result in a stubborn, compulsive, stingy, or excessively neat pattern of behavior—all related to common themes of "holding on" and not losing control of one's body or life. In Table 10.1 you will find examples of fixation at other developmental stages.

Ego Defenses The ego has an arsenal of **ego defense mechanisms** for dealing with conflict between the id's impulses and the superego's demand to deny them. All operate, said Freud, at the *preconscious level*—just beneath the surface of consciousness. Under mild pressure from the id we may, for example, rely on simple ego defenses, such as *fantasy* or *rationalization.* But if unconscious desires become too insistent, the ego may solve the problem by "putting a lid on the id." To do so, the ego must push extreme desires and threatening memories out of conscious awareness and into the recesses of the unconscious mind.

Repression is the name for the ego defense mechanism that excludes unacceptable thoughts and feelings from awareness. For example, repression may explain the behavior of a student who suspects she failed an important test and "forgets" to attend class the day the graded tests are returned. This memory lapse protects her from feeling upset or anxious—at least temporarily. In fact, that is the problem with repression and most of the other ego defense mechanisms, said Freud: They solve the problem only for the moment, leaving the underlying conflict unresolved.

Freud also taught that repression can block access to feelings, as well as memories. For example, if a child has strong feelings of anger toward her

■ **Oedipus complex** According to Freud, a largely unconscious process whereby boys displace an erotic attraction toward their mother to females of their own age and, at the same time, identify with their fathers.

■ **Identification** The mental process by which an individual tries to become like another person, especially the same-sex parent.

■ **Penis envy** According to Freud, the female desire to have a penis–a condition that usually results in their attraction to males.

■ **Fixation** Occurs when psychosexual development is arrested at an immature stage.

■ **Ego defense mechanisms** Largely unconscious mental strategies employed to reduce the experience of conflict or anxiety.

■ **Repression** An unconscious process that excludes unacceptable thoughts and feelings from awareness and memory.

"All right, deep down it's a cry for psychiatric help—but at one level it's a stick-up."

© Punch/Rothco

father—which, if acted out, would risk severe punishment—repression may take over. The repressed hostile impulse can no longer operate consciously. But although the impulse is not consciously felt, it is not gone, said Freud. At an unconscious level it continues to influence behavior, but in less direct ways, perhaps disguised as dreams, fantasies, or symptoms of mental disorder.

Freud—always the keen observer of human behavior—proposed many other ego defense mechanisms in addition to fantasy, rationalization, and repression. Here are some of the most important:

- *Denial:* "I don't have a problem." This defense avoids a difficult situation by simply denying that it exists. Denial is a defense frequently seen, for example, in alcoholics, child abusers, people who have problems managing anger, and people who engage in risky behavior, such as casual, unprotected sex.
- *Rationalization:* People using this defense mechanism give socially acceptable reasons for actions that are really based on motives that they believe to be unacceptable. A student who feels stressed by academic pressures may decide to cheat on a test, rationalizing it by saying that "everyone does it."
- *Reaction formation:* This ego defense mechanism occurs when people act in exact opposition to their true feelings. Accordingly, those troubled by their own sexual desires may initiate a crusade against "dirty books" in the city library. Or a child with low self-esteem may become a bully.
- *Displacement:* When your boss makes you angry, you may later displace your anger by yelling at your mate or kicking the dog. This ego defense mechanism involves shifting your reaction from the real source of your distress to a safer individual or object.
- *Regression:* Under stress, some people hide; others cry, throw things, or even wet their pants. That is, they adopt immature, juvenile behaviors that were effective ways of dealing with stress when they were younger.
- *Sublimation:* Gratifying sexual or aggressive desires in ways that are acceptable in one's culture, as in acting or sports.
- *Projection:* When we are upset or aroused, we may use the defense of projection to attribute our own unconscious desires to other people or objects. An example frequently seen in small children involves each accusing the other of starting a conflict.

This latter concept—projection—led to the development of *projective tests,* which have been used extensively in clinical psychology for evaluating personality and mental disorders. We take a brief detour at this point to introduce you to these projective techniques.

Projective Tests What do you see in Figure 10.2? Ambiguous images such as these are the basis for **projective tests.** Freudian clinicians often employ such instruments to probe their patients' innermost feelings, motives, conflicts and desires. The assumption is that people will *project* their hidden motives and conflicts onto the images. In fact, you may have noticed that, when gazing at the clouds, different people see different images, and the images people report seem to reflect their own personalities.

In the most famous of projective techniques, the **Rorschach inkblot technique** (pronounced *ROAR-shock*), the ambiguous stimuli are symmetrical inkblots (Rorschach, 1942). The technique calls for showing the blots one at a time and asking the respondent, "What do you see? What does this seem to be?" The examiner usually interprets responses in light of psychoanalytic theory by noting how they might reflect unconscious sexual and aggressive impulses (Erdberg, 1990).

Projective tests Personality assessment instruments, such as the Rorschach and TAT, which are based on Freud's ego defense mechanism of projection.

Rorschach inkblot technique A projective test requiring subjects to describe what they see in a series of ten inkblots.

● **FIGURE 10.2** An Inkblot Similar to Those Used in the Rorschach Test

The Rorschach's value as a testing instrument has been questioned because objective studies of its accuracy have been disappointing (Anastasi, 1988; Lilienfeld et al., 2000a, b; Wood et al., 1996). Moreover, critics claim that the test is based on theoretical concepts (such as unconscious motives) that are impossible to demonstrate objectively. Despite these criticisms, many clinicians have continued to champion the Rorschach, arguing that it can provide unique insights as part of a broader personality assessment (Exner, 1974, 1978; Exner & Weiner, 1982; Hibbard, 2003).

■ **Thematic Apperception Test (TAT)** A projective test requiring subjects to make up stories that explain ambiguous pictures.

By comparison, the **Thematic Apperception Test (TAT),** developed by Henry Murray, is a projective test that stands on somewhat firmer scientific ground. This test consists of ambiguous pictures, for which respondents are instructed to generate a story (see Figure 10.3). The story should describe what the characters in the scenes are doing and thinking, what led up to each event, and how each situation will end. According to the theory behind the TAT, the respondent perceives the elements in the actual picture and further *apperceives* (fills in) personal interpretations and explanations, based on his or her own thoughts, feelings, and needs. The examiner then interprets the responses by looking for psychological themes, such as aggression, sexual needs, and relationships among people mentioned in the stories. Unlike the Rorschach, the TAT has proved its mettle, especially for assessing achievement motivation, as we saw in Chapter 8 (McClelland, 1987b).

● **FIGURE 10.3** Sample Card from the TAT

Psychic Determinism To the Freudian analyst, everything a person does has meaning. In particular, mental symptoms such as fears and phobias are interpreted as signs of unconscious

difficulties. Similarly, a so-called *Freudian slip* occurs when "accidental" speech or behavior belies an unconscious conflict or desire. You might commit such a slip, as you leave a boring social function, by telling your host, "I really had a terrible—I mean *terrific*—time." Likewise, being consistently late for a date with a particular person is no accident, Freud would have said. Rather, your behavior expresses the way you feel unconsciously. This idea supposes that nothing we do is accidental. Rather, according to his principle of **psychic determinism,** all our acts are determined by unconscious processes involving traumas, desires, or conflicts.

In his work with hysterical patients, Freud observed that physical symptoms often seemed connected to a traumatic event that had been "forgotten" (repressed). For instance, a patient who was hysterically "blind" might, during therapy, suddenly recall seeing her parents having intercourse when she was a small child. How had this produced blindness? As she becomes an adult, she may have anticipated her first sexual encounter, which aroused powerful feelings associated with that upsetting memory. Thus, the young woman's blindness could represent an unconscious attempt to undo her vision of the original event—and to deny her own sexual feelings. Blindness would also bring her attention, comfort, and sympathy from others. In this way, her inner psychic motives both determine and maintain her condition.

Evaluating Freud's Work Whatever your feelings about Freud, you must give him credit for developing the first comprehensive theory of personality, mental disorder, and psychotherapy. His writing was compelling and his observations astute—so perceptive, in fact, that he has had a greater impact than any other theorist on the way all of us think about personality and mental abnormality (Fisher & Greenberg, 1985).

Nevertheless, psychologists today give Freud mixed reviews (Azar, 1997; McCullough, 2001). One problem is that many Freudian concepts, such as "libido," "anal stage," or "repression," are vague. Because they lack clear operational definitions, much of the theory is impossible to evaluate scientifically.[1] In an earlier chapter we saw the results of this lack of objectivity in the controversy over recovery of repressed memories—a notion that arises directly from Freud's ideas but that has no solid empirical support. Elizabeth Loftus warns that, by blithely accepting vague Freudian notions of repression and "recovery" of memories, society risks dangerous levels of paranoia, persecution of the innocent, and self-inflicted misery (Loftus & Ketcham, 1991, 1994). It should be noted, however, that valiant efforts are being made to put Freud's concepts on a scientific footing (Cramer, 2000).

CONNECTION: CHAPTER 1

Operational definitions are stated in objective, observable, and measurable terms.

A second criticism says that Freudian "theory" is a seductive explanation for the past but a poor predictor of future responses. That is, its focus is on retrospective explanation. By overemphasizing historical origins of behavior, psychoanalysis directs attention away from current events that may be responsible for maintaining the behavior.

A third criticism says that Freud gave short shrift to women. For example, we have seen that he portrayed women as suffering from "penis envy." In fact, Freud's theory may simply describe the attitudes that permeated the male-dominated world of his time.

Psychic determinism Freud's assumption that all our mental and behavioral responses are caused by unconscious traumas, desires, or conflicts.

A final criticism claims that the unconscious mind is not as smart or purposeful as Freud believed (Loftus & Klinger, 1992). In this newer view, the unconscious acts reflexively, sometimes based on innate response patterns and

[1]Because many of Freud's ideas are not testable, his psychoanalytic theory is not a *scientific* theory, as we defined the term in Chaper 1. Here we follow common usage, which calls it a theory.

sometimes based on conditioned responses. Research in the neuroscience of emotion has, as we saw in Chapter 3, supported this new view of an unconscious emotional processing system in the brain—much less malign and deliberate than anything that Freud imagined (LeDoux, 1996).

Despite these shortcomings, Freud's ideas have found a receptive audience with the public at large (Gray, 1993, p. 47). Much of his appeal may be explained by his accessibility to nonpsychologists and by his emphasis on sexuality, a topic that grabs everyone's interest. As a result, Freudian images and symbols abound in the art and literature of the 20th century. His ideas have had an enormous influence on marketing as well. For example, advertisers often promote new products by associating them with a sexy model and hinting that the product will bring sexual satisfaction to its owner. Alternatively, some advertisers capitalize on Freud's destructive instinct. In this vein, television commercials for everything from antibacterial soap and other "personal products" to life insurance remind us of threats to our happiness (social rejection, irregularity, untimely death) and then offer products and services to reduce our anxiety and restore hope.

Let us end our discussion of Freud by seeing whether his explanation of personality can give us a useful perspective on Margaret Sanger. A psychoanalyst interpreting her drive and sense of mission would scrutinize her childhood, looking for conflicts with parents and anxiety about sexual feelings. The analyst might also focus on her mother's death, which occurred when Sanger was 19, and on her later claim that she blamed her father for exhausting her mother with so many births. Unresolved anger toward her mother (a vestige of the phallic stage of psychosexual development) would be transformed into guilt over her mother's death. By projecting blame onto her father, she removed her conscious sense of guilt. Perhaps Sanger took up the banner of birth control in order to deal with the presence of her now-unconscious guilt and anxiety about unhappy family experiences. Or perhaps she identified with her mother's sacrifice and sought to punish her father and other would-be fathers by depriving them of their control over women's reproductive fate. As is usual with psychoanalysis, these guesses are guided by hindsight—and cannot be either proved or disproved.

The Neo-Freudians Freud was always a controversial figure—an image he liked to promote (Sulloway, 1992). As such, he attracted many followers. But he brooked no criticism of the basic principles in his theories. As a result, several of Freud's equally strong-willed disciples broke away from the psychoanalytic fold to establish their own systems of personality, mental disorder, and treatment. Whatever these **neo-Freudians** (literally, "new Freudians") changed in Freud's theory, they always retained a *psychodynamic* emphasis. That is, they kept Freud's idea of personality as a process driven by motivational energy—although they often disagreed about the specific motives that energize personality: Are our motives primarily sexual or social? Conscious or unconscious? The next few pages will give you a sense for the divergent paths followed by these neo-Freudians.

Carl Jung: Extending the Unconscious Freud attracted many disciples, but none more famous than Carl Jung (pronounced *YOONG*), a member of the inner circle of colleagues who helped Freud develop and refine psychoanalytic theory during the first decade of the 1900s. For a time, Freud viewed the somewhat younger Jung as his "crown prince" and probable successor. But Freud's paternal attitude increasingly vexed Jung, who was developing theoretical ideas of his own (Carver & Scheier, 1992). Eventually this personality conflict—which Freud interpreted as Jung's unconscious wish to usurp his fatherly authority—caused a split in their relationship.

■ **Neo-Freudians** Literally "new Freudians"; refers to theorists who broke with Freud but whose theories retain a psychodynamic aspect, especially a focus on motivation as the source of energy for the personality.

Jungian archetypes abound in art, literature, and film. This photo, from *The Lord of the Rings,* shows Gandalf, who embodies the archetype of magician or trickster. The same archetype is evoked by the coyote in Native American legends and by Merlin in the King Arthur legends.

- **Personal unconscious** Jung's term for that portion of the unconscious corresponding roughly to the Freudian id.
- **Collective unconscious** Jung's addition to the unconscious, involving a reservoir for instinctive "memories," including the archetypes, which exist in all people.
- **Archetypes** The ancient memory images in the collective unconscious. Archetypes appear and reappear in art, literature, and folktales around the world.
- **Introversion** The Jungian dimension that focuses on inner experience–one's own thoughts and feelings–making the introvert less outgoing and sociable than the extravert.
- **Extraversion** The Jungian personality dimension involving turning one's attention outward, toward others.

For Jung, the break with Freud centered on two issues. First, Jung thought that his mentor had overemphasized sexuality at the expense of other unconscious needs and desires that Jung saw at the heart of personality. He believed spirituality, for example, to be a fundamental human motive, coequal with sexuality. Moreover, he disputed the very structure of the unconscious. This new vision of the unconscious, Jung's most famous invention, warrants closer examination.

The Collective Unconscious In place of the Freudian id, Jung installed a two-part unconscious, consisting of both a *personal unconscious* and a *collective unconscious.* While the Jungian **personal unconscious** spanned essentially the same territory as the Freudian id, its collective twin was another matter—and wholly a Jungian creation. He saw in the **collective unconscious** a reservoir for instinctive "memories" held by people everywhere—in much the same way that humans all share a common genetic code. These collective memories tie together countless generations of human history and give us the ancient images, called **archetypes,** that appear and reappear in art, literature, and folktales around the world (Jung, 1959).

Among these archetypal memories, Jung identified the *animus* and the *anima,* which represent the masculine and feminine sides of our personality. Other archetypes give us the universal concepts of mother, father, birth, death, the hero, the trickster, God, and the self. On the darker side of the self lurks the *shadow* archetype, representing the destructive and aggressive tendencies that we don't want to acknowledge in our personalities. You can recognize your shadow at work the next time you take an instantaneous dislike to someone: This occurs when the other person reminds you of your shadow characteristics.

For Jung, the causes of mental disorder include not only repressed traumas and conflicts in the personal unconscious but also failure to acknowledge the archetypes we find unacceptable in our collective unconscious. Applying Jungian theory to the case of Margaret Sanger, a therapist might suspect that Sanger's determination originated in conflicts between the masculine and feminine sides of her nature: the animus and anima. Another Jungian possibility would be that her mother's early death made her deny her own maternal archetype, resulting in her obsession with birth control.

Personality Types Jung's *principle of opposites* portrays each personality as a balance between opposing pairs of tendencies or dispositions, which you see in Table 10.2. Jung taught that most people tend to favor one or the other in each pair. The overall pattern of such tendencies, then, was termed a *personality type,* which Jung believed to be a stable and enduring aspect of the individual's personality.

TABLE 10.2 Jung's Opposing Tendencies in Personality

conscious–unconscious
extravert–introvert
rational–irrational
thinking–feeling
intuition–sensation
good–bad
masculine–feminine

The most famous of these pairs is **introversion** and **extraversion.** Extraverts turn attention outward, on external experience. As a result, extraverts are more in tune with people and things in the world around them than they are with their inner needs. They tend to be outgoing and unaffected by self-consciousness. Introverts, by contrast, focus on inner experience—their own thoughts and feelings—which makes them seem more shy and less sociable. Few people have all pairs of forces in perfect balance. Instead, one or another dominates, giving rise to personality types (Fadiman & Frager, 2001).

Evaluating Jung's Work Like Freud, Jung's influence is strongest outside of psychology, especially in literature and the popular press. Psychology has not found Jung so attractive, mainly because his ideas, like Freud's, do not lend themselves to objective observation and testing. In two respects, however, Jung has had a big impact on psychological thinking. First, he challenged Freud and thereby opened the door to a spate of alternative personality theories. Second, his notion of *personality types* makes Jung not only a psychodynamic theorist but also a pillar of the temperament/trait/type approach that we will review in the middle segment of this chapter. There you will see that Jung's type theory is the basis for the most widely used psychological test in the world, the *Myers–Briggs Type Indicator.*

Karen Horney: A Feminist Voice in Psychodynamic Psychology Karen Horney (*HORN-eye*) and Anna Freud, Sigmund Freud's daughter, represent virtually the only feminine voices within the early psychoanalytic movement. In this role Horney disputed the elder Freud's notion of the Oedipus complex and his assertion that women must suffer from penis envy (Horney, 1939). Instead, Horney maintained that women want the same opportunities and rights that men enjoy and that many personality differences between males and females result from social roles, not from unconscious urges. She also disputed Freud's contention that personality is determined mainly by early childhood experiences. For Horney, normal growth involves the full development of social relationships and of one's potential. This development, however, may be blocked by a sense of uncertainty and isolation that she called **basic anxiety.** It is this basic anxiety that leads to adjustment problems and mental disorder. In Horney's view, the neurotic person—the individual who is unhappy and anxious—suffers from "unconscious strivings developed in order to cope with life despite fears, helplessness, and isolation" (1942, p. 40).

Neurotic Needs When people feel anxious and unsafe, healthy psychological development is thwarted, and they become *neurotic.* In Horney's theory, the signs of unhealthy development and neurosis involve ten **neurotic needs,** which are normal desires taken to extremes. You can see these neurotic needs listed in Table 10.3.

Horney also identified three patterns of attitudes and behavior that people use to deal with basic anxiety, either in a healthy or neurotic way: moving *toward others, against others,* or *away from others.* Those who move toward others in a neurotic fashion have a pathological need for constant reminders of love and approval. Such persons may need someone to help, to take care of, or for whom to "sacrifice" themselves. Alternatively, they may seek someone on whom they can become dependent. They may end up behaving passively and feeling victimized. In contrast, those who move against others earn power and respect by competing or attacking successfully, but they risk being feared and ending up "lonely at the top." Those who take the third route, moving away from others to protect themselves from imagined hurt and rejection, are likely to close themselves off from intimacy and support.

What analysis would Horney have made of Margaret Sanger? We suspect that she would have focused on Sanger's achievements, attempting to determine whether they were the result of a healthy drive to fulfill her potential or a neurotic need for power, status, self-respect, achievement, and independence. Undoubtedly, Horney would have reminded us that society often praises these needs in men and punishes them in women. So, from this

■ **Basic anxiety** An emotion, proposed by Karen Horney, that gives a sense of uncertainty and loneliness in a hostile world and can lead to maladjustment.

■ **Neurotic needs** Signs of neurosis in Horney's theory, these 10 needs are normal desires carried to a neurotic extreme.

TABLE 10.3 Horney's Ten Neurotic Needs

1. Need for affection and approval
2. Need for a partner and dread of being left alone
3. Need to restrict one's life and remain inconspicuous
4. Need for power and control over others
5. Need to exploit others
6. Need for recognition or prestige
7. Need for personal admiration
8. Need for personal achievement
9. Need for self-sufficiency and independence
10. Need for perfection and unassailability

● How would Karen Horney have interpreted Margaret Sanger's personality? Margaret Sanger had a flair for publicity. Here she has her lips sealed with tape so that she cannot be accused of illegally preaching birth control in Boston. Instead, she will write her message on a blackboard.

point of view, it is likely that Horney may have seen in Sanger a robust and healthy personality.

Evaluating Horney's Work Neglect engulfed Karen Horney's ideas during midcentury (Monte, 1980). Then her 1967 book *Feminine Psychology* appeared at just the right time to elevate her among those seeking a feminist perspective within psychology and psychiatry. But, having attracted renewed interest, will Horney eventually slip again into oblivion? Her theory suffers from the same flaw that plagues the other psychodynamic theories: a weak scientific foundation. It awaits someone to translate her concepts into verifiable form so that they can be put to a scientific test.

Alfred Adler: An early split from Psychoanalysis Another Neo-Freudian, Alfred Adler proposed theories encompassing birth order, theories about lifestyle, and his most famous theoretical construct, the **inferiority complex.** Developing in childhood, the inferiority complex is a feeling of inferiority that is largely unconscious. According to Adler, the causes of this complex can be as simple as being told you are dumb or not good at something to the extent that you believe it, regardless of your level of skill or talent. Out of this complex comes **compensation,** where one attempts to make up for these deficiencies (real or imagined) in some way (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1964). The strengths of this theory are that it is remarkably complete and describes a vast array of behaviors.

Other Neo-Freudian Theorists Sigmund Freud's revolutionary ideas attracted many others to the psychoanalytic movement—some of whom, like Erik Erikson and Alfred Adler, also broke with Freud to develop their own ideas. For the most part, the post-Freudian theorists accepted the notions of psychic determinism and unconscious motivation. But they did not always agree with Freud on the details, especially about the sex and death instincts or the indelible nature of early life experiences. In general, the post-Freudians made several significant changes in the course of psychoanalysis:

- They put greater emphasis on ego functions, including ego defenses, development of the self, and conscious thought as the major components of the personality—whereas Freud focused primarily on the unconscious.
- They viewed social variables (culture, family, and peers) as having an important role in shaping personality—whereas Freud focused mainly on instinctive urges and conflicts.
- They extended personality development beyond childhood to include the entire lifespan—whereas Freud focused mainly on early childhood experiences.

In doing so, the post-Freudians broke Freud's monopoly on personality theory and paved the way for new ideas from the humanistic and cognitive theorists.

Humanistic Theories

With their emphasis on internal conflict and mental disorder, the Freudians and neo-Freudians had compelling explanations for mental disorders, but they largely failed to provide a usable theory of the healthy, "normal" personality. And so the humanistic approach grew to fill that need.

The humanistic theories are optimistic about the core of human nature. For humanists, personality is not driven by unconscious conflicts and defenses against anxiety but rather by needs to adapt, learn, grow, and excel. They retained the idea of motivation as one of the central components of personality, but they accentuated the positive rather than negative motives. Mental

■ **Inferiority complex** A feeling of inferiority that is largely unconscious, with its roots in childhood

■ **Compensation** Making up for one's real or imagined deficiencies

disorders, when they do occur, are seen as stemming from unhealthy *situations* that cause low self-esteem and unmet needs, rather than from unhealthy *individuals*.

Thus, the humanists emphasized the positive in human nature. Once people are freed from negative situations, such as a abusive relationships, and negative self-evaluations, such as "I'm not smart," the tendency to be healthy should actively guide them to life-enhancing choices. These ideas brought a new focus on the individual's self-concept and subjective interpretation of reality, rather than the external perspective of an observer or therapist.

Gordon Allport and the Beginnings of Humanistic Psychology Gordon Allport developed one of the first complete theories in humanistic psychology, with his trait/dispositional theory. Trait theory assumes individuals possess three types of **traits**: central traits, secondary traits, and cardinal traits. Traits are stable personality characteristics that are presumed to exist within the individual and guide his or her thoughts and actions under various conditions. **Central traits** are characteristics that form the core of one's personality. Examples include the descriptors such as happy, sad, and moody. The next component of Allport's theory is what he called **secondary traits.** These are components such as preferences and attitudes. The final component of trait theory is known as cardinal traits. The **cardinal traits** are the ones that define people's lives (examples of this include things like greed, avarice, and sadism). Allport postulated that very few individuals actually possess cardinal traits—and that those who do, develop them relatively later in life. It is not clear why this is so.

- **Traits** Stable personality characteristics that are presumed to exist within the individual and guide his or her thoughts and actions under various conditions.
- **Central traits** According to trait theory, traits that form the basis of personality.
- **Secondary traits** In trait theory, preferences and attitudes.
- **Cardinal traits** Personality components that define people's lives; Very few individuals have cardinal traits.
- **Self-actualizing personalities** Healthy individuals who have met their basic needs and are free to be creative and fulfill their potentialities.

Abraham Maslow and the Healthy Personality Abraham Maslow referred to the humanistic view as psychology's "third force," to contrast his ideas with the psychoanalytic and behavioristic movements that had dominated psychology during most of his lifetime. He was especially concerned by the Freudian fixation on mental disturbance and maladjustment. Instead, Maslow argued, we need a theory that describes mental health as something more than just the absence of illness. That theoretical need became his life's quest. He sought the ingredients of the healthy personality where no one had ever looked for them before: in people who had lived especially full and productive lives (Maslow, 1968, 1970, 1971).

Maslow considered Eleanor Roosevelt to be a self-actualizing person.

Maslow's subjects included the historical figures Abraham Lincoln and Thomas Jefferson, plus several persons of stature during his own lifetime: Albert Einstein, Albert Schweitzer, and Eleanor Roosevelt. In these individuals Maslow found personalities whose basic needs had been met (e.g., needs for food, shelter, love, and respect) and who had become free to pursue an interest in "higher" ideals, such as truth, justice, and beauty—a penchant that sometimes engaged them in causes about which they felt deeply. (We hope you're thinking about Margaret Sanger at this point.) They could act independently because they had no neurotic need for the approval of others. Maslow called these people **self-actualizing personalities.** He found his self-actualizers to be creative, full of good humor, and given to spontaneity—but, at the same time, accepting of their own limitations and those of others. In brief, self-actualizers are those who feel free to fulfill their potentialities.

CONNECTION: CHAPTER 8
Maslow's *hierarchy of needs* claims that motives occur in a priority order.

Although Maslow was most interested in the healthy, self-actualizing personality, his theory of a *hierarchy of needs* also offers an explanation of maladjustment. A long-unfulfilled "deficiency" need, such as a need for love or esteem, can produce maladjustment, while freedom from such needs allows the person to pursue interests that promote growth and fulfillment. Indeed, the research shows that people who are self-accepting lead happier lives, while

people who have low self-esteem may go through life feeling fearful, angry, or depressed (Baumeister, 1993; Brown, 1991).

Carl Rogers's Fully Functioning Person In contrast with Maslow, Carl Rogers was a therapist who often worked with dysfunctional people rather than self-actualizers (1951, 1961, 1980). Yet he did not overlook the healthy personality, which he called the **fully functioning person.** Such an individual has a self-concept that is *positive* and *congruent* with reality. That is, the fully functioning person has high self-esteem, which is consistent (congruent) with the messages he or she receives from others, who express their approval, friendship, and love. Negative experiences, however, can produce *incongruence,* a threat to one's self-esteem. For example, a boy who thinks of himself as "smart" has a positive self-concept, but he experiences incongruence when the teacher returns his paper with a C on it.

Rogers insisted that psychology recognize the reality of perceptions and feelings, which he called the **phenomenal field.** We respond, he said, to this subjective experience, not to an objective reality. That is why a student's reaction to a grade depends entirely on the student's perception. Receiving a C may shock a student who is used to receiving As but thrill one who has been failing: Both are reacting to their subjective phenomenal fields. In Rogers's system, then, the phenomenal field becomes a part of the personality, as a sort of filter for our experience. It contains our interpretations of both the external and internal worlds. It also contains the *self,* the humanists' version of the Freudian ego, which is the part of the phenomenal field that defines who we are.

Rogers also believed that everyone has the capacity for growth in a supportive and nurturing environment. This assumption probably grew (if you'll allow us a neo-Freudian interpretation) from his reaction to an isolated and unhappy childhood dominated by the rigid rules of his parents' strict religious beliefs. So restrictive was this environment that he even felt "wicked" when he first tasted a bottle of pop without his parents' knowledge (Rogers, 1961). Later, from an adult perspective, Rogers concluded that children from homes where parental love is *conditional* (dependent) on good behavior may grow up with anxiety and a strong sense of guilt that leads to low self-esteem and mental disorder. Instead of guilt-mongers, he believed, we need people who can give us *unconditional positive regard*—love without conditions attached.

Unlike the psychodynamic theorists who focused on unhealthy, self-destructive motives, Rogers, Maslow, and other humanistic personality theorists believe that our deepest motives are for positive growth. In its healthiest form, self-actualization is a striving to realize one's potential—to develop fully one's capacities and talents. (Examples might include Picasso, Einstein, or your favorite musician.) According to the humanistic theorists, this innate quest is a constructive, guiding force that moves each person toward positive behaviors and the enhancement of the self.

How would humanistic theorists characterize Margaret Sanger? They would probably begin by asking, "How does Margaret Sanger see her world? What matters to her? Where is she, where does she want to be, and how does she believe she can get there?" The answers to these questions would identify her motives. Perhaps Sanger saw her life as an opportunity to change the miserable and often deadly consequences of unwanted pregnancy. But why, then, did she claim credit for the success of the birth-control movement, despite the fact that it was a team effort? A humanistic perspective would not assume that her motives were necessarily self-centered. If she believed the cause needed a figurehead, she may have felt that too many personalities associated with the movement would diffuse the effort. Ultimately, they would judge her healthy if her motives were healthy, that is, if she were self-actualizing. In everyday language this means moving toward fulfilling her potential.

Fully functioning person Carl Rogers's term for a healthy, self-actualizing individual, who has a self-concept that is both positive and congruent with reality.

Phenomenal field Our psychological reality, composed of one's perceptions and feelings.

Evaluating the Humanistic Theories The upbeat humanistic view of personality brought a welcome change for many therapists who had become weary of the pessimistic Freudian perspective, with its emphasis on unspeakable desires and repressed traumas. They liked its focus on making one's present and future life more palatable, rather than dredging up painful memories of an unalterable past. They also liked its attention to mental health rather than mental disorder.

But not everyone jumped on the humanists' bandwagon. Many criticized humanistic concepts for being fuzzy: What exactly is "self-actualization," they asked? Is it an inborn tendency or is it created by one's culture? Experimental psychologists contended that too many concepts in humanistic psychology are so unclear that they defy objective testing. And the psychoanalytic theorists criticized the humanistic emphasis on present conscious experience, arguing that the humanistic approach does not recognize the power of the unconscious. Cross-cultural psychologists, too, have criticized the humanists' emphasis on the self—as in *self*-concept, *self*-esteem, and *self*-actualization. This "self-centered" picture of personality may simply be the viewpoint of observers looking through the lens of an individualistic Western culture (Heine et al., 1999).

Recently, the whole notion of self-esteem as the basic ingredient for mental health has been brought under the lens of research . . . and found wanting. The finding is important because many programs designed to improve school performance, combat drug abuse, and discourage teen sex and violence are based on boosting self-esteem. After a review of the research, psychologist Roy Baumeister and his colleagues (2003) report that low self-esteem causes none of these problems—as shown by the fact that bullies and drug users often have high self-esteem. This, rather than seeing high self-esteem as an end in itself, Baumeister and his colleagues urge us to see it as a by-product of achievement.

Recently, a movement known as **positive psychology** has formed to pursue essentially the same goals established by the humanists. The difference is that those allied with positive psychology are more concerned than were the humanists about laying a scientific foundation for their theories. This effort has produced the solid work we have seen on optimism, happiness, social support, and health (Buss, 2000; Diener, 2000; Myers, 2000; Peterson, 2000; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000; Volz, 2000). But, despite these successes, the positive psychology movement is limited as an explanation of personality by its restricted focus on desirable aspects of human functioning.

So, is there an alternative view that overcomes the problems we have seen in the psychodynamic, humanistic, and the new positive psychology theories? Let's consider the cognitive approach.

Social-Cognitive Theories

Neither the humanists nor psychoanalysts showed much interest in putting their ideas on a firm experimental foundation. Their work came largely out of a clinical tradition of working with individuals who sought their help. Cognitive psychology, however, arose from a different source—a solidly scientific tradition with an emphasis on research (Cervone, 2004). The trade-off is that the cognitive theories are not as comprehensive as those of the humanists or psychodynamic theorists. The cognitive approach zeroes in on specific influences on personality and behavior, without assuming to explain everything, as we shall see in our sampling of cognitive ideas below.

Observational Learning and Personality: Bandura's Theory In Albert Bandura's view, we are driven not by inner forces or environmental influences alone but also by our *expectations* of how our actions might affect other people, the environment, and ourselves (Bandura, 1986). A distinctive feature of

■ **Positive psychology** A recent movement within psychology, focusing on desirable aspects of human functioning, as opposed to an emphasis on psychopathology.

Children develop a clearer sense of identity by observing how men and women behave in their culture.

the human personality is the ability to foresee the consequences of actions. We don't have to yell "Fire!" in a crowded theatre to know what would happen if we did. In addition, we can learn *vicariously* (by observing other people) to see what rewards and punishments their behaviors bring. Thus, our personalities are shaped by our interactions with others.

Perhaps the most important contribution of Bandura's theory is this focus on social learning, or **observational learning,** the process by which people learn new responses by watching each others' behavior. When we see Billy hit his brother, we also learn whether the result is rewarding or punishing for Billy. Thus, through observational learning we can see what works and what does not work, without having to go through trial-and-error for ourselves. In Bandura's view, then, personality is a collection of *learned* behavior patterns, many of which we have borrowed from others.

Through observational learning, children and adults acquire an enormous range of information about their social environment—what gets rewarded and what gets punished or ignored. Skills, attitudes, and beliefs may be acquired simply by noting what others do and the consequences that follow. In this way, children may learn to say "Please" and "Thank you," to be quiet in libraries, and to refrain from public nose picking. Alternatively, psychological problems can be acquired by observing poor role models, such as a relative with a fear of spiders, or by exposure to environments that reward unhealthy attitudes and behaviors, like prejudice and drug abuse.

In Bandura's theory, cognitions are another a major component of our personalities. But cognition doesn't occur in a vacuum: Cognitive processes involve an ongoing relationship between the individual and the environment—an interaction of our behavior, our environment, and our cognitions. Bandura calls this **reciprocal determinism** (Bandura, 1981, 1999). The simple but powerful relationship of these variables is summarized in Figure 10.4.

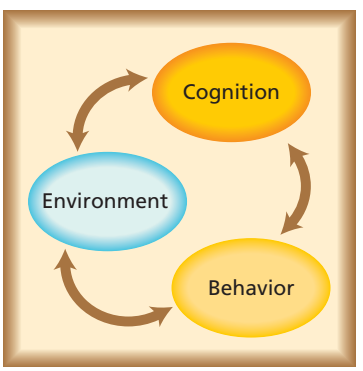


FIGURE 10.4 Reciprocal Determinism
In reciprocal determinism, the individual's cognitions, behavior, and the environment all interact.

How does reciprocal determinism work in real life? If, for example, you like psychology, your interest (a cognition) will probably lead you to spend time in the psychology department on campus (an environment) interacting with students and faculty (social behavior) who share your interest. To the extent that you find this stimulating and rewarding, this activity will reciprocally strengthen your interest in psychology and encourage you to spend more time with your friends in the psychology department. This, then, is one instance of the reciprocal determinism among cognition (interest in psychology), environment (the psychology department) and behavior (interacting with others who like psychology).

Locus of Control: Rotter's Theory Another cognitive psychologist, Julian Rotter (rhymes with *voter*) tells us that the way we act depends on our sense of personal power or **locus of control.** To illustrate, we ask you this question: Do you feel you can control the grade you achieve in your psychology class? If you do, you have an *internal* locus of control, and you probably work hard to get good grades. On the other hand, if you have the feeling that the professor will arbitrarily give you whatever she or he wants you to have—regardless of how much studying you do or the quality of your work—you have an *external* locus of control, and you probably study relatively little.

Scores on Rotter's *Internal–External Locus of Control Scale* correlate with people's emotions and behavior in many situations (Rotter, 1990). For example,

Observational learning The process of learning new responses by watching others' behavior.

Reciprocal determinism The process in which cognitions, behavior, and the environment mutually influence each other.

Locus of control An individual's sense of where his or her life influences originate.

DO IT YOURSELF! Finding Your Locus of Control

Julian Rotter (1966) has developed a test that assesses a person's sense of internal or external control over events. The test items consist of pairs of contrasting statements, and subjects must choose one statement with which they most agree from each pair. This format is called a forced-choice test. Unlike many other personality tests, the scoring for each item on Rotter's Internal–External Scale is transparent: The test-taker can easily tell in which direction most items are scored. Here are some items from a preliminary version of the test (Rotter, 1971).

You can see which direction you lean by counting the number of statements with which you agreed in each column. Agreement with those in the left column suggests an internal locus of control.

1a. Promotions are earned through hard work and persistence.	1b. Making a lot of money is largely a matter of getting the right breaks.
2a. In my experience I have noticed that there is usually a direct connection between how hard I study and the grades I get.	2b. Many times the reactions of teachers seem haphazard to me.
3a. If one knows how to deal with people they are really quite easily led.	3b. I have little influence over the way other people behave.
4a. People like me can change the course of world affairs if we make ourselves heard.	4b. It is only wishful thinking to believe that one can really influence what happens in society at large.
5a. I am the master of my fate.	5b. A great deal that happens to me is probably a matter of chance.

those with an internal locus of control are not only more likely to get good grades, but they also are more likely to exercise and watch their diets than are externals (Balch & Ross, 1975; Findley & Cooper, 1983). As you might expect, externals are more likely to be depressed (Benassi et al., 1988).

While we may feel more in control of certain situations than others, many studies suggest that locus of control is an important characteristic of our personalities. That is, people tend to approach different situations with assumptions about their ability to control their fate. Therefore, an internal or external disposition seems to be a reliable personality characteristic—although Rotter resists calling this a *trait* because he believes the term conveys the erroneous idea that internality–externality is fixed and unchangeable. You can evaluate your own locus of control by following the instructions in the "Do It Yourself!" box above.

Evaluating the Social-Cognitive Approach to Personality Critics argue that the cognitive theories generally overemphasize rational information processing and overlook both emotion and unconscious processes as important components of personality. So, for those who feel that emotions and motives are central to the functioning of human personality, the cognitive approaches to personality have a blind spot. However, because emotion and associated unconscious processes have assumed a greater role in cognitive psychology recently, we can anticipate a new generation of cognitive theories of personality that do take these aspects of personality into account (Mischel & Shoda, 1995).

A real strength of the social-cognitive theories is their foundation of solid psychological research—unlike most of the ideas proposed by the Freudians, neo-Freudians, and humanists. You will recall, for example, Bandura's famous Bobo doll experiment, which we discussed in Chapter 6. The price paid for the social-cognitive theories, however, is that they are much less comprehensive than the old and grand theories of personality proposed by Freud and his followers. The payoff, however, has come in the form of both explanations and treatments for a number of mental disorders that often seem to involve observational learning, particularly anxiety-based disorders, such as phobias, and behavior disorders in children.

CONNECTION: CHAPTER 12

Other anxiety disorders include *panic disorder* and *obsessive–compulsive disorder.*

How, then, would a cognitive psychologist explain Margaret Sanger? A cognitive interpretation of Sanger's work and personality would focus on how she interpreted the rewards and punishments she experienced and how these interpretations shaped her behavior. Each time she gave a public lecture about birth-control methods or printed and distributed an illegal pamphlet, Sanger's actions brought punitive consequences—but she was also rewarded with public attention and admiration, press coverage, and ultimately the revocation of unjust laws. Margaret Sanger learned that by enduring hardships, she raised public awareness and changed the social climate. In turn, these successes shaped her, making her less a private citizen and more a public figure.

A cognitive personality theorist would also call attention to the lessons Sanger learned in her social relationships. As she became a celebrity—someone whom others saw as a symbol of a movement rather than a mere individual—she acquired a sense of personal power and an internal locus of control that had eluded her in her early efforts to speak about health education. In her 1938 autobiography, she styled herself as a heroine and martyr, interweaving fanciful stories with accurate information about her life. A cognitive theorist would wonder whether she had come to believe the legendary side of the personality that she had strived to create.

Current Trends

Gone are the days when Freud, Jung, Horney, and others were building the grand, sweeping theories of personality that attempted to explain everything we humans do. The humanistic and cognitive theorists arose and pointed out blind spots in the older psychodynamic theories. Now the emphasis has shifted again, as psychologists have brought elements of the psychodynamic, humanistic, and cognitive perspectives together with new knowledge about the impact of culture, gender, and family dynamics. You should be especially aware of three important trends in our thinking about personality.

In *family systems theory*, for example, the basic unit of analysis is not the individual but the family (Gilbert, 1992). This perspective says that personality is shaped by the ways people interacted first in the family and, later, in the peer group. While Freud and others did recognize that parents influence children, the new emphasis is on *interaction*—on the ways that members of the family or the peer group influence each other. This has led to viewing people with psychological problems as individuals embedded in dysfunctional groups, rather than as "sick" persons. This emphasis has also given us a new interpersonal language for personality. We often speak now of *codependence* (instead of *dependent* personalities) and *communication* (instead of mere *talk*). We also have a heightened awareness of relationships and process (the changes that occur as relationships develop).

A second trend comes from psychology's increasing awareness of cultural differences. An increasing number of publications on personality come from psychologists around the world—not just from Europe and America (Quiñones-Vidal et al., 2004). As Stanley Sue (1991) reminds us, our society is becoming ethnically more diverse. No longer can we assume that everyone shares the same cultural experience or the same values. And Harry Triandis (1995) has warned us, for example, that people who grow up in *collectivistic* societies may not have the need for individual achievement learned by those who grow up in *individualistic* societies. Triandis also tells us that no culture's approach is superior to the others: They are merely different. We will consider the question of personality differences across cultures in more detail near the end of this chapter.

A third trend comes from an increasing appreciation of gender influences. While we do not know the weights to assign nature and nurture in our attempts to understand gender differences, we do know that males and females often perceive situations differently (Tavris, 1991). For example, males tend to be more physically aggressive than females. Females tend to form close relationships in small, equal-status groups, while males tend to connect in larger groups (teams) organized hierarchically with leaders and followers.

Together these three trends have enlarged our understanding of the forces that shape personality. The new emphasis is on diversity and group processes, rather than on commonalities and individuals. As a result, the picture of personality has become much more complex—but it has undoubtedly become far more accurate.

PSYCHOLOGY IN YOUR LIFE: EXPLAINING UNUSUAL PEOPLE AND UNUSUAL BEHAVIOR

A theory of personality is helpful in understanding unusual personalities.

You don't need a theory of personality to explain why people usually get to work on time, sing along at concerts, or spend weekends with their family and friends. That is, you don't need a theory of personality to explain why people do what you would expect them to do. But when they behave in odd and unexpected ways, a personality theory becomes handy. A good theory can help you understand interesting and unusual people whom you read about in the newspaper—those who risk their lives to save another, politicians embroiled in scandal, a serial killer, the charismatic leader of a religious cult, and the controversial CEO of a Fortune 500 company.

Which approach to personality offers the best explanations? Unfortunately, none has the whole truth. But each perspective we have covered so far—the psychodynamic, the humanistic, and the cognitive—can help you see personality from a different angle, so you will need to use them all to get the whole picture. To illustrate, let's suppose that you are a counseling psychologist, working at a college counseling center, and a client, a young woman, tells you that she is contemplating suicide. How can your knowledge of personality help you understand her?

The cognitive perspective, with its emphasis on perception and social learning, suggests that her difficulty may lie in her interpretation of some depressing or threatening event. It also alerts you to the possibility that her suicidal thoughts reflect a suicidal role model—perhaps a friend or a family member.

The humanistic view suggests that you explore her unmet needs, such as feeling alone, unloved, or not respected. This view also calls your attention to the possibility of suicidal thoughts arising from low self-esteem.

The psychodynamic perspective suggests that you consider your client's internal motivation. Is she a hostile person who has turned her hostility on herself? Does she have some unfinished emotional business from an earlier developmental stage, such as guilt for angry feelings toward her parents? Does she have an unresolved identity crisis?

No one has a simple answer to the problem of understanding why people do what they do. That is for the counselor and client to work out together. What these theories of personality *can* do, however, is call your attention to factors you might otherwise overlook.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. **RECALL:** The psychodynamic theories emphasize
   - **a.** behavior.
   - **b.** consciousness.
   - **c.** learning.
   - **d.** motivation.
   - **e.** the logical basis of behavior.

2. **RECALL:** Freud believed that mental disorders stem from conflicts and drives that are repressed in the
   - **a.** ego.
   - **b.** superego.
   - **c.** id.
   - **d.** Eros.
   - **e.** Thanatos.

3. **APPLICATION:** Which of the following behaviors would a Freudian say is driven by Thanatos?
   - **a.** a violent assault
   - **b.** dreaming
   - **c.** eating
   - **d.** flying an airplane
   - **e.** sexual intercourse

4. **RECALL:** What is the ego defense mechanism on which the Rorschach and TAT are based?
   - **a.** displacement
   - **b.** fantasy
   - **c.** projection
   - **d.** reaction formation
   - **e.** regression

5. **APPLICATION:** If you react strongly to angry outbursts in others, you may be struggling with which Jungian archetype?
   - **a.** the anima
   - **b.** the animus
   - **c.** the hero
   - **d.** introversion
   - **e.** the shadow

6. **RECALL:** Karen Horney believed that the main forces behind our behaviors are
   - **a.** aggressive and destructive.
   - **b.** the result of the Oedipus complex.
   - **c.** sexual.
   - **d.** social.
   - **e.** unconscious.

7. **RECALL:** The humanistic theorists were very different from the psychodynamic theorists because of their emphasis on
   - **a.** the cognitive forces behind behavior.
   - **b.** emotional intelligence.
   - **c.** the healthy personality.
   - **d.** mental disorder.
   - **e.** the role of the unconscious.

8. **RECALL:** Our expectations of reward and punishment play a major role in
   - **a.** the cognitive theories.
   - **b.** the humanistic theories.
   - **c.** the psychodynamic theories.
   - **d.** none of the above theories of personality.
   - **e.** all of the above.

9. **UNDERSTANDING THE CORE CONCEPT:** What do the psychodynamic, humanistic, and cognitive theories of personality have in common?
   - **a.** They all view personality as largely unconscious.
   - **b.** They all acknowledge the internal mental processes underlying our personality characteristics.
   - **c.** They all say that men and women have entirely different motives underlying their behaviors.
   - **d.** They all have a strong basis in psychological research.
   - **e.** They have nothing in common.

ANSWERS: 1.d 2.c 3.a 4.c 5.e 6.d 7.c 8.a 9.b

KEY QUESTION

WHAT PERSISTENT PATTERNS ARE FOUND IN PERSONALITY?

Two thousand years before academic psychology appeared, people were classifying each other according to four *temperaments*, based on a theory proposed by the Greek physician Hippocrates (*Hip-POCK-rah-tees*). A person's temperament, he suggested, resulted from the balance of the four **humors,** or fluids, secreted by the body. A *sanguine,* or cheerful, person was characterized by strong, warm blood. A *choleric* temperament, marked by anger, came from yellow bile (called *choler*), believed to flow from the liver. Hippocrates thought that the liver also produced black bile, from which arose a *melancholic,* or depressed, temperament. Finally, if the body's dominant fluid is phlegm, or mucus, the person will have a *phlegmatic* temperament: cool, aloof, slow, and unemotional. Hippocrates' biology may have been a little off the mark, but his notion of tem-

■ **Humors** Four body fluids–blood, phlegm, black bile, and yellow bile–that, according to an ancient theory, control personality by their relative abundance.

peraments established themselves as "common sense." Even today you will occasionally encounter his terms used to describe people's personalities.

Since the days of Hippocrates, many other personality classification systems have been developed. The most simplistic ones are just streeotypes: If fat, then jolly; if an engineer, then conservative; if female, then sympathetic. Unfortunately, they oversimplify the very complicated problem of understanding the patterns found in personality. In fact, even you may be guilty of such oversimplifications, if you group people strictly according to college class, major, sex, ethnicity, and qualities such as honesty, shyness, or sense of humor.

Still, something in human nature seems to encourage us to group people by categories, according to certain distinguishing features. In modern psychology, some personality theorists describe people in terms of *temperaments:* global dispositions of personality, such as "outgoing" or "shy." Others prefer to look for *traits,* which are more specific characteristics in the personality, such as "cautious." Still others group people according to their personality *types,* which are clusters of traits. As you will see, however, most agree on certain fundamental dimensions of personality. Our Core Concept says:

Another approach describes personality in terms of stable patterns known as temperaments, traits, and types.

As you can see, the terms *temperament, trait,* and *type* overlap—which allows us to use the generic term *trait perspective* for this general approach to understanding human personality.

CONNECTION: CHAPTER 1
The *trait perspective* is one of the seven major viewpoints in modern psychology.

What makes these theories different from mere stereotypes—the conservative engineer, the macho male, or the dismal economics professor? It's all in the science. A good temperament, trait, or type theory has a solid research base. Let's look a few prominent examples.

Personality and Temperament

Psychologists define **temperament** as the inherited personality dispositions that are apparent in early childhood and that establish the tempo and mood of the individual's behaviors (Hogan et al., 1996; Mischel, 1993). When they speak of temperaments, psychologists are usually referring to a single, dominant "theme," such as shyness or moodiness, that characterizes a person's personality. Modern psychology has, of course, abandoned the four-humors theory of temperament, but it has retained its most basic concept: *Biological dispositions do affect our basic personalities.* In support of this view, psychologists can point to structures in the brain that are known to regulate fundamental aspects of personality (Canli et al., 2002; Carpenter, 2001a; Craik et al., 1999; Davidson, 2002; LeDoux, 2002; Zuckerman, 1995). You will recall, for example, the case of Phineas Gage, who received an accidental lobotomy and thereby demonstrated the role of the frontal lobes in social interaction and the suppression of impulsive behavior.

● Some shyness is inherited, and some is learned through experience.

Biological psychologists now suspect that some individual differences in disposition also arise from the balance of chemicals in the brain, which may have a genetic basis (Azar, 2002; Sapolsky, 1992). In this sense, the theory of humors still lives, but in a different guise: Modern biological psychology has replaced the humors with neurotransmitters. So depression—which characterizes most suicidal people—may result from an imbalance of certain transmitters. Likewise, anxiety, anger, and euphoria may each arise from other neurochemical patterns. As developmental psychologist Jerome Kagan says (in Stavish, 1994a), "We all have the same neurotransmitters, but each of us has a slightly different mix" (p. 7). That, says Kagan, is what accounts for many of

■ **Temperament** The basic and pervasive personality dispositions that are apparent in early childhood and that establish the tempo and mood of the individual's behaviors.

the temperamental differences among people, especially with regard to negative traits, such as fearfulness, sadness, and shyness.

In fact, Kagan runs a fascinating research program focusing on the inherited basis of shyness (Kagan et al., 1994). This program has clearly demonstrated that on the very first day of life, newborns already differ in the degree to which they are "inhibited" or "uninhibited"—that is, shy versus bold. About 10 to 15% of all children appear to be born shy or introverted, while a similar percentage appear to be born bold or extraverted, as assessed by a variety of measures. These initial differences in temperament persist over time, with the majority of children being classified with the same temperament in measurements taken over an 11-year interval. On the other hand, we know that the percentage of shy college-age students—40% or more—is much higher than the percentage of shy children (Zimbardo, 1990). It is thus reasonable to assume that some shyness is inherited, while even more is learned through negative experiences in one's social life. It is also the case that if a child is withdrawn, startles easily, is unlikely to smile, and is fearful of both strangers and novelty, then that child will create an environment that is not friendly, playful, or supportive. In this way, heredity and environment interact, with initially inherited characteristics becoming amplified—or perhaps muted—over time, because they produce social signals telling others to either approach or stay away.

So does biology determine your destiny? An inherited temperament may set the *range* of your responses to some life situations. However, temperament by itself does not fully determine your life experiences (Kagan & Snidman, 1998). Even among your biological relatives, your unique family position, experiences, and sense of self guarantee that your personality pattern is unlike that of anyone else (Bouchard et al., 1990).

Personality as a Composite of Traits

If you were to describe a friend, you might speak of temperament—a single dominant theme in his or her personality. But you might also describe your friend on several dimensions, using the language of *traits:* moody, cheerful, melancholy, enthusiastic, volatile, friendly, or smart. Traits are stable personality characteristics that are presumed to exist within the individual and to guide his or her thoughts and actions under various conditions. In this sense, then, traits work to channel the way our motives are expressed in behavior (Winter et al., 1998).

The "Big Five" Traits: The Five-Factor Theory By restricting the definition of personality to motivational and emotional characteristics (excluding such attributes as IQ, skills, and creativity), trait theorists are building a consensus on the major components of personality. Using the mathematical tool of *factor analysis* (which helps an investigator look for relationships, or clusters, among personality test items), many researchers have found five dominant personality factors, sometimes called the *Big Five* (Carver & Scheier, 2000; Digman, 1990; Goldberg, 1981, 1993). As yet, we have no universally accepted names for these factors, although the first term in the list below may be the most widely used. (You will note that each dimension is *bipolar,* describing a range from high to low on that trait. The first term we have listed is a label referring to the "high" pole for each trait.)

- *Openness to experience* (also called inquiring intellect, curiosity, independence, or, at the opposite pole, closed-mindedness)
- *Conscientiousness* (also called dependability, cautiousness, perseverance, superego strength, prudence, or constraint, and, at the opposite pole, impulsiveness, carelessness, or irresponsibility)

- *Extraversion* (also called social adaptability, assertiveness, sociability, boldness, or self-confidence, and, at the opposite pole, introversion)
- *Agreeableness* (also called conformity, likeability, friendly compliance, warmth, or, at the opposite pole, coldness or negativity)
- *Neuroticism* (also called anxiety or emotionality and, at the opposite pole, emotional stability or emotional control)

As an aid to remembering these dimensions, think of the acronym *OCEAN*, standing for *O*penness, *C*onscientiousness, *E*xtraversion, *A*greeableness, and *N*euroticism.

This **five-factor theory** is important because it greatly simplifies a formerly confusing picture. Various theorists, such as Freud, Jung, Adler, Horney, Erikson, and Maslow, had suggested a wide array of "fundamental" personality dimensions. In addition, the dictionary gives us several hundred terms commonly used to describe personality (Allport & Odbert, 1936). While psychologists had attempted to simplify this daunting list of personality characteristics, it wasn't until the last decade or so that agreement has emerged on which traits were fundamental. Although debate still continues about the details, a broad coalition of theorists has now concluded that we can describe people with reasonable accuracy by specifying their position on each of these five dimensions. The five-factor theory also offers the advantage of describing personality in the familiar terms of everyday language.

Significantly, the five-factor model also seems to have validity across cultures. An Israeli sample produced the same five factors as those found in Americans (Birenbaum & Montag, 1986). A study drawing on people from Canada, Germany, Finland, and Poland also supported the five-factor theory (Paunonen et al., 1992), as did still other studies of individuals from Germany, Portugal, Israel, China, Korea, and Japan (McCrae & Costa, 1997), as well as Japanese university students (Bond et al., 1975) and Filipino students (Guthrie & Bennet, 1970). Note that the same five factors stood out in each of these cultures as the basic framework of personality. Digman (1990) notes that these strikingly consistent results, coming in from such diverse cultures, lead to the suspicion "that something quite fundamental is involved here" (p. 433).

Raymond Cattell and the 16PF (Personality Factor) Trait theory was further advanced by the work of Raymond Cattell. Utilizing statistics, Cattell identified sixteen personality factors that he believed constituted the building blocks of each individual's personality. It was the degree to which each person possessed these factors that formed their complete personality. Cattell proposed that we all have the same basic personality traits, such as vigilance and sensitivity, but each of us has unique degrees of those traits.

Assessing Traits If you were a clinical or counseling psychologist, you would have your choice of dozens of instruments for measuring personality. We have already met some of these in our discussion of the Rorschach inkblot technique, along with its projective cousin, the TAT, which came to us from the psychodynamic perspective. Now let us examine some of the personality tests spawned in part by the theories of traits, types, and temperaments.

One of the newer trait-based instruments comes from the five-factor theory: the NEO-PI or "Big Five Inventory" (Caprara et al., 1993; Costa & McCrae, 1992a, b). This personality assessment device has been used to study personality stability across the lifespan and the relationship of personality characteristics to physical health and various life events.

One of the most widely used of the personality inventories is the *Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory*, usually called the **MMPI-2.** (The "2" means it is a revised form of the original *MMPI.*) Strictly speaking, it doesn't measure

■ **Five-factor theory** A trait perspective suggesting that personality is composed of five fundamental personality dimensions: openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism.

■ ***MMPI-2*** A widely used personality assessment instrument that gives scores on ten important clinical traits. Also called the *Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory.*

enduring personality traits. Rather, its ten clinical scales were developed to measure serious mental problems, such as depression and schizophrenia (Butcher et al., 1989; Butcher & Williams, 1992; Greene, 1991; Helmes & Reddon, 1993). It consists of 567 statements dealing with attitudes, habits, fears, preferences, physical health, beliefs, and general outlook, such as:

- I am often bothered by thoughts about sex.
- Sometimes I like to stir up some excitement.
- If people had not judged me unfairly, I would have been far more successful.

Respondents are asked to indicate whether each statement describes them, and their answers are scored on the ten clinical dimensions listed in Table 10.4.

Attempting to fake a good or bad score on the *MMPI-2* is not a smart idea. The test has four "lie" scales that will most likely signal that something is amiss. All are sensitive to unusual responses. Here are some items similar to those on the lie scales:

- Sometimes I put off doing things I know I ought to do.
- On occasion I have passed on some gossip.
- Once in a while, I find a dirty joke amusing.

Too many attempts to make yourself look good or bad will boost your lie scale scores into the questionable range.

From a scientific standpoint, the *MMPI-2* is an exemplary instrument for two reasons. First, it has **reliability.** This means that it provides consistent and stable scores. So, for example, when a person takes the test on two different occasions, the scores are likely to be much the same. Any good test must have reliability; otherwise, the scores would be erratic and undependable.

Second, the *MMPI-2* has **validity**—which means that it actually measures what it was designed to measure: indicators of mental disturbance. The instrument does a credible job, for example, of identifying depressed or psychotic persons (Greene, 1991). So, as a diagnostic instrument, the *MMPI-2* has a good record—although it must be used with care in non-Western cultures because some of its items have culture-specific content (Lonner, 1990). Clinicians should also be cautious when giving the *MMPI-2* to members of ethnic minorities in the United States, because minority groups were not well represented in the original sample used in developing the test (Butcher & Williams, 1992; Graham, 1990).

Reliability An attribute of a psychological test that gives consistent results.

Validity An attribute of a psychological test that actually measures what it is being used to measure.

Evaluating Temperament and Trait Theories Several criticisms have been leveled at the temperament and trait theories and the tests they have spawned.

TABLE 10.4 MMPI-2 Clinical Scales

Hypochondriasis (Hs): Abnormal concern with bodily functions
Depression (D): Pessimism; hopelessness; slowing of action and thought
Conversion hysteria (Hy): Unconscious use of mental problems to avoid conflicts or responsibility
Psychopathic deviate (Pd): Disregard for social custom; shallow emotions; inability to profit from experience
Masculinity–femininity (Mf): Differences between men and women
Paranoia (Pa): Suspiciousness; delusions of grandeur or persecution
Psychasthenia (Pt): Obsessions; compulsions; fears; low self-esteem; guilt; indecisiveness
Schizophrenia (Sc): Bizarre, unusual thoughts or behavior; withdrawal; hallucinations; delusions
Hypomania (Ma): Emotional excitement; flight of ideas; overactivity
Social introversion (Si): Shyness; disinterest in others; insecurity

For one, these theories give us a "snapshot" of personality—a picture that portrays personality as fixed and static, rather than as a dynamic and changing process. Another criticism is that they oversimplify our complex natures by describing personality on just a few dimensions. As evolution scholar Stephen Jay Gould remarked, "The world does not come to us in neat little packages" (1996, p. 188). And what would we gain, for example, by judging Margaret Sanger as "passionate" or by finding that she scored high on traits such as outgoingness and dominance but low on agreeableness or conventional thinking? Such judgments would validate others' observations of her and even her own self-descriptions. But brief labels and concise categories also leave out important detail. Although many women may have possessed similar traits, no one else did what Margaret Sanger did. A simple sketch of personality cannot provide the insight of a more complex portrait.

On the positive side, trait theories give us some ability to *predict* behavior in common situations, such as work settings—to select employees who are well trained and to screen out those who might cause problems. But trait theories suffer from the same difficulty as the instinct theories. Both *describe* behavior with a label but do not *explain* it. For example, we can attribute depression to a depressive trait or an outgoing personality to extraversion without really understanding the behavior. In short, trait theories identify common traits, but they do not tell us much about their source or how traits interact (McAdams, 1992; Pervin, 1985). Moreover, because most people display a trait only to a moderate degree, we must ask how useful traits are for understanding all but the extreme cases. In contrast, dynamic theories of personality (which we examined in the first part of this chapter) emphasize changing, developing forces within the individual and the environment.

The four basic personality types

Finally, with trait theory we again encounter the problem of the *self-fulfilling prophecy*. When given trait labels, people may begin to act as those labels suggest, making it more difficult for them to change. A child labeled "shy," for example, may have to struggle against both the label and the trait.

CONNECTION: CHAPTER 7

The original *self-fulfilling prophecy* involved students whose academic performance was altered by teachers' expectations.

Traits and the Person–Situation Debate Cognitive theorist Walter Mischel dropped a scientific bombshell on the trait theorists with evidence suggesting that we behave far less consistently from one situation to another than most had assumed (1968, 1973). A person who is extraverted in one situation can become shy and retiring in another; an emotionally stable person may fall apart when the situation changes radically. Therefore, Mischel argued, knowledge of the *situation* is more important in predicting behavior than knowing a person's traits. The ensuing tumult within the field has become known as the **person–situation controversy** (Pervin, 1985).

In fact, Mischel's position challenged the very foundations of most personality theories. After all, if people do act inconsistently in different situations, then what good is a theory of personality? Critics mounted withering attacks on Mischel's thesis, pointing out that his methods underestimated a thread of consistency across situations (Epstein, 1980). Bem and Allen (1974) have also pointed out that some people behave more consistently than others. Moreover, people are most consistent when others are watching (Kenrick

Person–situation controversy
A theoretical dispute concerning the relative contribution of personality factors and situational factors in controlling behavior.

● Often the situation is a more powerful predictor of behavior than are personality traits.

& Stringfield, 1980) and when in familiar situations (Funder, 1983a, b; Funder & Ozer, 1983).

Nevertheless, it is true that personality traits as measured by personality tests typically account for less than 10% of all the factors that affect behavior (Digman, 1990)—a small number, indeed! But don't make the mistake of assuming that the situation accounts for the remaining 90%. Correlations between situations and behaviors are relatively weak, too. The lesson to be learned here is that the majority of factors affecting behavior simply cannot be assigned to one category or the other. Behavior seems to result from an *interaction* of trait and situational variables (Kenrick & Funder, 1988). In fact, Mischel has never suggested that we abandon theories of personality. Rather, he sees behavior as a function of the situation, the individual's *interpretation* of the situation, and personality (1990; Mischel & Shoda, 1995).

Mischel has argued that personality variables have their greatest impact on behavior when cues in the situation are *weak* or *ambiguous.* When situations are strong and clear, there will be less individual variation in response. For example, suppose that one day when you are in class, a student collapses, apparently unconscious, onto the floor. After a stunned silence, the instructor asks the class to keep their seats and then points *at you,* demanding loudly, "Use your cell phone to call 911, and get an ambulance here!" What do you do? This is a "strong" situation: Someone is in control, an instructor you already see as an authority figure; that person has told you unambiguously what to do. You are likely to comply—as would most people in that situation. In Mischel's characterization of person–situation interactions, there would be very little variation in how individuals respond to these circumstances.

But now suppose that you are walking leisurely through campus and you see a crowd gathered around a student who has collapsed on the sidewalk. Will you go for help? This is a "weak" situation, and your actions are likely to depend more strongly on your past experience and on such personality variables as independence and extraversion.

PSYCHOLOGY IN YOUR LIFE: FINDING YOUR TYPE

The notion of **type** refers to especially important dimensions or clusters of traits that are found in essentially the same pattern in many people. As we saw earlier, Carl Jung made the concept of type a feature of his theory of personality. (Thus, we could classify Jung as both a psychodynamic theorist and a trait/type theorist.) Jung's typology scheme, especially his notions of introversion and extraversion, have enjoyed wide influence and, as we have seen, is now recognized as one of the Big Five trait dimensions. Of particular importance is the use of Jung's typology as the foundation for the world's most widely used test of personality: the *Myers–Briggs Type Indicator.*

You are likely to have taken the ***Myers–Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI)*** because it is given to nearly two million people each year (Druckman & Bjork, 1991). It is used in many college counseling centers, where students may be advised to select a career that fits with their personality type. It is also used in relationship counseling, where couples are taught to accommodate to each other's personality styles. And the *MBTI* is commonly used by consultants in

■ **Type** Refers to especially important dimensions or clusters of traits that are not only central to a person's personality but are found with essentially the same pattern in many people.

■ ***Myers–Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI)*** A widely used personality test based on Jungian types.

management training sessions to convey the message that people have distinct personality patterns that suit them for different kinds of jobs.

We pause to give the *MBTI* a close look for two reasons. First, as the only objective measure of personality based on Jung's type theory, it presents an opportunity to examine some of his ideas critically. Second, as one of the most widely used of psychological instruments, the *MBTI* deserves critical scrutiny. We suggest that there are some good reasons to be cautious when interpreting the results on an *MBTI* profile.

Extraversion is thought by some to represent a major personality type.

On the Myers–Briggs test, examinees answer a series of questions about how they make judgments, perceive the world, and relate to others (Myers, 1962, 1976, 1987; Myers & Myers, 1995). Based on these responses, a scoring system assigns an individual to a four-dimensional personality type, derived from the Jungian dimensions of Introversion–Extraversion, Thinking–Feeling, Sensation–Intuition, and Judgment–Perception. You will recall that according to Jung, personality types are stable patterns over time.

What does the *Myers–Briggs Type Indicator* tell us about the stability or *reliability* of types? Remember that reliable test gives consistent results. But the research suggests that the reliability of the *MBTI* is questionable. One study found that fewer than half of those tested on the *MBTI* had exactly the same type when retested five weeks later (McCarley & Carskadon, 1983). Another study found a change in at least one of the four type categories in about 75% of respondents (see Druckman & Bjork, 1991). Such results certainly raise questions about the fundamental concept of "type."

A second issue concerns the *validity* of the Myers–Briggs test (Pittenger, 1993). We have said that a valid test actually measures what it is being used to measure. And again the research on the *MBTI* gives a mixed picture (Druckman & Bjork, 1991). As you might expect, people who work with people—entertainers, counselors, managers, and sellers—tend to score higher on extraversion. By comparison, librarians, computer specialists, and physicians number many introverts in their ranks. The danger lies, however, in turning averages into stereotypes. In fact, the data show a diversity of types within occupations. Further, we find a conspicuous lack of evidence documenting a relationship between personality type and occupational success. Although proponents of the *MBTI* claim it to be useful in vocational counseling, a review of the literature by a team from the National Academy of Sciences found no relationship between personality type, as revealed by the *MBTI,* and performance on a particular job (Druckman & Bjork, 1991). This report has, however, been vigorously disputed by users of the instrument (Pearman, 1991). Clearly, the *Myers–Briggs Type Indicator* needs more validity work before we can confidently encourage people to make life choices on the basis of its results.

Counselors using the *Myers–Briggs* to assess Jungian personality types often argue that its value lies not in its accuracy but in its ability to suggest new avenues for exploration—previously unknown personality patterns that might suggest career possibilities that might never have come to the individual's attention. Moreover, those who take the test often report that they have gained insight into themselves from the experience. Thus the instrument may have some value in counseling, especially when counselors resist the temptation to interpret the results rigidly. Unfortunately, no research has been done that documents these benefits over the long term. Says the National Academy of Sciences Report (Druckman & Bjork, 1991), "Lacking such evidence, it is a curiosity why the instrument is used so widely" (p. 99).

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. **RECALL:** *Temperament* refers to personality characteristics that
   - **a.** have their roots in the unconscious.
   - **b.** are learned, especially from one's parents and peers.
   - **c.** cause mental disorders.
   - **d.** cause people to be "nervous" or unpredictable.
   - **e.** have a substantial biological basis.

2. **APPLICATION:** A friend of yours always seems agitated and anxious, even when nothing in the circumstances would provoke such a response. Which one of the Big Five traits applies to this characteristic of your friend?
   - **a.** agreeableness
   - **b.** conscientiousness
   - **c.** extraversion
   - **d.** introversion
   - **e.** neuroticism

3. **RECALL:** Walter Mischel argues that _____ is (are) less important than _____.
   - **a.** the conscious mind/the unconscious
   - **b.** emotions/reason
   - **c.** the situation/emotions
   - **d.** traits/the situation
   - **e.** traits/temperament

4. **UNDERSTANDING THE CORE CONCEPT:** What is found in most psychodynamic, humanistic, and cognitive theories but is not found in most temperament, trait, and type theories?
   - **a.** a description of the components of the personality
   - **b.** labels for common mental disorders
   - **c.** concepts that are useful for individuals involved in personnel selection decisions
   - **d.** a description of the processes of development and change underlying personality
   - **e.** nothing, because these theories all share the same components

ANSWERS: 1. e 2. e 3. d 4. d

KEY QUESTION

WHAT "THEORIES" DO PEOPLE USE TO UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER?

We have seen how psychologists view personality. But how do people who are *not* psychologists think about people? This is an important matter because we all regularly make assumptions—right or wrong—about other people's personalities. You do so when you meet someone new at a party, when you apply for a job, and when you form your first impression of a professor or classmate. Do people make similar assumptions about each other in other cultures? These questions are significant because the "folk theories," or *implicit personality theories*, that people use to understand each other can support or undermine relationships among individuals—or even among nations. Our Core Concept says:

CORE CONCEPT

People everywhere develop implicit assumptions ("folk theories") about personality, but these assumptions vary in important ways across cultures.

In this section we will examine the assumptions commonly found in implicit theories of personality. Then, at the end, we will help you discover what implicit assumptions you make about others.

Implicit Personality Theories

Think of someone who has been a role model for you. Now think of someone you can't stand to be around. In both cases, what immediately springs to mind are personal attributes—traits—that you have learned to use to describe people: honesty, reliability, sense of humor, generosity, outgoing attitude, aggressiveness, moodiness, or pessimism, for example. Even as a child, you had a rudimentary system for appraising personality. You tried to determine which new acquaintances would be friend or foe; you worked out ways of dealing

with your parents or teachers based on how you read their personalities. You have probably also spent a great deal of time trying to get a handle on who you are—on what qualities distinguish you from others, which ones to develop, and which to discard.

In each case, your judgments were personality assessments reflecting your **implicit personality theory,** your personal explanation of how people's qualities and experiences influence their response patterns. Like the implicit memories we studied in Chapter 7, implicit theories of personality operate in the background, largely outside of our awareness. There they simplify the task of understanding other people (Fiske & Neuberg, 1990; Macrae et al., 1994).

Implicit theories often rely on naive assumptions about traits. For example, people tend to assume that certain clusters of traits go together—creativity and emotional sensitivity, for example. Consequently, when they observe one of these traits, they may assume that the person possesses the other (Hochwalder, 1995). People's personal experiences and motives can also influence their judgment of others. So, if you have had your heart broken by someone who was attractive but unwilling to make a commitment, you may quickly judge other attractive persons to be "insincere" or "untrustworthy."

In judging people, Americans and Europeans also tend to make the **fundamental attribution error.** This error in judgment relies on the assumption that another person's behavior, especially clumsy, inappropriate, or otherwise undesirable behavior, is the result of a flaw in the personality rather than in the situation. For example, if you trip and fall as you enter a psychology class at an American college or university, other students are likely to assume that you are a clumsy person. But if you were stumbling into a psychology class in China or Japan, the students would be more likely to assume that your bizarre behavior had some external cause, such as someone bumping you or an irregularity in the floor tiles. Cross-cultural research shows that the fundamental attribution error is less common in group-oriented, *collectivistic* cultures, such as are found in China and India (Lillard, 1997; Miller, 1984; Morris & Peng, 1994).

Personality across Cultures

The very concept of personality theory is a Western (Euro-American) invention, said cross-cultural psychologist Juris Draguns (1979). Therefore, it is not surprising that all formal theories of personality have been created by people trained in the framework of the Western social sciences, with a built-in bias toward individualism (Guisinger & Blatt, 1994; Segall et al., 1999). Other cultures, however, address many of the same issues in their own ways. Most of these non-Western perspectives have originated in religion (Walsh, 1984). Hindus, for example, see personality as a union of opposing characteristics (Murphy & Murphy, 1968). The Chinese concept of complementary opposite forces, yin and yang, provides a similar perspective (which influenced Carl Jung's *principle of opposites*).

Individualism, Collectivism, and Personality According to Harry Triandis (1989, 1990, 1994; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998), cultures differ most fundamentally on the dimension of *individualism* versus *collectivism,* which we alluded to above. For those raised in the Euro-American tradition, the individual is the basic unit of society, while those raised in many Asian and African cultures emphasize the family or other social groups. In collectivistic cultures people tend to form identities that blend harmoniously with the group, and they expect that others are motivated to do the same. In individualistic cultures, a person tends to form a unique identity and assume that others are similarly motivated to stand out from the crowd (Pedersen, 1979). Thus, for Euro-Americans

■ **Implicit personality theory** Assumptions about personality that are held by people (especially nonpsychologists) to simplify the task of understanding others.

■ **Fundamental attribution error** The assumption that another person's behavior, especially clumsy, inappropriate, or otherwise undesirable behavior, is the result of a flaw in the personality, rather than in the situation.

Most Asian cultures have a collectivist tradition that affirms the group, rather than the individual, as the fundamental social unit.

the self is a whole, while for many Asians and Africans the self is only a part (Cohen & Gunz, 2002; Gardiner et al., 1998; Markus & Kitayama, 1994). For Euro-Americans, a group is composed of separate individuals; when they work together they become a "team." By contrast, for Asians and Africans the group is the natural unit; the individual is incomplete without the group. Much of the conflict and misunderstanding arising from business dealings and political negotiations across cultures stems from different expectations about personality and the individual's relationship to the group.

Many aspects of peoples' personalities and behavior are related to their culture's position on the individualism-versus-collectivism dimension. We have already seen how the fundamental attribution error is more common in individualistic cultures. Two other topics related to individualism versus collectivism and to personality have received special emphasis by cross-cultural psychologists: (1) competition versus cooperation and (2) the need for achievement. In brief, when given the choice of competition or cooperation, individualistic Americans characteristically choose to compete (Aronson, 2004; Gallo & McClintock, 1965). Americans, on the average, also score higher on measures of need for achievement than do people in collectivist cultures.

Other Cultural Differences Cultures differ on other personality-related dimensions that are not so obviously related to individualism–collectivism. These include:

- *Status of different age groups and sexes:* The status of the elderly is higher in many Asian cultures than in the United States; women have second-class status in many traditional societies (Segall et al., 1999).
- *Romantic love:* The assumption that romantic love should be the basis for marriage is a historically recent European invention and is most often found in individualistic cultures (Rosenblatt, 1966).
- *Stoicism:* Asian cultures teach people to suppress the expression of intense feelings (Tsai & Uemura, 1988), while Euro-Americans are much more likely to express strong emotions (although there are pronounced gender differences).
- *Locus of control:* Persons in industrialized nations, such as the United States and Canada, more often have an internal locus of control than do those in developing countries, such as Mexico or China (Berry et al., 1992; Draguns, 1979; Shiraev & Levy, 2004).
- *Thinking versus feeling:* Many cultures (e.g., in Latin America) do not make the strong distinction between thoughts and emotions that Americans do (Fajans, 1985; Lutz, 1988).

Cultures even differ in their views of the ideal personality (Matsumoto, 1996). In the Western psychological tradition, mental health consists of integrating opposite and conflicting parts of the personality. This can be seen especially clearly in Freudian and Jungian theory. By contrast, some Asian psychologies, particularly those associated with Buddhism, seek the opposite: to dissociate consciousness from sensation and from memories of worldly experience (Gardiner et al., 1998; Pedersen, 1979).

Despite these differences, can we say that people are fundamentally the same the world over? On the level of neurons and brain circuits, the answer is certainly "Yes." But personality is also locked in the embrace of culture, so a more comprehensive answer would be "No—but perhaps they can be

described on the same Big Five dimensions." In the words of Erika Bourguignon (1979), "It is one of the major intellectual developments of the twentieth century to call into question the concept of a universal human nature."

Even though personality and culture are partners in a perpetual dance, we can make this distinction between them:

> "Culture" refers to those aspects of a society that all its members share, are familiar with, and pass on to the next generation. "Personality" refers to unique combinations of traits (which all people in a culture know about, even though a given trait does not describe a given person) which differentiate individuals within a culture. (Brislin, 1981, pp. 51–52)

But don't forget that culture and personality interact. A culture shapes the personalities of the individuals within it, just as individuals can influence a culture. Your personality is, to a certain extent, a product of your society's values, attitudes, beliefs, and customs about morality, work, child rearing, aggression, achievement, competition, death, and dozens of other matters important to humans everywhere. And in a larger sense, a culture is the "personality" of a society (Benedict, 1934).

In addition to the theories of personality described earlier in this chapter, one more researcher is worth noting. Hans Eysenck's theory examined two dimensions of temperament, **neuroticism** and **extraversion–introversion.** Note that for Eysenck, neuroticism was a scale on which people could be rated for their *susceptibility* to neurotic problems such as panic attacks or other nervous disorders, not the disorders themselves. But when he refers to extraversion and introversion, Eysenck is using these terms the way people with no background in psychology think of them. These are pervasive ways in which a person interacts with the environment (extraverts are gregarious and outgoing, introverts quiet and reserved).

PSYCHOLOGY IN YOUR LIFE: DEVELOPING YOUR OWN THEORY OF PERSONALITY

Each of the theories we have examined has its limitations and strengths. Consequently, most psychologists become **eclectic.** That is, they either switch theories as the situation requires or construct a theory of personality by borrowing ideas from many perspectives. While an eclectic approach may appear to offer the easiest route, it presents difficulties that arise from certain fundamental conflicts among theories. To give one example: How could we reconcile Freud's concept of our behavior being driven by primitive instincts with humanism's assumption of the innate goodness of our nature?

It may help to think of a personality theory as a map showing the major pathways through a person's psychological landscape. As you formulate your own theory, you must decide how to weight the forces that determine which paths we select—the forces of conditioning, motivation and emotion, heredity and environment, individualism and collectivism, cognition, traits, culture, self-concept, and potential. We propose the following questions, which will help you sort out the assumptions in your implicit theory of personality.

- In your opinion, are people more rational and logical (as the cognitive theories contend), or do they more often act on the basis of feelings and emotions (as the psychodynamic theories argue)?
- Are people usually conscious of the reasons for their behavior, as many of the post-Freudians claimed? Or are their actions mainly caused by unconscious needs, desires, and urges (as Freud suggested)?

■ **Neuroticism** Susceptibility to neurotic problems.
■ **Extraversion** A personality descriptor indicating the "outgoing" nature of some individuals.
■ **Introversion** A personality descriptor indicating the quiet and reserved nature of some individuals.
■ **Eclectic** Either switching theories to explain different situations or building one's own theory of personality from pieces borrowed from many perspectives.

Do you think these people are conscious of the reasons for their behavior? Some views of personality assert that anger comes from an inner drive that arises in the unconscious mind. Other views emphasize conscious cognitions of environmental stimuli.

- What do you see as the basic motives behind human behavior: sex, aggression, power, love, spirituality . . . ?
- Are human motives essentially egocentric and self-serving? Or are they altruistic, unmotivated by the desire for personal gain (as the humanists suggest)?
- When you try to understand another person's actions, which of the following do you consider to be most important: the situation (as Mischel says); the person's inner needs, drives, motives, and emotions (as the psychodynamic theories say); or the person's basic personality characteristics (as the trait and type theories say)?
- Is our basic, inner nature essentially healthy and good (as the humanists see it) or composed of primitive and self-serving desires (as Freud saw it)?

No one has yet found the "right" answers, but the answers you give say a great deal about your own personality.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. **APPLICATION:** You would expect to find the concept of self emphasized in
   - **a.** a collectivistic culture.
   - **b.** the culture of an industrialized society.
   - **c.** an individualistic culture.
   - **d.** a poor culture.
   - **e.** a wealthy culture.

2. **RECALL:** Cross-cultural psychologists say that a basic distinction among cultures is their emphasis on
   - **a.** capitalism or socialism.
   - **b.** external or internal locus of control.
   - **c.** individualism or collectivism.
   - **d.** nature or nurture.
   - **e.** thoughts or feelings.

3. **APPLICATION:** You are making the *fundamental attribution error* when
   - **a.** you decide to dislike someone who speaks angrily to you.
   - **b.** you see someone who is nice-looking and assume that she is self-centered and arrogant.
   - **c.** you go to a foreign country and assume that everyone thinks the same way you do.
   - **d.** you think someone is clumsy when he trips and drops his books.
   - **e.** you swap one emotion for one that is less threatening.

4. **UNDERSTANDING THE CORE CONCEPT:** Implicit personality theories involve
   - **a.** assumptions about themselves that people want to hide from others.
   - **b.** the assumptions that people make about each other's motives, intentions, and behaviors.
   - **c.** conclusions that are obvious.
   - **d.** opinions that people privately hold about others but will not express openly.
   - **e.** unconscious instincts, memories, and conflicts.

ANSWERS: 1. c 2. c 3. d 4. b

PERSONALITY: THE STATE OF THE ART

Everyone acknowledges that no single theory explains everything we lump under "personality" as the enduring psychological characteristics that provide continuity to our behavior and distinguish one person from another. Modern theories have a more scientific base than did those of Freud, Jung, Horney, and their contemporaries. Moreover, as Mischel tells us, the situation may be even more influential than the personality in determining what we do.

So where does that leave the cutting edges in the science of personality? Some researchers are looking for genetic connections to temperament and the major personality traits. There have been no "breakthroughs" yet—but stay tuned. Others, as we have noted, are exploring how families, cultures, and gender influence personality. Our guess is that one of the most volatile areas for personality research in the coming decade is going to involve neuroscience. We will gain a deeper understanding of how personality is manifested in the brain, especially in brain chemistry. We hope, however, that an emphasis on the *nature* of personality doesn't make researchers loose sight of its *nurture*—of how experience can alter the very circuits and chemicals that the brain uses to create personality.

USING PSYCHOLOGY TO LEARN PSYCHOLOGY

Your Academic Locus of Control

Although an internal or external locus of control can be a central feature of your personality, your perceived locus of control can also change from situation to situation. When you are speaking in front of a group, for example, you may feel that the situation is beyond your control, but when you are on skis you may feel that your are fully the master of your fate. And what about your education? Do you have a sense of internal or external control with regard to—say—your grade in psychology?

An external locus of control concerning grades poses a danger for the high school student because high school life is so full of distractions and temptations. If you believe that your grades are largely beyond your control, you can easily be driven by the enticements of the moment and let your studies slide. This attitude can, of course, become a self-fulfilling prophecy that ruins your grades not only in psychology but across the board.

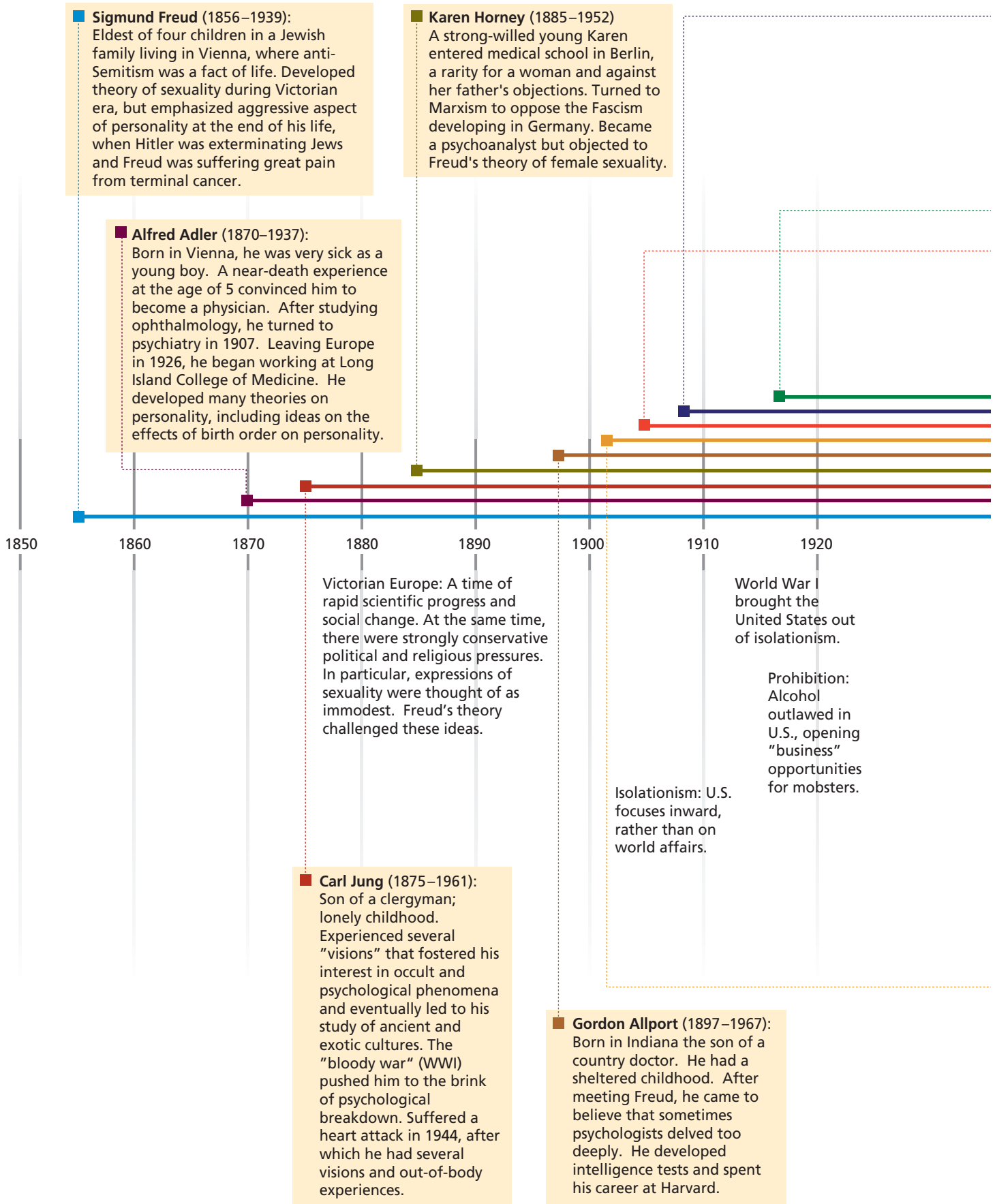
The following questions will help you discover your academic locus of control:

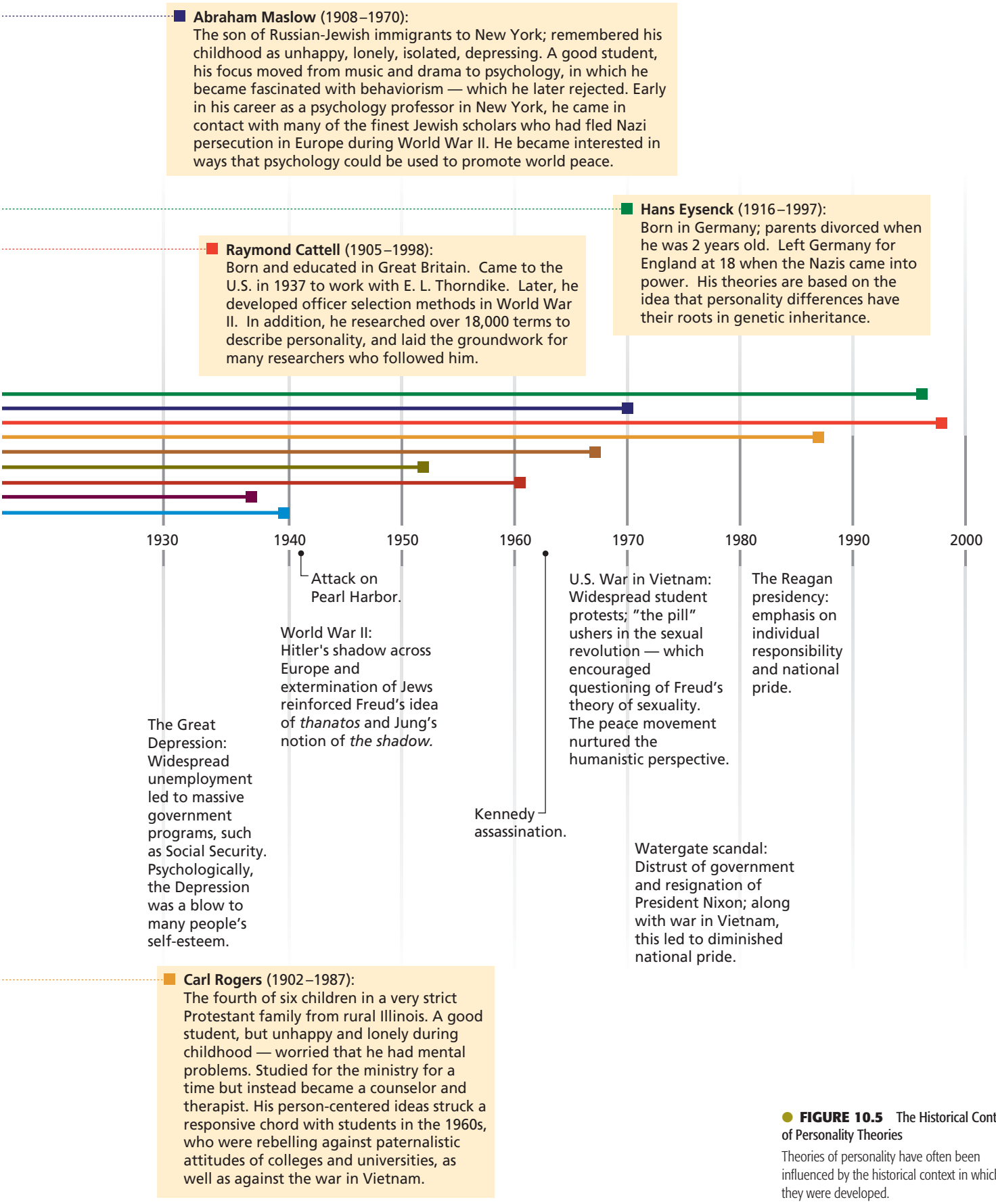
- On a test do you often find that, even if you know the material, anxiety wipes the information from your memory?
- On a test do you often know the material well but find that the test is unfair or covers material that the teacher did not indicate would be on the test?
- Do you feel poorly motivated to cope with college-level work?
- Are you so easily distracted that you can never quite get around to studying?
- Do you believe that some people are born to be good students and some are not?
- Do you feel that you have no control over the grades you receive?
- Do you feel that you are not smart enough to cope with college-level work?
- Do you feel that success in college will be largely a matter of luck?

If you answered "yes" to several of these questions, then you probably have an *external* locus of control with respect to your college work—an attitude that can hamper your chances of success. What can be done? Nothing, if you are completely convinced that your success is beyond your control. If, however, you are open to the idea of establishing more control over your educational experience, here are several suggestions:

- Get help with test anxiety from your counseling center or learning resources center.
- Find a tutor either among friends or at your learning resources center.
- Talk to your teachers individually: Ask them to give you some pointers on what they consider to be especially important (and testable) in their classes.
- Go to your high school's learning resources center and get an assessment of your strengths and weaknesses and of your interest patterns. Then make a plan to correct your weaknesses (e.g., with remedial classes in your weak areas) and build on your strengths. Select a major that capitalizes on your strengths and interests.

We would wish you good luck—but of course that's only of concern to externalizers!


Sigmund Freud (1856–1939): Eldest of four children in a Jewish family living in Vienna, where anti-Semitism was a fact of life. Developed theory of sexuality during Victorian era, but emphasized aggressive aspect of personality at the end of his life, when Hitler was exterminating Jews and Freud was suffering great pain from terminal cancer.
Karen Horney (1885–1952) A strong-willed young Karen entered medical school in Berlin, a rarity for a woman and against her father's objections. Turned to Marxism to oppose the Fascism developing in Germany. Became a psychoanalyst but objected to Freud's theory of female sexuality.
Alfred Adler (1870–1937): Born in Vienna, he was very sick as a young boy. A near-death experience at the age of 5 convinced him to become a physician. After studying ophthalmology, he turned to psychiatry in 1907. Leaving Europe in 1926, he began working at Long Island College of Medicine. He developed many theories on personality, including ideas on the effects of birth order on personality.
1850
1860
1870
1880
1890
1900
1910
1920
Victorian Europe: A time of rapid scientific progress and social change. At the same time, there were strongly conservative political and religious pressures. In particular, expressions of sexuality were thought of as immodest. Freud's theory challenged these ideas.
World War I brought the United States out of isolationism.
Prohibition: Alcohol outlawed in U.S., opening "business" opportunities for mobsters.
Isolationism: U.S. focuses inward, rather than on world affairs.
Carl Jung (1875–1961): Son of a clergyman; lonely childhood. Experienced several "visions" that fostered his interest in occult and psychological phenomena and eventually led to his study of ancient and exotic cultures. The "bloody war" (WWI) pushed him to the brink of psychological breakdown. Suffered a heart attack in 1944, after which he had several visions and out-of-body experiences.
Gordon Allport (1897–1967): Born in Indiana the son of a country doctor. He had a sheltered childhood. After meeting Freud, he came to believe that sometimes psychologists delved too deeply. He developed intelligence tests and spent his career at Harvard.



● **FIGURE 10.5** The Historical Context of Personality Theories

Theories of personality have often been influenced by the historical context in which they were developed.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

WHAT FORCES SHAPE OUR PERSONALITIES?

The psychodynamic, humanistic, and cognitive theories all seek to explain the influences that mold our personalities. Freud's psychoanalytic theory states that the personality is shaped by unconscious desires and conflicts. None of our thoughts or behaviors happen by accident, according to the principle of psychic determinism. Early childhood experiences also have a strong influence on personality, as the child goes through predictable psychosexual stages in which conflicts are dealt with unconsciously. Freud believed that the personality consisted of three main structures, the id (the reservoir of unconscious desires), the ego (the largely conscious part of the mind), and the superego (which contains the conscience and the ego ideal). Part of the ego, involving the ego defense mechanisms, operates outside of consciousness. One of these defense mechanisms, projection, is the basis for widely used projective tests.

Freud's theory has been extremely influential. Still, critics fault Freud's work for being scientifically unsound, a poor basis for prediction, and unfair to women. Modern psychology also suggests that the unconscious mind is less clever and purposeful than Freud believed.

Other psychodynamic theories, such as those proposed by Jung and Horney, also assume that personality is a dynamic process that involves strong and often-conflicting motives and emotions. Each of these neo-Freudians, however, emphasizes different aspects of personality. Jung proposed a collective unconscious, populated by archetypes. He also proposed that people fall into certain personality types, characterized especially by tendencies to introversion and extraversion. Horney, on the other hand, emphasized conscious processes, basic anxiety, and feminist issues in personality theory. Healthy people, she said, move toward others, while neurotic people move against others.

The humanistic theories, such as those of Maslow and Rogers, argue that people are naturally driven toward self-actualization, but this tendency can be suppressed by unhealthy conditions and perceptions. Maslow emphasized a hierarchy of needs, suggesting that when the deficiency needs are met, a person is more likely to pursue self-actualization. Rogers taught that the fully functioning person has a positive self-concept that is congruent with reality, while mental disorder arises from incongruence. High self-esteem is more likely when a child comes from a family that provides unconditional positive regard. The humanistic theories have had considerable impact on psychotherapy, but they have been criticized for lacking a strong scientific base.

The social-cognitive theories, by contrast, do have a scientific basis. Bandura's theory suggests that personality is shaped by observational learning. This occurs in an interaction of cognition, behavior, and the environment known as reciprocal determinism. According to Rotter's locus-of-control theory, those with an internal locus are more likely to feel they can control events in their lives than those who have an external locus of control. The social-cognitive theories are much more limited in scope than the psychodynamic or humanistic theories.

Modern theories of personality, unlike those of Freud, Jung, Horney, and the other psychodynamic theorists, have not attempted to provide comprehensive explanations for all aspects of personality. Emphasis has turned to the individual acting in a social environment, such as the family. Other emphases include cultural influences on personality, as well as an awareness of gender differences.

According to the psychodynamic, humanistic, and cognitive theories, personality is a continuously changing process, shaped by our internal needs and cognitions and by external pressures from the social environment.

WHAT PERSISTENT PATTERNS ARE FOUND IN PERSONALITY?

Temperament, trait, and type theories are descriptive approaches to personality with a long history stretching back to the ancient Greeks. Modern trait/type/temperament theories are frequently used as the basis for diagnosis, personnel selection, and psychological testing. *Temperament* refers to innate personality dispositions, which may be tied to factors in the brain. Traits give personality consistency across situations and may be influenced by both heredity and learning. Many psychologists now agree on the Big Five traits. Trait assessment is the basis for many psychological tests. The person–situation controversy, however, has raised questions about the relative contribution of personality traits and situations to behavior. Type theory is seen especially in the contro-versial and widely used MBTI, based on Jung's personality typology.

Another approach describes personality in terms of stable patterns known as temperaments, traits, and types.

WHAT "THEORIES" DO PEOPLE USE TO UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER?

People everywhere deal with each other on the basis of their implicit personality theories, which simplify the task of understanding others. Implicit theories may rely on naive assumptions, such as the fundamental attribution error. Moreover, cross-cultural psychologists have found that the assumptions people make about personality and behavior vary widely across cultures—depending especially on whether the culture emphasizes individualism or collectivism. Most psychologists develop their own eclectic theories of personality by combining ideas from various perspectives.

People everywhere develop implicit assumptions ("folk theories") about personality, but these assumptions vary in important ways across cultures.

REVIEW TEST

For each of the following items, choose the single best answer. The correct answers appear at the end.

1. Which sort of personality theory would most likely emphasize unconscious motivation?
   a. psychodynamic theory
   b. trait theory
   c. humanistic theory
   d. cognitive theory
   e. cognitive-behavioral theory

2. Which one of the following is an ego defense mechanism that may cause us to forget unpleasant or threatening experiences?
   a. displacement
   b. projection
   c. regression
   d. repression
   e. reaction formation

3. Critics fault Freud's psychoanalytic theory because it
   a. does not explain the source of mental disorders.
   b. has no theory of psychological development.
   c. has little basis in scientific research.
   d. has had little impact on popular culture.
   e. does not account for the role of the unconscious.

4. One of the biggest differences between Freud and Jung can be seen in Jung's idea of
   a. the collective unconscious.
   b. locus of control.
   c. implicit personality theories.
   d. shyness.
   e. dispositions.

5. The humanistic theorists were the first to emphasize
   a. unconscious motives.
   b. mental disorder.
   c. the healthy personality.
   d. how people are similar to other animals.
   e. repressed sexual desires.

6. According to Rogers, children may grow up with feelings of guilt and anxiety in homes where
   a. parents are not good role models.
   b. one of the parents is absent most of the time.
   c. parental love is conditional on good behavior.
   d. the parents are in conflict with each other.
   e. genetic inheritance from parents predisposes them to guilt.

7. Reciprocal determinism involves the interaction of
   a. the id, ego, and superego.
   b. self-actualization, unconditional positive regard, and the phenomenal field.
   c. the conscious mind, the conscience, and the collective unconscious.
   d. cognitions, behavior, and the environment.
   e. genetics, the environment, and dispositions.

8. Explaining why a new classmate does not seem attractive, your friend remarks, "I don't much like thin people, because they're too nervous!" This assumption reveals that your friend favors a _____ theory of personality.
   a. humanistic
   b. psychodynamic
   c. cognitive
   d. collectivistic
   e. type

9. Which of the following is *not* one of the Big Five personality factors?
   a. neuroticism
   b. intelligence
   c. conscientiousness
   d. openness to experience
   e. extraversion

10. Your implicit theory of personality would help you
    a. know that a friend needs comforting when she loses her job.
    b. laugh at a joke.
    c. shout at a friend when you are angry at your employer.
    d. feel rewarded when you receive your paycheck.
    e. gain a sense of accomplishment for a good grade.

ANSWERS: 1.a 2.d 3.c 4.a 5.c 6.c 7.d 8.e 9.b 10.a

KEY TERMS

Personality (p. 410)
Psychoanalysis (p. 412)
Psychoanalytic theory (p. 412)
Unconscious (p. 412)
Libido (p. 413)
Id (p. 413)
Superego (p. 413)
Ego (p. 413)
Psychosexual stages (p. 414)
Oedipus complex (p. 415)
Identification (p. 415)
Penis envy (p. 415)
Fixation (p. 415)
Ego defense mechanism (p. 415)
Repression (p. 415)
Projective tests (p. 416)
Rorschach inkblot technique (p. 416)
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AP* REVIEW: VOCABULARY

Match each of the following vocabulary terms to its definition.

1. Personality
2. Ego
3. Superego
4. Projection
5. Personal unconscious
6. Locus of control
7. Temperament
8. Traits
9. Five-factor theory
10. Type

_____ **a.** When we are upset or aroused, we may use this defense mechanism to attribute our own unconscious desire to other people or objects.

_____ **b.** The psychological qualities that bring continuity to an individual's behavior in different situations and at different times.

_____ **c.** An individual's sense of where his or her life influences originate.

_____ **d.** A trait perspective suggesting that personality is composed of five fundamental personality dimensions: openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism.

_____ **e.** Refers to especially important dimensions or clusters of traits that are central to a person's personality and are found with essentially the same pattern in many people.

_____ **f.** The basic and pervasive personality dispositions that are apparent in early childhood and that establish the tempo and mood of the individual's behaviors.

_____ **g.** The conscious, rational part of the personality, charged with keeping peace between the superego and the id.

_____ **h.** The mind's storehouse of values, including moral attitudes learned from parents and from society; roughly the same as the common notion of the conscience.

_____ **i.** Stable personality characteristics that are presumed to exist within the individual and to guide his or her thoughts and actions under various conditions.

_____ **j.** Jung's term for that portion of the unconscious that corresponds roughly to the Freudian id.

AP* REVIEW: ESSAY

Use your knowledge of the chapter concepts to answer the following essay question.

In personality theory, there are a number of differing approaches. One of the most unique is the cognitive-behavioral approach. In a well-thought-out and concise essay, describe the research of Rotter and Bandura. Be sure that your essay includes the following:

a. locus of control
b. reciprocal determinism
c. observational learning
d. trait

OUR RECOMMENDED BOOKS AND VIDEOS

BOOKS

Carducci, B. J., with Golant, S. (1999). *Shyness: A bold new approach.* New York: HarperCollins. Not a workbook for "changing" shy people into extroverts, this book is rather a set of strategies for living a "successfully shy life," including managing shyness when meeting others, working, falling in love, making small talk, and caring for shy children.

Janda, L. H. (1996). *The psychologist's book of self-tests: 25 love, sex, intelligence, career, and personality tests developed by professionals to reveal the real you.* New York: Perigee/Berkley. Just remember that any self-report technique depends on *your* responses—meaning that, to a large extent, you already know or can somewhat control the "outcome." Nonetheless, well constructed, valid, and reliable psychological assessments can cast individual data in a new light according to various theories of development, individual difference, and aptitude.

Kagan, J. (1995). *Galen's prophecy: Temperament in human nature.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press. Since ancient times, healers have believed each human being is born one of a few types: introvert or extrovert; sanguine, choleric, melancholy, or phlegmatic—and dozens of other typologies based on bodily shape or humors. The author, a renowned child psychologist, examines the scientific evidence for two basic types—shy (introverted) and bold—and how these inborn patterns determine one's life experiences in adjustment, work, and love.

VIDEOS

Catch Me If You Can. (2002, color, 141 min.). Directed by Steven Spielberg; starring Leonardo DiCaprio, Tom Hanks, Christopher Walken. Based on the best-selling memoir of con artist Frank Abagnale, Jr. (subtitled *The True Story of a Real Fake*), this is the story of a young man who succeeded in impersonating an airline pilot, pediatrician, hospital supervisor, assistant attorney general, and college professor—but was he motivated by greed or by love for his failed father? (*Rating PG-13*)

Identity. (2003, color, 90 min.). Directed by James Mangold; starring John Cusack, Ray Liotta, Amanda Peet, Alfred Molina. Ten strangers, trapped together in a storm-bound motel, deal in dramatically different ways with the threat of a killer among them—and all seem to have some mysterious connection with a legal proceeding taking place in a distant location. (*Rating R*)

The Talented Mr. Ripley. (1999, color, 139 min.). Directed by Anthony Minghella; starring Matt Damon, Gwyneth Paltrow, Jude Law. A poor, amoral young man, sent to retrieve a wayward heir from his European adventures, soon befriends the heir and tragically envies his target's beautiful life. Based on the late Patricia Highsmith's novel, the original U.S. film title listed Ripley's many personality traits and states: "The Mysterious, Yearning, Secretive, Sad, Lonely, Troubled, Confused, Loving, Musical, Gifted, Intelligent, Beautiful, Tender, Sensitive, Haunted, Passionate, Talented Mr. Ripley." (*Rating R*)