SIXTH EDITION

Personality

CLASSIC THEORIES AND MODERN RESEARCH

Howard S. Friedman · Miriam W. Schustack

Personality

Classic Theories and Modern Research

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For

Pearl and Bernard Friedman

Ada Lillian and Walter L. Schustack

Four striking personalities
and well over a century of marriage

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Preface

We are very pleased with the reasons for the success of the first five editions of our personality course. Instructors and students are excited about retaining the best insights of the "classic" theories of personality while adding the cutting-edge "modern" emphases, including studies of personality and culture, ego, evolution, gender, person–situation interactions, and positive psychology. We show how classic discoveries, when paired with modern research, are freshly relevant to current challenges in the real world. Thus, although in one sense this course involves a natural progression from previous personality courses, in another sense it is new—classic theories as illustrated and considered by modern research.

Seven features continue to set this course apart, guiding its development as a distinctive choice in personality courses.

First, and most important, this course encourages critical thinking about human nature. Students are learning specific content, but they are also learning how to evaluate assumptions, theories, and research. Do not be deceived—although this course seems enjoyable and easy to read, we hold to the highest scientific and intellectual standards. One of its goals, in all seriousness, is to continue to have students return years later and say, "This course helped shape my life." Students do indeed give the course high ratings for being clear but thought-provoking.

Second, this course strives for a coherence and balance that arises from viewing personality as having eight basic aspects (psychoanalytic, ego, biological, behaviorist, cognitive, trait, existential–humanistic–positive, and situational/interactionist aspects). Our view is that human complexity derives from multiple influences—including biological predispositions, early experiences, cognitive structures, reinforcements, situational demands, and self-actualizing motivations. It is not the case that one approach is always "right" and another is always "wrong"; each has insights to contribute. Thus, we take an optimistic approach, focusing on what each approach has to offer, but also examining its limitations.

Third, this course integrates theory and research. Although the lives of personality theorists are sometimes used as illustrations, the focus is on the intellectual content rather than on biography. Dead-end approaches of minor historical interest are not included. The most modern research is integrated with the original theory. For example, the chapter on Freudian psychoanalytic approaches ends with a discussion of modern cognitive approaches to the unconscious. Similarly, the work of Henry Murray and Harry Stack Sullivan is shown to lay the groundwork for modern interactionist approaches, and the work of Carl Rogers and Abraham Maslow foreshadows the modern field of positive psychology. The aim is to capture the brilliant insights of classical theorists and reveal how their ideas have been studied and sometimes realized in modern research. Throughout, we retain the focus of our title, *Personality: Classic Theories and Modern Research.*

Fourth, this course continues and extends a substantial integration of cultural and gender issues, topics traditionally neglected. The emphasis is on science and logic rather than on political correctness. For example, the problems of test bias are emphasized, but without disparaging all testing. The cultural boundedness of each theorist is noted, but without disdain; we are all blinded in part by our times and cultures. These timely issues are integrated throughout the course, as well as considered in separate chapters, for today's diverse society and students.

Fifth, this course presents a connected and reflective approach to thinking about personality, with evaluation and integration emphasized as the course proceeds. The course strives to help students understand personality as relevant to important issues in their own lives and in society. For example, the implications of biological influences on personality are carefully evaluated. Just as important new developments in behavioral genetics and brain physiology cannot be ignored, the dangers of a modern eugenics movement must be carefully presented for student thought and discussion. Similarly, students who enter college with a religious background want to know how personality psychology interfaces with their beliefs. The different perspectives on personality reflect, in part, the assumptions and values of their proponents, and we repeatedly urge students to think for themselves about what it means to be a person. This course tells a story about human character.

Sixth, this course concludes with several chapters on practical applications to individual differences, including information that helps students understand the sources of hate and terror. Personality research and theory are highly relevant to current societal thinking about gender differences, health differences, cultural differences, religion, and love and hate. These chapters may be selectively omitted in a short course.

Seventh, this course puts personality back into the field of personality. We have tried to continue this course's reputation as being exceptionally well-written and full of examples that pique students' interest. Students learn best when fascinated with the material; attention to literary

style does not mean a sacrifice of scientific rigor. As one reviewer put it, "This excellent text is unique in the presentation of personality at a level that is realistic when students have had little preexisting study of the field."

What does this course not do? Although it draws on current research, this course is not a narrow or endless compendium of current findings. Rather, it endeavors to be comprehensive yet engrossing. It has been enthusiastically adopted in hundreds of classes throughout the United States, Canada, Australia, South America, India, and Europe.

In sum, the emphases are on being clear and articulate, coherent and balanced, theoretical yet empirically accurate, culturally sensitive yet scientific, integrated and opinionated, basic and applied, and on promoting critical thinking. These are ambitious goals, but we think our students deserve no less.

Eight important features appear in the chapters:

- **Classic to Current** features show how classic ideas have led to current research in each perspective.
- **Self-Understanding** features give sample assessment techniques for students to try out.
- **Changing Personality** features challenge students with questions about the topic of whether personality can be changed.
- **Famous Personalities** features illustrate select concepts using well-known individuals.
- **Time lines** of developments in personality psychology help students understand the intellectual progression of ideas and the general scientific and societal contexts in which they develop.
- **Sharpen Your Thinking** features raise current controversies to enthuse students about the implications of personality and to help them learn to apply personality psychology to important questions in society. They also provide journal questions to stimulate students' creativity and thinking on these controversies.
- **Evaluating the Perspectives** features describe the main strengths and weaknesses of each theoretical approach, a key component of critical thinking.
- **Why Does It Matter?** features are scattered through the theory chapters and offer students thoughtful questions about why a concept or approach is worthy of attention.

New to the Edition

All the chapters are updated with new findings from modern research to explain further the implications of classic personality theories for understanding what it means to be a person.

Throughout the course, examples and illustrations are refreshed to reach the current generation of students.

This new edition takes significant steps to facilitate the mastering of important material by today's media-savvy and technologically literate students.

This edition enhances the course's traditional strengths in discussing topics that reach a diverse population of undergraduates, whether the diversity is of ethnicity, culture, gender, age, religion, or politics—promoting the understanding essential to individual thriving and to peaceful societies.

Critical issues of determinism, learning, and choice are emphasized in great detail, so students can understand when, where, and why individuals and societies can change.

Updated reference citations are added throughout, so that the interested student can delve quickly into new developments in the field.

Chapter-by-Chapter Changes

- Chapter 1 adds the example of imposter (and murderer) Clark Rockefeller to illustrate the increasing importance of self and identity issues in personality psychology.
- Chapter 2 adds material on Internet analysis of social media and big data as a new method in personality research. Discussion of the narrative approach to assessment is also strengthened.
- Chapter 3 adds modern-day examples that follow in the path laid out by the psychoanalysts.
- Chapter 4 updates neo-analytic work and adds material on identity and the self.
- Chapter 5 updates the relevance of progress in neuroscience for understanding personality and adds new research on epigenetics.
- Chapter 6 sharpens examples of the behaviorist and learning aspects of personality.
- Chapter 7 clarifies and updates cognitive and social-cognitive approaches to personality.
- Chapter 8 updates material on the cross-cultural generality of traits and current-day understanding of traits.
- Chapter 9 gives new examples of the humanistic and existential approach to personality, and adds material on the maturity principle and on posttraumatic growth. It then adds new material on positive psychology and flourishing, and on hedonic adaptation.
- Chapter 10 adds material on the influence of peers on personality and material on delay of gratification and on situation selection.
- Chapter 11 adds new findings about gender differences, both hormonal and societal.
- Chapter 12 adds material on distress and health. It updates findings from the Longevity Project on personality, well-being, and health. It adds material on the self-healing personality.

- Chapter 13 adds material on culture and personality (and the emic-etic distinction) and updates research on biculturalism.
- Chapter 14 updates material on honor and aggression and on personality and love.
- Chapter 15 updates discussions of future developments and enhances discussion of how understanding what it means to be a person has implications for our lives and our societies, but it reiterates that the prime motivation of the eminent scholars and accomplished researchers of personality is the love of understanding what makes us individuals and why we each do what we do.

Acknowledgments

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We again welcome feedback and suggestions for future editions from teachers and students!

H. S. F.
M. W. S.

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Chapter 1
What Is Personality?

Learning Objectives

1.1 Exhibit how scientific methods have provided insights into personality

1.2 Present the eight different perspectives into which personality theories are classified

1.3 Recount the development of personality psychology

1.4 Express the meanings of some basic terms and concepts in personality psychology

1.5 Examine the importance of context in understanding personality

LISTEN TO THE AUDIO:

The man who called himself Clark Rockefeller apparently was a colossal fraud. He lied and wormed his way into the highest levels of wealthy society, but slipped up now and again. The saga began when, as a German teenager in 1978, he lied his way into the United States and talked his way into having new acquaintances let him live with them. He loved to watch the TV show Gilligan's Island, especially its wealthy, upper-crust character Thurston Howell III. He soon married a young woman in Wisconsin, thereby getting his green card—as a permanent resident of the United States. He then took off for Hollywood. He said he was royalty and talked his way into high society, bluffing all the way. Everyone thought he was a very important person (and no one checked). In California he lived with and befriended a young couple, who unfortunately went missing in 1985. He eventually found his way to New York, where he talked his way into high-paid positions in finance and exclusive clubs. He then married a high-earning corporate consultant who had graduated from Stanford University and Harvard Business School, but that was the beginning of his downfall. They had a daughter, but his behavior became erratic. His wife hired a private investigator, who found "gaps" in his past, and she divorced him. When he later tried to kidnap his daughter, Clark Rockefeller was caught, and his world came crashing down. In 2013, "Clark Rockefeller" (real name Christian Gerhartsreiter) was sentenced in California to 27 years to life in prison for a cold-case murder. To the end, he professed his innocence.

How can we understand such an individual? Is he a combination of deep, dark forces and brilliant abilities? Is he changeable and adaptable, or motivated by a core of manipulative traits? Are there elements of such a con-man hiding in all of us? Did his family, or his early upbringing, or his social relations and the roles of society make him such an odd and dangerous character?

Or, could biology be the core of personality? Chang and Eng were attached twins, joined above the waist through a small connection of tissue near the sternum. Born in 1811 in Siam (now Thailand), they made famous the term "Siamese twins," although the more scientific term "conjoined twins" is now used. Conjoined twins develop when a dividing (twinning) embryo suddenly stops dividing before the process is complete, thus leaving a pair of attached identical twins.

Chang and Eng always attracted a lot of people who were curious to see their condition. After their father died when they were 8 years old, they moved to the United States and toured with exhibitions to support themselves. Chang and Eng were often observed and interviewed. They were said to get along very well with each other, each "knowing" the other one's feelings (as many twins similarly report). Each eventually married, established separate households and alternated visits with their spouses, and fathered a number of children. They lived in North Carolina and were well liked in their community.

Both twins were bright and hard-working, yet they also developed different reaction patterns, with Chang being more irritable and experiencing more stress. Eng, in contrast, was an avid reader. Later in life, Chang started drinking and suffered a stroke. Eventually, Chang died, and of course Eng died a few hours later. Chang and Eng obviously had a great deal in common—genes and environment—yet they each developed a unique personality, as do other conjoined twins (Smith, 1988).

Where does individuality come from, and how does it change and develop? What psychological forces made Chang who he was and Eng who he was? Could your boyfriend or girlfriend really be a Clark Rockefeller? The assumptions we make about the origins and meanings of individual differences have striking implications for how we understand and treat others and how we structure our communities and societies.

Most basically, personality psychology asks the question, *What does it mean to be a person?* In other words, How are we unique as individuals? What is the nature of the self? Personality psychologists answer these fascinating questions through systematic observations about how and why individuals behave as they do. Personality psychologists tend to avoid abstract philosophical or religious musings and focus instead on the thoughts, feelings, and behaviors of real people. Personality is generally *not* studied in terms of nonpsychological concepts such as profits and losses, souls and spirits, or molecules and electromagnetism. Personality is a subfield of psychology. *Personality psychology* can be defined as the scientific study of the psychological forces that make people uniquely themselves.

To be comprehensive, we can say that personality has eight key aspects, which together help us understand the complex nature of the individual. First, the individual is affected by *unconscious aspects*, forces that are not in moment-to-moment awareness. For example, we might say or do things to others that our parents used to say or do to us, without recognizing that we are motivated by a desire to resemble our parents. Second, the individual is affected by so-called *ego forces* that provide a sense of identity or "self." For example, we often strive to maintain a sense of mastery and consistency in our behavior. Third, a person is a *biological being*, with a unique genetic, physical, physiological, and temperamental nature. The human species has evolved over millions of years, yet each of us is a unique biological system. Fourth, people are *conditioned* and *shaped* by the experiences and environments that surround them. That is, our surroundings sometimes train us to respond in certain ways, and we grow up in varying cultures. Culture is a key aspect of who we are.

Fifth, people have a *cognitive dimension*, thinking about and actively interpreting the world around them. Different people construe the happenings around them in different ways. Sixth, an individual is a collection of specific *traits, skills,* and *predispositions.* There is no denying that each of us has certain specific abilities and inclinations. Seventh, human beings have a *spiritual dimension* to their lives, which ennobles them and prompts them to ponder the meaning of their existence. People are much more than robots programmed by computers. They seek happiness and self-fulfillment. Eighth, and finally, the individual's nature is an ongoing *interaction* between the person and the particular environment. Taken together, these eight aspects help us define and understand personality.

1.1: Personality and Science

1.1 Exhibit how scientific methods have provided insights into personality

LISTEN TO THE AUDIO:

Modern personality psychologists are scientific in the sense that they attempt to use methods of *scientific inference* (using systematically gathered evidence) to test theories. A person might be able to learn a great deal about personality by reading about Raskolnikov in Dostoyevsky's novel *Crime and Punishment*, or by seeing *Hamlet* at a Shakespeare festival. Indeed, it has been argued that Shakespeare invented personality as we have come to recognize it in modern times (Bloom, 1998). Such insights are not scientific, however, until they have been tested in a systematic way, using validated methods. Scientific methods have yielded insights into personality that are not available to a keen novelist or philosopher.

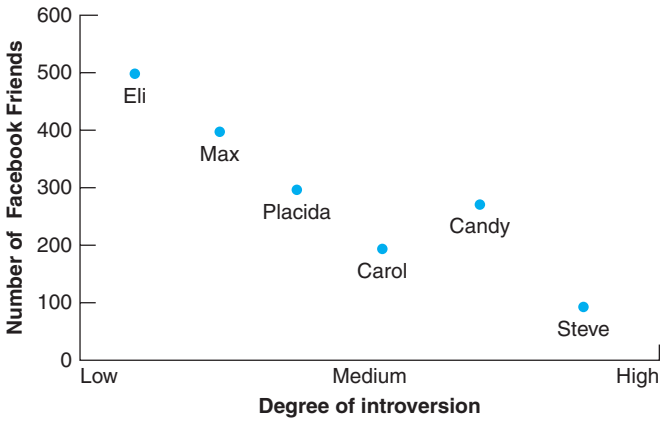
Should you use astrologers and other such stargazers in assessing personality? Or, why not go to the nearest carnival and have your personality read from the lines in the palms of your hands? Perhaps you should turn to physiognomy—the art of face reading—to evaluate others. Should you make personality inferences about people who have large foreheads? No, such approaches do not

work. All of these techniques are generally invalid; they are wrong or vague as often as they are right. However, through an understanding of personality psychology—classic theories and modern research—meaningful answers about personality *are* available.

Some scientists believe that rigorous study of personality must become mathematical and involve numbers—for instance, statistics such as *correlations*. A *correlation coefficient* is a mathematical index of the degree of agreement (or association) between two measures. For example, height and weight are positively correlated: in most (but not all) cases, the taller a person is, the more the person weighs. Extroversion and shyness are negatively (inversely) correlated: Knowing that a person scores high on a test of extroversion lets us predict that the person will not often act in a shy manner. In the example shown in Figure 1.1, there is a negative correlation between a person's degree of introversion and the number of friends that person has on Facebook. Such statistics help us quantify relationships. Correlations tell us about associations, but not about causal relationships. For example, if we learn that stout people tend to be jolly, that positive correlation does not tell us why the relationship exists. Is there some underlying predisposition that makes certain people tend to eat a lot and also be happy? Does plentiful food and extra weight make a person feel happier? Do happy people not worry about their looks and so gain weight? Do plump people hide an inner loneliness by pretending to be jolly? Do other people assume that portly people are jolly and therefore approach them in a kidding way, thereby making them more jolly? What are the causal relationships? There has, in fact, been some scientific research on whether the stout are more jolly, but no clear conclusions can yet be drawn, although obesity may be a risk factor for depression (Roberts, Deleger, Strawbridge, & Kaplan, 2003; Roberts, Strawbridge, Deleger, & Kaplan, 2002). Thus, the scientific study of personality helps us untangle these webs of associations.

Figure 1.1 Correlation Between Facebook Friends and Introversion

These data show a negative (inverse) correlation between introversion and an aspect of social networks: the more introverted the subject, the fewer the friends, generally speaking. Note, however, that Candy is quite introverted but still has an average number of Facebook friends. Such statistics are used to evaluate the validity of both the measure and the construct of introversion.



What might explain this sort of correlation?

Consider This

It might be that Steve is introverted, hesitates to approach others, and so is rarely friended. Or, it might be that he has few friends because his computer is always breaking, and so he loses social contacts, becomes lonely, and turns more introverted. Or, it might be that Steve has a thyroid disorder, looks overweight, and therefore keeps to himself and becomes introverted and something of a loner; but if his thyroid condition were corrected, both his extroversion and his number of friends would increase. The true causal links affect what types of interventions would be successful but usually cannot be judged from simply knowing the correlation.

Although statistics such as correlations can indeed be extremely helpful, they are only tools to be used to help uncover the truth. In this course, we present various sorts of systematic analyses in addition to correlational analyses, including case studies (intensive focus on an individual), cross-cultural comparisons, and research into biological structures. By piecing together insights from these and other sources, we can gain a deep and valid understanding of personality.

Is a person outgoing or even domineering? Preoccupied with sexual attraction and sexual fulfillment? Does he or she have very good or very poor work habits? Insecurities that seem to arise from childhood experiences? High goals but doubts about his or her ability to achieve them? Personality psychology provides the tools to begin to understand why people are the way they are.

1.1.1: Where Do Personality Theories Come From?

LISTEN TO THE AUDIO:

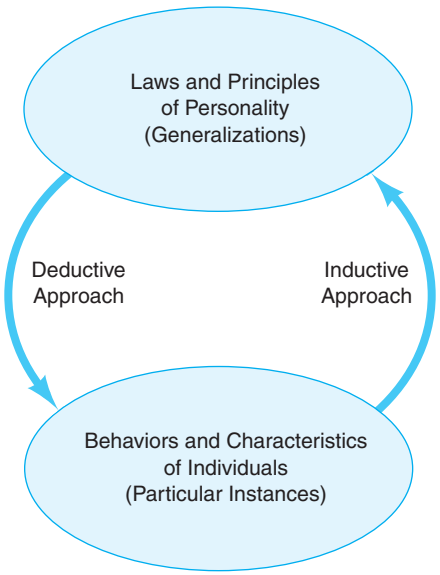
Many personality theories have arisen from the careful observations and deep introspection of insightful thinkers. For example, Sigmund Freud spent many hours analyzing his own dreams, which revealed to him the extent of the conflicts and urges hidden within. He had first noticed the power of repressed sexual urges in his patients, and he developed this idea into a comprehensive theory of the human psyche. Working from his assumptions about the struggle with sexual urges, Freud elaborated his theory to account for the many problems he saw in his medical practice and then to broader conflicts in society. The analysis

develops from fundamental postulates about the nature of the mind. This is mostly a *deductive approach* to personality, in that the conclusions follow logically from the premises or assumptions. In deduction, we use our knowledge of basic psychological "laws" or principles in order to understand each particular person.

Second, some personality theories arise directly out of systematic empirical research. For example, we might be interested in knowing which basic dimensions or traits (such as extroversion) are essential to understanding personality. By collecting many trait-relevant observations on many people, we can get a sense of which traits are fundamental and which are less important, vague, or redundant. We can gather lots of systematic data from many people and continuously revise our conclusions as new data are gathered. This is an *inductive approach* to personality because concepts are developed based on what carefully collected observations reveal. Induction works from the data up to the theory. A schematic diagram of these processes is shown in Figure 1.2.

Figure 1.2 The Nature of Inductive Versus Deductive Approaches

Deduction is often characterized as a "top-down" process of reasoning from generalizations to instances, and induction as the opposite, reasoning in a "bottom-up" manner. Researchers work from general knowledge and from specific empirical observations in a never-ending cycle. Beware of any single study that claims to be definitive about human nature.



A third source of personality theories involves analogies and concepts borrowed from related disciplines. For example, much progress is currently being made on understanding the structure and function of the human brain. Several types of brain scans are being used. Functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) scans, for example, use magnetic fields, and computerized tomography (CT) scans use X-rays to obtain detailed pictures of the living brain. Positron emission tomography (PET) scans can show ongoing brain activity by tracing where radioactive glucose is being channeled as people think and respond. These techniques are often applied to people with abnormal personalities—such as schizophrenics and those with brain damage—to search for reasons for their disorders. Certain models of personality become implausible if they are inconsistent with what we know about the structure and function of the brain. On the other hand, pictures of the brain can suggest new ways to explore its psychological organization. Anthropologists have provided basic information both about human evolution and about differences between cultures. Some characteristics of humans, such as our social nature, exist across time and space; people tend to live together in groups—family groups and cultural groups. On the other hand, some aspects, such as the degree of emphasis on individuality, tend to vary dramatically across cultures. For example, Americans tend to celebrate individual achievement and individual freedoms, but Japanese value harmony and the avoidance of personal distinction. Any successful approach to personality must take into account such anthropological facts.

As we learn more about brain structure and function through modern technologies such as functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI), we achieve a better understanding of the biological contributions to personality.

In practice, almost all personality theories involve some elements of all these approaches. All theories develop in part by deduction, in part by induction, and in part by analogy. Occasionally, an interesting misunderstanding arises from a failure to recognize this fact. For example, the basic tenet of Freudian theory that little boys are motivated to "get rid" of their fathers and "marry" their mothers. The resolution of this conflict is said to have a direct effect on adult personality. Interesting predictions about personality can be deduced from this tenet or assumption. What is fascinating is that often young parents who have taken a

course in personality psychology are amazed to see their 4-year-old son march into their bedroom and attempt to climb into bed and order the father out!

The parents may respond, "My gosh, Freud was right!" The boy's behavior is taken as proof of a deduction from Freudian theory. What the parents fail to recognize is that Freud used such observations in constructing his theory in the first place, so it is not surprising that they will be observed by others. (Freud, like most personality theorists, was an expert observer.)

This line of thinking leads us to an important point: Various personality theories will predict and can explain many of the same behaviors. It is thus difficult to prove an approach entirely "wrong." In well-established physical sciences such as physics, a theoretical framework or paradigm, such as Einstein's relativity theory, can be devised that radically overthrows previous understandings, and a new generation of scientists moves rapidly to embrace and elaborate on the new theory (Kuhn, 1962). Personality psychology, however, does not have one overarching framework that is generally accepted. This means that competing explanations for personality phenomena must be examined, but it also means that personality psychology is characterized by an intellectually stimulating set of rival approaches. In addition, some theories are more applicable to certain domains than to others. For these reasons, we will show the strengths and weaknesses of various approaches in understanding personality. A sound theory will be comprehensive (explain various phenomena), parsimonious (explain things concisely), falsifiable (able to be tested for correctness), and productive (lead to new ideas, new predictions, and new research; Campbell, 1988).

WRITING PROMPT

Some of the people who developed personality psychology were medical doctors and scientists. Others had a more humanistic approach. Brainstorm ways that personality could be scientific and aspects that are harder to capture with science alone.

The response entered here will appear in the performance dashboard and can be viewed by your instructor.

Submit

1.2: Preview of the Perspectives

1.2 Present the eight different perspectives into which personality theories are classified

LISTEN TO THE AUDIO:

00:00

Almost everyone has heard of Sigmund Freud's theories, and you might have heard that Freud says that in dreams the following objects may be symbolic of a penis: hammers, rifles, daggers, umbrellas, neckties (long objects peculiar to men), snakes, and many other objects. They are all phallic symbols. You might also have heard that the vagina may be dreamt of as a path through the brush, or as a garden, as in a dream in which a young woman asks a gardener if some branches could be transplanted to her garden. Taken out of context, such assertions may seem senseless, yet Freud greatly influenced twentieth-century thought. This course will attempt to show why Freudian theory has had such a tremendous impact.

Many other personality theorists and researchers are quite well known, but the best and most modern understanding of personality comes from a synthesis of psychological research on such matters as the nature of the self, psychobiology, learning theories, trait theories, existential approaches, and social psychology. Major features of these perspectives are presented in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1 The Eight Basic Aspects of Personality

Perspective	Key Strength
Psychoanalytic	Attention to unconscious influences; importance of sexual drives even in nonsexual spheres
Neoanalytic/ ego	Emphasis on the self as it struggles to cope with emotions and drives on the inside and the demands of others on the outside
Biological	Focus on tendencies and limits imposed by biological inheritance; easily combined with most other approaches
Behaviorist	Emphasis on a more scientific analysis of the learning experiences that shape personality
Cognitive	Emphasis on active nature of human thought; uses modern knowledge from cognitive psychology
Trait	Focus on good individual assessment techniques
Humanistic/ existential	Appreciation of the spiritual nature of a person; emphasizes struggles for self-fulfillment and dignity
Interactionist	Understanding that we are different selves in different situations

1.2.1: Overview of the Eight Perspectives

LISTEN TO THE AUDIO:

00:00

Study of the unconscious has once again become a significant area of ongoing research in psychology, as it is now clear that the brain has complex, hidden subsystems, as Freud postulated. Another facet of the psyche is the ego or "self" aspects of personality, which can be traced from Alfred Adler's work on inferiority complexes right up to modern theorizing about multiple selves. Theories of how

and why we have a sense of "self" continue to fascinate psychologists (Dweck, Higgins, & Grant-Pillow, 2003).

Just as people come in different sizes, shapes, and colors, so too do people differ somewhat in their biological systems. An individual's characteristic emotional and motivational nature, generally known as *temperament*, is strongly influenced by multiple biological factors. Such matters have attracted the attention of leading scientists since the time of Charles Darwin. Today, new developments in evolutionary theory and in understanding human genetics are being applied to personality psychology.

Behaviorist and learning aspects of personality are other elements of the study of personality. The work of radical behaviorist B. F. Skinner examines the extent to which personality can be "found" in the external environment. Cognitive aspects of personality focus on people's consistencies in perceiving and interpreting the world around them. Cognitive approaches are increasingly joined with social psychology into social-cognitive approaches to personality, such as Albert Bandura's notions of the importance of self-efficacy. In the mid-twentieth century, traits became the focus. The Harvard psychologist Gordon Allport almost single-handedly developed intriguing trait approaches that have dominated this area ever since, although there has been a recent resurgence of scientific interest in trait approaches. Today, notions of five basic trait dimensions provide a common currency for thinking about personality traits. It is fascinating to observe how well we can describe and understand each individual in terms of only five traits, but there are also key limits to that approach.

Humanistic and existential aspects of personality, which focus on freedom and self-fulfillment, are another subject in the study of personality. Theorists starting with Carl Rogers examined what seems to make humans uniquely human. Further, what makes people happy and fulfilled? The final approach to personality theory are the person–situation interactionist aspects, which form the most modern personality theories in the field.

1.2.2: Are Personality Aspects Really Separable?

LISTEN TO THE AUDIO:

All brilliant personality theorists necessarily include more than one aspect of personality in their writings. For example, Freud had many biological notions in his theories, and he certainly appreciated the major role played by socialization forces. Similarly, B. F. Skinner, the ultimate behaviorist, well understood the tremendous influence of other people in our lives, despite his research focus on the conditioning of laboratory animals. Our goal in this course is not to place sophisticated theories into narrow pigeonholes, but rather to provide an in-depth examination of different sorts of significant insights into the nature of personality.

Which personality perspective is right? Are people governed by traits or hormones or unconscious motives or nobility of spirit? This is a different question from "Which personality *theory* is right?" or "Which *hypothesis* is true?" Theories and hypotheses are testable and, by their nature, can be proven wrong; that is, they are falsifiable. We will examine many such theories and hypotheses later in this course and show which aspects are wrong or doubtful. But the question here is "Which personality *perspective* is correct?" This question is easy to answer: All eight are right in that they all provide some important psychological insight into what it means to be a person. In other words, we can benefit from learning about the strengths (and the weaknesses) of all eight perspectives.

This answer is not an evasion or a dodge. Human nature is tremendously complex and needs to be examined from multiple perspectives. In fact, it is a weak strategy to rely too much on one approach and ignore the valuable insights provided by other perspectives and scientific research. Each of these perspectives adds richness to our understanding of personality. However, it is inappropriate to perpetuate notions that are not supported by concrete evidence.

WRITING PROMPT

In this course we will examine eight different concepts of personality. Thinking of the eight perspectives outlined in this chapter, can you see ways they might be interrelated?

> The response entered here will appear in the performance dashboard and can be viewed by your instructor.

Submit

1.3: A Brief History of Personality Psychology

1.3 Recount the development of personality psychology

LISTEN TO THE AUDIO:

A number of scientific and philosophical forces that converged early in the twentieth century made possible the birth of personality psychology. Sigmund Freud, very conscious of these new beginnings, deliberately published one

of his major books, *The Interpretation of Dreams,* in the year 1900 (rather than in 1899). By the 1930s, modern personality theory was taking shape. Personality psychology is only about a century old, but its roots go back through human history. The time line shows the approximate sequence of important milestones in the history of personality psychology and their relationship in time to important world events.

Time Line

Developments in the Field of Personality Psychology

The major developments in the field of personality psychology can be seen here in historical relation to one another and in relation to their broader societal and cultural contexts.

1859:	Charles Darwin publishes *Origin of Species*
1861–1865:	American Civil War
1880s:	Francis Galton begins measuring individual differences
1880s:	Massive immigration to United States begins
1900–1921:	Women seek right to vote
1900:	Sigmund Freud publishes *Interpretation of Dreams*
1905:	Binet and Simon begin first valid intelligence testing
1906:	Ivan Pavlov works on conditioning of nervous system
1910–1930:	Jung, Adler, Horney, and others refine psychoanalysis
1914–1918:	World War I
1917:	Personality testing begins in U.S. Army
1919:	J. B. Watson founds behaviorism
1920–1933:	Kurt Lewin studies Gestalt psychology in Berlin; flees Nazis to United States in 1933
1920s:	Roaring Twenties
1930s:	Margaret Mead studies personality cross-culturally
1930s:	Great Depression
1930s:	B. F. Skinner studies reinforcement schedules
1930s:	Henry Murray develops motivational personology
1937:	Gordon Allport proposes trait theory
1940s:	Existential philosophy takes root in United States
1940s:	World War II and postwar boom
1940s:	Guilford, Cattell, and others refine testing and factor analysis
1940s:	Psychologists study fascism
1950s:	Cognitive revival begins in experimental psychology
1950s:	Growth of universities and the middle class
1950s:	Rogers, Maslow, and Allport found humanistic psychology
1960s:	Interactionist (person by situation) approaches begin in earnest
1960s:	Civil rights and sexual revolutions
1970s:	Significant study of gender differences
1970s:	Women's rights movement; divorces rise
1970s:	Multiple selves, self-monitoring, social self studied; classic theory fades
1980s:	Studies of self from social-cognitive perspective
1980s:	Corporate business revival; international trade
1980s:	Modern interactionist models emerge
1980s:	Attention to cultural influences
1980s:	Personality and health studied; health psychology established
1990s:	Human genome is deciphered
1990s:	Personal goals and life paths studied as theories become narrower
1990s:	Revival of interest in genetic and evolutionary bases of personality
1990s:	Five-factor theory becomes a central topic
2000s–:	Personality psychology increasingly rejoins with neuroscience, evolutionary biology, and cognitive psychology
2000s–:	Economic boom ends; world conflicts increase
2000s–	Personality psychology booms, together with applied interests in health, ethnic conflict, and culture

1.3.1: Theater and Self-Presentation

LISTEN TO THE AUDIO:

Some roots of personality psychology can be traced to the theater. Theophrastus, a pupil of Aristotle, is one of the earliest known creators of character sketches—brief descriptions of a type of person that can be recognized across time and place—such as someone who is cheap or tidy or lazy or boorish (Allport, 1961). Ancient Greek and Roman actors wore masks to emphasize that they were playing characters different from themselves. This indicated a fascination with the true (unmasked) nature of the individual. By Shakespeare's time, the masks were mostly gone, but there was a tremendous delight with the roles people played. In *As You Like It,* Shakespeare observed that "All the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players" (act III, scene 7). By this time it was clear that the role of jealous king or spurned lover could be occupied (played) in similar ways by different people, because everyone recognizes and understands the basic archetypal characters.

Is there really something fixed beneath the surface of the parts people play in their lives? In the nineteenth century, the existential philosopher Søren Kierkegaard warned of the mid-night hour when everyone has to throw off his mask, and of what would be found underneath, saying that he who cannot reveal himself cannot love (Kierkegaard, 1843). In the twentieth century, theater took another imaginative step as playwrights such as Luigi Pirandello (1867–1936) toyed with the idea that characters could step outside the action of their plays. For example, a player could move totally off the stage (or out of the movie set) and comment on the drama. Suddenly, the character seems to take on a reality of its own—and reality becomes a series of illusions. At the same time, social philosophers began considering the idea of a *relative self*: that is, there is no underlying self beneath an outward-facing mask, but rather the "true" self is comprised merely of masks (Hare & Blumberg, 1988; G. H. Mead, 1968). In other words, these twentieth-century musings challenged the idea that there is any core self or personality to be discovered.

All these theatrical notions have subsequently been addressed in personality psychology, especially in understanding the importance of the social situation. They have also influenced existential and humanistic psychologists who have speculated about what it means to be a human being. But where theater gives momentary insight, personality psychology seeks lasting and universal scientific principles.

1.3.2: Religion

LISTEN TO THE AUDIO:

Other aspects of personality psychology can be traced to religious ideas. Western religious traditions (Judaism, Christianity, Islam) assert that humankind was created in God's image and from the beginning has faced temptation and moral struggle. People fulfill a divine purpose and struggle for good and against evil. In this tradition, people's nature is primarily spiritual—a spirit inhabits the body while it is on earth. These conceptions often discourage a scientific analysis of personality because they may regard people not as part of nature but rather as part of the divine order; but many modern theologians try to integrate scientific understandings into more traditional views, and many personality theorists drew on religious wisdom about humanity.

Eastern philosophies and religions emphasize self-awareness and spiritual self-fulfillment. These Eastern concerns with consciousness, self-fulfillment, and the human spirit came to play an important role in certain aspects of modern personality theory, most clearly seen in the work of humanistic and existential psychologists such as Abraham Maslow. Eastern thought also influenced such seminal personality psychologists as C. G. Jung. Most university research in personality today is, however, more in the arena of modern, positivistic science and less concerned with spiritual matters.

Religious influences on Western conceptions of human nature began eroding during the Renaissance, especially during the seventeenth century. In the writings of philosophers Descartes, Spinoza, and Leibniz and their followers in the 1600s, we see debates about mind and body, emotion and motivation, and perception and consciousness. The nature of the human spirit was not taken for granted but was analyzed and observed. This concern continued to develop for the next two centuries. In modern personality theory, these influences show up as concerns with the integration and unity of the individual personality. They are also seen in attempts to integrate biological with psychological knowledge—join the mind with the body. Later in the course, we consider notions of spirituality and well-being, in terms of the concept of the self-healing personality.

1.3.3: Evolutionary Biology

LISTEN TO THE AUDIO:

The most direct influences on modern personality psychology can be traced to developments in the biological

sciences during the nineteenth century. Why are some animals such as tigers aggressive loners, whereas others such as chimps are social and cooperative? What characteristics do humans share with other animals? The greatest development in biological thinking in the nineteenth century was the theory of *evolution.* Charles Darwin argued that individual characteristics that enabled an organism to pass on genes to offspring become more prevalent in the population over generations. Individuals who were not well adapted to the demands of their environment would not survive to reproduce. So, for example, a strong sex drive had adaptive value—those without it would be less likely to reproduce. Similarly, a certain amount of aggressiveness and a certain type of social cooperativeness might prove adaptive. Animals that could dominate others for food and mates, and animals that could cooperate with others to secure their safety, would survive and pass on their genes. This focus on function—that is, the utility of behavior—has remained an important aspect of our thinking about personality.

The key contribution of Darwinian evolutionary theory to personality psychology, however, was the way in which it freed thinking from assumptions of divine control. If we think that a divine force is in total control of human activity, then there is little reason to look for other influences on the individual. Once it became clear that people are subject to the laws of nature, then scientists began to study human behavior systematically.

Even though pets can't take personality tests, their owners can describe their "personalities"—the ways in which they behave as individuals rather than as simply dogs or cats.

One little-mentioned corollary of the Darwinian doctrine is that other animals, especially other primates, should have at least some elements of personality. This may come as no surprise to pet owners, who often describe the personalities of their dogs, cats, and horses. But personality psychologists conducted little research on animal personality until quite recently. Obviously, we cannot ask animals to introspect about their inner minds, but it may be the case that research on animal personality will help us think in new ways about assessing and conceptualizing human personality (Gosling, 2008). For example, a primate such as a chimpanzee will dramatically change behavior patterns if it rises to the top of the status hierarchy, thus illustrating the important interaction of basic individual characteristics with the social environment (de Waal, 2001b). Furthermore, zoo employees' ratings of chimps' personalities are clearly associated with the chimps' behavior patterns (Pederson, King, & Landau, 2005). These matters are taken up in the Classic to Current box below, which illustrates how classic theoretical notions in personality psychology have led to modern empirical research.

Classic to Current

Animal Personality

Personality psychology began to develop in the late nineteenth century, after Charles Darwin published his theory of evolution. Darwin revolutionized conceptions of human nature by proposing that all species, including humans, evolved over the millennia, as those organisms who were the most fit for their environments were able to survive and reproduce. For many years, the main impact of this work on personality psychology was that it freed scientists to think of human nature with a scientific approach. For example, Sigmund Freud (who studied evolution in medical school) was able to propose evolved instincts that are hidden below the conscious mind, and Gordon Allport was able to postulate biological subsystems that are somehow manifested in common personality traits. Evolutionary theory has many implications for personality psychology (and many dangers of misuse), but as an example of how classic theories can come to shape current personality research, consider animal personality.

Many of us like to speak of dogs, cats, and even fish as being friendly, aggressive, clever, empathetic, and so on. But is this just anthropomorphizing, in which we are being silly in viewing pets as having human traits? Modern personality research lets us begin to answer such questions in a scientific way. For example, since animals generally cannot offer self-reports or self-conceptions, studies of animal personality have turned to using trait ratings (judgments) made by humans. Fortunately, personality research has shown researchers how to make reliable ratings (that are replicable) and how to make valid ratings (that focus on the trait of interest and not on others). Animals can also be subjected to experimental tests to code how they respond when facing a particular situation (such as competition for food). It turns out that judges do agree in their ratings of animal personality, especially for certain basic dimensions (Gosling, 2001, 2008).