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**W**hat makes us the way we are? Are the personality characteristics we exhibit influenced more markedly by genes or by the environment in which we live, grow, and develop? Environments can be strikingly different. Consider the environments described in the next two paragraphs.

Oskar Stohr was raised as a Catholic by his grandmother in Nazi Germany. As part of Hitler's youth movement, Oskar was expected to be an obedient Nazi. Book burnings, military parades, hatred of Jews, and the right hand raised with the salute "Heil Hitler" were all part of Oskar's early environment. How did this environment affect his personality?

Jack Yufe, the same age as Oskar, was raised by his Jewish father on the island of Trinidad. Far removed from the goose-stepping storm troopers in Nazi Germany, Jack enjoyed all of the educational advantages and social supports of a middle-class Jewish upbringing. How did Jack's environment affect his personality?

Though raised in starkly different environments, Oskar and Jack are amazingly alike. They have quick tempers, are domineering toward women, enjoy

surprising people by faking sneezes in elevators, and flush the toilet before using it. They both read magazines from back to front, store rubber bands on their wrists, like spicy foods and sweet liqueurs, and dip buttered toast in their coffee.

The list of similarities between Oskar and Jack is much longer, but there is a good reason for them. The men are identical twins. They were separated shortly after birth when their father took Jack with him to the island of Trinidad, and their maternal grandmother raised Oskar in Germany.

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Researchers at the Minnesota Center for Twin and Adoption Research are studying the effects of genetics and environment on identical twins reared apart. When Oskar and Jack first arrived at the centre to take part in the study, they looked almost exactly alike physically, and both of them were wearing double-breasted blue shirts with epaulets, identical neatly trimmed mustaches, and wire-rimmed glasses. How powerfully the genes influence personality!

Joan Gardiner and Jean Nelson are another pair of identical twins in the Minnesota study. They were also raised apart, but their environments did not differ so markedly. Joan's adoptive mother and Jean's adoptive father were sister and brother, so the twins were together quite often.

Like Oskar and Jack, Joan and Jean have many similarities and a few differences. But one difference between the twins is so unusual that researchers are especially intrigued by it. Joan is musical; Jean is not. Although her adoptive mother was a piano teacher, Jean does not play. But Joan, whose adoptive mother was not a musician, plays piano very well—so well, in fact, that she has performed with the Minnesota Symphony Orchestra. Joan's mother made her practise piano several hours every day, while Jean's mother allowed her to pursue whatever interests she chose.

Duplicate genes but differences in musical ability—how do the researchers explain this? David Lykken of the Minnesota Center suggests that both twins have the same genetic musical capability, but the reason one plays and the other does not shows the effects produced by the environment. How powerfully the environment influences personality!

It is often said that no two people are exactly alike, that each of us is unique. When people talk about someone's uniqueness, they are usually referring to personality. **Personality** is defined as an individual's unique and stable pattern of characteristics and behaviours. And personalities are indeed different—consider, for example, Shania Twain and k.d. lang, Jean Chrétien and Stockwell Day, Elvis Stojko and Toller Cranston. What makes these people so different?

A number of theories attempt to account for our personality differences and explain how we come to be the way we are. This chapter explores some of the major personality theories and the variety of tests and inventories used to assess personality.

## Sigmund Freud and Psychoanalysis

To what two aspects of Freud's work does the term *psychoanalysis* apply?

Most textbooks begin their exploration of personality theory with Sigmund Freud, and for good reason. Freud created one of the first and most controversial personality theories. Using information gained from the treatment of his patients and from his own life experiences, Freud developed the theory of **psychoanalysis**. When you hear the term “psychoanalysis,” you may picture a psychiatrist treating a troubled patient on a couch. But psychoanalysis is much more than that. The term refers not only to a therapy for treating psychological disorders but also to a personality theory.

Freud's theory of psychoanalysis is largely original, and it was revolutionary and shocking to the 19th- and early 20th-century European audience to which it was introduced. The major components of Freud's theory, and perhaps the most controversial, are (1) the central role of the sexual instinct, (2) the concept of infantile sexuality, and (3) the dominant part played by the unconscious in moving and shaping our thoughts and behaviour. Freud's theory assumes a psychic determinism, the view that there is a cause for our every thought, idea, feeling, action, or behaviour. Nothing happens by chance or accident; everything we do and even everything we forget to do has an underlying cause.

## LINK IT!

[plaza.interport.net/nypsan/freudarc.html](http://plaza.interport.net/nypsan/freudarc.html)  
Sigmund Freud and the Freud Archives

[home.ican.net/~analyst](http://home.ican.net/~analyst)  
Canadian Psychoanalytic Society

## The Conscious, the Preconscious, and the Unconscious: Levels of Awareness

What are the three levels of awareness in consciousness?

Freud believed that there are three levels of awareness in consciousness: the conscious, the preconscious, and the unconscious. The **conscious** consists of whatever we are aware of at any given moment—a thought, a feeling, a sensation, or a memory. When we shift our attention or our thoughts, a change occurs in the content of the conscious.

Freud's **preconscious** is very much like the present-day concept of long-term memory. It contains all the memories, feelings, experiences, and perceptions that we are not consciously thinking about at the moment, but that may be brought to consciousness—which high school you went to or the year in which you were born, for example. This information resides in your preconscious but can easily be brought to consciousness.

The most important of the three levels is the **unconscious**, which Freud believed to be the primary motivating force of our behaviour. The unconscious holds memories that once were conscious but were so unpleasant or anxiety-provoking that they were repressed (involuntarily removed from consciousness). The unconscious also contains all of the

**personality:** A person's unique and stable pattern of characteristics and behaviours.

**psychoanalysis** (SY-co-ah-NAL-ih-sis): Freud's term for his theory of personality and for his therapy for the treatment of psychological disorders.

**conscious** (KON-shus): Those thoughts, feelings, sensations, and memories of which we are aware at any given moment.

**preconscious:** The thoughts, feelings, and memories that we are not consciously aware of at the moment but that may be brought to consciousness.

**unconscious** (un-KON-shus): Considered by Freud to be the primary motivating force of behaviour, containing repressed memories as well as instincts and wishes that have never been conscious.

instincts (sexual and aggressive), wishes, and desires that have never been allowed into consciousness. Freud traced the roots of psychological disorders to these impulses and repressed memories.

### The Id, the Ego, and the Superego: Warring Components of the Personality

What are the roles of the id, the ego, and the superego?

Freud (1961) proposed a new conception of personality that contained three systems: the id,

the ego, and the superego. These systems do not exist physically; they are only concepts, or ways of looking at personality.

The **id** is the only part of the personality that is present at birth. It is inherited, primitive, inaccessible, and completely unconscious. The id contains (1) the life instincts, which are the sexual instincts and the biological urges such as hunger and thirst; and (2) the death instinct, which accounts for our aggressive and destructive impulses (Freud, 1965). The id operates according to the **pleasure principle**—that is, to seek pleasure, avoid pain, and gain immediate gratification of its wishes. The id is the source of the **libido**, the psychic energy that fuels the entire personality; yet the id cannot act on its own. It can only wish, image, fantasize, demand.

The **ego** is the logical, rational, realistic part of the personality. The ego evolves from the id and draws its energy from the id. One of the ego's functions is to satisfy the id's urges. But the ego, which is mostly conscious, acts according to the reality principle; it

must consider the constraints of the real world in determining appropriate times, places, and objects to gratify the id's wishes. It allows compromises to be made—for example, it is due to the ego that on a given day you might choose a cookie instead of cheesecake.

When a child is five or six years old, the **superego**—the moral component of the personality—is formed. The superego has two parts: (1) the *conscience*, which consists of all the behaviours for which we have been punished and about which we feel guilty; and (2) the *ego ideal*, which contains the behaviours for which we have been praised and rewarded and about which we feel pride and satisfaction. At first the superego reflects only the parents' expectations of what is good and right, but it expands over time to incorporate teachings from the broader social world. In its quest for moral perfection, the superego sets moral guidelines that define and limit the flexibility of the ego.

Figure 10.1 describes the three systems of the personality.

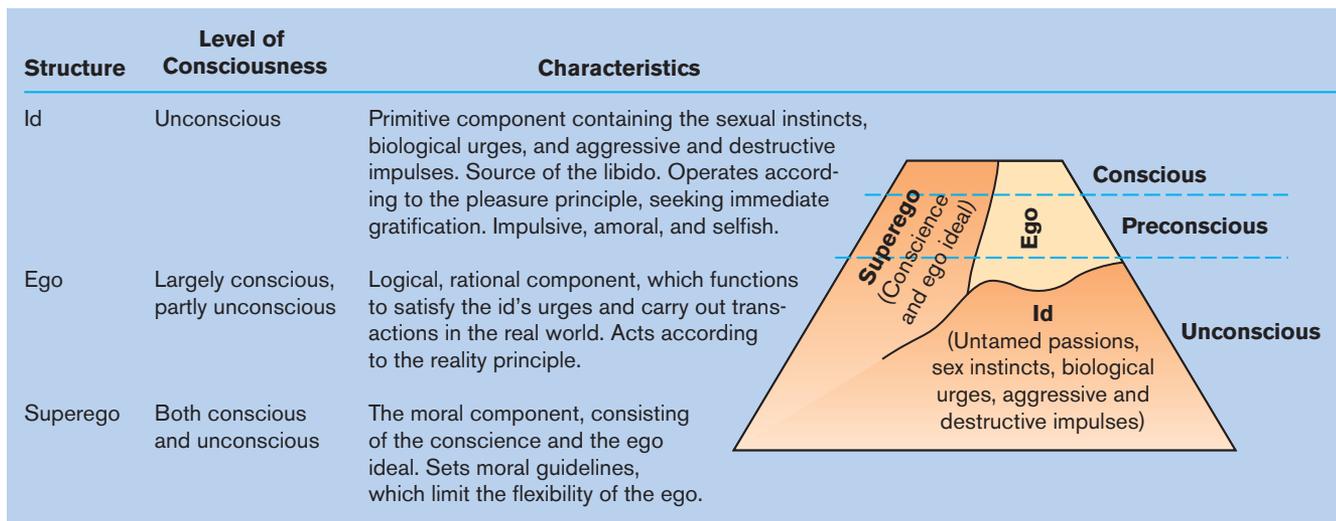
### Defence Mechanisms: Protecting the Ego

What is a defence mechanism?

All would be well if the id, the ego, and the superego had compatible aims. But the id's demands for sensual pleasure are

**FIGURE 10.1**

**Freud's Conception of the Personality** According to Freud, personality is composed of three structures, or systems: the id, the ego, and the superego. Their characteristics are diagrammed and described here.



often in direct conflict with the superego's desire for moral perfection. At times the ego needs some way to defend itself against the anxiety created by the excessive demands of the id, by the harsh judgments of the superego, or by the sometimes threatening conditions in the environment. Often the ego can relieve anxiety by solving its problems rationally and directly. When it cannot do so, it must resort to irrational defences against anxiety called *defence mechanisms*. Freud's daughter Anna (1966), also a psychoanalyst, contributed much to our understanding of defence mechanisms.

A **defence mechanism** is a technique used to defend against anxiety and to maintain self-esteem, but it involves self-deception and the distortion of internal and external reality (Vaillant, 1994, 1998). We use defence mechanisms to protect ourselves from failure and from guilt-arousing desires or actions (Vaillant, 2000).

### Repression: Out of Mind, Out of Sight

What are two ways in which repression operates?

**Repression** is the most important and the most frequently used defence mechanism, and it is present to some degree in all other defence mechanisms. Repression operates in two ways: (1) it can remove painful or threatening memories, thoughts, ideas, or perceptions from consciousness and keep them in the unconscious; or (2) it can prevent unconscious but disturbing sexual and aggressive impulses from breaking into consciousness.

Even though repressed, the memories lurk in the unconscious and exert an active influence on personality and behaviour. This is why repressed traumatic events of childhood can cause psychological disorders (neuroses) in adults. Freud believed that the way to cure such disorders is to bring the repressed material back to consciousness. This was what he tried to accomplish through his therapy, psychoanalysis.

### Other Defence Mechanisms: Excuses, Substitutions, and Denials

What are some other defence mechanisms?

There are several other defence mechanisms that we may use from time to time. We use **projection** when we attribute our own undesirable impulses, thoughts, personality traits, or behaviour to others, or when we minimize the undesirable in ourselves and exaggerate it in others.

**Denial** is a refusal to consciously acknowledge or to believe that a danger or a threatening condition exists. For instance, smokers use denial when they refuse to admit that cigarettes are a danger to their health.

**Rationalization** occurs when we unconsciously supply a logical, rational, or socially acceptable reason rather than the real reason for an action or event. When we rationalize, we make excuses for, or justify, our failures and mistakes. A teacher may blame students for their low grades, arguing that they are unmotivated and lazy, rather than evaluating the impact of his or her teaching techniques.

Sometimes, when frustrated or anxious, we may use **regression**—that is, revert to behaviour that might have reduced anxiety at an earlier stage of development. A five-year-old child with a new baby sibling may regress and suck her thumb.

**id (IHD):** The unconscious system of the personality, which contains the life and death instincts and operates on the pleasure principle.

**pleasure principle:** The principle by which the id operates to seek pleasure, avoid pain, and obtain immediate gratification.

**libido (lih-BEE-doe):** Freud's name for the psychic or sexual energy that comes from the id and provides the energy for the entire personality.

**ego (EE-go):** In Freudian theory, the rational and largely conscious system of one's personality; operates according to the reality principle and tries to satisfy the demands of the id without violating moral values.

**superego (sue-per-EE-go):** The moral system of the personality, which consists of the conscience and the ego ideal.

**defence mechanism:** An unconscious, irrational means used by the ego to defend against anxiety; involves self-deception and the distortion of reality.

**repression:** The act of removing unpleasant memories from one's consciousness so that one is no longer aware of the painful event.

**projection:** The act of attributing our own undesirable thoughts, impulses, or behaviours to others.

**denial:** The act of refusing to consciously acknowledge the existence of a danger or a threatening condition.

**rationalization:** The act of supplying a logical, rational, socially acceptable reason rather than the real reason for an unacceptable thought or action.

**regression:** The act of reverting to a behaviour that might have reduced anxiety at an earlier stage of development.

**Reaction formation** is at work when people express exaggerated ideas and emotions that are the opposite of their disturbing, unconscious impulses and desires. In reaction formation, the conscious thought or feeling masks the unconscious one. Unconscious hatred may be expressed as love and devotion, cruelty as kindness. For example, a former chain smoker becomes irate and complains loudly at the faintest whiff of cigarette smoke.

**Displacement** occurs when we substitute a less threatening object or person for the original object of a sexual or aggressive impulse. If your boss makes you angry, you may take out your hostility on your boyfriend or girlfriend.

With **sublimation**, we rechannel sexual or aggressive energy into pursuits or accomplishments that society considers acceptable or even praiseworthy. An aggressive person may rechannel that aggression and become a football or hockey player, a boxer, a surgeon, or a butcher. Freud viewed sublimation as the only completely healthy ego defence mechanism. In fact, Freud (1930/1962) considered all advances in civilization to be the result of sublimation. Review

& Reflect 10.1 describes and provides additional examples of the defence mechanisms.

### The Psychosexual Stages of Development: Centred on the Erogenous Zones

The sex instinct, Freud said, is the most important factor influencing personality; but it does not just suddenly appear full-blown at puberty. It is present at birth and then develops through a series of **psychosexual stages**. Each stage centres on a particular erogenous zone, a part of the body that provides pleasurable sensations and around which a conflict arises (Freud, 1953b; 1963b). If the conflict is not resolved without undue difficulty, the child may develop a **fixation**. This means that a portion of the libido (psychic energy) remains invested at that stage, leaving less energy to meet the challenges of future stages. Overindulgence at a stage may leave a person unwilling psychologically to move on to the next stage. But too little gratification may leave the person trying to make up for previously unmet needs. Freud believed that certain personality characteristics develop as a

## REVIEW & REFLECT 10.1

### Traditional and Modern Schools of Thought in Psychology

| Defence Mechanism         | Description   | Example   |
|---------------------------|---|---|
| <b>Repression</b>         | Involuntarily removing an unpleasant memory from consciousness or barring disturbing sexual and aggressive impulses from consciousness. | Jill forgets a traumatic incident from childhood.                                     |
| <b>Projection</b>         | Attributing one's own undesirable traits or impulses to another.  | A very lonely divorced woman accuses all men of having only one thing on their minds. |
| <b>Denial</b>             | Refusing to consciously acknowledge the existence of danger or a threatening situation.   | Amy is severely injured when she fails to take a storm warning seriously.             |
| <b>Rationalization</b>    | Supplying a logical, rational reason rather than the real reason for an action or event.  | Fred tells his friend that he didn't get the job because he didn't have connections.  |
| <b>Regression</b>         | Reverting to a behaviour characteristic of an earlier stage of development.   | Susan bursts into tears whenever she is criticized.                                   |
| <b>Reaction formation</b> | Expressing exaggerated ideas and emotions that are the opposite of disturbing, unconscious impulses and desires.                        | A former purchaser of pornography, Bob is now a tireless crusader against it.         |
| <b>Displacement</b>       | Substituting a less threatening object for the original object of an impulse.   | After being spanked by his father, Bill hits his baby brother.                        |
| <b>Sublimation</b>        | Rechanneling sexual and aggressive energy into pursuits that society considers acceptable or even admirable.                            | Tim goes to a gym to work out when he feels hostile and frustrated.                   |

## Psychoanalysis and Defence Mechanisms

- Psychoanalysis is both a theory of personality and a therapy for the treatment of mental disorders. (true/false)
- Freud considered the (conscious/unconscious) to be the primary motivating force of our behaviour.
- The part of the personality that would make you want to eat, drink, and be merry is your
  - id.
  - ego.
  - superego.
  - unconscious.
- You just found a gold watch in a darkened movie theatre. Which part of your personality would urge you to turn it in to the lost-and-found?
  - id
  - ego
  - superego
  - unconscious
- The part of the personality that must determine the most appropriate ways and means of satisfying your biological urges is the
  - id
  - ego
  - superego
  - unconscious
- Defence mechanisms are used only by psychologically unhealthy individuals. (true/false)
- Match the example with the corresponding defence mechanism.
 

|                        |  |
|------------------------|--|
| ___ 1) sublimation     | a. forgetting a traumatic childhood experience   |
| ___ 2) repression      | b. supplying a logical reason for arriving late  |
| ___ 3) displacement    | c. creating a work of art  |
| ___ 4) rationalization | d. venting anger on a friend or spouse after getting a speeding ticket from a police officer |

Answers: 1. true 2. unconscious 3. a 4. c 5. b 6. false 7. 1) c 2) a 3) d 4) b

result of difficulty at one or another of the psychosexual stages.

### The Oral Stage (Birth to 12 or 18 Months)

During the **oral stage**, the mouth is the primary source of sensual pleasure (Freud, 1920/1963b). The conflict at this stage centres on weaning. Too much or too little gratification may result in an oral fixation—an excessive preoccupation with oral activities such as eating, drinking, smoking, gum chewing, nail biting, and even kissing. Freud believed that difficulties at the oral stage can result in personality traits such as excessive dependence, optimism, and gullibility or extreme pessimism, sarcasm, hostility, and aggression.

### The Anal Stage (12 or 18 months to Age Three)

During the **anal stage**, children derive sensual pleasure from expelling and withholding feces. A conflict arises when toilet training begins, because this is one of the parents' first attempts to have children withhold or postpone gratification. When parents are harsh in their approach, children may rebel openly, defecating whenever and wherever they please. This may lead to an anal expulsive personality—someone who

**reaction formation:** The process of denying an unacceptable impulse, usually sexual or aggressive, by giving strong conscious expression to its opposite.

**displacement:** Substitution of a less threatening object for the original object of an impulse; taking out frustrations on objects or people who are less threatening than those who provoked us.

**sublimation:** The rechanneling of sexual or aggressive energy to pursuits or accomplishments that society considers acceptable or even praiseworthy.

**psychosexual stages:** A series of stages through which the sexual instinct develops; each stage is

defined by an erogenous zone that becomes the centre of new pleasures and conflicts.

**fixation:** Arrested development at a psychosexual stage occurring because of excessive gratification or frustration at that stage.

**oral stage:** The first of Freud's psychosexual stages (birth to 12 or 18 months), in which sensual pleasure is derived mainly through stimulation of the mouth (examples: sucking, biting, chewing).

**anal stage:** Freud's second psychosexual stage (ages 12 or 18 months to three years), in which the child derives sensual pleasure mainly from expelling and withholding feces.

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Freud believed that a fixation at the anal stage, resulting from harsh parental pressure, could lead to an anal retentive personality—characterized by excessive stubbornness, rigidity, and neatness.

is sloppy, irresponsible, rebellious, hostile, and destructive. Other children may defy their parents and gain attention by withholding feces. They may develop anal retentive personalities, gaining security through what they possess and becoming stingy, stubborn, rigid, and excessively neat and clean, orderly, and precise (Freud, 1965).

### The Phallic Stage (Ages Three to Five or Six)

What is the Oedipus complex?

During the **phallic stage**, children learn that they can get pleasure by touching their genitals, and masturbation is common. They become aware of the anatomical differences in males and females and may begin to play “Doctor.”

The conflict that develops at this stage is a sexual desire for the parent of the opposite sex and a hostility toward the same-sex parent. Freud (1963a) called this the **Oedipus complex** (after the central character in the Greek tragedy *Oedipus Rex*, by Sophocles). “Boys concentrate their sexual wishes upon their mother and develop hostile impulses against their father as being a rival” (p. 61). But the young boy eventually develops castration anxiety—an intense fear that his father might retaliate and harm him by cutting off his penis (Freud, 1965). This fear becomes so intense, Freud believed, that the boy usually resolves the Oedipus complex by identifying with his father and repressing his sexual feelings for his mother. With identification, the child takes on his father’s behaviours, mannerisms, and superego standards. In this way the superego develops (Freud, 1962).

**TABLE 10.1**

#### Freud’s Psychosexual Stages of Development

In Freud’s view, the most important factor influencing personality is the sex instinct, which develops through a series of psychosexual stages. Each stage is centred on a particular erogenous zone. Certain adult personality traits can result from a failure to resolve problems or conflicts at one of the psychosexual stages.

|  | Oral  | Anal   | Phallic   | Latency  | Genital   |
|--|---|--|---|--|---|
| <b>Stage</b>   | Birth to 12–18 months   | 12–18 months to 3 years  | 3 to 5–6 years  | 5–6 years to puberty   | Puberty onward  |
| <b>Erogenous zone</b>                                      | Mouth   | Anus   | Genitals  | None   | Genitals  |
| <b>Conflicts/experiences</b>                               | Weaning; oral gratification from sucking, eating, biting                                | Toilet training; gratification from expelling and withholding feces                        | Oedipal conflict; sexual curiosity; masturbation      | Period of sexual calm; interest in school, hobbies, same-sex friends | Revival of sexual interests; establishment of mature sexual relationships |
| <b>Adult traits associated with problems at this stage</b> | Optimism, gullibility, dependency, pessimism, passivity, hostility, sarcasm, aggression | Excessive cleanliness, orderliness, stinginess, messiness, rebelliousness, destructiveness | Flirtatiousness, vanity, promiscuity, pride, chastity |  |   |



## Freud's Psychosexual Stages

- According to Freud, the sex instinct
  - is present before birth.
  - is present at birth.
  - first appears during the phallic stage.
  - first appears at puberty.
- Which of the following presents Freud's psychosexual stages in the order in which they occur?
  - anal; oral; genital; phallic
  - genital; anal; oral; phallic
  - oral; phallic; anal; genital
  - oral; anal; phallic; genital
- Excessive concern with cleanliness and order could indicate a fixation at the \_\_\_\_\_ stage.
  - oral
  - anal
  - phallic
  - genital
- When a boy develops sexual feelings toward his mother and hostility toward his father, he is experiencing the stage of internal struggle called the \_\_\_\_\_.
- According to Freud, which of the following represents a primary source of influence on our personality?
  - our heredity
  - life experiences after we begin school
  - the relative strengths of our id, ego, and superego
  - the problems we experience during adolescence

Answers: 1. b 2. d 3. b  
4. Oedipus complex 5. c

Girls experience a similar conflict, often referred to as the Electra complex, although Freud did not use that term. Freud (1965) contended that when young girls discover that they have no penis, they develop “penis envy” and turn to their father because he has the desired organ. They feel sexual desires for him and develop a jealous rivalry with their mother. But eventually girls, too, experience anxiety as a result of their hostile feelings. They repress their sexual feelings toward the father and identify with the mother, and this leads to the formation of their superego (Freud, 1930/1962).

According to Freud, failure to resolve these conflicts can have serious consequences for both boys and girls. Freud thought that tremendous guilt and anxiety could be carried over into adulthood and cause sexual problems, great difficulty relating to members of the opposite sex, and even homosexuality.

### *The Latency Period (Age Five or Six to Puberty)*

The **latency period** is one of relative calm. The sex instinct is repressed and temporarily sublimated in school and play activities, hobbies, and sports.

### *The Genital Stage (from Puberty On)*

In the **genital stage**, for the vast majority of people the focus of sexual energy gradually shifts to the opposite sex. This culminates in heterosexual love and the attainment of full adult sexuality. Freud believed that the few who reach the genital stage without having

fixations at earlier stages can achieve the state of psychological health that he equated with the ability to love and work.

Table 10.1 provides a summary of the psychosexual stages of development.

## Freud's Explanation of Personality

According to Freud, what are the two primary sources of influence on the personality?

According to Freud, personality is almost completely formed by age five or six, when the Oedipal conflict is resolved and the superego is formed. He believed that there are two primary influences on personality: (1) the traits

**phallic stage:** The third of Freud's psychosexual stages (ages three to five or six), during which sensual pleasure is derived mainly through touching the genitals; the stage when the Oedipus complex arises.

**Oedipus complex** (ED-uh-pus): Occurring in the phallic stage, a conflict in which the child is sexually attracted to the opposite-sex parent and feels hostility toward the same-sex parent.

**latency period:** The period following Freud's phallic stage (age five or six to puberty), in which the sex instinct is largely repressed and temporarily sublimated in school and play activities.

**genital stage:** The last of Freud's psychosexual stages (from puberty on), in which for most people the focus of sexual energy gradually shifts to the opposite sex, culminating in the attainment of full adult sexuality.

that develop because of fixations at any of the psychosexual stages, and (2) the relative strengths of the id, the ego, and the superego. In psychologically healthy people, there is a balance among the three components. If the id is too strong and the superego too weak, people will take pleasure and gratify desires, and feel no guilt, no matter who is hurt or what the cost. But a tyrannical superego will leave people with perpetual guilt feelings, unable to enjoy sensual pleasure.

### Evaluating Freud's Contribution

Freud's theory is so comprehensive (he wrote more than 24 volumes) that its elements must be evaluated separately. His belief that women are inferior to men sexually, morally, and intellectually and that they suffer penis envy seems ridiculous today. Moreover, research contradicts Freud's notion that personality is almost completely formed by age five or six. However, we are indebted to him for emphasizing the influence of early childhood experiences on later development.

Critics of Freud's theory argue that it interprets behaviour after the fact (Stanovich, 1989), though some even go as far as to say that the entire theory can neither be supported scientifically nor justified therapeutically (Crews, 1996; Erwin, 1996).

Even so, Freud's contribution has influenced an enormous body of research across many areas of psychology (Westen, 1998). For instance, research in neuroscience and social psychology supports the existence of unconscious mental processing (Loftus & Klinger, 1992) but this unconscious is not what Freud had envisioned. Rather, unconscious mental activity is now viewed as information processing that takes place below the level of awareness (Bargh & Chartrand, 1999; Wegner & Bargh, 1998).

### The Neo-Freudians

Several personality theorists, referred to as neo-Freudians, started their careers as followers of Freud but began to disagree on some of the basic principles of psychoanalytic theory. They modified some aspects of the theory and presented their own original ideas about personality. We will discuss Carl Jung (analytical psychology), Alfred Adler (individual psychology), and Karen Horney.

### Carl Gustav Jung

Carl Jung (1875–1961) differed with Freud on many major points. He did not consider the sexual instinct to be the main factor in personality, nor did he believe that the personality is almost completely formed in early childhood. He maintained that middle age is an important period for personality development (Jung, 1933). He even disagreed with Freud on the basic structure of personality.

### LINK IT!

[www.cgjungpage.org](http://www.cgjungpage.org)  
The C. G. Jung Page

#### *Jung's View of the Personality: A Different View of the Unconscious*

According to Jung, what are the three components of personality?

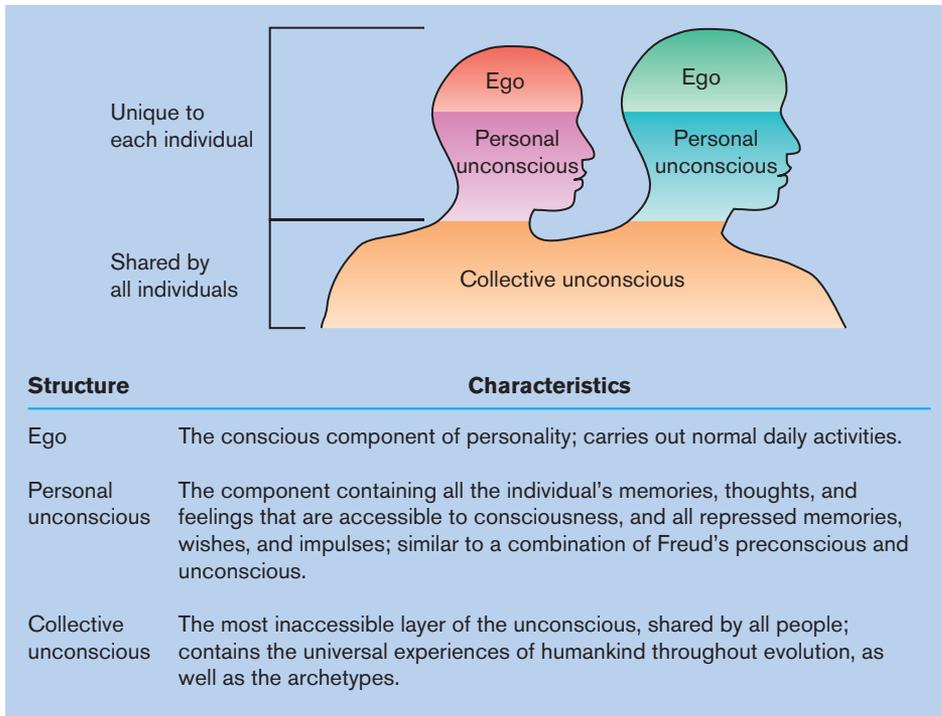
Jung conceived of the personality as consisting of three parts: the ego, the personal unconscious,

and the collective unconscious. He saw the ego as the conscious component of personality, which carries out our normal daily activities. Like Freud, he believed the ego to be secondary in importance to the unconscious.

The **personal unconscious** develops as a result of our own individual experience and is therefore unique to each individual. It contains all the experiences, thoughts, and perceptions accessible to the conscious, as well as repressed memories, wishes, and impulses. The personal unconscious resembles a combination of Freud's preconscious and unconscious.

Carl  
Jung

Image omitted  
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**FIGURE 10.2**

**Jung's Conception of Personality** Like Freud, Carl Jung saw three components in personality. The ego and the personal unconscious are unique to each individual. The collective unconscious is shared by all people and accounts for the similarity of myths and beliefs in diverse cultures.

The **collective unconscious** is the deepest and most inaccessible layer of the unconscious. Jung thought that the universal experiences of humankind throughout evolution are transmitted to each individual through the collective unconscious. This is how he accounted for the similarity of certain myths, dreams, symbols, and religious beliefs in cultures widely separated by distance and time.

The collective unconscious contains what Jung called *archetypes*. An **archetype** is an inherited tendency to respond to universal human situations in particular ways. Jung would say that the tendencies of people to believe in a god, a devil, evil spirits, and heroes, and to have a fear of the dark, all result from inherited archetypes that reflect the shared experience of humankind.

Figure 10.2 provides a summary of Jung's conception of the personality.

### Alfred Adler: Overcoming Inferiority

What did Adler consider to be the driving force of the personality?

Alfred Adler (1870–1937) disagreed with most of Freud's basic beliefs; on many points his views were the exact opposite. Adler emphasized the unity of the personality rather than the separate war-

ring components of id, ego, and superego. He believed that our behaviour is motivated more by the conscious than by the unconscious and that we are influenced more by future goals than by early childhood experiences.

Unlike Freud, who believed that sex and pleasure-seeking are our primary motives, Adler (1927, 1956) maintained that we are driven by the need to compensate for inferiority and to strive for superiority or significance. He believed that feelings of weakness and inferiority are an inevitable experience in every child's early life. Adler himself had felt a particularly keen sense of inferiority as a child because he was small, sickly, and unable to walk until he was four.

**personal unconscious:** In Jung's theory, the layer of the unconscious containing all of the thoughts and experiences that are accessible to the conscious, as well as repressed memories and impulses.

**collective unconscious:** In Jung's theory, the most inaccessible layer of the

unconscious, which contains the universal experiences of humankind transmitted to each individual.

**archetype** (AR-keh-type): Existing in the collective unconscious, an inherited tendency to respond in particular ways to universal human situations.

According to Adler (1956), people at an early age develop a “style of life”—a unique way in which the child and later the adult will go about the struggle to achieve superiority. Sometimes inferiority feelings are so strong that they prevent personal development. Adler originated a term to describe this condition—the “inferiority complex” (Dreikurs, 1953). Adler (1964) also maintained that birth order influences personality, making first-born children more likely than their siblings to be high achievers.

## LINK IT!

[www.alfredadler.org](http://www.alfredadler.org)

The North American Society of Adlerian Psychology

## Karen Horney: Champion of Feminine Psychology

Why is Horney considered a pioneer in psychology?

Karen Horney’s work centered on two main themes—the neurotic personality (1937, 1945, 1950) and feminine psychology (1967). She considered herself a disciple of Freud, accepting his emphasis on unconscious motivation and the basic tools of psychoanalysis. However, she disagreed with many of his basic beliefs.

**Karen Horney insisted that, rather than envying the penis, as Freud believed, women really want the same opportunities and privileges as men—to play sports at the Olympic and professional levels, for example.**

Image omitted due to copyright restrictions.

She did not accept his division of personality into id, ego, and superego, and she flatly rejected his psychosexual stages and the concepts of the Oedipus complex and penis envy. Furthermore, she thought Freud overemphasized the role of the sexual instinct and neglected cultural and environmental influences on personality. While she did stress the importance of early childhood experiences (1939), she believed that personality could continue to develop and change throughout life. She argued forcefully against Freud’s notion that a woman’s desire to have a child and a man is nothing more than a conversion of the unfulfilled wish for a penis.

Horney insisted that what women really want are the same opportunities, rights, and privileges that society grants to men. She argued convincingly that women must be given the opportunity to find their own personal identities, to develop their abilities, and to pursue careers if they choose.

Horney believed that to be psychologically healthy, we all need safety and satisfaction. But these needs can be frustrated in early childhood by parents who are indifferent, unaffectionate, rejecting, or hostile. Such early experiences may cause a child to develop basic anxiety—“the feeling a child has of being isolated and helpless in a potentially hostile world” (Horney, 1945, p. 41). To minimize this basic anxiety and to satisfy the need for safety, children develop coping strategies that form their basic attitude toward life—either moving *toward* people, moving *against* people, or moving *away from* people. If we are normal, we move in all three ways as different situations demand. But if we are neurotic, we are restricted to only one way to reduce anxiety, and we use it excessively and inappropriately.

Horney (1950) believed that the idealized self brings with it the “tyranny of the should”—unrealistic demands for personal perfection that “no human being could fulfill” (p. 66). The irrational, neurotic thinking that may spring from the “tyranny of the should” is an important part of Horney’s theory. Her influence may be seen in modern cognitive-behavioural therapies, especially the rational-emotive therapy of Albert Ellis, which we explore in a later chapter.

## LINK IT!

[www.lw.net/karen/index.html](http://www.lw.net/karen/index.html)

Karen Horney



## The Neo-Freudians

- In Jung's theory, the inherited part of the personality that stores the experiences of humankind is the
  - ego.
  - collective conscious.
  - personal unconscious.
  - collective unconscious.
- Which personality theorist believed that our basic drive is to overcome and compensate for
  - inferiority feelings and strive for superiority and significance?
    - Sigmund Freud
    - Carl Jung
    - Alfred Adler
    - Karen Horney
  - Horney traced the origin of psychological maladjustment to
    - the inferiority feelings of childhood.
    - basic anxiety resulting from the parents' failure to satisfy the child's needs for safety and satisfaction.
    - excessive frustration or overindulgence of the child at early stages of development.
    - the failure to balance opposing forces in the personality.

Answers: 1. d 2. c 3. b

## Trait Theories

What are trait theories of personality?

How would you describe yourself—cheerful, moody, talkative, quiet, shy, friendly, outgoing? When you describe your own personality or that of someone else, you probably list several relatively stable and consistent personal characteristics called **traits**. **Trait theories** are attempts to explain personality and differences between people in terms of personal characteristics.

### Gordon Allport: Personality Traits in the Brain

How did Allport differentiate between cardinal and central traits?

Gordon Allport (1897–1967) asserted that personality traits are real entities, physically located somewhere in the brain (Allport & Odbert, 1936). Each of us inherits a unique set of raw materials for given traits, which are then shaped by our experiences. Traits describe how we respond to the environment and the consistency of that response. If we are shy, we respond to strangers differently than if we are friendly; if we are self-confident, we approach tasks differently than if we feel inferior.

Allport (1961) identified two main categories of traits: common and individual. Common traits are those traits we share or hold in common with most

others in our own culture. For example, quiet, polite behaviour is a common trait of some Asian cultures. Far more important to Allport were three types of individual traits: cardinal, central, and secondary traits.

A **cardinal trait** is “so pervasive and so outstanding in a life that ... almost every act seems traceable to its influence” (Allport, 1961, p. 365). It is so strong a part of a person's personality that he or she may become identified with or known for that trait. **Central traits** are those we would “mention in writing a careful letter of recommendation” (Allport, 1961). Do the next *Try It!* to learn more about central traits.

We also possess numerous secondary traits, but these are less obvious, less consistent, and not as critical as the cardinal and central traits in defining our personality. Secondary traits are such things as food preferences, favourite music, and specific attitudes. We have many more secondary traits than cardinal or central traits.

**trait:** A personal characteristic that is used to describe or explain personality.

**trait theories:** Theories that attempt to explain personality and differences between people in terms of personal characteristics.

**cardinal trait:** Allport's name for a personal quality that is so strong a part of a person's personality that he or she may become identified with that trait.

**central trait:** Allport's name for the type of trait you would use in writing a letter of recommendation.



## Hans Eysenck: Stressing Two Factors

What does Eysenck consider to be the two most important dimensions of personality?

British psychologist Hans Eysenck (1990) has always believed that personality is largely determined by the genes, and that environmental influences are slight at best. Although Eysenck maintains that three higher-order factors or dimensions are needed to capture the essence of personality, he places particular emphasis on two dimensions: **extraversion** (versus **introversion**) and **neuroticism** (versus emotional stability). Extraverts are sociable, outgoing, and active, whereas introverts are withdrawn, quiet, and introspective. Emotionally stable people are calm, even-tempered, and often easygoing, whereas emotionally unstable people are anxious, excitable, and easily distressed.

Eysenck (1981) believes that individual variability on the two dimensions may be partly due to differences in nervous system functioning. He suggests that extraverts have a lower level of cortical arousal than introverts and as a result seek out more stimulation to increase arousal, while introverts are more easily aroused and thus more likely to show emotional instability.

## The Five-Factor Theory of Personality: The Big Five

What are the Big Five personality dimensions in the five-factor theory as described by McCrae and Costa?

Today, the most talked-about theory of personality is the **five-factor theory**, also known as the “Big Five” (Wiggins, 1996). Each of the five factors is composed of a constellation of traits, all of which are specific components of a larger, broader personality factor.

Some of the researchers who accept these five broad dimensions of personality still disagree as to what they should be named. We will describe the Big Five dimensions using the names assigned by Robert McCrae and Paul Costa (1987; McCrae, 1996), the most influential proponents of the five-factor theory:

➤ *Extraversion.* This dimension contrasts such traits as sociable, outgoing, talkative, assertive, persuasive, decisive, and active with more introverted

traits such as withdrawn, quiet, passive, retiring, reserved.

- *Neuroticism.* People high on neuroticism are prone to emotional instability. They tend to experience negative emotions and to be moody, irritable, nervous, and prone to worry. Neuroticism differentiates people who are anxious, excitable, and easily distressed from those who are emotionally stable and thus calm, even-tempered, easygoing, and relaxed.
- *Conscientiousness.* This factor differentiates individuals who are dependable, organized, reliable, responsible, thorough, hard-working, and persevering from those who are undependable, disorganized, impulsive, unreliable, irresponsible, careless, negligent, and lazy.
- *Agreeableness.* This factor is composed of a collection of traits that range from compassion to antagonism toward others. A person high on agreeableness would be a pleasant person, good-natured, warm, sympathetic, and cooperative; whereas one low on agreeableness would tend to be unfriendly, unpleasant, aggressive, argumentative, cold, and even hostile and vindictive.
- *Openness to Experience.* The naming of this factor has been the subject of lively debate, but there is general agreement that openness to experience contrasts individuals who are imaginative, curious, broad-minded, and cultured with those who are concrete-minded and practical, and whose interests are narrow (King et al., 1996).

Researchers from many different traditions have found five factors when they have subjected self-ratings, observer ratings, and peer ratings to analysis. Five factors have emerged, as well, from studies in many

**surface traits:** Cattell's name for observable qualities of personality, such as those used to describe a friend.

**source traits:** Cattell's name for the traits that underlie the surface traits, make up the most basic personality structure, and cause behaviour.

**extraversion:** The tendency to be outgoing, adaptable, and sociable.

**introversion:** The tendency to focus inward.

**five-factor theory:** A trait theory that attempts to explain personality using five broad dimensions, each of which is composed of a constellation of personality traits.

different languages; across different age groups; with females and males; and in various cultures, including German, Chinese, Korean, Israeli, Portuguese, Turkish, British, and Spanish (McCrea & Costa, 1997; McCrea et al., 2000). Still more support for the five-factor theory comes from two cross-cultural studies by Paunonen and colleagues (1996, 2000) involving participants from Canada and several other countries. In addition, a large-scale study by Williams and colleagues (1998) found consistent personality patterns along the Big Five dimensions in 20 countries.

Most studies that examine the Big-Five personality factors have used a personality measure called the NEO Personality Inventory (NEO-PI) which was originally developed by Costa and McCrae (1985, 1992, 1997) and has been recently revised (NEO-PI-R).

There certainly has been a lot of recent research support for the Big-Five theory of personality and acceptance is growing, but this model also has its critics. Block (1995) maintains that there is inconsistency in the model and a lack of clarity about how the factors ought to be understood. McAdams (1992) argues that the model fails to address “core constructs of personality functioning beyond the level of traits” and to provide “compelling causal explanations for human behaviour and experience” (p. 329). Because the five-factor theory describes personality on a very general level, knowing how high or low a person scored on the five dimensions would not enable one to predict

that person’s behaviour in a specific situation. But the Big Five may be helpful in predicting general trends of behaviour in a wide variety of situations.

### Evaluating the Trait Perspective

Do we possess stable and enduring traits that predictably guide the way we will act across time and changing situations? Critics of trait theories say no and maintain that the consistency of our behaviour across situations is very low and not predictable on the basis of personality traits. After several decades of study, the weight of evidence supports the view that there are internal traits that strongly influence behaviour across situations (Carson, 1989; McAdams, 1992). According to Funder and Colvin (1991), “Even though situations profoundly affect what people do, people can still manage to preserve their distinctive behavioural styles across situations” (p. 791). Additional support for the trait theorists has come from longitudinal studies. McCrae and Costa (1987) studied personality traits of subjects over time and found them to be stable for periods of 3 to 30 years. They concluded that “aging itself has little effect on personality” (p. 862). According to McCrae (1993), “Stable individual differences in basic dimensions are a universal feature of adult personality” (p. 577).

Even the most talkative and boisterous among us tend to be quiet during a religious service or a funeral.

### Trait Theories

- According to Allport, the kind of trait that is used in a letter of recommendation is a \_\_\_\_\_; the kind of trait that is a defining characteristic of one’s personality is a \_\_\_\_\_.
  - common trait; secondary trait
  - cardinal trait; common trait
  - cardinal trait; central trait
  - central trait; cardinal trait
- Which of the following statements is *not* true of source traits, according to Cattell?
  - Differences in personality can be explained primarily in terms of the degree to which people possess the same source traits.
  - Source traits can be viewed as the cause of behaviour.
  - The differences between people are explained by the number of source traits they possess.
  - Source traits can be used to compare one person with another.
- We can best understand personality by assessing people on two major dimensions: extraversion and neuroticism. This view is championed by:
  - Hans Eysenck.
  - Gordon Allport.
  - Raymond Cattell.
  - Carl Jung.
- According to a growing number of trait theorists, there are \_\_\_\_\_ major dimensions of personality.
 

|      |       |
|------|-------|
| a. 3 | b. 5  |
| c. 7 | d. 16 |

Answers: 1. d 2. c 3. a 4. b

According to the trait theorists, characteristic traits determine how we behave *most* of the time, not *all* of the time. And we would agree that even the most optimistic, happy, and outgoing people have “down” days, fall ill, and frown occasionally.

## Learning Theories and Personality

According to the learning perspective, personality consists of the learned tendencies that have been acquired over a lifetime.

### The Behaviourist View of B.F. Skinner

How did Skinner account for what most people refer to as personality?

B.F. Skinner and other behaviourists have an interesting view of personality: they deny that there is any such thing. What

we call personality, they believe, is nothing more or less than a collection of learned behaviours or habits that have been reinforced in the past. Skinner denied that a personality or self initiates and directs behaviour. The causes of behaviour, he stated, lie outside the person, and they are based on past and present rewards and punishments. Thus, Skinner did not use the term “personality.” He simply described the variables in the environment that shape an individual’s observable behaviour. Healthy experiences in a healthy environment make a healthy person.

But what about the psychologically unhealthy individual? Where does abnormal behaviour originate? Skinner (1953) believed that psychologically unhealthy people have been reinforced by the environment for behaving abnormally. For example, an overly dependent person may have been punished by his parents for asserting his independence and reinforced for dependency. To change an individual’s behaviour, then, we must restructure the environment so that it will reinforce normal rather than abnormal behaviour. What a contrast this is to psychoanalytic theory and trait theory, which see internal forces as the major shapers and determinants of behaviour.

### LINK IT!

[www.bfskinner.org](http://www.bfskinner.org)

The B.F. Skinner Foundation

### The Social-Cognitive Theorists: Expanding the Behaviourist View

There is no doubt that some of our behaviours can be traced to classical and operant conditioning; but can all of personality, or even all of learning, be explained in this way? Not according to social-cognitive theorists, who consider both the environment *and* personal/cognitive factors in their attempts to understand human personality and behaviour. Personal/cognitive factors include personal dispositions, feelings, expectancies, perceptions, and cognitions, such as thoughts, beliefs, and attitudes.

#### Albert Bandura’s Views on Personality

What are the components that make up Bandura’s concept of reciprocal determinism, and how do they interact?

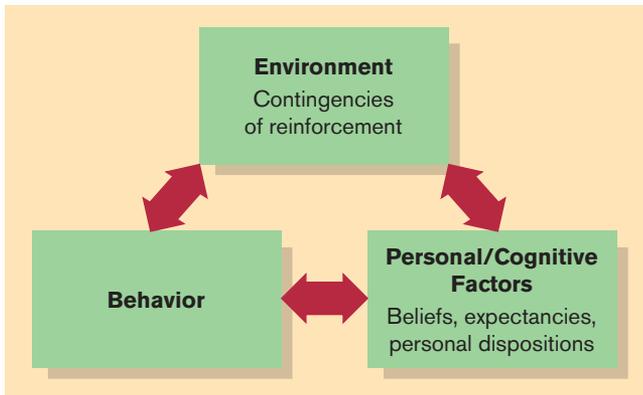
The chief advocate of the social-cognitive theory is Albert Bandura, who maintains that personal/cognitive factors, our behaviour, and the external

environment all influence each other and are influenced by each other (Bandura, 1989). This mutual relationship he calls **reciprocal determinism**. Figure 10.3 provides a diagram of Bandura’s model of reciprocal determinism.

Consider how Bandura’s concept of reciprocal determinism might work in the following situation: A waiter who normally works in a section of a restaurant where good tippers habitually sit is reassigned to tables in an area where tips are normally poor. This new environment influences the waiter’s beliefs and expectancies (personal/cognitive factors). Now, because he believes that good service will not be appropriately rewarded, his behaviour changes. He is inattentive, is not very pleasant, and provides poor service. Consequently, the waiter’s attitude and behaviour work reciprocally on the customers, affecting their thinking, feelings, and attitudes. And these, in turn, influence their behaviour. Not surprisingly, these customers *do* tip poorly.

One of the personal/cognitive factors Bandura (1997a, 1997b) considers especially important is self-

**reciprocal determinism:** Bandura’s concept that behaviour, personal/cognitive factors, and environment all influence and are influenced by each other.



**FIGURE 10.3**

**Albert Bandura's Reciprocal Determinism** Albert Bandura takes a social-cognitive view of personality. He suggests that three components—our environment, our behaviour, and personal/cognitive factors such as our beliefs, expectancies, and personal dispositions—play reciprocal roles in determining personality and behaviour.

efficacy. **Self-efficacy** is the perception people hold of their ability to perform competently and successfully in whatever they attempt. People high in self-efficacy will approach new situations confidently and will persist in their efforts because they believe success is likely. People low in self-efficacy, on the other hand, will expect failure and avoid challenges, will “give up in the face of difficulty, recover slowly from setbacks

and easily fall victims to stress and depression” (Bandura 1997a, p. 5).

### Locus of Control

What is meant by the terms *internal* and *external locus of control*?

Julian Rotter (1966, 1971, 1990) proposes another concept, **locus of control**, which provides additional insight into why people behave as they do. Some people see themselves as primarily in control of their behaviour and its consequences. That is, they exhibit an *internal* locus of control. Others perceive that whatever happens to them is in the hands of fate, luck, or chance; they exhibit an *external* locus of control and may contend that it does not matter what they do because “whatever will be, will be.” Herbert Lefcourt at the University of Waterloo supports the locus-of-control concept. His 1966 article in *Psychological Bulletin*, one of the most highly recognized psychology journals, is one of the 10 most cited articles in this journal. Both Rotter and Lefcourt contend that people with an external locus of control are less likely to change their behaviour as a result of reinforcement, because they do not see reinforcers as being tied to their own actions.

### Evaluating the Social-Cognitive Perspective

The social-cognitive perspective cannot be criticized for lacking a strong research base. Yet some argue that it emphasizes the *situation* too strongly. They

## Remember It! Learning Theories and Personality

- Which of the following concepts does Skinner find useful in explaining behaviour?
  - Behaviour is initiated by inner forces called personality.
  - Behaviour is caused by forces outside the person and based upon past rewards and punishments.
  - Behaviour is an interaction of inner forces and situational forces.
  - Behaviour and personality are for the most part determined by our heredity.
- Bandura's concept of reciprocal determinism refers to the mutual effects of
  - our behaviour, personality, and thinking.
  - our feelings, attitudes, and thoughts.
  - our behaviour, personal/cognitive factors, and the environment.
  - classical and operant conditioning and observational learning.
- Which statement is *not* true of people low in self-efficacy?
  - They persist in their efforts.
  - They lack confidence.
  - They expect failure.
  - They avoid challenge.
- Who proposed the concept of *locus of control*?
  - B.F. Skinner
  - Albert Bandura
  - Hans Eysenck
  - Julian Rotter

Answers: 1. b 2. c 3. a 4. d

ask: What about *unconscious* motives or *internal* dispositions (traits) that we exhibit fairly consistently across many different situations? Other critics point to the accumulating evidence that heredity may explain 40 to 50 percent or more of the variation in personality characteristics (Bouchard, 1994).

## Humanistic Personality Theories

Who were the two pioneers in humanistic psychology, and how did they view human nature?

**Humanistic psychology** seeks to give a more complete and positive picture of the human personality than the two other major forces in psychology—behaviourism and psychoanalysis. Humanistic psychologists developed their own unique view of human nature, a view that is considerably more flattering. They see human nature as innately good and contend that people have a natural tendency toward growth and the realization of their fullest potential. The humanists largely deny that there is a dark or evil side of human nature. They do not believe that people are shaped strictly by the environment or ruled by mysterious, unconscious forces. Rather, they see people as creative beings with an active, conscious free will who can chart their own course in life.

The pioneering humanistic psychologists were Abraham Maslow and Carl Rogers.

### Abraham Maslow: The Self-Actualizing Person

What is self-actualization, and how did Maslow study it?

For Abraham Maslow (1970), motivational factors were at the root of personality. As we saw in Chapter 9, Maslow constructed a hierarchy of needs, with physiological needs at the bottom and the need for self-actualization at the top. **Self-actualization** means developing to one's fullest potential. A healthy person is one who is always growing and becoming all that he or she can be.

Maslow maintained that if you want to know what makes a healthy personality, you must study people who are healthy. So he studied individuals he believed were using their talents and abilities to their fullest—

Abraham  
Maslow

Image omitted due to copyright restrictions.

in other words, individuals who exemplified self-actualization. Maslow studied historical figures, and figures who made significant contributions during their lifetime, to identify characteristics that self-actualizing people seem to share.

Maslow found self-actualizers to be accurate in perceiving reality—able to judge honestly and to spot quickly the fake and the dishonest. Self-actualizers are comfortable with life; they accept themselves and others, and nature as well, with good humour and tolerance. Most of them believe they have a mission to accomplish or the need to devote their life to some larger good. Self-actualizers tend not to depend on external authority or on other people; rather, they seem to be inner-driven, autonomous, and independent. They feel a strong fellowship with humanity, and their relationships with others are characterized by deep and loving bonds. They can laugh at themselves, and their sense of humour, though well-developed, never involves hostility or criticism of others. Finally, self-actualizers often have

**self-efficacy:** A person's belief in his or her ability to perform competently in whatever is attempted.

**locus of control:** A concept used to explain how people account for what happens in their lives—people with an *internal locus of control* see themselves as primarily in control of their behaviour and its consequences; those with an *external locus*

*of control* perceive what happens to be in the hands of fate, luck, or chance.

**humanistic psychology:** An approach to psychology that stresses the uniquely human attributes and a positive view of human nature.

**self-actualization:** Developing to one's fullest potential.

peak experiences—experiences of harmony within and with the universe.

Maslow concluded that each of us has the capacity for self-actualization. If we apply our talent and energy to doing our best in whatever endeavour we choose, then we, too, can lead creative lives and be considered self-actualizing.

## LINK IT!

[www.maslow.com/index.html](http://www.maslow.com/index.html)

Abraham Maslow publications site

## Carl Rogers: The Fully Functioning Person

According to Rogers, why don't all people become fully functioning persons?

Carl Rogers (1951, 1961) developed his theory of personality through insights gained from his patients in therapy

sessions. Rogers viewed human nature as basically good. If left to develop naturally, he thought, people would be happy and psychologically healthy.

According to Rogers, each of us lives in a private subjective reality, the *phenomenological field*. It is in this personal, subjective field, rather than in the objective, real, physical environment, that we act, think and feel. In other words, the way we see it is the way it is—for us. Gradually a part of the phenomenological field becomes differentiated as the self. The self-concept emerges as a result of repeated experiences involving such terms as “I,” “me,” and “mine.” With the emerging self comes the need for positive regard. We need such things as warmth, love, acceptance, sympathy, and respect from the people who are significant in our lives. While positive regard from others is crucial to the self, it alone is not enough. We also need positive self-regard. But the road to positive self-regard can be long and rocky indeed, because we need the positive regard of others all along the way. And there are usually strings attached to positive regard from others.

Usually our parents do not view us positively regardless of our behaviour. They set up **conditions of worth**—conditions on which their positive regard hinges. Conditions of worth force us to live and act according to someone else’s values rather than our

own. In our efforts to gain positive regard, we deny our true self by inhibiting some of our behaviour, denying and distorting some of our perceptions, and closing ourselves to parts of our experience. In so doing, we experience stress and anxiety, and our whole self-structure may be threatened.

For Rogers, a major goal of psychotherapy is to enable individuals to open themselves up to experiences and begin to live according to their own values rather than the values of others. He calls his therapy “person-centred therapy,” preferring not to use the term *patient*. Rogers believes that the therapist must give the client **unconditional positive regard**—that is, the therapist must give positive regard no matter what the client says, does, has done, or is thinking of doing. Unconditional positive regard is designed to reduce threats, eliminate conditions of worth, and bring the person back in tune with his or her true self.

## Evaluating the Humanistic Perspective

Humanism has become much more than a personality theory and an approach to therapy. Its influence has spread significantly as a social movement in the schools and in society in general. Some of its severest critics charge that an all-consuming personal quest for self-fulfilment can lead to a self-centred, self-serving, self-indulgent personality that lacks moral restraint or genuine concern for others (Campbell & Sprecht, 1985; Wallach & Wallach, 1983).

Humanistic psychologists do not accept such criticisms as valid. By and large, they trust in the inherent goodness of human nature, and their perspective on personality is consistent with that trust. But how do humanists explain the evil we see around us—assaults, murder, rape? Where does this originate? Rogers replied, “I do not find that this evil is inherent in human nature ... I have never known an individual to choose the cruel or destructive path ... So my experience leads me to believe that it is cultural influences which are the major factor in our evil behaviors” (1981, p. 16).

Though the humanists have been criticized for being unscientific and for seeing, hearing, and finding no evil within the human psyche, they have inspired the study of the positive qualities—altruism, cooperation, love, and acceptance of self and others.

## Humanistic and Behavioural Theories of Personality

- Humanistic psychologists would *not* say that
  - human nature is innately good.
  - human beings have a natural tendency toward self-actualization.
  - human beings have free will.
  - researchers' focus should be primarily on observable behaviour.
- Which psychologist studied individuals he believed exemplified self-actualization in order to identify characteristics that self-actualizing persons share?
  - Carl Rogers
  - Gordon Allport
  - Abraham Maslow
  - Hans Eysenck
- Which psychologist believed that individuals often do not become fully functioning persons because, in childhood, they failed to receive unconditional positive regard from their parents?
  - Carl Rogers
  - Gordon Allport
  - Abraham Maslow
  - Hans Eysenck
- Many behavioural geneticists believe that personality may be as much as \_\_\_\_\_ inherited.
  - 10 to 20 percent
  - 25 to 35 percent
  - 40 to 50 percent
  - 65 to 75 percent

Answers: 1. d 2. c 3. a 4. c

### Personality: Is It in the Genes?

What has research in behavioural genetics revealed about the influence of the genes and the environment on personality?

**Behavioural genetics** is a field of research that investigates the relative effects of heredity and environment on behaviour and ability (Plomin & Rende, 1991).

### The Twin Study Method: Studying Identical and Fraternal Twins

One approach used in behavioural genetics is the twin study method, in which identical (monozygotic, or MZ) twins and fraternal (dizygotic, or DZ) twins are studied to determine how much they resemble each other with respect to a variety of characteristics. An ideal way to assess the relative contribution of heredity and environment is to study identical twins who were separated at birth and reared apart. When identical twins who were reared apart have strikingly similar traits, it is assumed that heredity has been a major contributor. When twins differ on a given trait, the influence of the environment is thought to be greater.

Tellegen and colleagues (1988) found that identical twins were quite similar on several personality factors whether they were raised together or apart.

The term **heritability** refers to the degree to which a characteristic is estimated to be influenced by heredity. Altruism and aggressiveness—traits one would expect to be strongly influenced by parental upbringing—also appear to be more strongly influenced by heredity (Miles & Carey, 1997). After studying heritability of traits in 573 adult twin pairs, Rushton and colleagues (1986) at the University of Western Ontario found that aggressiveness, nurturance, empathy, assertiveness, and altruism are substantially influenced by heredity.

Twin studies have also revealed a genetic influence on social attitudes such as traditionalism, that is, whether we endorse traditional moral values and follow rules and authority (Finkel & McGue, 1997). There even seems to be a genetic influence on how people view their environment (Chipuer et al., 1993; Plomin & Bergeman, 1991), on how they perceive

#### conditions of worth:

Conditions upon which the positive regard of others rests.

#### unconditional positive

**regard:** Unqualified caring and non-judgmental acceptance of another.

#### behavioural genetics:

The field of research that investigates the relative effects of heredity and environment on behaviour and ability.

**heritability:** An index of the degree to which a characteristic is estimated to be influenced by heredity.

life events (particularly controllable ones), on people's sense of well-being (Plomin & Rende, 1991), and on alcoholism in men (Prescott & Kendler, 1999).

The genetic influences we have been discussing are not the result of one or even a few genes. Rather, they involve many genes, each with small effects (Plomin et al., 1994). While these findings indicate that most personality traits are influenced by genes, "behavioural genetic research clearly demonstrates

that both nature and nurture are important in human development" (Plomin, 1989, p. 110). To learn that most psychological traits are significantly heritable does not lessen the value or reduce the importance of environmental factors such as social influences, parenting, and education.

## LINK IT!

[web.mit.edu/afs/athena/user/j/g/jganger/Public/ourhome.html](http://web.mit.edu/afs/athena/user/j/g/jganger/Public/ourhome.html)

The MIT Twins Study Home page

## IT HAPPENED IN CANADA

Image omitted due to copyright restrictions.

### I Am Canadian!

Can a country have a personality? From the success of the recent advertising campaign that focuses on Joe Canadian, the answer appears to be a resounding "yes." No one really expected the level of success achieved by the ad that attacked often held stereotypes of Canadians. "We definitely didn't expect the ad to have the impact it had, beyond its value as a beer ad," commented Molson Vice-President Brett Marchand. "The ad is what more Canadians wish people would do—scream that they're proud to be Canadian" ("Beer ad," 2000).

Psychological research has not really examined whether a country can have a personality, but some studies do suggest that culture has a significant influence on people's personality. Work by Hofstede in the 1980s revealed several dimensions that link culture and personality—the most important factor being the individualism/collectivism dimension. In individualist cultures, more emphasis is placed on individual rather than group achievement, and high-achieving individuals are accorded honour and prestige. People in collectivist cultures, on the other hand, tend to be more interdependent and define themselves and their personal interests in terms of their group membership. Perhaps you will not be surprised to hear that the United States ranked as the most individualist culture, although Canada was not far behind. But it is also true that the Canada of today differs greatly from what it once was, even as recently as in the 1980s.

The many cultures that are now represented in Canada's cultural mosaic vary greatly in their values, with many of them, especially those from Asia, being far more collectivist than others. Native Canadians, too, share many collectivist values such as the importance of family, community, cooperation, helpfulness and generosity. For Native Canadians, such behaviours bring more honour and prestige than accumulating property and wealth. This is certainly food for thought when we consider what type of "personality" is characteristic of our country, and of its members.

## Personality Assessment

What are the three major methods used in personality assessment?

Just as there are many different personality theories, there are many different methods for measuring personality. Various personality tests are used by clinical and counselling psychologists, psychiatrists, and counsellors to diagnose patients and assess progress in therapy. Personality assessment is also used by businesses and industries to aid in hiring decisions, and by counsellors for vocational and educational counselling. Personality assessment methods can be grouped in a few broad categories: (1) observation, interviews, and rating scales; (2) inventories; and (3) projective tests.

### Observation, Interviews, and Rating Scales

#### Observation

All of us use observation, though informally, to form opinions about other people. Psychologists use observation in personality assessment and evaluation in a variety of settings, including hospitals, clinics, schools, and workplaces.

Using an observational technique known as *behavioural assessment*, psychologists can count and record the frequency of particular behaviours they are studying. This method is often used in behaviour modification programs in settings such as mental hospitals, where psychologists may chart the progress of patients in reducing aggressive acts or other undesirable or abnormal behaviours.

Although much can be learned from observation, it has its shortcomings; it is time-consuming and

expensive (observers must be trained and paid); what is observed may be misinterpreted; and two observers may interpret the same event differently. Probably the most serious limitation is that the very presence of the observer can alter the behaviour that is observed. And assessing personality through observation can sometimes be misleading.

### Interviews

Clinical psychologists and psychiatrists use interviews to help diagnose and treat patients. Counsellors use interviews to screen applicants for admission to colleges, universities, and special programs. Employers use them to evaluate job applicants and candidates for job promotions.

Interviewers consider not only a person's answers but also tone of voice, speech, mannerisms, gestures, and general appearance. Psychologists and other professionals use both structured and unstructured interviews in making their assessments. In unstructured situations, the direction the interview will take and the questions to be asked are not all planned beforehand; thus, the interview can be highly personalized. In structured situations, the content of the questions and the manner in which they are asked are carefully planned ahead of time. The interviewer tries not to deviate in any way from the structured format so that more reliable comparisons can be made between different participants.

### Rating Scales

Sometimes examiners use rating scales to record data from interviews or observations. Rating scales are useful because they provide a standardized format, including a list of traits or behaviours on which the subject is to be evaluated. The rating scale helps to focus the rater's attention on all relevant traits so that some are not overlooked or weighed too heavily.

But there are problems with rating scales. Often there is low agreement among raters in their evaluation of the same individual. One way to overcome this is to train the judges or raters to a point where they can achieve high agreement when the same person or event is rated. Another problem is the **halo effect**—the tendency of raters to be excessively influenced in their overall evaluation of a person by one or a few favourable or unfavourable traits. Often traits or attributes that are not even on the rating scale, such as physical attractiveness or similarity to the rater, heavily influence a rater's perception of a participant.

## Personality Inventories: Taking Stock

What is an inventory, and what are the MMPI-2 and the JPI designed to reveal?

There is an objective method for measuring personality, a method in which the personal opinions and ratings of observers or interviewers do not unduly influence the results. This method is the **inventory**, a paper-and-pencil test with questions about an individual's thoughts, feelings, and behaviours, which measures several dimensions of personality and can be scored according to a standard procedure. Psychologists favouring the trait approach to personality prefer the inventory because it can assess where people fall on various dimensions of personality, and the results are plotted on a personality profile. Many personality inventories have been developed; none has been more widely used than the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory.

### The MMPI and MMPI-2

The **Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory-2 (MMPI-2)** is a revision of the most popular, the most heavily researched, and the most widely used personality test for screening and diagnosing psychiatric problems and disorders, and for use in psychological research (Butcher & Rouse, 1996).

There have been more than 115 recognized translations of the MMPI, which is used in more than 65 countries (Butcher & Graham, 1989). Published in 1943 by McKinley and Hathaway, the MMPI was originally intended to identify tendencies toward various psychiatric disorders.

Because it was published back in 1943, some aspects of the MMPI had become outdated by the 1980s. It was revised, and the MMPI-2 was published in 1989 (Butcher et al., 1989). Most of the original

**halo effect:** The tendency of raters to be excessively influenced in their overall evaluation of a person by one or a few favourable or unfavourable traits.

**inventory:** A paper-and-pencil test with questions about a person's thoughts, feelings, and behaviours, which can be scored

according to a standard procedure.

**Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory-2 (MMPI-2):** A revision of the most extensively researched and widely used personality test; used to screen and diagnose psychiatric problems and disorders.

test items were retained, but some were deleted because they were obsolete or because they contained sexual or religious references that offended some people (Kingsbury, 1991). New items were added to provide more adequate coverage of areas such as alcoholism, drug abuse, and suicidal tendencies. Although the MMPI-2 now has 567 items, updating has made it more user-friendly and easier for the person being tested (Butcher & Hostetler, 1990).

The MMPI-2 provides scores on four validity scales and ten clinical scales. Here are examples of questions on the test:

I wish I were not bothered by thoughts about sex.

When I get bored I like to stir up some excitement.

In walking I am very careful to step over sidewalk cracks.

If people had not had it in for me, I would have been much more successful.

### *Evaluating the MMPI-2*

The MMPI-2 is reliable, easy to administer and score, and inexpensive to use. It is useful in the screening, diagnosis, and clinical description of abnormal behaviour; however, it is not very good at revealing differences among normal personalities.

Both the MMPI and the MMPI-2 can claim only modest success in predicting a clinical diagnosis. Morrison and colleagues (1994) found that both instruments agreed with the diagnosis made by clinicians only 39 percent of the time. Other researchers have cautioned against making diagnoses based exclusively on the MMPI and MMPI-2 (Brems, 1991; Libb et al., 1992). Rather, clinicians should integrate MMPI results with other sources of clinical information before making a diagnosis.

### *The Jackson Personality Inventory and the Personality Research Form*

Are there instruments to assess the personality of a normal person? Yes. D. N. Jackson at the University of Western Ontario developed the **Jackson Personality Inventory (JPI)** (Jackson, 1976) and the **Personality Research Form (PRF)** (Jackson, 1984). Both are highly regarded personality tests that have been developed especially for normal populations.

The JPI and PRF are valuable for predicting behaviour. The JPI measures 16 personality traits, the PRF measures 20. Each test assesses different characteristics. For example, the JPI measures risk taking. The PRF is the fourth most highly cited personality inventory in the psychology literature (Mitchell, 1983).



## Personality Scales for French-speaking Canadians

So far in this chapter, we have discussed how personality inventories are used to assess people's personalities on particular dimensions, such as self-esteem, motivation, or self-control. But do these personality constructs hold across cultures? Research suggests that this is the case, but careful test development must take place to ensure the reliability and validity of these instruments when they are used

in different cultures. How then do psychologists make sure that they are measuring the same dimensions when people are from different linguistic groups? This is a question that has been at the forefront of much research by Quebec psychologists.

In the past 10 years, psychologists at the Université du Québec à Montréal and Trois-Rivières, Université Laval, and the Université de Montréal have worked to develop new French personality inventories and have translated existing English inventories to be used in Quebec and other francophone communities throughout Canada.

Creating a new inventory is not a simple task. Scale development requires that data be collected on hun-

dreds and often thousands of participants. Recent work by Quebec researchers has led to the development of scales that assess educational motivation (Vallerand et al., 1993), adolescent autonomy (Deslandes et al., 1999), motivation toward family activities (Senecal & Vallerand, 1999), self-control (Levesque et al., 1995), conflict resolution (Laferrrière & Bouchard, 1996), and reasons for living (Labelle et al., 1996), to name a few. Such research efforts have provided French-speaking researchers and practitioners with more valid methods of assessments that take into consideration cultural and linguistic differences.

Could such differences help predict the success of relationships?

on the cutting edge in canada

The *On the Cutting Edge in Canada* box describes Canadian researchers' work in translating popular personality tests into French.

## Projective Tests: Projections from the Unconscious

How do projective tests provide insight into personality, and what are several of the most commonly used?

Responses on interviews and questionnaires are conscious responses; for this reason, they are less useful to therapists who wish to probe the

unconscious. Such therapists may choose a completely different technique called a projective test. A **projective test** is a personality test consisting of inkblots, drawings of ambiguous human situations, or incomplete sentences for which there are no obvious correct or incorrect responses. People respond by projecting their own inner thoughts, feelings, fears, or conflicts onto the test materials, just as a movie projector projects film images onto a screen.

### *The Rorschach Inkblot Test: What Do You See?*

One of the oldest and most popular projective tests is the **Rorschach Inkblot Test**, developed by Swiss psychiatrist Hermann Rorschach in 1921. It consists of 10 inkblots, which people are asked to describe (see Figure 10.4).

To develop his test, Rorschach put ink on paper and then folded the paper so that symmetrical patterns resulted. Earlier, psychologists had used standardized series of inkblots to study imagination and other personal attributes; Rorschach was the first to use inkblots to investigate personality (Anastasi &

Urbina, 1997). He experimented with thousands of inkblots on different groups of people and found that 10 of the inkblots could be used to discriminate between different diagnostic groups: manic depressives, paranoid schizophrenics, and so on. These 10 inkblots—five black and white, and five in colour—were standardized and are still widely used.

### **ADMINISTRATION AND SCORING OF THE RORSCHACH**

The 10 inkblots are shown to the person, who is asked to tell everything that each inkblot looks like or resembles. The examiner writes down the person's responses and then goes through the cards again, asking questions to clarify what the person has reported.

Reliable interpretation remains a problem. For the most part, researchers have found low reliability and validity (Walsh & Betz, 1990; Wood et al., 2000). Weiner (1994) suggests that the Rorschach might best be thought of as a method that “generates useful information about personality functioning” (pp. 499–500). But despite these criticisms, the Rorschach has been second in popularity over the past 20 years (MMPI is first) for use in research and clinical assessment (Butcher & Rouse, 1996).

### *The Thematic Apperception Test: Seeing Ourselves in Scenes of Others*

Another projective test is the **Thematic Apperception Test (TAT)** developed by Henry Murray and his colleagues in 1935 (Morgan & Murray, 1935; Murray, 1938). The TAT consists of one blank card and 19 other cards showing vague or ambiguous black-and-white drawings of human fig-



**FIGURE 10.4**  
An Inkblot Similar to One on the Rorschach Inkblot Test

**Jackson Personality Inventory (JPI):** A highly regarded personality test used to assess the normal personality.

**projective test:** A personality test in which people respond to inkblots, drawings of ambiguous human situations, incomplete sentences, and the like, by projecting their own inner thoughts, feelings, fears, or conflicts into the test materials.

**Rorschach Inkblot Test (ROR-shok):** A projective

test composed of 10 inkblots to which a participant responds; used to reveal unconscious functioning and the presence of psychiatric disorders.

**Thematic Apperception Test (TAT):** A projective test consisting of drawings of ambiguous human situations, which the subject describes; thought to reveal inner feelings, conflicts, and motives, which are projected onto the test materials.

ures in various situations. The test taker is asked to make up a story about each scene in the test.

“The test is based upon the well-recognized fact that when a person interprets an ambiguous social situation he is apt to expose his own personality as much as the phenomenon to which he is attending” (Morgan & Murray, 1962, p. 531). If many of a person’s story themes are about illness (or sex, or fear of failure, or aggression, or power, or interpersonal conflicts, etc.), it is thought to reveal a problem in the person’s life. Murray (1965) also maintains that the strength of the TAT is “its capacity to reveal things that the patient is unwilling to tell or is unable to tell because he is unconscious of them” (p. 427).

The TAT is time-consuming and difficult to administer and score. Although it has been used extensively in personality research, it suffers from the same weaknesses as other projective techniques: (1) It relies heavily on the interpretation skills of the examiner; and (2) it may reflect too strongly a person’s temporary motivational and emotional state and not get at the more permanent aspects of personality.

### *The Sentence-Completion Method: Filling in the Blanks*

Another projective technique, the sentence-completion method, may be one of the most valid projective techniques of all. It consists of a number of incomplete

sentences to be completed by the individual, such as these:

I worry a great deal about \_\_\_\_\_.

I sometimes feel \_\_\_\_\_.

I would be happier if \_\_\_\_\_.

My mother \_\_\_\_\_.

In a comprehensive review, Goldberg (1965) summarized 50 validity studies and concluded that sentence completion is a valuable technique appropriate for widespread clinical and research use.

### *The Value of Projective Tests*

How effective are projective tests? Research evidence concerning the validity of projective techniques as a whole is very disappointing: projective tests continue to suffer from a lack of objectivity in scoring and an absence of adequate norms (Halperin & McKay, 1998). Nevertheless, in clinical practice projective tests continue to be a popular and valued diagnostic tool (Archer et al., 1991; Butcher & Rouse, 1996; Lubin et al., 1986; Weiner, 1997).

Review & Reflect 10.2 summarizes the different types of personality tests. We also summarize the major theories of personality, their assumptions, and assessment techniques in Review & Reflect 10.3.

## Personality Assessment

- Match the personality test with its description.
 

|                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| ___ 1) MMPI-2    | a. inventory used to diagnose psychopathology                   |
| ___ 2) Rorschach | b. inventory used to assess normal personality                  |
| ___ 3) TAT       | c. projective test using inkblots                               |
| ___ 4) JPI       | d. projective test using drawings of ambiguous human situations |
- Dr. X and Dr. Y are both experts in personality assessment. They would be most likely to agree on their interpretation of results from the
 

|               |                                |
|---------------|--------------------------------|
| a. Rorschach. | b. MMPI-2.                     |
| c. TAT.       | d. sentence-completion method. |
- George has an unconscious resentment toward his father. Which test might best detect this?
 

|              |        |
|--------------|--------|
| a. MMPI-2    | b. JPI |
| c. Rorschach | d. TAT |

Answers: 1. (1) a (2) b (3) d (4) b 2. b 3. d

**REVIEW & REFLECT 10.2****Three Approaches to Personality Assessment**

| Method                        | Examples   | Description   |
|-------------------------------|--|---|
| <b>Observation and rating</b> | Observation<br>Interviews<br>Rating scales   | Performance (behaviour) is observed in a specific situation, and personality is assessed on the basis of observation.<br><br>In interviews, the responses to questions are taken to reveal personality characteristics.<br><br>Rating scales are used to score or rate subjects on the basis of traits, behaviours, or results of interviews.<br><br>Assessment is subjective, and accuracy depends largely on the ability and experience of the evaluator. |
| <b>Inventories</b>            | Minnesota Multiphasic<br>Personality Inventory-2 (MMPI-2)<br>Jackson Personality Inventory (JPI) | Subjects reveal their beliefs, feelings, behaviour, and/or opinions on paper-and-pencil tests.<br><br>Scoring procedures are standardized and responses are compared to group norms.  |
| <b>Projective tests</b>       | Rorschach Inkblot Test<br>Thematic Apperception Test (TAT)<br>Sentence-completion method         | Subjects respond to ambiguous test materials and presumably reveal elements of their own personality.<br><br>This is done through an analysis of the themes each person describes, either orally or in writing.<br><br>Scoring is subjective, and accuracy depends largely on the ability and experience of the evaluator.  |

**REVIEW & REFLECT 10.3****Summary of Five Approaches to Personality**

| Approach                     | Associated Theorists                              | Assumptions about Behaviour   | Assessment Techniques   | Research Methods  |
|------------------------------|---|---|---|---|
| <b>Psychoanalytic</b>        | Freud   | Behaviour arises mostly from unconscious conflicts between pleasure-seeking id and moral-perfectionist superego, with reality-oriented ego as mediator. | Projective tests to tap unconscious motives; interviews for purposes of analysis.             | Case studies.   |
| <b>Trait</b>                 | Allport<br>Cattell<br>Eysenck<br>McCrae and Costa | Behaviour springs from personality traits that may be influenced by both heredity and environment.  | Self-report inventories; adjective checklists; inventories.                                   | Analysis of test results for identifying strength of various traits.                                      |
| <b>Learning behaviourist</b> | Skinner   | Behaviour is determined strictly by environmental influences.   | Direct observation of behaviour; objective tests; interviews; rating scales; self-report.     | Analysis of observations of behaviour; quantifying behaviours; analysis of person-situation interactions. |
| <b>Social-cognitive</b>      | Bandura<br>Rotter                                 | Behaviour results from an interaction between internal cognitive factors and environmental influences.  | Direct observation of behaviour; objective tests; interviews; self-reports                    | Analysis of interactions between internal cognitive factors and environmental influences.                 |
| <b>Humanistic</b>            | Maslow<br>Rogers                                  | Behaviour springs from the person's own unique perception of reality and conscious choices. Humans are innately good.                                   | Interviews and tests designed to assess the person's self-concept and perceptions of control. | Analysis of the relationship between the person's feelings or perceptions and behaviour.                  |

## Is There Really a Sucker Born Every Minute?

### Apply It!

**Scorpio** (Oct. 23–Nov. 22): You will start to feel more in control of your life than in recent weeks. You are beginning to understand why several things went wrong. Though you may not be in a position to fix them immediately, you can begin

to plan how to do it in the near future. Put your best foot forward, and be gentle in trying to win a point.

**Aquarius** (Jan. 21–Feb. 19): Your reputation has been up and down several times in the last few months. This week you are poised to make a remarkable comeback. Young Aquarians may receive their first real job offers, or start to develop an interest that will eventually lead to a long and satisfying career. (Accurso, 1994, p. 44)

These two horoscopes are products of the “science” of astrology, which is based on the notion that the relative positions of the stars and planets at the time of a person’s birth will influence that individual’s personality traits

and behaviour throughout life. Each day a horoscope is published for the 12 “signs”—Gemini, Leo, Capricorn, Pisces, and so on.

If you’re a Scorpio or an Aquarius, one of these horoscopes applies to you, right? Look again. When you read them carefully, you see that all horoscopes contain advice and predictions that could apply to almost anyone.

In fact, horoscopes apply to no one. Researchers have found no correlation between the signs of the zodiac and individual personality traits (Gauguelin, 1982). The same can be said for graphology. Graphologists claim to be able to measure personality and predict job success by analyzing an individual’s handwriting. But scientific studies have found little connection between the characteristics of a person’s handwriting and his or her personality traits or success at a particular job (Beyerstein & Beyerstein, 1992; Dean et al., 1992).

We can see the same problem in the “personality tests” often published in popular magazines. For instance,

consider some of the questions from a test apparently designed to examine whether you are “too hard on yourself”:

A few of your co-workers decide to get together one night to watch a TV show, but the invitation never makes it your way. You

- Figure it was an oversight and show up anyway.
- Stay up the whole night baking batches of cookies for the office—you’ll win them over if it’s the last thing you do.
- Shrug it off, but make sure the TV buddies know for next time that you’re always game for a get-together.

During your year-end review, your boss reveals you could improve in a few minor areas. You:

- Stare blankly, imagining the minor area in which she can stick her report.
- Ask her to explain further so you can work on your weaknesses.

## KEY TERMS

anal stage, p. 327  
 archetype, p. 331  
 behavioural genetics, p. 340  
 cardinal trait, p. 333  
 central trait, p. 333  
 collective unconscious, p. 331  
 conditions of worth, p. 340  
 conscious, p. 323  
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genital stage, p. 329  
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oral stage, p. 327  
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 rationalization, p. 325  
 reaction formation, p. 326  
 reciprocal determinism, p. 337  
 regression, p. 325  
 repression, p. 325

- Get so freaked out about being fired that you work your butt off all weekend. (Moore, 2000)

The odds are that for each of these questions you will select the answer that reflects most favourably on your personality. Even if you select a “negative” answer, the chances are that you are doing so because of a temporary problem, not because you behave that way all the time. The results of such a quiz have little chance of being scientifically accurate. “Pop psych” articles in magazines have “a little something for everybody,” but the reader who takes them seriously is in danger of illustrating a famous saying attributed

to P.T. Barnum: “There’s a sucker born every minute.”

The descriptions of personality that are often published in astrological charts share some of the characteristics of the personality analyses in popular magazines. At first glance, you might consider the description under “your” sign wonderfully accurate. But if you look more closely, you’ll see that most of the traits contained in the description are desirable ones. Even when the description includes both positive and negative traits you may find it remarkably accurate. Two effects are operating here. The first is referred to as the *self-serving bias*: we are more likely to accept a positive description of ourselves than a negative one. The second is known as the *fallacy of positive instances*: a person is likely to notice or remember something that matches his or her expectations and not to notice other information that might contradict those expectations. Personality profiles and horoscope charts capitalize on these

tendencies by presenting “descriptions” that are so general that they apply to almost anyone and are so flattering that almost anyone will accept them as accurate (French et al., 1991).

By now it should be obvious that the same principles apply to fortune-telling and palmistry. Both contain such general statements that they seem to fit almost anyone. An observation such as, “At times you are extraverted, affable, sociable, while at other times you are introverted, wary, and reserved” could describe most of the people on this planet.

You can avoid being a “sucker” if you critically evaluate personality profiles, horoscopes, fortunes, and the like. Be alert to vague, all-purpose descriptions. Notice the negative statements as well as the positive ones. And watch out for flattery disguised as science. This is not to say that you should never read your horoscope or have your fortune told—these activities can be entertaining.

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## THINKING CRITICALLY

### Evaluation

In your opinion, which personality theory is the most accurate, reasonable, and realistic? Which is the least accurate, reasonable, and realistic? Support your answers.

### Point/Counterpoint

Are personality characteristics mostly learned? Or are they mostly transmitted through the genes? Using what you have learned in this chapter and other evidence you can

gather, make a case for each position. Support your answers with research and expert opinion.

### Psychology in Your Life

Consider your own behaviour and personality attributes from the standpoint of each of the theories: psychoanalysis, trait theory, and the learning, humanistic, and genetic perspectives. Which theory or theories best explain your personality? Why?

## SUMMARY & REVIEW

### Sigmund Freud and Psychoanalysis

To what two aspects of Freud's work does the term *psychoanalysis* apply?

*Psychoanalysis* is the term Freud used for both his theory of personality and his therapy for the treatment of psychological disorders.

What are the three levels of awareness in consciousness?

The three levels of awareness in consciousness are the conscious, the preconscious, and the unconscious.

What are the roles of the id, the ego, and the superego?

The id is the primitive, unconscious part of the personality, which contains the instincts and operates on the pleasure principle. The ego is the rational, largely conscious system, which operates according to the reality principle. The superego is the moral system of the personality, consisting of the conscience and the ego ideal.

What is a defence mechanism?

A defence mechanism is an unconscious, irrational means that the ego uses to defend against anxiety and to maintain self-esteem; it involves self-deception and the distortion of reality.

What are two ways in which repression operates?

Through repression, (1) painful memories, thoughts, ideas, or perceptions are involuntarily removed from consciousness, and (2) disturbing sexual or aggressive impulses are prevented from breaking into consciousness.

What are some other defence mechanisms?

Other defence mechanisms are projection, denial, rationalization, regression, reaction formation, displacement, and sublimation.

What are the psychosexual stages, and why did Freud consider them so important in personality development?

Freud believed that the sexual instinct is present at birth, develops through a series of psychosexual stages, and provides the driving force for thought and activity. The psychosexual stages are the oral stage, anal stage, phallic stage (followed by the latency period), and genital stage.

What is the Oedipus complex?

The Oedipus complex, occurring in the phallic stage, is a conflict in which the child is sexually attracted to the opposite-sex parent and feels hostility toward the same-sex parent.

According to Freud, what are the two primary sources of influence on the personality?

Freud believed that differences in personality result from the relative strengths of the id, the ego, and the superego and from the personality traits that develop as a result of problems during the psychosexual stages.

### The Neo-Freudians

According to Jung, what are the three components of personality?

Jung conceived of the personality as having three parts: the ego, the personal unconscious, and the collective unconscious.

What did Adler consider to be the driving force of the personality?

Adler maintained that the predominant force of the personality is the drive to overcome and compensate for feelings of weakness and inferiority and to strive for superiority or significance.

Why is Horney considered a pioneer in psychology?

Horney took issue with Freud's sexist view of women and added the feminine dimension to the world of psychology.

### Trait Theories

What are trait theories of personality?

Trait theories of personality are attempts to explain personality and differences between people in terms of their personal characteristics.

How did Allport differentiate between cardinal and central traits?

Allport defined a cardinal trait as a personal quality that is so strong a part of a person's personality that he or she may become identified with that trait or known for it. A central trait is the type you would mention in writing a letter of recommendation.

How did Cattell differentiate between surface and source traits?

Cattell used the term *surface traits* to refer to observable qualities of personality, which you might use in describing a friend. *Source traits* underlie the surface traits, exist in all of us in varying degrees, make up the most basic personality structure, and cause behaviour.

What does Eysenck consider to be the two most important dimensions of personality?

Eysenck considers extraversion (versus introversion) and neuroticism (versus emotional stability) to be the most important dimensions of personality.

What are the Big Five personality dimensions in the five-factor theory as described by McCrae and Costa?

According to McCrae and Costa, the Big Five factors are neuroticism, extraversion, conscientiousness, agreeableness, and openness to experience.

## Learning Theories and Personality

How did Skinner account for what most people refer to as personality?

B.F. Skinner viewed personality as simply a collection of behaviours and habits that have been reinforced in the past.

What are the components that make up Bandura's concept of reciprocal determinism, and how do they interact?

The external environment, behaviour, and personal/cognitive factors are the three components of reciprocal determinism, each influencing and being influenced by the others.

What is meant by the terms *internal* and *external locus of control*?

According to Rotter, people with an internal locus of control see themselves as primarily in control of their behaviour and its consequences; those with an external locus of control believe their destiny is in the hands of fate, luck, or chance.

## Humanistic Personality Theories

Who were the two pioneers in humanistic psychology, and how did they view human nature?

Abraham Maslow and Carl Rogers, the two pioneers in humanistic psychology, believed that human nature is innately good and that people have free will and a tendency toward growth and realization of their potential.

What is self-actualization, and how did Maslow study it?

Self-actualization means developing to one's fullest potential. Maslow studied people who had made significant contributions in their lifetime and who exemplified self-actualization, to determine what characteristics they share.

According to Rogers, why don't all people become fully functioning persons?

Individuals often do not become fully functioning persons because in childhood they fail to receive unconditional positive regard from their parents. In order to gain positive regard, they must meet their parents' conditions of worth.

## Personality: Is It in the Genes?

What has research in behavioural genetics revealed about the influence of the genes and the environment on personality?

Research in behavioural genetics has revealed that about 40 to 50 percent of personality can be attributed to the genes, and that the environmental influences on personality are mainly from the non-shared environment.

## Personality Assessment

What are the three major methods used in personality assessment?

The major methods used in personality assessment are (1) observation, interviews, and rating scales, (2) inventories, and (3) projective tests.

What is an inventory, and what are the MMPI-2 and the JPI designed to reveal?

An inventory is a paper-and-pencil test with questions about a person's thoughts, feelings, and behaviours, which can be scored according to a standard procedure. The MMPI-2 is designed to screen and diagnose psychiatric problems, and the JPI is designed to assess the normal personality.

How do projective tests provide insight into personality, and what are several of the most commonly used?

In a projective test, people respond to inkblots, drawings of ambiguous human situations, incomplete sentences, and the like by projecting their own inner thoughts, feelings, fears, or conflicts onto the test materials. Examples are the Rorschach Inkblot Test, the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT), and the sentence-completion method.