



**M.A. PSYCHOLOGY
SEMESTER I (CBCS)**

**PSYCHOLOGY PAPER -
COURSE I (CORE COURSE)
PERSONALITY PSYCHOLOGY**

SUBJECT CODE : PAPSY101

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MA Semester System (CBCS), Revised Course, 2022-2023
Semester I: Course I
Core Course: 4 credits, 60 hrs
PERSONALITY PSYCHOLOGY:PAPSY101

Objectives:

1. Introducing various theories of personality
2. Help learners to evaluate personality theory and research
3. Understand modern approaches to personality
4. Understand applications of personality theory to various aspects of life.

Unit 1. Intrapsychic domain

- a. Psychoanalytic aspects of personality.
- b. Psychodynamic perspective: contemporary issues
- c. Motives and personality: basic concepts, big three motives,
- d. Humanistic tradition.

Unit 2. Biological domain and cognitive-behavioral domain

- a. Genetic and personality evolutionary approach to personality.
- b. Physiological approaches to personality.
- c. Behaviorist and learning aspects of personality.
- d. Cognitive and cognitive-experiential aspects of personality.

Unit 3. Dispositional domain: trait approach

- a. Allport, R. B. Cattel, Eysenck's three factor.
- b. Big-Five and Five Factor Model: theory, evidence and applications, circumplex approach, HEXACO
- c. Personality trait and personality disorders.
- d. Measurement of trait and theoretical and measurement issues, personality dispositions over time.

Unit 4. Social-cultural and adjustment domain

- a. Personality and social interaction
- b. Sex-gender and personality
- c. Culture and personality
- d. Stress, coping adjustment and health.

Books for reading

1. Buss D. M. & Larsen R. J. (2009). *Personality Psychology: Domains of Knowledge About Human Nature*. NJ: McGraw-Hill Humanities.
2. Corr, P. J. & Gerald Matthews, G. (2009). *The Cambridge Handbook of Personality Psychology*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.

3. Dan P. McAdams D. P. (2008). *The Person: An Introduction to the Science of Personality Psychology*. Wiley.
4. Pervin, L. A. (2002) *Science of Personality* (2nd ed.). USA: Oxford University Press.

Books for reference

1. Brody, N., & Ehrlichman, H. (1998). *Personality Psychology: Science of Individuality*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
2. Burger, J. M. (2010). *Personality*. Wadsworth Publishing.
3. Costa, P.T., & Widiger, T.A. (2002). *Personality disorders and the five-factor model of personality* (2nd ed.). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
4. Cervone, D., & Pervin, L. A. (2009). *Personality: Theory and Research* (11th ed.). New York: John Wiley & Sons.
5. Chamorro-Premuzic, T., & Furnham, A. (2005). *Personality and Intellectual Competence*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
6. Friedman, H. S. & Schustack, M. W. (2009). *Personality: Classic Theories and Modern Research*. 4/E. NY: Pearson.
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8. Hall, C. S., Lindzey, G., Campbell, J. B. (2007). *Theories of Personality*. ND: J. Wiley.
9. Haslam, N. (2007). *Introduction to Personality and Intelligence*. London: Sage Publications.
10. Hogan R. & John W.H.(Eds.) (1985), *Perspectives in Personality*. Greenwich: JAI Press.
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12. John, O.P., Robins, R.W., & Pervin, LA. (Eds.) (2010). *Handbook of Personality Theory and Research* (3rd ed.). New York, NY: Guilford.
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14. Mayer, J. & Mayer J. D. (2006). *Readings in Personality Psychology*. Allyn & Bacon.
15. McCrae, R.R. & Allik J. (Eds). (2002), *The Five-Factor model of Personality across cultures*. N.Y.: Kluwer Academic Publisher.
16. McCrae, R. R., & Costa, Jr., P. T. (2002). *Personality in Adulthood: A Five-Factor Theory Perspective* (2nd ed.). New York: Guilford Publications.
17. Mroczek, D. K., & Little, T. D. (Eds.). (2006). *Handbook of Personality Development*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates

18. Miserandino, M (2011). *Personality Psychology: Foundations and Findings*. Pearson Education.
19. Plutchik, R., & Conte, H. R. (Eds.). (1997). *Circumplex Models of Personality and Emotions*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
20. Roberts, B.W., & Hogan R. (2001). *Personality Psychology in the Workplace*. Washington: American Psychological Association.
21. Rudman L. A. (2011). *Implicit Measures for Social and Personality Psychology*. LA: Sage Publication.
22. Weiner, I.B. (2007). *Handbook of Personality Assessment*. Wiley.

Evaluation:

Internal evaluation: 40 marks

Semester end examination: 60 marks

Paper pattern: 7 questions to be set of 15 marks each, out of which 4 are to be attempted. One of them could be short notes question. Units can be combined for any questions.



INTRAPSYCHIC DOMAIN- I

Unit Structure

- 1.1 Psychoanalytic aspects of personality.
 - 1.1.1 Freud's Psychoanalytic Perspective: Exploring the Unconscious
 - 1.1.2 Division of the Mind
 - 1.1.3 Personality Structure
 - 1.1.4 Developmental Stages of Personality
 - 1.1.5 Defense Mechanisms
- 1.2 Psychodynamic perspective: contemporary issues
 - 1.2.1 Psychodynamic Theorists
 - 1.2.2 Assessing Unconscious Processes
 - 1.2.3 Evaluating Freud's Psychoanalytic Perspective and Modern Views of the Unconscious
 - 1.2.4 The Modern Unconscious Mind

1.1 PSYCHOANALYTIC ASPECTS OF PERSONALITY

Psychodynamic theories of personality consider human behavior as a dynamic interaction between the conscious and unconscious mind and its associated motives and conflicts. These theories originated from Sigmund Freud's psychoanalysis theory and later on Neo-Freudian theories were included. So, let us begin with psychoanalytic perspective.

1.1.1 Freud's Psychoanalytic Perspective: Exploring the Unconscious:

Sigmund Freud was born 1856. That was a Victorian era in Europe – a time of tremendous discovery and scientific advancement, but also a time of sexual repression and male dominance. In general, only male sexuality was acknowledged and that too very discreetly. Freud was very independent, brilliant and voracious book reader right from his teens. He became a doctor specializing in nervous disorders and started a private clinic. Very soon he became famous because of his work in psychiatry. Till today his influence lingers in psychiatry and clinical psychology as well as in many other courses.

Many of his patients were rich females, and while treating them he realized that they had disorders without any neurological base, e.g., a patient may complain that she has lost all sensations in her hand and yet he observed that no sensory nerve was damaged that would numb only the entire hand but nothing else. Freud's search for a cause for such disorders made him realize that some neurological disorders can have psychological causes. He called his theory of personality and the associated treatment

techniques as Psychoanalysis. In his personality theory, he emphasized first of all on division of mind, then on structure of personality, psycho-sexual stages of personality development and defense mechanism.

1.1.2 Division of the Mind:

Freud believed that mind is divided into three parts. The conscious, the preconscious, and the unconscious.

1) The Conscious Mind:

The conscious mind is the uppermost part of the mind. It contains information that one is aware of at any given time. This is an Individual's current perceptions, memories, thoughts, fantasies, feelings that he is aware of. It is quite close to *short-term memory* concept which you have studied in earlier chapters. Freud believed that mind is mostly hidden and the conscious awareness is like the part of an iceberg. In other words, what we are aware of is a very small part of our consciousness and beneath this awareness is the large unconscious mind with its thoughts, wishes, feelings and memories.

2) The Preconscious Mind:

The preconscious mind contains ideas, feelings, events, concerns beliefs, thoughts that person is not aware of at present but can easily be made accessible to the conscious. This contains memories that are not at the moment in the conscious thought process, but can readily be brought to mind whenever needed. It works closely with the conscious mind. Today, it can be called as explicit long-term-memory. But Freud suggested that these two are the smallest parts of mind.

3) The Unconscious Mind:

The unconscious mind (often called as "the unconscious") is the most central and significant part of Freudian theory. The unconscious is most important determinant of human personality and behaviour. According to Freud, the unconscious is a mass of unacceptable passions and thoughts that he believed we repress or forcibly block from our consciousness because it would be too stressful to acknowledge them. These are the major source of our motivations ranging from simple desires for food, and sex to the complex motives like creativity of an artist. This largest part of mind remains hidden to conscious. Without our awareness, these troubleshooting feelings and ideas powerfully influence us, sometimes getting expressed in disguised form such as dreams, slip of tongue, the work we choose, the beliefs we hold, our daily habits, or other behavior that people carry out without understanding the reasons for it. He believed that nothing is ever accidental and considered jokes as expression of repressed sexual and aggressive tendencies and dreams as the "royal road to the unconscious". In dream analyses, he searched for patients' inner conflicts.

To gain access to patients' unconscious mind, initially he used hypnosis. But that did not work. So, he devised a new method called **“Free Association”**. In using this method, he asked his patients to relax and say whatever came to their mind, no matter how embarrassing or trivial it is. He assumed that certain mental blocks from patient's distant past are responsible for his troubled present and free association will allow him to retrace those mental blocks, allowing him to peep into patient's unconscious mind and retrieve and remove painful memories stored from his childhood.

1.1.3 Personality Structure:

According to Freud, personality can be divided into three parts. They dynamically interact with each other. They are: Id, Ego, and Superego.

1) ID:

The first and primitive part of personality is Id. It is present since infancy. It is completely unconscious and amoral. It contains all the basic biological drives to survive, reproduce and aggress. The id is the impulsive, child-like portion of the psyche that operates on the “pleasure principle”. The **pleasure principle** states that there should be immediate gratification of the needs without caring about outside world's restrictions or societal conventions of civilized, standard, and moral behaviour. People dominated by ID will concentrate on present pleasure rather than think about future pleasure, e.g., they will enjoy parties, movies now rather than sacrifice today's pleasure for future success and happiness.

Freud believed that human personality is the result of our efforts to resolve these conflicts between impulses and restraints between our aggressive, pleasure seeking biological urges and our internalized social control over these urges.

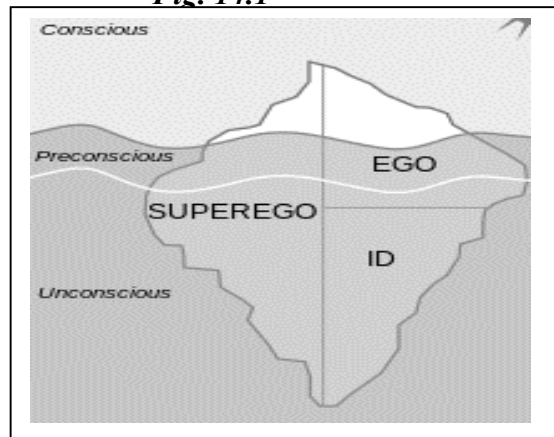
2) EGO:

This second part of personality is developed to handle the reality. It is partially conscious part of mind that includes our higher cognitive abilities, rationality, perceptions, thoughtfulness, memories, learning, and logical processes. It provides buffer between illogical, amoral impulses of id and societal restrictions. The Ego works on reality principle, which means that the id's drives are satisfied in a realistic way that will avoid negative outcomes and will bring long term pleasure. So, there are times when ego denies the gratification of id's drive because of possible negative consequences. For example, if a very young kid is hungry, then he picks up food from anybody's plate, but slightly older kids will not do that. Instead they would wait for their plate to come or make a request in more formal ways. If they are at stranger's place, then they will prefer to stay hungry than asking for food. This is because ego develops with the age.

3) SUPEREGO:

Freud believed that around the age of 4 or 5 our superego starts developing and ego starts recognizing the demands of superego. **Superego** represents our moral values imbibed from the society. These are the rules and regulations about what is right and wrong taught by parents, teachers, and important others. The superego tells us how we ought to behave. It forces ego to consider not only the real world but also the ideal world. In other words, it tells ego to not only avoid punishment but also to strive for ideal behavior. It strives for perfection. It prevents us from doing morally incorrect things, by producing guilt (also called as *moral anxiety*). It produces feeling of pride when we do morally correct things. A person with very strong superego may be virtuous and yet guilt-ridden, while another person with weak superego may be low in using self-restraint and yet may not feel any guilt.

Fig. 14.1



Since the Id is unrealistically impulsive and the superego is unrealistically moralistic, the id and superego's demands are always in conflict, the ego tries to strike a balance between the two. The ego is the "executive" part of the personality. It mediates between the impulsive demands of the id and the restraining demands of the superego and the real life demands of the external world. Anxiety is created when ego cannot meet their needs. Extreme anxiety leads to disorders. The Psychological Defense Mechanisms are used to deal with anxiety and stress created by conflicts between the three components of personality. They are unconscious strategies people use to deal with the anxiety and by distorting the reality. They have been classified as psychotic, immature, neurotic and healthy defense mechanisms. But before talking about defense mechanisms in detail let us look at the developmental stages of personality.

1.1.4 Developmental Stages of Personality:

Freud proposed that development of personality takes place when a child passes through a series of psychosexual stages. Freud has identified particular body parts as a focus of specific developmental stage. In each psychosexual stage, id's pleasure seeking energies focus on specific body parts that provide sensation of pleasure during that stage. It is called as

erogenous zone. In every psychosexual stage, there is a conflict between id, ego and superego. Conflicts unresolved during earlier psychosexual stages could lead to maladaptive behavior in the adult years. These stages are *Oral, Anal, Phallic, Latency, and Genital*.

Intrapsychic Domain- I

Table 1.1

Freud's Psychosexual Stages of Development

Stage	Age	Erogenous	Characteristics
Oral	Birth to 18 months	Mouth	Indulges in oral activities like sucking, biting, mouthing, eating, to obtain pleasure.
Anal	18 to 36 months	Anus	Gratification obtained from withholding and expelling fesses, try to handle the pressures of society regarding toilet training. Fixation leads to anal expulsive or anal-retentive personality.
Phallic	3 – 6years	Genitals	Derives pleasure by fondling genitals. Oedipal Conflict is important characteristics, and it is resolved by identifying with same sex parents.
Latency	6 years to Puberty	Adolescence Social skills intellectual abilities.	The sexual feelings are kept latent by repressing them in unconscious.
Genital	Puberty onwards		Maturation of sexual interests - The mature, adult sexuality develops during this stage.

1) Oral Stage:

The duration of first stage of psychosexual development, namely Oral Stage, is from birth to 18 months. The erogenous zone of oral stage is mouth. Children enjoy activities like sucking, biting, mouthing, etc. The conflict that is experienced in this stage is weaning the child from bottle or mother's breast feed. The child will get fixated in the oral stage if the child overindulges (continue to breast/bottle feed for longer duration) or become frustrated (due to early or abrupt weaning) with the oral gratification. This leads to development of oral personality in adulthood. Aggressive-pessimistic traits develop if oral needs are under gratified and dependency-optimism develops if they are over gratified. If they are over gratified, they may continue to seek oral gratification by overeating, talking too much, smoking, etc. If they are weaned away too early leading to under gratification they may act tough or speak in "bitingly" sarcastic way, etc.

2) Anal Stage:

The duration of Anal Stage of psychosexual development is from 18 months to 3 years. The erogenous zone of anal stage is anus. Children at this stage derive pleasure by both withholding and expulsion of fesses at will. In addition to physical pleasure, child also derives pleasure from self-control and the praise from parents. The conflict that is experienced in this stage is toilet training. The child will get fixated in the anal stage if toilet training is too harsh. The conflict leads to development of anal personality in adulthood. They are of two types: *anal expulsive personalities* and *anal retentive personalities*. Anal Expulsive Personality results from child's rebel against toilet training by parents. The adult would show destructiveness, hostility, emotional outbursts, disorganization, rebelliousness and carelessness. They could also become extremely generous and indiscipline. Anal-Retentive Personality develops due to fear of punishment. The child retains fesses and refuses to go to toilet. They develop traits like excessive orderliness, neatness, stubbornness, a compulsion for control and have interest in collecting, holding, and retaining objects.

3) Phallic Stage:

The Phallic Stage is between 3 years to 6years. The genitals are erogenous zone during this stage. Child derives pleasure by fondling genitals. Boys develop unconscious sexual desires for their mother and jealousy and hatred for their fathers, whom they consider as their rivals. Similarly, girls develop unconscious sexual desire for their fathers. Boys experience Oedipal Conflict and girls experience Electra Complex in this phase. Father is perceived as powerful, and they develop castration anxiety, a fear that their penis will be cut-off by their fathers, if fathers come to know of their sexual attraction towards their mothers. To resolve this anxiety boys Identify with their fathers and girls identify with their mothers. This is called as Oedipus complex. According to Freud, girls get attracted to father and experience penis envy, feeling of inferiority for not having that anatomical part. They held mother responsible for this. To resolve this conflicting feeling towards mother, girls identify with mother. Normal sexual development occurs if the conflict is resolved. Immature sexual attitudes, promiscuous or sexually inhibited behaviour, and sexual confusion in adulthood may result from fixation in phallic stage.

4) Latency Stage:

The duration of this stage is from 7 to 12 years. The sexual feeling of child is repressed in unconscious, or kept *latent*, and the child grows physically, intellectually, and socially. This is relatively a calm stage where sexual energy is converted into interest in excelling in school work and sports, etc.

5) Genital Stage:

The duration of this phase is from 13 years onwards till death. The mature, adult sexuality develops during this stage. At this stage, once again the

attention is shifted to genitals but sexual attraction is shifted from one's parents to members of the opposite sex. Sexual urges are expressed through socially approved channels. Sex takes a matured form by moving from desire for pleasure only to a desire for reproduction. The sexual and aggressive motives are transferred into energy for marriage, occupation and child rearing.

Intrapsychic Domain- I

1.1.5 Defense Mechanisms:

Table 14.2

Defense Mechanism	Unconscious process employed to avoid anxiety-arousing thoughts/feelings	Examples
Regression	Reverting back to more immature behavior from infantile psychosexual stage, where some psychic energy remains fixated.	Throwing temper tantrums as an adult when you don't get your way or reverting back to the oral comfort of thumb sucking.
Reaction Formation	Acting in exactly the opposite way to one's unacceptable impulses.	Being overprotective of and generous towards an unwanted child, or repressing angry feelings, a person may display exaggerated friendliness.
Projection	Attributing one's own unacceptable feelings and thoughts to others and not to yourself.	Accusing your friend on cheating on you because you have felt like cheating on her. There is a saying "The thief thinks everyone else is a thief".
Rationalization	Creating false excuses for one's unacceptable feelings and thoughts to others and not to yourself. In other words, offering self-justifying explanations in place of the real, more threatening unconscious reasons for one's actions.	Justifying cheating in an exam by saying that everyone else does that, or a habitual drinker says he drinks just to be sociable.
Displacement	Redirecting unacceptable feelings from the original source to a safer, more acceptable substitute target.	Taking your anger towards your boss out on your wife or children by shouting

		at them and not at your boss or a child bangs the door hard instead of shouting back at his mother.
Denial	Blocking external events from awareness. If some situation is just too much to handle, the person refuses to believe or even perceive painful realities.	Smokers may refuse to admit to themselves that smoking is bad for health, or a person may refuse to believe that his son is involved in anti-national activities.

Freud held that anxiety is the price we pay for civilization. There is a constant tug of war between id and superego and ego has to balance both of them. Sometimes, ego fears losing control over this inner war and we experience anxiety. At such times, ego protects itself with defense mechanisms, i.e., the tactics used to reduce or redirect anxiety by distorting reality. All these defense mechanisms work at unconscious level and ego unconsciously defends itself against anxiety. Some of these defense mechanisms are discussed here.

1.2 PSYCHODYNAMIC PERSPECTIVE: CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

1.2.1 Psychodynamic Theorists:

Freud’s theory has been criticized as well as praised by his contemporaries and by other psychologists later. Those who followed broad framework of Freud and developed their own theories of psychoanalysis are called as Neo-Freudians. Neo-Freudians accepted his basic ideas such as personality structure of id, ego, superego; the importance of the unconscious; the shaping of personality in childhood; and the role of anxiety and defense mechanisms in personality development. However, they did not agree with the idea that only sex and aggression are dominant motives in our lives. They believed that social interaction also plays an important role. Similarly, while accepting the role of unconscious mind they emphasized the role of conscious mind also in interpreting our experiences and in coping with our environment. Some of the important Neo-Freudian theorists are Jung, Adler, Horney, etc.

Carl Jung:

Carl Gustav Jung differed from Freud on the nature of unconscious and parted away from Freud. In addition to Personal Unconscious, he developed the concept of Collective Unconscious. It is the store house of our experiences as a species since ancient ages. We are born with it and are not conscious of it. He called these collective universal human memories as Archetypes, an unlearned inclination to experience world in a

particular way. Among the many archetypes, *Mother* (our inner tendency to identify a particular relationship of “mothering”), *Anima/Animus* (feminine component within males/ masculine component within females), *Shadow* (dark side of ego containing sex and life instincts), *persona* (individual’s public image) are important.

Intrapsychic Domain- I

Jung was initially Freud’s disciple but later turned his dissenter. While he agreed with the idea that unconscious exerts a powerful influence on our behavior, he believed that unconscious holds more than our repressed thoughts and feelings. He criticized Freud’s theory of the Oedipus complex and his emphasis on infantile sexuality. He said we all have a collective unconscious, a storehouse of repressed memories specific to the individual and our ancestral past. This is a level of unconscious shared with other members of the human species comprising latent memories from our ancestral and evolutionary past. ‘The form of the world into which [a person] is born is already inborn in him, as a virtual image’ (Jung, 1953, p. 188). Jung called these ancestral memories and images that have universal meaning across cultures as archetypes. These archetypes show up in dreams, literature, art or religion. These past experiences explain why people in different cultures share certain myths and images, e.g., mother as a symbol of nurturance, or fear of the dark, or of snakes and spiders.

Alfred Adler:

Alfred Adler had struggled to overcome his own childhood illnesses and accidents due to which he had suffered from inferiority complex. So, while proposing the concept of inferiority complex he stated that everybody experiences sense of inferiority, weakness and helplessness as a child and struggle to overcome the inadequacies by become superior and powerful adults. He identified ‘striving for superiority’ as a thrust propelling thought, feelings, and actions of humans. Two important concepts in his theory are: Parenting and Birth Order. According to Adler, the order in which person is born in the family innately influences persons personality. The *firstborn*, experience crisis as the attention shifts to younger sibling after their births and to overcome this they become overachievers. *Middle born children* are not pampered but get the attention and become more superior. After dethroning older sibling, they have power over their younger siblings and engage in healthy competition. *The youngest children* have the least amount of power in family and are more pampered and protected. This creates a sense that they cannot take responsibilities and feel inferior to others.

Adler identified two Parenting Styles that leads to problems in adulthood: *Pampering and Neglect*. Pampering parents overprotect a child, provide excessive attention, and protect from the dark part of life. As adults, child has poor skills to deal with realities, self-doubts about abilities. A Neglecting Parent do not protect child at all, and they are left to deal with life problems alone. As adults, they fear the world, cannot trust others, and have trouble in developing close relations.

Karen Horney:

Karen Horney differed from Freud on his masculine focus and idea of 'penis envy' and women having weak superego. She substituted the concept of 'penis envy' with her idea of 'womb envy'. She said that "The view that women are infantile and emotional creatures, and as such, incapable of responsibility and independence is the work of the masculine tendency to lower women's self-respect". She considered that the basic anxiety, a feeling of fearfulness and anxiety experience in childhood triggers the desire for love and security.

Post Freud's life, most contemporary psychodynamic theorists and therapists do not accept the idea of sex as the basis of personality. They do not accept the idea of id, ego and superego and do not classify their patients in terms of oral, anal or phallic characters. But they do accept that much of our mental life is unconscious, that very often we struggle with inner conflicts among our wishes, fears and values and that our childhood experiences shape our personality and the way we become attached to others in later life.

Neo-Freudians' major disagreements with Freud can be summarized as -

1. Socio cultural factors determine conflicts, not instincts.
2. Infantile sexuality is of little importance compared to socio- cultural factors. Conflicts can be or are predominately non- sexual.
3. Societal factors cause anxiety, not a defense.
4. Dreams have no latent content: could be metaphorical expressions of the patient's real concern or reflect struggles to achieve self-awareness and responsibility.
5. Oedipal complex has no sexual component, is due to interpersonal/ social factors.
6. Technique of treatment: normally emphasize 'here and now', de-emphasis on past, gaining insight etc.

1.2.2 Assessing Unconscious Processes:

To peep into unconscious mind, early childhood experiences and to unearth hidden impulses and conflicts, psychologists have developed certain tools that do not ask direct questions and expect answers in yes-no or true-false format as objective assessment tools do. These tools that measure personality indirectly are known as projective tools. Projective tests are like "psychological X-ray" in which a test taker is asked to tell a story or describe an ambiguous stimulus. It is assumed that any hopes, desires and fears that test taker sees in the ambiguous image are the projections of their own inner feelings or conflicts. One of these projective tests is

Rorschach Inkblot Test:

People are presented a series of 10 inkblots printed on cards and people are asked to describe what they see in these inkblots. The test has been criticized on various counts. For instance, some clinicians believe in the

power of Rorschach test so much that they have used it to assess criminal's violence potential and present it to court as evidence. Others consider it as a helpful diagnostic tool, an icebreaker and a revealing interview technique. However, the scoring and interpretation of the test had been criticized often and to overcome this criticism a research based, computerized tool has been designed to bring uniformity in scoring and interpretation. Yet many critics comment that only some of Rorschach based scores, such as scores for hostility and anxiety, have shown validity. So these tests are not reliable as a whole. Other critics believed that this test diagnoses many normal people as pathological as clinician's interpretations of the answers given are based on intuitions of the clinicians.

1.2.3 Evaluating Freud's Psychoanalytic Perspective and Modern Views of the Unconscious:

Recent research disagrees with Freud's ideas on many counts. For instance-

1. Modern developmental psychologists believe that development is a lifelong process and not fixed in childhood only as Freud believed.
2. They do not believe that an infant's neural networks are mature enough to hold as much emotional trauma as Freud assumed that they do.
3. Some critics think that Freud overestimated the parental influence and underestimated the peer influence.
4. Freud's idea that conscience and gender identity develops when children resolve Oedipus complex at the age of 5 or 6 was also criticized. It is observed that children develop their gender identity much earlier than age of 5 or 6 and become strongly masculine or feminine even without a same sex parent present.
5. Critics also believe that Freud's ideas about childhood sexuality arose from his skepticism of stories of childhood sexual abuse told by his female patients. He attributed these stories of childhood abuse to their own childhood sexual wishes and conflicts.
6. Freud is also criticized on his methodology of collecting information. The way he framed his questions might have created false memories of childhood sexual abuse.
7. New ideas about why we dream are also contrary to Freud's belief that dreams display hidden feelings and are tools for wish fulfillment. Similarly, slips of the tongue can be explained as competition between similar choices in our memory. When someone says that "I don't want to do it- it's a lot of bother" may simply be blending bother and trouble.
8. Freud's idea that defense mechanisms disguise sexual and aggressive impulses, and suppressed sexuality causes psychological disorders, is also not supported by modern research. From Freud's time, our sexual

inhibitions have gone down but psychological disorders have not gone down.

9. Psychoanalytic theory assumes that the human mind often represses troublesome wishes and feelings, banishing them into the unconscious mind until they resurface. He believed that if we can recover and resolve childhood's conflicts and wishes, emotional healing would follow. However, modern researchers believe that repression is a rare mental response to trauma. Even those who have witnessed a parent's murder or survived Nazi death camps retain their unrepressed memories of the horror. (Helmreich 1992; Pennebaker, 1990)
10. It is also argued that Freud's theory does not meet the criteria of being scientific theory. A scientific theory must offer new testable hypotheses and objective way of testing the existing theory.
11. The most serious problem with Freud's theory is that it offers after-the-fact explanations of any characteristic but fails to predict such behaviors and traits, e.g., according to his theory, if you feel angry at your mother's death, it is because your unresolved childhood dependency needs are threatened. On the other hand, if you do not feel angry, it is because you are repressing your anger. Lindzey (1978) rightly commented that it is like betting on a horse after the race is over.
12. Critics said that a good theory should give testable predictions but Freud's supporters said that Freud never claimed that psychoanalysis was a predictive science. He merely claimed that looking back, psychoanalyst could find meaning in our state of mind.
13. His supporters further point out that some of Freud's ideas are everlasting, e.g., he drew attention to the idea of unconscious, irrationality, self-protective defense mechanisms, importance of sexuality, tension between our biological impulses and our social well-being. He challenged our self-righteousness, punctured our pretensions and reminded us of our potential for evil.

1.2.4 The Modern Unconscious Mind

Modern researchers agree with Freud that we have very limited access to all that goes on in our minds, but they think unconscious does not comprise of just seething passions and repressive censorings, rather there is information processing going on there without our awareness. This information processing can involve:

- a.) Formation of the schemas that automatically control our behavior
- b.) The implicit memories that operate without conscious recall, even among those with amnesia.
- c.) The emotions that activate instantly, before conscious analysis.

d.) The formation of self-concept and stereotypes that unconsciously influence the way we process information about ourselves and others. Intrapsychic Domain- I

So, our lives are guided by off-screen, out-of-sight, unconscious information processing. The unconscious mind is huge.

Recent research also supported Freud's idea of defense mechanisms. People tend to see their own faults and attitudes in others. Freud called this tendency as 'Projection', a defense mechanism. Modern researchers call it "False Consensus Effect", the tendency to overestimate the extent to which others share our beliefs and behaviors. For example, people who break traffic rules assume that everyone does it, people who are happy, kind and trustworthy assume all others are also have same attributes. Similarly, another defense mechanism used by people to defend their self-esteem is Reaction formation. Baumeister stated that defense mechanisms are less likely to be used by seething impulses and more by our need to protect our self-images.

Modern research has supported Freud's idea that we unconsciously defend ourselves against anxiety. Greenberg et.al. (1997) rightly said that one source of anxiety is "the terror resulting from our awareness of vulnerability and death". Terror management theory shows that death anxiety increases contempt for others and esteem for oneself (Koole et.al.,2006). Living in a threatening world, people tend to act not only to enhance their self-esteem but also to stick strongly to worldviews that answer questions about life's meaning. For example, the likelihood of death increases religious sentiments and deep religious beliefs enable people to be less defensive (Jonas & Fishcher,2006). When faced with death, people yearn for and stick to close relationships, e.g., when a person is nearing his end, he/she yearns to meet family and friends, and put in extra efforts to reach out to them even if they have not communicated before for years together.



INTRAPSYCHIC DOMAIN- II

Unit Structure

- 2.1 Motives and personality: basic concepts, big three motives
 - 2.1.1 Understanding Personality
 - 2.1.2 Characteristics of Personality
 - 2.1.3 Assessing Personality
 - 2.1.4 The Big Three Motives Achievement Power and Intimacy
- 2.2 Humanistic tradition.
 - 2.2.1 Abraham Maslow's Self-Actualizing Person
 - 2.2.2 Carl Rogers' Person-Centered Perspective
 - 2.2.3 Assessing the Self
 - 2.2.4 Evaluating Humanistic Theories
- 2.3 Questions

2.1 MOTIVES AND PERSONALITY: BASIC CONCEPTS, BIG THREE MOTIVES

2.1.1 Understanding Personality

To begin our discussion of personality, I will offer a definition but know that no universally accepted definition exists. For our purposes, personality is defined as an individual's unique pattern of thoughts, feelings, and behaviors that persists over time and across situations. Personality traits refer to a specific set of behaviors or habits that persist over time and across situations. Traits help us to understand why people respond the way they do when faced with a situation, and why they approach certain situations and avoid others. We will define these two questions about behavior more specifically in Section 7.3.

Our personality changes across childhood and into adolescence and does so due to our temperament which is all of our behavioral and emotional predispositions present when we are born (McCrae et al, 2000). Temperament has been proposed to have nine dimensions to include: rhythmicity, intensity of reaction, distractibility, persistence, mood quality, activity level, responsiveness, approach/withdrawal, and ability to adapt to new experiences (Thomas & Chess, 1977). From this, three types of temperament emerge. According to Thomas and Chess (1977), the types include easy children who deal with new events in a positive manner and

are regular in their biological function. In contrast, difficult children cry more, are irritable, and generally negative when new events occur. They are also less regular in their biological function compared to easy children. Finally, slow-to-warm-up children display few intense reactions and are fairly positive once they have adapted to a new event or person. From these early styles of temperament, our personality emerges over time. Temperament serves as a foundation of sorts.

2.1.2 Characteristics of Personality

It is not an overstatement to say that personality is universal, meaning that everyone has one. Of course, our definition indicated that personality is unique, reflecting a great deal of diversity. Take a moment to describe your personality, listing as many descriptive words that you can.....What did your list look like? How might it compare to your significant other? Your children? A classmate? A coworker? Your boss? A stranger on the street? I bet you have some personality traits in common. But what if you and another person both said you were affectionate or vindictive. Could there be differences in what these terms mean to the both of you? We might say personality falls on a continuum, with not very affectionate on one end and very affectionate on the other end. You could assess this trait by asking yourself (and the other person) on a scale of 1-10 with 1 being not very and 10 being very, how affectionate are you? If you answered 8 and your counterpart answered 7, what does this mean? You both are affectionate but not to the same degree. Remember our earlier discussion of the dimensions of behavior from Module 6. Intensity was one such dimension. Does it apply in this scenario?

Personality is also stable across time, meaning that it is consistent and persistent throughout life. As this is the case, it should also be predictable. We discussed this in Module 2 in relation to emotions. Affective traits are our more emotional personality traits and help to generally determine our response to different demands in our environment. This is not set in stone though, as mood affects our emotional response. Though we might be affectionate in general, if our significant other makes a disparaging comment about us, we may not want to share a kiss or hug until the issue is resolved.

Is personality inheritable or is the environment responsible? A study from 2015 investigated this issue in animals and found that 52% of the variation was due to genetics and that this value is much higher for the heritability of personality compared to behaviors (Dochtermann, Schwab, & Sih, 2015). Do these cross-species findings hold up in humans? Twin studies typically attribute about half of the variance in personality to heritability/genes and the remaining half to the environment, but some studies suggest that this may not always be the case and parental relationships can enhance or diminish genetic and environmental influences (Krueger, South, Johnson, & Iacono, 2008). A recent meta-analysis confirmed this 2008 finding, indicating that 40% of the variability in personality is genetic in origin and 60% is due to the environment

(Vukasovic & Bratko, 2015). This said, childhood personality disorders have been found to have a substantial genetic component similar to heritability estimates in adults (Coolidge, Thede, & Jang, 2001). This earlier finding has been confirmed in more recent research of Cluster B personality disorders, defined in Section 7.4 (Torgersen et al., 2012).

2.1.3 Assessing Personality

Personality assessment involves the measurement of personality and is conducted by a wide range of psychologists. For example, industrial/organizational psychologists examine whether certain personality traits make a person more likely to succeed in a job. Clinical psychologists examine the personality traits of their clients to see if certain treatment methods will work better for them than others but also who measure to find maladaptive traits that may be causing problems in living. Finally, the social psychologist measures authoritarianism or aggressive tendencies in participants.

Assessment involves making sure the personality test is reliable or provides consistent responses and valid meaning it measures what it says it measures. In the case of reliability, your score on a personality test today should be the same, or very close, tomorrow. In the case of validity, if a test is supposed to measure sensation seeking, then if we compare it to a known test that has been confirmed to measure this trait, our results should be similar between the two tests. If for some reason the results for the new scale differ greatly from the old/existing scale, then our new scale is measuring some other aspect of personality and not the targeted trait of sensation seeking.

Personality assessments take on two main forms. First, personality inventories are objective tests that ask the participant questions about their behavior and feelings in different situations and uses numbered scales. They are also called self-report inventories and the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory or MMPI is one such example. A second example is the NEO-PI-R used to assess the Big Five traits.

Second, projective tests arose out of the work of Sigmund Freud and probe our unconscious mind. Individuals are presented with an ambiguous stimulus, such as an inkblot, and asked to interpret it. As the object is described, our innermost fears or needs are revealed. Examples include the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT; Morgan & Murray, 1935) which presents the client with an ambiguous picture to interpret and the Rorschach Inkblot Test, which presents inkblot cards to individuals one at a time.

2.1.4 The Big Three Motives Achievement Power and Intimacy

Although Murray proposed several dozen motives, researchers have focused most of their attention on a relatively small set. These motives are based on the needs for achievement, power, and intimacy. Research with the TAT, and on motives in general, has tended to focus on these three

primary motives. Let's review what we know about each of these fundamental human motives. Intrapsychic Domain- II

Need for Achievement

Behavior that is motivated by the need for achievement has long interested psychologists. Because it has received the most research attention we will begin with this motive.

Doing Things Better

Following Murray at Harvard, psychologist David McClelland carried on the tradition of motive research. McClelland was best known for his research on the need for achievement, defined as the desire to do better, to be successful, and to feel competent. Like all motives, we assume that the need for achievement will energize behavior in certain (achievement-related) situations. It is energized by the incentives of challenge and variety, it is accompanied by feelings of interest and surprise, and it is associated with the subjective state of being curious and exploratory (McClelland, 1985). People motivated by a high need for achievement obtain satisfaction from accomplishing a task or from the anticipation of accomplishing a task.

They cherish the process of being engaged in challenging activities.

Many researchers have demonstrated that state need for achievement can be aroused and that stories written in these aroused conditions contain more achievement imagery. For example, in one experiment, subjects are led to believe that they are taking a test of general intelligence and leadership ability. After the test, some are told they scored very high, some are told they scored very low, and some are given no feedback whatsoever. The experimenters assume that success and failure feedback on a test of intelligence and ability would arouse state need for achievement. After a short period, the subjects complete the TAT. The stories written by the subjects who received feedback on the earlier test (either the success or the failure feedback) contain more achievement imagery than the stories written by the people who did not get any feedback.

The effect of achievement arousal on TAT scores has been successfully demonstrated on both men and women and on people from such diverse cultures as Germany, India, Japan, Poland, and Brazil (reviewed in Koestner & McClelland, 1990). An extensive study of racial influences on TAT scores found no differences between African American and white subjects in their need for achievement (nAch) scores (Lefkowitz & Frazer, 1980). Neither the race of the TAT administrator nor the race of the figures in the TAT had an impact on nAch scores. These cross-cultural and cross-racial replications are important, because they demonstrate that the effects of arousing state achievement needs, as evidenced by the fantasy content provided by subjects, are the same for people from different cultures, despite differences in the social, linguistic, or cultural

definitions of the concepts of achievement and success. This finding exemplifies the concept of generalizability discussed in Chapter

In terms of trait levels, high nAch individuals prefer moderate levels of challenge, neither too high nor too low. This preference makes sense, given that the high nAch person is motivated to do better than others. A task that is almost impossible to accomplish will not be attractive because it will not provide the opportunity to do better if everyone does poorly. A task that is too easy will be easy for everyone; the high nAch person will not do better if everyone is successful. Theoretically, we expect high nAch persons to have a preference for moderately challenging tasks. Dozens of studies have found support for this idea. One study examined children's preference for challenge in a variety of games (e.g., the ring-toss game, in which children attempt to toss rings around sticks that are placed at varying distances). Children high in nAch preferred a moderate challenge (e.g., tossed their rings at the sticks in the middle), whereas children low in nAch tried either the very easy levels of the games (closer sticks) or the levels at which success was almost impossible (McClelland, 1958). This relationship has also been demonstrated outside the laboratory. Young adults high in nAch have been found to choose college majors that are of intermediate difficulty and to pursue career that are of moderate difficulty (reviewed in Koestner & McClelland, 1990).

To summarize the characteristics of persons high in nAch, (1) they prefer activities that provide some, but not too much, challenge, (2) they enjoy tasks in which they are personally responsible for the outcome, and (3) they prefer tasks for which feedback on their performance is available.

2.2 HUMANISTIC TRADITION

By 1950s and 1960s, some personality psychologists were dissatisfied with Freud's deterministic and B. F. Skinner's mechanistic explanation of personality. They objected to Freud's ideas that human behavior is determined by forces beyond our control, that human beings are basically evil and would destroy themselves if not restrained by social norms which are internalized in the form of superego. Moreover, Freud's theory was developed on the basis of motives reported by sick people. On the other hand, Skinner viewed human personality through respond-reward prism and emphasized only on learning. He considered human beings like machines, where they respond to environmental inputs on the basis of reward or punishment received in the past. They felt that these theories ignored the qualities that make humans unique among animals. Two psychologists, Abraham Maslow and Carl Rogers, became well known for their humanistic theories. Humanistic theorists focused on the ways 'healthy' people strive for self-determination and self-realization and offered a 'third force' option that emphasized human potential.

2.2.1 Abraham Maslow's Self-Actualizing Person:

Maslow developed his theory based on healthy, creative people rather than troubled clinical cases. He proposed that we are motivated by a hierarchy

of needs. First, we are motivated to satisfy our physiological needs followed by safety needs, then need to be loved or belong and then self-esteem and finally self-actualization and self-transcendence. Self-actualization refers to a process of fulfilling our potential and self-transcendence refers to searching meaning, purpose and communion beyond the self.

He based his study of self-actualization on the basis of studying people like Abraham Lincoln, who were known for their rich and productive lives. Maslow stated that such people share certain similar characteristics. They are more self-aware, self-accepting, open and spontaneous, loving and caring and not stuck by their own opinions. While working with college students, Maslow said that those who will become self-actualizing adults later on are the ones who are likeable, caring, privately affectionate to their elders and secretly uneasy about the cruelty, meanness and mob spirit.

Maslow's self-actualizing characteristics:

- **Efficient perceptions of reality:** Self-actualizers are able to judge situations correctly and honestly. They are very sensitive to the fake and dishonest, and are free to see reality 'as it is'.
- **Comfortable acceptance of self, others and nature:** Self-actualizers accept their own human nature with all its flaws. The shortcomings of others and the contradictions of the human condition are accepted with humor and tolerance.
- **Reliant on own experiences and judgment:** Independent, not reliant on culture and environment to form opinions and views.
- **Spontaneous and natural:** True to oneself, rather than being how others want. They have outgrown their mixed feelings towards their parents, have found their ultimate goals, have enough courage to be unpopular, to be unashamed about being openly virtuous.
- **Task centering:** Since they are secure in their sense of who they are, their interests are problem-centered and not self-centered. They focus their energies on a particular task and make that task as the mission of their lives. Most of Maslow's subjects had a mission to fulfill in life or some task or problem 'beyond' themselves to pursue
- **Autonomy:** Self-actualizers are free from reliance on external authorities or other people. They tend to be resourceful and independent.
- **Continued freshness of appreciation:** The self-actualizer seems to constantly renew appreciation of life's basic goods. A sunset or a flower will be experienced as intensely time after time as it was at first. There is an "innocence of vision", like that of an artist or child.

- **Profound interpersonal relationships:** The interpersonal relationships of self-actualizers are marked by deep loving bonds.
- **Comfort with solitude:** Despite their satisfying relationships with others, self-actualizing people value solitude and are comfortable being alone.
- **Non-hostile sense of humor:** This refers to the ability to laugh at oneself.
- **Peak experiences:** All of Maslow's subjects reported the frequent occurrence of peak experiences(temporary moments of self-actualization). These occasions were marked by feelings of ecstasy, harmony, and deep meaning. Self-actualizers reported feeling at one with the universe, stronger and calmer than ever before, filled with light, beauty, goodness, and so forth. According to Maslow, peak experiences are "Feelings of limitless horizons opening up to the vision, the feeling of being simultaneously more powerful and also more helpless than one ever was before, the feeling of ecstasy and wonder and awe, the loss of placement in time and space with, finally, the conviction that something extremely important and valuable had happened, so that the subject was to some extent transformed and strengthened even in his daily life by such experiences."In other words, these are moments of transcendence in which a person emerges feeling changed and transformed.
- **Socially compassionate:** Possessing humanity. They are emotionally mature and have learned enough about life so that they are compassionate towards others.
- **Few friends:** They have few close intimate friends rather than many superficial relationships.

2.2..2 Carl Rogers' Person-Centered Perspective:

Carl Roger also believed that people are basically good and are endowed with self-actualizing tendencies. Unless faced with an environment that hinders growth, each of us is like a fruit, ready for growth and fulfillment. Roger believed that growth promoting climate needs to fulfill three conditions:

1. **Genuineness:** Genuine people are open with their feelings, drop their pretensions or deceptive outward appearance, are transparent and self-disclosing.
2. **Acceptance:** When people are accepting, they offer unconditional positive regard, an attitude of grace that values us even knowing our failings. It is a great relief to drop our pretensions, confess our worst feelings, and discover that we are still accepted, that we are free to be spontaneous without feeling the loss of others' esteem.

3. Empathy: Empathic people share and mirror other's feelings and reflect their meanings.

Intrapsychic Domain- II

Rogers believed that genuineness, acceptance and empathy are like water, sun and nutrients that help us to grow like a fruit. As people are accepted and prized, they tend to develop a more caring attitude toward themselves. When people are heard emphatically, it becomes possible for them to listen more accurately to the flow of inner experiencing. Unconditional love makes a person optimistic, enthusiastic and helpful. For Carl Rogers and Maslow, the central figure of personality is self-concept. Self-concept refers to all the thoughts and feelings that one has in response to a question-Who am I? If self-concept is positive we view the world positively and if we have negative self-concept, we view the world negatively and we will feel dissatisfied and unhappy.

2.2.3 Assessing the Self:

To measure personality, humanistic psychologists ask people to fill out a questionnaire that would evaluate their self-concept. The questionnaire has questions asking people to describe themselves both as they would ideally like to be and as they actually are. Rogers said that the self-concept will be positive when ideal self and real self are nearly alike.

Some humanistic psychologists believe that using a standardized assessment tool such as questionnaire, to measure personality is depersonalizing. Instead of forcing a person to respond to narrow categories, it is better to use tools like interviews and intimate conversations for a better understanding of each person's unique experiences.

2.2.4 Evaluating Humanistic Theories:

Just like Freud, Maslow and Carl Rogers also have had a tremendous impact on other psychologists. Their ideas have influenced counseling, education, child-rearing, and management. Unintendedly, they have also influenced today's popular psychology. But there has been some criticism for humanistic theories.

1. Humanistic psychology believes in tenets such as positive self-concept is key to happiness and success, acceptance and empathy nurture positive feelings about oneself, people are basically good and capable of self-improvement, humans are basically rational, socialized and forward moving (striving to be better), humans are constructive, trustworthy, and congruent when they are free of defensiveness. These ideas are well accepted in western cultures but not in all cultures.

2. Critics are of the opinion that humanistic theories are vague and subjective. For example, Maslow's description of self-actualizing people as open, spontaneous, loving, self-accepting and productive is not a scientific description. This description is merely a description of Maslow's own values and ideals, an impression of his personal heroes. However, if another theorist has another set of heroes such as Napoleon or Margaret

Thatcher, he would probably describe self-actualizing people as “undeterred by others’ needs and opinions”, “motivated to achieve”, and “comfortable with power”. (M. Brewster Smith, 1978). In other words, subjective ideas such as authentic and real experiences are difficult to objectify; an experience that is real for one individual may not be real for another person.

3. Humanistic psychology is not a true science because it involves too much common sense and not enough objectivity. Humanistic concepts are difficult to define operationally and test scientifically. These theories have been criticized for merely describing personality, rather than explaining it

4. Critics also objected to the idea that put by Rogers that the only thing that matters is the answer to a question, “Am I living in a way which is deeply satisfying to me, and which truly expresses me?” Critics said that this encouragement on individualism in humanistic psychology can be detrimental. Emphasizing on trusting and acting on one’s feelings, being true to oneself, fulfilling oneself can lead to self-indulgence, selfishness, and an erosion of moral restraints. Those who focus beyond themselves are most likely to experience social support, enjoy life and cope effectively with stress. However, humanistic psychologists defended themselves by saying that a secure, non defensive self-acceptance is the first step towards loving others. If people don’t love themselves, how can they love others.

5. There are those who believe humanistic theory falls short in its ability to help those with more severe personality or mental health pathology. While it may show positive benefits for a minor issue, using the approach of Rogers to treat schizophrenia would seem ludicrous.

6. Critics also say that humanistic psychology is naïve, i.e., lacking wisdom. It fails to appreciate the reality of our human capacity for evil. We are living in a world where we are facing the challenges of climate change, overpopulation, terrorism and the spread of nuclear weapons. In such a situation, it is most likely that we may lose optimism that denies the threat and we may drown in dark despair where we think it is hopeless to try to change the situation. Critics say that humanistic psychology does encourage the hope that is needed for taking action but it does not provide equally necessary realism about the evil and how to cope with it.

2.3 QUESTIONS

1. Explain the concept of self-actualization given by Maslow.
2. Discuss Carl Rogers’ person-centered perspective to explain personality.
3. Critically evaluate Humanistic theories of personality.



BIOLOGICAL DOMAIN AND COGNITIVE- BEHAVIORAL DOMAIN - I

Unit Structure

3.1 Genetic and personality evolutionary approach to personality.

3.1.1 Genetic And Personality

3.1.2 Evolutionary Approach To Personality

3.2 Physiological approaches to personality.

3.2.1 Temperament and Personality Traits

3.2.2 Extraversion/Sociability

3.2.3 Neuroticism/Anxiety/Harm Avoidance

3.3 Conclusion

3.1 GENETIC AND PERSONALITY EVOLUTIONARY APPROACH TO PERSONALITY

3.1.1 Genetic And Personality

Heritability:

The foundation for an etiological understanding of personality structure and for a behavioral genetic approach is provided by evidence that genetic influences account for approximately 40–60% of the variance for virtually all personality traits, with most of the remaining variance being explained by nonshared environmental effects (Bouchard, 1999; Loehlin & Nicholls, 1976; Plomin, Chipeur, & Loehlin, 1990). The broad traits of extraversion and neuroticism have received most attention. The data from several twin studies yield heritability estimates of approximately 60% for extraversion and 50% for neuroticism. Loehlin (1992) also examined multiple personality scales organized according to the five-factor framework. Estimates of about

40% heritability were obtained for each domain. Subsequent studies using the NEO-PI-R yielded heritability estimates of 41% for neuroticism, 53% for extraversion, 41% for agreeableness, and 40% for conscientiousness (Jang, Livesley, Vernon, & Jackson, 1996; see also Bergeman et al., 1993; Jang, McCrae, Angleitner, Riemann, & Livesley, 1998). Nonadditive genetic effects accounted for 61% the variance in openness to experience.

Although the evidence points to a significant genetic component to personality traits, it has been suggested that traits could be divided into temperament traits that have a substantial heritable component and character traits that are largely environmental in origin. If this is the case and environmental factors give rise to distinct traits, the role of genetic criteria in clarifying trait structure would be limited. The evidence does not, however, support the proposal. Putatively characterological traits such as openness to experience are as heritable as so-called temperament traits. Moreover, molecular genetic studies have found significant allelic associations between so-called character traits such as cooperativeness and self-directedness as assessed using the Temperament and Character Inventory and the 5-HTTLPR allele (Hamer, Greenberg, Sabol, & Murphy, 1999). To date, a self-report measure of personality that has no genetic influence has not been identified (Plomin & Caspi, 1998). The qualification should be added that heritability studies have relied largely on self-report measures—alternative methods of assessment may yield different results. However, this was not the case with the few studies using other methods (Heath, Neale, Kessler, Eaves, & Kendler, 1992; Riemann, Angleitner, & Strelau, 1997). Riemann and colleagues (1997), for example, reported a twin study conducted in Germany and Poland that compared assessments of the five factors using self-report questionnaires with peer ratings. Estimates of heritability based on self-report were similar to those reported by other studies. The peer ratings also showed evidence of heritability, although estimates were lower than those obtained from self-reports. Multivariate genetic analyses showed that the same genetic factors contributed to self-report and peer ratings. These results suggest that findings of a heritable component to all self-report measures are likely to generalize to other methods of measurement. Evidence of heritability alone, however, is not sufficient to justify the use of behavioral genetic criteria to clarify trait structure. It is possible that environmental factors that account for about 50% of the variance have a substantial effect on trait covariation. If this were the case, the finding that traits are genetically related would be of less value in clarifying personality structure. The evidence, however, suggests that the phenotypic structure of traits closely parallels the underlying genetic architecture (Livesley, Jang, & Vernon, 1998; Loehlin, 1987)—a point that is discussed in detail later in this chapter.

It should be noted, however, that information about heritability merely explains the variance in a single trait as opposed to the covariance between traits. Such information has limited value in explicating personality structure. As Turkheimer (1998) argued, all individual differences in behavior are heritable and “. . . the very ubiquity of these findings make them a poor basis for reformulating scientists’ conceptions of human behavior” (p. 782). Nevertheless, information on heritability forms the foundation for understanding of the etiology of personality. The major contribution of behavior genetics to understanding personality structure, however, comes from multivariate genetic analyses that elucidate the genetic structure underlying multiple traits (Carey & DiLalla, 1994). Multivariate analyses extend univariate analysis of the genetic and

environmental influences on a trait to evaluate genetic and environmental components of the covariation between two or more traits (DeFries & Fulker, 1986). It is this extension that promises to contribute to personality theory by explicating the etiological basis for trait covariance by evaluating the degree to which different traits are influenced by the same genetic and environmental factors. This issue is central to resolving some of the problems of personality description and structure.

Phenotypic Structure And Genetic Architecture Of Personality

A critical issue for understanding the etiological structure of personality and for the use of multivariate genetic analyses to clarify personality structure is the degree to which the phenotypic organization of traits reflects an underlying biological structure as opposed to the influence of environmental factors. The evidence indicates that the phenotypic structure of traits closely resembles the underlying genetic architecture and to a lesser degree environmental structure. The evidence also suggests that environmental factors do not appreciably influence trait covariation. These conclusions are based on comparisons of the factors extracted from matrices of phenotypic, genetic, and environmental correlations computed among traits comprising a given model or measure. In one of the earliest studies of this kind, Loehlin (1987) analyzed the structure of item clusters from the California Psychological Inventory (CPI; Gough, 1989) in samples of MZ and DZ twins. Three matrices were derived that represented the covariance among different traits due to genetic, shared environmental, and nonshared environmental factors. When these matrices were examined with factor analysis, four factors emerged from analyses of genetic covariance that could be interpreted as representing Neuroticism, Extraversion, Openness, and Conscientiousness (few items related to the fifth factor, Agreeableness, are included in the CPI; see McCrae, Costa, & Piedmont, 1993). Analysis of shared environmental effects yielded two factors: family problems and masculinity-femininity. The former is not an aspect of personality per se, and the latter is probably an artifact of the exclusive use of same-sex twins (Loehlin, 1987). It should be noted, however, that shared environmental effects make relatively little contribution to the variance of personality traits. Hence, the important finding is the structure of nonshared environmental effects. Analysis of the nonshared environmental covariance matrix yielded three interpretable factors that resembled Neuroticism, Extraversion, and Conscientiousness. Thus, the structure of nonshared environmental influences largely mirrored genetic influences. This is not an isolated finding: Livesley et al. (1998) found similar structures in genetic and nonshared environmental components of traits related to personality disorder.

Gender Differences

Personality tests are usually constructed to minimize genderbased differences by eliminating items whose intercorrelations with the other items can be attributable to gender and eliminating items evoking marked gender differences in endorsement. The approach yields scales that are applicable to both females and males but it overlooks the possibility of

gender differences in the etiology. Behavioral genetic methods may be used to determine whether the same genetic and environmental factors influence personality measure scores in males and females and whether the etiological architecture underlying the factorial structure of a personality measure is the same in males and females.

The first question can be answered by fitting sex-limitation models to personality data (Neale & Cardon, 1992). This is accomplished by fitting a simple extension of the usual heritability model that uses data from same- and opposite-sex twin pairs to test whether the same genetic factors operate in males and females. In this case, gender differences are limited to differences in the magnitude of genetic and environmental influences. Another form of sex-limited gene expression occurs when different genes control the expression of a trait that is measured in the same way in males and females. With this form of sex-limitation, it is also possible to determine whether the same genes are present in both sexes but only expressed in one sex. This is evaluated by comparing the similarities of opposite-sex DZ twin pairs with same-sex DZ pairs. Sex-specific genetic influences are suggested when the similarity of opposite-sex pairs is significantly less than the similarities of male or female DZ pairs. The difference in the correlation is attributable to the gender composition of each zygosity group. When the same and opposite-sex DZ correlations are similar, gender differences are not indicated.

Only a few studies have investigated sex-limited gene expression in normal personality. The most notable is Finkel and McGue's (1997) study that showed that the same genetic loci influence 11 out of the 14 scales of Multidimensional Personality Questionnaire (MPQ; Tellegen, 1982) in males and females. The heritable influences on the remaining three traits—Alienation, Control, and Absorption—indicated that the genetic influences were gender-specific. Jang, Livesley, and Vernon (1998) reported some evidence for sex-limited gene expression in 18 traits delineating personality disorder measured by the DAPP. All dimensions except Submissiveness in males, and Cognitive Dysfunction, Compulsivity, Conduct Problems, Suspiciousness, and Self-Harm in females were significantly heritable. Sex-by-genotype analyses suggested that the genetic influences underlying all but four DAPP dimensions (Stimulus Seeking, Callousness, Rejection, Insecure Attachment) were specific to each gender, whereas environmental influences were the same in both genders across all dimensions. Furthermore, the four higher-order dimensions derived from the 18 basic traits (Livesley et al., 1998) were also heritable across sex, and genetic effects were in common to both genders; the exception was Dissocial Behavior, which was not heritable in females.

3.1.2 Evolutionary Approach To Personality

Personality, as a whole, refers to an individual's characteristic pattern of behavior that arises from the interplay among psychological mechanisms, thoughts, and emotions. It is an individual difference variable that is stable across time and context, varying across individuals at the level of specific

behaviors, but similar across individuals at the level of overarching traits. At first glance, this may seem outside the scope of evolutionary psychology, which has largely focused on explaining human universals. However, a more contemporary view of evolutionary mechanisms has emerged focusing on the types of individual differences that are important to traditional personality researchers. This understanding has led to an increasing role of evolutionary theory in personality and social psychology (reviewed in Webster 2007).

Major players in personality research successfully developed and tested generative theories in the area long before evolutionary psychology branched out to become an independent approach to studying psychological phenomena. The social psychologist may ask why the evolutionary perspective should be considered at all when established theories perform reasonably well with regard to predicting behavior. The value added by evolutionary psychology to the measurement of personality is a key argument we hope to make in this chapter. We aim to illustrate that there is substantial explanatory power to be gained by applying evolutionary theory to the understanding of personality. In addition, evolutionary perspectives may serve the dual purpose of data reduction by way of consolidating lower-order factors in a theoretically coherent fashion and providing overarching theory that describes a broader swath of behavior than extant personality theories.

Evolutionary Principles

1. Species-Typical Products of Natural and Sexual Selection

Personality theories have tended toward explanations that encompass all humans (Buss 1984). For instance, Erikson's (1950) developmental stage theory was global in its intent to explain personality development and Maslow's (1943) theory of human motivation (or anyone in the aptly termed humanist school of thought) focused on those characteristics thought to be uniquely human. In ethological or evolutionary terms, this approach examines "species-typical" components of personality. It was perhaps not surprising then that evolutionary psychologists were able to propose ultimate causes of personality with relative ease. Buss (1984) and Tooby and Cosmides (1990) were among the earlier proponents of a marriage between personality research and evolutionary theory with the latter arguing that personality must be nested within a "universal human psychological architecture" (p. 40). While this quest to identify human nature was not new to the field, the implication that a personality system was produced out of natural and sexually selective forces was in its infancy.

2. Role of Selection and Fixation

Part of the perplexity in understanding personality from an evolutionary perspective lies in the vast observable differences seen in human behavior. On the one hand, as Tooby and Cosmides (1990) argue, the adaptive significance of a characteristic is a function of its prevalence in the

population. Those characteristics that were quite adaptive in evolutionary history should approach fixation in the population. In other words, if it is so adaptive, everyone should have it. On the other hand, to what evolutionary process can we attribute different behavioral patterns and tendencies? One popular illustration is the Hawk versus Dove paradigm (Maynard Smith and Price 1973, who actually employed a hawk/mouse taxonomy in their original paper), wherein the proportion of individuals who will escalate conflicts (“hawks”) relative to those who will yield from it (“doves” or “mice”) may reach equilibrium under frequency- dependent selection. Further examination of selective forces with the capability of producing variable phenotypic (i.e., observable characteristics) outcomes is described below.

3. Balancing Selection

A variety of evolutionary processes may lead to heritable individual differences in traits. Among these, balancing selection causes phenotypic variations to be maintained within a population due to no single alternative producing a fitness optimum. As such, a population will produce more than one variant with equal fitness payoffs. Different forms of balancing selection exist, producing specific outcomes in relation to the speed of evolution and population variations. As argued by Buss (2009) and others (e.g., Penke et al. 2007), the two types of balancing selection of primary importance in understanding personality variation are frequency-dependent selection and environmental heterogeneity of selective optima (i.e., variation in traits due to variation in ecological niche).

A Factor-Analytic Evolutionary Model of Personality

Although the FFM has become the most widely used personality taxonomy since the late 1980s, there is still some disagreement concerning the number of higher-order personality dimensions. There is factor analytic evidence supporting six (e.g., HEXACO; Lee and Ashton 2004), five (e.g., FFM; McRae and Costa 1987), three (e.g., PEN; Eysenck 1992), two (e.g., Alpha and Beta

Model; Digman 1997), and even one-dimensional taxonomies (e.g., Musek’s general factor of personality). Further, none of these approaches have attempted to incorporate an evolutionary basis as to why these identifiable common factors would have been shaped to aid survival or reproduction. Below we offer an integrative model.

The General Factor of Personality

Using exploratory factor-analytic techniques, Musek (2007) identified a hierarchical model of personality with a single global personality factor at the top, Digman’s factors of Stability (Alpha) and Plasticity (Beta) in the middle, and the FFM at the bottom. As such, the FFM personality dimensions are absorbed by Stability (Conscientiousness, Agreeableness, and Neuroticism) and Plasticity (Extraversion and Openness), and a general factor of personality (GFP) absorbing each of these. In the end, this data-driven approach led Musek to question the interpretability of a

single factor of personality. By considering the possibility of evolutionary forces shaping the GFP, he produced a plausible argument that selective forces facilitated the evolution of socially desirable personality characteristics, which fit with the pattern of human evolution.

Evolutionary Psychology and the General Factor of Personality

Although we believe that efforts by researchers like Musek are valuable as a first step, we argue that taking a theory-driven approach that integrates Tinbergen's four questions within a research program and is consistent with a meta-theory as powerful as evolutionary theory leads to more interpretable scientific results. As an example, we present a synthesis of the research on the GFP and life history theory (LHT; see Chap. 29 in this volume for full consideration of LHT).

LHT is a midlevel evolutionary theory of resource allocation wherein individuals have limited bioenergetic and material resources (e.g., time, energy, food) which constrain reproductive strategies. Under this framework, an individual may allocate their resources toward two major fitness categories: somatic effort and reproductive effort. Somatic effort entails all allocation of resources that are devoted to keeping the organism alive (e.g., food acquisition, predator avoidance, investment in one's immune system), whereas reproductive effort is devoted to producing and maintaining new genetic variants (i.e., mating, parenting, and aiding genetic relatives; Figueredo et al. 2004). As resources are limited, the relative cost of devoting effort to one category over the other is an important consideration. LHT therefore predicts that natural selection drives species to evolve overall adaptive strategies that are shaped by the evolutionary history of the species or a particular genetic lineage.

3.2 PHYSIOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO PERSONALITY

Whether we speak of mice or men, every member of a species is the same as other members in many respects but different in others. One task of personality psychology is to describe the basic behavioral differences and discover their origins. Description of personality is usually in terms of observable traits, and various models have been proposed to classify them. Biology has confronted a similar task in the classification of species (taxonomy). Taxonomy has been based on phenomenal and functional similarities and differences but more recently has been moving in the direction of using evolutionary analyses to define species in terms of their ancestries. Psychology still depends on phenomenal similarities and differences. As the genome reveals its secrets, both fields will eventually turn to DNA for the classification task. There are two basic pathways for the second task, the search for the sources of individual differences. and neurons are organized into brain and nervous systems. Neurons operate through chemical neurotransmitters and the enzymes that govern their production and catabolism, as well as through hormones produced in other loci. This is the biochemical level. Differences in neurochemical makeup result in differences in neural activity and reactivity or physiology.

Physiological differences affect conditionability, both of the classical and operant types. Individuals differ in both their conditionability and their sensitivities to conditioned stimuli associated with reward and punishment.

3.2.1 Temperament and Personality Traits

Researchers of temperament in children and behavioral traits in other species have typically included certain dimensions like emotionality, fearfulness, aggressiveness, approach versus withdrawal (in reactions to novel stimuli), general activity, playfulness, curiosity, sociability versus solitariness, and inhibition versus impulsivity (Strelau, 1998). From the 1950s through the 1970s personality trait classification was dominated by two models: Eysenck's (1947) three-factor theory (extraversion, neuroticism, and psychoticism) and Cattell's (1950) 16-factor model. Eysenck's (1967) model was biologically based with an emphasis on genetics, physiology, and conditioning. Gray's (1982, 1987) model is a bottom-up model that starts with behavioral traits in animals and extrapolates to human personality. He places his three behavioral dimensions (anxiety, impulsivity, fight-flight) within the axes of Eysenck's dimensions, but not lying on the axes of those dimensions or being precise equivalents of them.

The first five-factor model originated in lexical studies of trait-descriptive adjectives in language done in the 1960s (Norman, 1963; Tupes & Christal, 1961) with its roots in a much earlier study by Fiske (1949). Interest in this model reawakened in the 1980s (Digman & Inouye, 1986; Goldberg, 1990; Hogan, 1982; McCrae & Costa, 1985). Most of these studies used adjective rating scales. The translation of the model into a questionnaire form (NEO-PI-R; Costa & McCrae, 1992a) increased the use of the scales by personality investigators. The five factors incorporated in this tests are labeled extraversion, neuroticism, agreeableness, conscientiousness,

and openness to experience. The five factors have been replicated in studies in many countries although with some differences—particularly on the last factor, openness. The enthusiasts for the Big Five insist it is the definitive and final word on the structure of personality (Costa&McCrae, 1992b), although critics regard this claim as premature (Block, 1995; Eysenck, 1992; Zuckerman, 1992). One of the criticisms of the model is its atheoretical basis in contrast to Eysenck's development of his factors from theory as well as empirical factor analytic studies of questionnaire content. However, recent studies in behavior genetics have used the model, and some of the data from earlier studies has been translated into the form of these five factors (Loehlin, 1992).

3.2.2 Extraversion/Sociability

All models of basic personality, with the exception of Cloninger's, recognize extraversion (E) as a primary and basic personality factor, but different models have defined it differently. In his earlier model Eysenck regarded E as a combination of two narrower traits: sociability and

impulsivity. This amalgam was questioned by Carrigan (1960) and Guilford (1975), who claimed that sociability and impulsivity were independent traits. Sybil Eysenck and Hans Eysenck (1963) initially defended the dual nature of extraversion. However, the introduction of psychoticism (P) into a new version of their questionnaire resulted in a drift of impulsivity-type items to the P dimension, leaving E defined primarily by sociability and activity types of items. Hans and Michael Eysenck (1985) finally defined E in terms of the subtraits: sociable, lively, active, assertive, sensation seeking, carefree, dominant, surgent, and venturesome.

Cortical Arousal

Eysenck's (1967) theory of extraversion has shaped much of the psychobiological research on this trait even to the end of the century (Strelau & Eysenck, 1987). The model suggests that introversion-extraversion is based on arousal characteristics of the cerebral cortex as regulated by the reticulocortical activating system. The extravert's cortex in waking, nonstimulating conditions is underaroused relative to his or her optimal level of arousal. In these conditions the extravert is prone to seek out exciting stimulation in order to increase the level of arousal to a level that makes him or her feel and function better. The introvert is usually closer to an optimal level of arousal in low stimulation conditions and has less need to seek additional stimulation to feel better. The introvert may be overstimulated at a level of stimulation that is positive for the extravert. The theory was initially tested with measures of brain activity from the electroencephalogram (EEG). Spectrum analyses break the raw EEG into bands characteristic of different degrees of arousal: sleep (delta), drowsiness (theta), relaxed wakefulness (alpha), and alert excitement (beta). Alpha has often been regarded as inversely related to arousal on the assumption that any interruption of this regular wave means an increase in arousal. However, some have used the frequency of alpha within the usual band (8–13 Hz) as a measure of relative arousal or alpha amplitude as an inverse measure of arousal. EEG spectrum characteristics are highly if not completely heritable (Lykken, 1982). The findings relating extraversion to EEG criteria of arousal in various conditions from nonstimulating to mentally engaged have been summarized by Gale (1983), O'Gorman (1984), and Zuckerman (1991). Gale tried to reconcile the wide variety of results with the hypothesis that differences between introverts and extraverts appear only in moderately active conditions and not in either low stimulation (eyes closed, no stimulation) or activating conditions. Both O'Gorman and Zuckerman concluded that neither Eysenck's broad hypothesis nor Gale's narrow hypothesis, limiting the prediction to specific experimental conditions, were consistently supported by studies. Zuckerman noted that among the best studies, those confirming Eysenck's hypothesis used samples with either all female or equal male and female participants, whereas those with all male or a preponderance of male participants did not support the hypothesis arousal.

Hormones

The hormone testosterone (T) is produced by both men and women but is 8 to 10 times as high in men as in women. Plasma T is highly heritable (66%) in young adult males and moderately heritable (41%) in females (Harris, Vernon, & Boomsa, 1998). In rats T has reward effects in the nucleus accumbens, the major site of dopaminergic reward. Administration of a dopamine receptor blocker eliminates the rewarding effects of T in rats, suggesting that its rewarding effects are mediated by an interaction with dopamine in the mesolimbic system (Packard, Schroeder, & Gerianne, 1998). The hormone T affects personality traits and may account in part for many of the personality trait differences between men and women. Men and women do not differ on the pure sociability or affiliative type of extraversion, but they do on the agentic type, which includes dominance, assertiveness, surgency, and self-confidence. To the extent that sensation seeking is associated with extraversion, it is with the agentic type.

3.2.3 Neuroticism/Anxiety/Harm Avoidance

Although the broad trait of neuroticism/anxiety includes other negative emotions, such as depression, guilt, and hostility, and character traits such as low self-esteem, neuroticism and anxiety are virtually indistinguishable as traits. Neuroticism is highly correlated with measures of negative affect, but when the negative affect was broken down into anxiety, depression, and hostility components, anxiety had the highest correlation, and hostility the lowest, with the N factor while depression was intermediate (Zuckerman, Joireman, Kraft, & Kuhlman, 1999). Hostility had a higher relationship to a factor defined by aggression.

Autonomic Arousal

Large-scale studies of the relationship between cardiovascular measures, either in resting levels of activity or reactivity to stressful experimental situations, and Measures of N failed to reveal any significant relationships (Fahrenberg, 1987; Myrtek, 1984). On the assumption that high cardiovascular activity put high-N subjects at risk for cardiovascular disease, Almada et al. (1991) investigated the relation between measures of N and subsequent health history in nearly 2,000 men. N was not associated with systolic BP or serum cholesterol but was associated with cigarette smoking and alcohol consumption. When tobacco and alcohol consumption were held constant there was no relationship between N and cardiovascular disease. Similar studies have failed to find any relationships between electrodermal activity and N or trait anxiety (Fahrenberg, 1987; Hodges, 1976; Naveteur & Baque, 1987).

Brain Arousal

Studies of general cortical arousal using the EEG have historically focused on E, but some of these studies found interactions with N. These effects were inconsistent; some found higher and some reported lower arousal for high-N persons. Application of PET methods has not shown any

association of general cortical or limbic arousal with N in situations that were not emotionally provoking (Fischer et al., 1997; Haier et al., 1987). Similar results are seen in anxiety patients; but when anxiety is provoked in patients by presenting them with feared stimuli, increased activity is seen in areas like the orbitofrontal cortex, insular cortex, temporal cortex, and anterior cingulate (Breier et al., 1992; Rauch et al., 1995). These studies identify an anxiety pathway in humans (orbitofrontal-frontal to cingulate to temporal lobe and amygdala) already established in animals, but they do not show a preexisting sensitivity of this pathway in normals scoring high in N. Another study of anxiety patients in nonstimulated conditions, which did use normal controls, found that whole brain blood flow did not distinguish anxiety patients from normals but did find a negative correlation between a depression scale and caudate activation. The previously mentioned study by Canli et al. (2001) found that in a small sample of normal women N correlated with increased brain activation to negative pictures (relative to activation by positive pictures) in left-middle frontal and temporal gyri and reduced activation in the right-middle frontal gyrus. Taken together, the clinical studies and this last study of normals suggests that whole brain activation does not vary with NANx, but given negative emotional provocation there may be a reactive disposition in frontal cortex of high-N persons that activates a pathway through the orbitofrontal cortex around the cingulum to the temporal lobe and amygdala.

3.3 CONCLUSION

The objective of this chapter was to illustrate the utility of evolutionary perspectives in personality psychology. To this end, we reviewed some of the major theoretical approaches in mainstream personality psychology, including trait-based models such as the FFM, and showed how incorporating evolutionary theory can produce novel, testable predictions and provide additional, integral explanatory power to the understanding of personality and individual differences. An additional objective of this chapter was to highlight how a research program can be evaluated using multiple levels of analysis that are informed by evolutionary biology. By asking Tinbergen's four questions, evolutionary psychologists are forced to tackle topics related to ontogeny and proximate mechanisms, levels of analysis more familiar to social psychologists.

We hope that in turn social psychologists begin considering the roles that their typical proximate hypotheses have, in a broader picture of human behavior that incorporates ultimate (adaptive) explanations.

Wilson (1998) described consilience as a quality of science that links knowledge across disciplines to create a common background of explanation. Personality psychology, extending from social psychology at the higher level to biopsychology at the more fundamental level, provides a daunting challenge to consilience. The introduction to this chapter presented a model of levels along the biological and social pathways leading up to a merger in personality traits. Such a levels approach suggests a goal of reductionism, a pejorative term for critics of science and

many scientists as well. The artist is contemptuous of the critic's attempts to reduce his or her art to a textual formula, and the social scientist may resent the presumptuous intrusion of the biological scientist into his or her own complex type of explanation. Wilson, however, views reductionism as a natural mode of science:

The cutting edge of science is reductionism, the breaking apart of nature into its natural constituents. . . . It is the search strategy employed to find points of entry into otherwise impenetrably complex systems. Complexity is what interests scientists in the end, not simplicity. Reductionism is the way to understand it. The love of complexity without reductionism makes art; the love of complexity with reductionism makes science. (pp. 58–59) Later, Wilson (1998) admits that reductionism is an oversimplification that may sometimes be impossible. At each level of organization the phenomena may require new laws and principles that cannot be predicted from those at more general levels. My view is that this is always true for levels that involve an interaction between biological traits or genes and experience in the social environment. A learned association cannot be reduced to a specific set of neural events, at least not in the complex brain of a higher organism. It is not inconceivable, however, that the difference in general neural events that make an association more likely in one individual than another is not only explicable but also essential for a complete understanding of the event. Consilience is more possible at the borders of two levels, and this is where the breakthroughs are most likely to take place. As Wilson puts it, "The challenge and the cracking of thin ice are what gives science its metaphysical excitement"



BIOLOGICAL DOMAIN AND COGNITIVE-BEHAVIORAL DOMAIN - II

Unit Structure

4.1 Behaviorist and learning aspects of personality.

4.1.1 Behavioral approaches And Personality

4.1.2 Learning aspects of personality

4.2 Cognitive and cognitive-experiential aspects of personality

4.2.1 Cognitive-Experiential Self-Theory of Personality

4.3 Conclusion

4.1 BEHAVIORIST AND LEARNING ASPECTS OF PERSONALITY

4.1.1 Behavioral approaches And Personality

Behavioral approaches to personality might seem of central importance to personology because behaviorism deals with learning and it is pretty generally acknowledged that learning affects personality. Moreover, behaviorist theories were once the models of what theory could be in psychology. But certain features militate against behaviorism's significance for the field of personality. Those features spring from the traditional behaviorist mission.

Traditional Behaviorism and Personality

One feature is behaviorism's search for general laws. That is ingrained in the approach, as we can see from its strategy of discovering learning-behavior principles with rats, pigeons, dogs, and cats—for the major behaviorists in the first and second generation were animal psychologists who assumed that those learning-behavior principles would constitute a complete theory for dealing with any and all types of human behavior. John Watson, in behaviorism's first generation, showed this, as B. F. Skinner did later. Clark Hull (1943) was quite succinct in stating unequivocally about his theory that "all behavior, individual and social, moral and immoral, normal and psychopathic, is generated from the same primary laws" (p. v). Even Edward Tolman's goal, which he later admitted was unreachable, was to constitute through animal study a general theory of human behavior. The field of personality, in contrast, is concerned with individual differences, with humans, and this represents a schism of interests. A second, even more important, feature of behaviorism arises in the fact that personality as conceived in personology lies within the individual, where it cannot be observed. That has always raised problems

for an approach that placed scientific methodology at its center and modeled itself after logical positivism and operationism. Watson had decried as mentalistic the inference of concepts of internal, unobservable causal processes. For him personality could only be considered as the sum total of behavior, that is, as an observable effect, not as a cause. Skinner's operationism followed suit. This, of course, produced another, even wider, schism with personology because personality is generally considered an internal process that determines external behavior. That is the *raison d'être* for the study of personality.

Behavior Therapy and Personality

The major behaviorists such as Hull, Skinner, and Tolman were animal learning researchers. None of them analyzed the learning of functional human behaviors or traits of behavior. Skinner's empirical approach to human behavior centered on the use of his technology, that is, his operant conditioning apparatus. His approach was to use this "experimental analysis of behavior" methodology in studying a simple, repetitive response of a subject that was automatically reinforced (and recorded). That program was implemented by his students in studies reinforcing psychotic patients, individuals with mental retardation, and children with autism with edibles and such for pulling a knob. Lovaas (1977), in the best developed program among this group, did not begin to train his autistic children in language skills until after the psychological behaviorism (PB) program to be described had provided the foundation. Although

Skinner is widely thought to have worked with children's behavior, that is not the case. He constructed a crib for infants that was air conditioned and easy to clean, but the crib had no learning or behavioral implications or suggestions. He also worked with programmed learning, but that was a delimited technology and did not involve behavior analyses of the intellectual repertoires taught, and the topic played out after a few years. Skinner's experimental analysis of behavior did not indicate how to research functional human behaviors or problems of behavior or how they are learned.

Personality: The Psychological Behaviorism Theory

More than 45 years ago, while still a graduate student at UCLA, I began a research program that for some years I did not name, then called social behaviorism, later paradigmatic behaviorism, and finally PB. I saw great importance in the behaviorism tradition as a science, in fundamental learning principles, and in experimentation. But I saw also that the preceding behaviorisms were incompletely developed, animal oriented, and too restricted to laboratory research. They also contained fundamental errors and had no plan by which to connect to traditional psychology, to contribute to it, and to use its products. Very early in the research program I began to realize that animal conditioning principles are not sufficient to account for human behavior and personality. In my opinion a new behavioral theory was needed, it had to focus on human behavior systematically and broadly, it had to link with traditional psychology's

treatments of many phenomena of human behavior, and it had to include a new philosophy and methodology.

4.1.2 Learning aspects of personality

Human Learning Principles

As indicated earlier, a basic assumption of traditional behaviorism is that the animal learning principles are the necessary and sufficient principles for explaining human behavior. Psychological behaviorism's program has led to the position that while the animal conditioning principles, inherited through evolution, are indeed necessary for explaining human behavior, they are far from sufficient. I gained an early indication of that with my research on the language conditioning of attitudes, and later findings deepened and elaborated the principles. What the traditional behaviorists did not realize is that human learning also involves principles that are unique to humans—human learning principles. The essential, new feature of these principles is that much of what humans learn takes place on the basis of what they have learned before. For example, much human learning can occur only if the individual has first learned language. Take two children, one of whom has learned a good verbal-motor repertoire and one of whom has not. The first child will be able to follow directions and therefore will be able to learn many things the second child cannot because many learning tasks require the following of directions. The goodness of that verbal-motor repertoire distinguishes children (as we can see on any intelligence test for children). In PB, language is considered a large repertoire with many important learning functions. Learning to count, to write, to read, to go potty, to form attitudes, to have logic and history and science knowledge and opinions and beliefs, to be religious, to eat healthily and exercise, and to have political positions are additional examples in which language is a foundation. A child of 18 months can easily learn to name numbers of objects and then to count if that child has previously learned a good language repertoire (see Staats, 1968). On the other hand, a child of 3 years who has not learned language will not be able to learn those number skills. The reason for the difference is not some genetic difference in the goodness of learning. Rather, the number learning of the child is built on the child's previous language learning. It is not age (biology) that matters in the child's learning prowess; it is what the child has already learned.

Cumulative-Hierarchical Learning

Human learning is different from basic conditioning because it typically involves learning that is based on repertoires that have been previously learned. This is called cumulative hierarchical learning because of the building properties involved—the second learning is built on the first learning but, in turn, provides the foundation for a third learning. Multiple levels of learning are typical when a fine performance is involved. Let us take the learning of the language repertoire. When the child has a language repertoire, the child can then learn to read. When the child has a reading repertoire, the child can learn more advanced number operations, after

which the child can learn an algebra repertoire, which then is basic in learning additional mathematics repertoires, which in turn enable the learning of physics. Becoming a physicist ordinarily will involve in excess of 20 years of cumulative hierarchical learning. Cumulative-hierarchical learning is involved in all the individual's complex characteristics. A sociopath—with the complex of language-cognitive, emotional-motivational, and sensory motor repertoires this entails—does not spring forth full-blown any more than being a physicist. Understanding the sociopathic personality, hence, requires understanding the cumulative-hierarchical learning of the multiple repertoires that have been involved.

Learning and Personality

While biological conditions are the most basic level of study proposed, it is the field of learning that is the most important basic level. Anomalously, however, especially since most every personologist would agree that personality is in good measure learned, personologists generally have not studied how learning-behavior principles are involved in the acquisition or function of personality. There seems to be an implicit view that learning is not that much different for people except in extreme cases. The PB position, on the contrary, is that the personality repertoires are learned, that there are wide individual differences in the learning conditions involved, and that those differences produce infinitely varied personality characteristics. Psychological behaviorism says that the first major task of a personality theory is formulating a basic theory of learning-behavior and a theory of human learning. No other existing personality theory does this.

Human Learning and Personality

The basic animal-conditioning principles are not sufficient for dealing with the learning of personality. There have been studies, long since abandoned, employing human subjects that dealt with more complex learning situations and produced principles such as mediated generalization, sensory preconditioning, and verbal associations. But there has not been a conceptual framework to guide the field to study what is necessary, that is, to study how humans learn complex, functional repertoires in an advancing cumulative-hierarchical way. There has been no systematic goal of studying the basic behavioral repertoires that are important to humans. Although there are research fields that study language, emotion, and sensory motor behavior, these fields do not systematically address how these behaviors are important for human adjustment. Studies should be conducted that indicate how such repertoires function to (a) change the individual's experience, (b) change the individual's behavior, and (c) change the individual's ability to learn. Such knowledge is needed to provide foundations for advancing the study of personality. For constructing theory, personology needs fundamental knowledge of cumulative-hierarchical learning, the BBRs, their content, and how the BBRs work to affect experience, learning, and behavior.

4.2 COGNITIVE AND COGNITIVE-EXPERIENTIAL ASPECTS OF PERSONALITY

Biological Domain and
Cognitive-Behavioral
Domain - II

4.2.1 Cognitive-Experiential Self-Theory of Personality

Cognitive-experiential self-theory (CEST) is a broadly integrative theory of personality that is compatible with a variety of other theories, including psychodynamic theories, learning theories, phenomenological self-theories, and modern cognitive scientific views on information processing. CEST achieves its integrative power primarily through three assumptions. The first is that people process information by two independent, interactive conceptual systems, a preconscious experiential system and a conscious rational system. By introducing a new view of the unconscious in the form of an experiential system, CEST is able to explain almost everything that psychoanalysis can and much that it cannot, and it is able to do so in a scientifically much more defensible manner. The second assumption is that the experiential system is emotionally driven. This assumption permits CEST to integrate the passionate phallus-and-tooth unconscious of psychoanalysis with the “kinder, gentler” affect-free unconscious of cognitive science (Epstein, 1994). The third assumption is that four basic needs, each of which is assumed in other theories to be the one most fundamental need, are equally important according to CEST. In this chapter, I review the basic assumptions of CEST, summarize the research conducted to test the theory, and note the implications of the theory for research and psychotherapy.

Two Information-Processing Systems

According to CEST, humans operate by two fundamental information-processing systems: a rational system and an experiential system. The two systems operate in parallel and are interactive. CEST has nothing new to say about the rational system, other than to emphasize the degree to which it is influenced by the experiential system. CEST does have a great deal to say about the experiential system. In effect, CEST introduces a new system of unconscious processing in the experiential system that is a substitute for the unconscious system in psychoanalysis. Although like psychoanalysis, CEST emphasizes the unconscious, it differs from psychoanalysis in its conception of how the unconscious operates. Before proceeding further, it should be noted that the word rational as used in the rational system refers to a set of analytical principles and has no implications with respect to the reasonableness of the behavior, which is an alternative meaning of the word. It is assumed in CEST that everyone, like it or not, automatically constructs an implicit theory of reality that includes a self-theory, a world-theory, and connecting propositions. An implicit theory of reality consists of a hierarchical organization of schemas. Toward the apex of the conceptual structure are highly general, abstract schemas, such as that the self is worthy, people are trustworthy, and the world is orderly and good. Because of their abstractness, generality, and their widespread connections with schematic networks throughout the system, these broad schemas are normally highly stable and not easily invalidated. However, should they be invalidated, the entire

system would be destabilized. Evidence that this actually occurs is provided by the profound disorganization following unassimilable experiences in acute schizophrenic reactions (Epstein, 1979a). At the opposite end of the hierarchy are narrow, situation-specific schemas. Unlike the broad schemas, the narrower ones are readily susceptible to change, and their changes have little effect on the stability of the personality structure. Thus, the hierarchical structure of the implicit theory allows it to be stable at the center and flexible at the periphery. It is important to recognize that unlike other theories that propose specific implicit or heuristic rules of information processing, it is assumed in CEST that the experiential system is an organized, adaptive system, rather than simply a number of unrelated constructs or so-called cognitive shortcuts (e.g., Tversky & Kahneman, 1974). As it is assumed in CEST that the experiential system in humans is the same system by which nonhuman animals adapt to their environments, it follows that nonhuman animals also have an organized model of the world that is capable of disorganization. Support for this assumption is provided by the widespread dysfunctional behavior that is exhibited in animals when they are exposed to emotionally significant unassimilable events (e.g., Pavlov, 1941). Unlike nonhuman animals, humans have a conscious, explicit theory of reality in their rational system in addition to the model of reality in their experiential system. The two theories of reality coincide to different degrees, varying among individuals and situations.

How the Experiential System Operates

As noted, the operation of the experiential system is intimately associated with the experience of affect. For want of a better word, I shall use the word *vibes* to refer to vague feelings that may exist only dimly (if at all) in a person's consciousness. Stating that *vibes* often operate outside of awareness is not meant to imply that people cannot become aware of them. *Vibes* are a subset of feelings, which include other feelings that are more easily articulated than *vibes*, such as those that accompany standard emotions. Examples of negative *vibes* are vague feelings of agitation, irritation, tension, disquietude, queasiness, edginess, and apprehension. Examples of positive *vibes* are vague feelings of well-being, gratification, positive anticipation, calmness, and light-heartedness. When a person responds to an emotionally significant event, the sequence of reactions is as follows: The experiential system automatically and instantaneously searches its memory banks for related events. The recalled memories and feelings influence the course of further processing and of behavioral tendencies. If the recalled feelings are positive, the person automatically thinks and has tendencies to act in ways anticipated to reproduce the feelings. If the recalled feelings are negative, the person automatically thinks and has tendencies to act in ways anticipated to avoid experiencing the feelings. As this sequence of events occurs instantaneously and automatically, people are normally unaware of its operation. Seeking to understand their behavior, they usually succeed in finding an acceptable explanation. Insofar as they can manage it without too seriously violating reality considerations, they will also find the most emotionally satisfying explanation possible. This process of finding an explanation in the rational

system for what was determined primarily by the experiential system and doing so in a manner that is emotionally acceptable corresponds to what is normally referred to as rationalization. According to CEST, such rationalization is a routine process that occurs far more often than is generally recognized. Accordingly, the influences of the experiential system on the rational system and its subsequent rationalization are regarded, in CEST, as major sources of human irrationality.

4.3 CONCLUSION

The PB theory of personality is set in a general theory that goes from the study of basic learning, including the biology of that learning, through the multiple levels of study that provide its principles and concepts. The theory of personality, thus, is sunk into general psychology, making connections to various fields in psychology. It is specific, objective, and empirical. It draws widely on various areas of study, and it has implications for conducting large amounts of additional research and application in various areas and fields of study. The theory provides a philosophy of science and methodology of theory construction. This is the only theory of personality that claims it can be employed to establish or to change personality, a claim that if fulfilled would have enormous importance. It is the only theory that is unified and has comprehensive scope—sorely needed developments for the field and psychology generally. It is a theory that ties together personality and personality measurement on a broad front. And it projects new areas and topics of research. An important need for the twenty-first century is to compare this theory with others as part of the general comparison and evaluation of personality theories called for by PB. Another is to exploit the theory in the various areas of theoretical analysis and empirical research it suggests.

Cognitive-experiential self-theory (CEST) is a psychodynamic global theory of personality that substitutes a different kind of unconscious processing for the Freudian unconscious. Unlike the maladaptive Freudian unconscious, the unconscious of CEST is an adaptive, associative learning system. It is the same system with which higher-order animals have increasingly effectively adapted to their environments over millions of years of evolution. Because it is a system that learns from experience, it is referred to as the experiential system. In addition to an experiential system, humans uniquely have a rational system. The rational system is a logical, inferential system that operates with the aid of language. The experiential system can account for the widespread irrationality in the thinking of humans despite their unique capacity for reasoning rationally by recognizing that it biases conscious thinking automatically and outside of awareness. The operating principles of the experiential system were described and contrasted with those of the rational system. Although the systems are independent in the sense that they operate by different rules, they nevertheless are highly interactive. The two systems usually operate in synchrony and produce compromises between them, but sometimes they conflict with each other, resulting in what are commonly referred to as conflicts between the heart and the head. A research program was

described that provided support for many of the assumptions in CEST. The implications of CEST were discussed for psychotherapy and psychological research. It was noted that neither system is superior to the other. They are simply different ways of understanding the world and behaving in it. The experiential system is intimately associated with emotions and adapts by learning from outcomes. The rational system is affect-free and adapts by logical inference. Each has its advantages and disadvantages. Although the rational system is responsible for remarkable achievements in science and technology, it is less well suited for everyday living than is the experiential system. Moreover, the experiential system can intuitively and holistically solve some problems that are beyond the capacity of the analytical, rule-based reasoning of the rational system (Hammond, 1996). The experiential system is also a source of some of humankind's most desirable attributes, including the capacity for passion, compassion, love, creativity, and appreciation of aesthetics. However, it is also a source of serious difficulties, including superstitious thinking, prejudice, violence, and—perhaps most important—undermining people's ability to think rationally. Thus, the experiential system is a mixed blessing; it is difficult to live with it, but it would be impossible to live without it.



DISPOSITIONAL DOMAIN: TRAIT APPROACH - I

Unit Structure

5.0 Objectives

5.1 Introduction

5.1.2 What is a trait?

5.1.3 Identification of important traits

5.2 Allport

5.3 Eysenck

5.4 Cattell

5.5 Circumplex taxonomies of personality

5.6 Five-Factor Model

5.7 Summary

5.8 Questions

5.9 References

5.0 OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you should be able to:

- Understand what are traits.
- Know the different properties of traits.
- Study act frequency formulation to understand traits.
- Know how to identify important traits.
- To know how Allport's theory of personality
- Understand the personality taxonomy given by Eysenck.
- Know the taxonomy of personality developed by Cattell.
- To understand the circumplex taxonomies of personality
- Know the Five-Factor model

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Imagine a situation where your friend introduces you to their colleague from work at a party. When your friend asks you what you thought about the colleague, you say that you found them to be friendly, generous, poised, etc. These descriptions are exactly what make up the *trait-descriptive adjectives* - words that describe traits, and *attributes* of a person that are reasonably characteristic of the person and perhaps even enduring over time. (Larsen & Buss, 2009 p. 61). This means that they are consistent and stable. Most personality psychologists state that personality characteristics are fairly stable over time which means they do not go through significant change over even as time passes by.

Researchers, when studying personality often ask three important questions?

- a. How should we conceptualize traits?
- b. Which are the most important traits and how do we identify them?
- c. How often can we formulate a comprehensive taxonomy of traits i.e. is a system that includes all major traits of personality?

5.1.2 What is a trait?

There are two broad views of personality as per personality psychologists. First, *internal properties* (hidden) that *cause* behaviors to occur. The other does not attempt to explain the cause, they simply describe the enduring and consistent aspects of the person's behavior.

Traits As Internal Causal Properties:

People tend to carry a certain desire, need or want that drives the behavior. This changes from one situation to the other e.g., Dinesh needs excitement, Dhruv has the *desire* for materialistic things and Dhaval *wants* to have power over others. These traits shown in the example are all internal to these individuals. They also cause certain behaviors to occur. So, Dinesh will engage in certain behaviors to full his need for excitement e.g., going sky diving, Dhruv may go shopping frequently and Dhaval may take up leadership roles at work to be able to have power over others. Thus, *internal* desires are influencing *external* behavior.

Just because an individual possesses these internal desires does not mean they will constantly exhibit behaviors in line with the desires. For example, you may be craving a cheeseburger and fries but you have also made a new year's resolution to eat healthily and lose weight, so you do not give in to your craving and end up not eating the burger and fries. Similarly, in the earlier example just because Dhruv loves materialistic things and loves to go shopping frequently, that does not mean he can afford to shop every day.

Psychologists also use the example of glass. Glass is brittle (the *ability* to break), but that does not mean that the glass will break without any reason. Thus, psychologists view traits as an internal state that people have the *capacity* for even if the related behaviors are not displayed. Traits can

exist in the absence of observable expressions. This view helps us rule out other possibilities when we are trying to explain the cause of people's behavior. For example, when Dhruv goes to the mall frequently because he loves shopping and because he loves materialistic things helps us understand his behavior.

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Traits As Purely Descriptive Summaries:

Psychologists who follow this alternative formulation define traits simply as descriptive summaries of attributes of persons; they make no assumptions about internality or causality (Hampshire, 1953). For example, the trait of jealousy may come across through several behaviors. Jay may possess this trait because of which he may engage in certain behaviors with his partner like restricting her from going out alone, expecting her to dress a certain way, etc. All these behaviors *describe or summarize* the trait of jealousy. Those who view traits as descriptive summaries do not prejudge the cause of someone's behavior. They merely use traits to describe, in a summary fashion, the trend in a person's behavior. Personality psychologists of this persuasion (e.g., Saucier & Goldberg, 1998; Wiggins, 1979) argue that we must first identify and describe the important individual differences among people, then subsequently develop causal theories to explain them. (Larsen and Buss, 2008 p. 63,64)

The Act Frequency Formulation of Traits – An Illustration of the Descriptive Summary Formulation:

Several psychologists who support the descriptive summary formulation of traits have explored the consequence of this formulation through a research program called the “act frequency approach” (Amelang, Herboth, & Oefner, 1991; Angleiter, Buss, &

Demtroder, 1990; Buss & Craik, 1983; Romero et al., 1994)

The act frequency approach begins with the notion that *traits are categories of acts* like “animals” are a category that includes dogs, tigers, elephants, etc. Similarly, traits like dominance or aggression will have specific behaviors that fall under it. For example, in the category of dominance, you will see acts like constantly ordering people to do things, wanting control over the situation, wanting to assign roles to other people in a group task, etc. Thus, dominance is a *trait category* comprising of such and several other acts that fall under it. Someone who is highly dominant will thus engage in a large number of these acts. Hence, according to the act frequency formulation, a trait like dominance is a descriptive summary of the large number of behaviors that people engage in.

Act Frequency Research Program:

The act frequency approach includes three important elements: act nomination, act prototypicality judgment and recording of activity performance.

Act Nomination:

Act nomination is a procedure designed to identify which acts belong in which trait categories (Buss and Larsen, 2008, p. 64). Think about some who are “impulsive”. Now list the specific acts or behaviors that fall under this. One might say “she immediately accepted a dare given to her even though it could have been dangerous”, “he agreed to go to the party even if he was unwell”, and “she decided to bunk the lecture just to go watch a movie with friends”. By inquiring about such *nominations* researchers try to identify the several acts that fall under the category.

Prototypicality judgment:

The next step in this research is to identify which acts are the most prototypical or central to each of the trait categories. For example, animals like dogs, cats, tigers and lions may be the ones to come to your mind when you hear the word “animal”. But animals like a koala bear, hedgehog, and iguana may not be the first to come to your mind. Thus, dogs, cats, lions and tigers are better examples or they are more *central* to the category of animals.

Similarly, the acts that are most typical of that particular category will become the prototypes. There may be a panel of raters who would be asked to rate which acts are prototypical of the category. For example, raters find the acts “She controlled the outcome of the meeting without the others being aware of it” and “She took charge after the accident” to be more prototypically dominant than the act “She deliberately arrived late for the meeting.” All three examples could be considered to be part of the dominant category, but the first two are more prototypical of the category.

Recording of act performance:

This stage includes securing the information on the actual act or performance of individuals in daily life. Most researchers have used self-reports or collected data from family or close friends.

Here is an example:

Table1: Self-Report of Impulsive Acts	
<i>Instructions: Following is a list of acts. Read each act and circle the response that most accurately indicates how often you typically perform each act. Circle “0” if you never perform the act; circle “1” if you occasionally perform the act; circle “2” if you perform the act with moderate frequency; and circle “3” if you perform the act very frequently.</i>	
Circle	Acts
0 1 2 3	1. I say what I think without thinking about the possible consequences.

0 1 2 3	2. I react quickly and aggressively to verbal thoughts.
0 1 2 3	3. I bought a new car without giving it too much thought.
0 1 2 3	4. I decide to live with somebody without due reflection.
0 1 2 3	5. I make hasty decisions.
0 1 2 3	6. I speak without thinking about what I am going to say.
0 1 2 3	7. I am led by feelings of the moment.
0 1 2 3	8. I spend my money on whatever strikes my fancy.
0 1 2 3	9. Having made definite plans, I suddenly change them and do something totally different.
0 1 2 3	10. I do the first thing that comes to my mind.

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Source: Adapted from Romero et al. (1994) and Buss and Larsen (2008), from among the most prototypical impulsive acts. According to the act frequency approach, you would be judged to be “impulsive” if you performed a high overall frequency of these impulsive acts, relative to your peer group.

Critique of the act frequency formulation:

This formulation has been criticized by several researchers (Angleitner & Demtroder, 1988; Block, 1989). Most of the criticism is aimed toward technical implementation. It does not specify how much context should be included in the trait relevant act. Consider the following dominant act: Rahul insisted that the others go to his favourite restaurant. To understand this act as a dominant act, we might need to know (1) the relationships among the people involved, (2) the occasion for going out to eat, (3) the history of restaurants going for these people, and (4) who is paying for the dinner. How much context is needed to identify the act as a dominant act? Thus, we need more information to understand if these acts are truly frequent and prototypical of the category.

Another criticism of this approach is that it is only applicable to overt actions i.e., to actions that are easily observable. It does not apply to failures to act or covert actions that are not directly observable. A person may be very courageous, but we will never know this under everyday life circumstances in which people do not need to display courageousness. Another challenge to the approach is whether it can successfully capture complex traits, such as the tendency of narcissistic individuals to oscillate between high and low self-esteem (Raskin & Terry, 1988).

Despite its limitations, the act frequency formulation has its fair share of advantages. It has helped in making the behavioral phenomena explicit

simply because the primary way to understand behaviors. “Behavioral acts constitute the building blocks of interpersonal perception and the basis for inferences about personality traits” (Gosling, John, Craik, & Robins, 1998). Therefore, the understanding of the behaviors as a way to understand the personality is essential even though there may be difficulties that could occur. The act frequency approach is also helpful in identifying behavioral regularities (behaviors that occur on a regular and constant basis). This approach also helps in understanding the *meaning* of some traits that were difficult to be studied such as creativity and impulsivity.

Understanding the act frequency approach also helps identify the domains in which it provides insight into personality. One study examined the relationship between self-reported act performance and observers’ reports of individuals’ actual behavior (Goslin et al., 1998). Some acts like extraversion and conscientiousness showed higher agreement when measured using self-report. This meant that for such acts the self-report and the observer reports showed a greater match. Other acts like agreeableness showed lower agreement. It was concluded that the more observable the act, the higher the agreement between self-report and observer ratings. For example, acts that are associated with extraversion like going out to party, having a larger number of friends, and frequency of talking to strangers, are more observable and thus there is a greater agreement between self-report and observer report.

There are other researches which have shown that the act frequency approach can also be used to predict essential outcomes in everyday life like job, salary, promotions, business acumen, etc. (Kyl-Heku & Buss, 1996; Lund et al., 2006).

To conclude, there are two formulations of traits. One that looks at internal cause and effect relations and how that affects observable behavior. The second considers traits to be descriptive summaries of the observable behavior.

5.1.3 Identification of Important Traits:

There are three essential ways to identify important traits.

- i. Lexical approach – According to this approach, all traits listed and defined in the dictionary form the basis of the natural way of describing differences between people (Allport & Odbert, 1936, Larsen and Buss, 2008 p. 67). This approach suggests we begin with language as a source of identifying important traits.
- ii. Statistical approach – uses statistical approaches like factor analysis to identify major personality traits.
- iii. Theoretical approach – in this approach researchers rely on theories to explore the important personality traits.

Lexical Approach:

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This approach is based on the lexical hypothesis which states that “all-important individual differences have become encoded within the natural language” (Buss and Larsen, 2008 p. 67). Over time, the differences among people are identified and noted and subsequent changes or additions are made in the natural language as and when required. People will invent words like hot-headed, hot-tempered, self-centred, etc. which help describe people and is useful for communicating information about them. Thus, these terms begin to be used frequently. But words that do not communicate information accurately are not used frequently and thus are eliminated from the natural language over a period of time.

There are several words in the English language that are used as adjectives for example manipulative, arrogant, warm, etc. A perusal of the dictionary yields about 2,800 trait-descriptive adjectives (Norman, 1967). This highlights how trait terms are extremely essential to communicating with others.

There are two ways in which important traits can be identified according to the lexical approach – **synonym frequency** and **cross-cultural universality**. For the synonym frequency criteria, the idea is that if there are more than two or three trait adjectives associated with a dimension, it must be important. The more the number of trait adjectives, the more important it seems to be. “The more important is such an attribute, the more synonyms and subtly distinctive facets of the attribute will be found within any one language” (Saucier & Goldberg, 1996, p. 24). For example, the trait of dominance has several synonyms to it dominant, bossy, assertive, powerful, pushy, forceful, leaderlike, domineering, influential, ascendant, authoritative and arrogant. Each synonym has a subtle and minor difference and it conveys important aspects of the dominance trait. All these adjectives are important to understand the trait and for social communication.

Cross-cultural universality states that “the more important is an individual difference in human transactions, the more languages will have a term for it” (Goldberg, 1981, p. 142). Also, “the most important phenotypic [observable] personality attributes should have a corresponding term in virtually every language” (Saucier & Goldberg, 1996, p. 23). The logic used is that if the trait is important then it will be frequently used across cultures. Contrary to this if the trait is specific to one or two cultures, there may not be a word or adjective for it in all cultures.

For example, the Yanomamö Indians of Venezuela have the words *unokai* and “*non-unokai*,” which mean, roughly, “a man who has achieved manhood by the killing of another man” (*unokai*) and “a man who has not achieved manhood status by the killing of another man” (*non-unokai*) (Chagnon, 1983). In Yanomamö culture, this individual difference is of critical importance, because someone who identifies as the *unokai* is known to have an elevated status, they are widely feared, have more wives, and are looked to for leadership. On the contrary, in mainstream

American culture, there is the generic killer, but there is no single word that has the specific connotations of *unokai*. Thus, although this individual difference is of critical importance to the Yanomamö, it is unlikely to be a candidate for a universal taxonomy of personality traits. (Buss and Larsen, 2008, p. 68). For the cross-cultural universality criteria, researchers must examine the natural language and trait usage across cultures.

Several problems can occur with the lexical strategy. Many trait terms are ambiguous like elliptical, snaky, and stygian. There may also be terms that are difficult to understand like clavering (inclined to gossip or idle talk), davering, gnathonic and theromorphic (Saucier & Goldberg, 1998). These terms are not often used and are eventually eliminated from natural language.

Another issue with the lexical strategy is that personality is not always conveyed through adjectives but can be done through nouns and adverbs. For example, there are also dozens of noun terms encoded within the English language to describe someone who is not too smart: birdbrain, blockhead, bonehead, chucklehead, cretin, deadhead, dimwit, dolt, dope, dullard, dumbbell, dummy, dunce, jughead, lunkhead, moron, peabrain, pinhead, soft head, thickhead, and wooden head. However, researchers choose to focus on trait-adjective for personality description.

The lexical strategy has made remarkably remarkable contributions to identifying important individual differences.

Statistical Approach:

This approach begins with a pool of personality items. Similar to the lexical approach it starts with trait words or a series of questions about behavior, experience and emotion. Frequently, those researchers who begin with the lexical approach turn to the statistical approach to help form basic categories of personality traits. Researchers can begin with self-ratings of trait adjectives on a large collection of personality-relevant sentences (example – I find that I am easily able to persuade people to my point of view). Once a large enough number of adjectives, items and statements are generated the statistical approach is applied. A large number of people begin to rate themselves on these items and then statistical procedures are applied to identify categories or clusters. The major goal of the statistical approach is to cover all the trait adjectives that fall under a category.

A procedure called factor analysis is most commonly used. It is a complex mathematical procedure. To explain it simply, factor analysis essentially identifies groups of items that covary [i.e., go together] but tend not to covary with other groups of items (Buss and Larsen, 2008, p. 69). Take for example, in the university the cabins of psychology professors, sociology professors, history professors, etc. Each psychology professor's cabin will be near to each other i.e., in the department building. And the sociology department will have the cabins of the sociology professors nearby. Thus, after factor analysis, we will be able to understand which traits are similar to each other and which traits can be clustered together. This also helps us

understand which traits have some common properties. Factor analysis reduces a large number of factors or traits into understandable and easily usable clusters or categories.

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Here is a tabular example of factor loadings (which are indexes of how

much of the variation in an item is “explained” by the factor.) Factor loadings indicate the degree to which the item correlates with, or “loads on,” the underlying factor. (Buss and Larsen, 2008, p. 69)

Adjective Rating	Factor 1 (Extraversion)	Factor 2 (Ambition)	Factor 3 (Creativity)
Humorous	.66	.06	.19
Amusing	.65	.23	.02
Popular	.57	.13	.22
Hard-working	.05	.63	.01
Productive	.04	.52	.19
Determined	.23	.52	.08
Imaginative	.01	.09	.62
Original	.13	.05	.53
Inventive	.06	.26	.47

Source: Adapted from Matthews & Oddy (1993).

Note: The numbers refer to factor loadings, which indicate the degree to which an item correlates with the underlying factor.

The first factor of extraversion has the highest loadings on humorous, amusing and popular. The second factor of ambition has the highest loading on hard-working, productive and determined. The third factor of creativity has the highest loadings on imaginative, original and inventive. Because of the factor analysis, the researcher may be able to cluster the trait adjectives appropriately rather than looking at all these nine traits independently.

One important thing to keep in mind while using factor analysis is that if you miss out on putting in the data for a particular trait adjective, the results will not account for it. Thus, what input you give when calculating the factor loadings will be critical.

Theoretical Approach:

This approach begins with a theory that determines which variables are important. It begins with a strong assumption of which traits are important. For example, the sociosexual orientation theory was developed by psychologists Jeff Simpson and Steve Gangestad (1991). This theory states that men and women pursue either one of the sexual relationship strategies. First, seeking a single committed relationship that entails monogamy (having one partner at a given time) and having a significant investment in children. The second includes a great degree of promiscuity (having multiple sexual partners), frequent partner switching and less investment in children. Based on this theory we can identify traits that are essential to explain the mate selection strategy. Psychologists have also developed a scale to measure these aspects of mate selection.

Thus, under this approach, the theory and what we know about it will be the driving force to understanding personality and the various traits that are included under those categories. It lets theory determine which traits are important.

The drawback of the theoretical approach is that we must have a strong enough theory to support the understanding of the personality traits being studied. If the theory is weak it may lead to omission or misinterpretation.

There is no consensus amongst researchers about which of the three approaches is the best to be used by itself. The researchers most often use a combination of all three strategies to understand personality traits. For example, Norman (1963) and Goldberg (1990) started their work with the lexical strategy to identify their first set of variables for inclusion. Then they applied factor analysis to selected traits and reduced the set of five variables. In this way, they used the lexical strategy to sample the traits and the factor analysis strategy to find statistical support and structure.

5.2 ALLPORT

Gordon Allport was born on November 11, 1897, in Montezuma, Indiana, USA. He developed a theory of personality that emphasizes the uniqueness of the psychologically healthy individual who strives proactively towards a goal that they have consciously set. He viewed traits as the basic structural elements of personality. He used the term “predisposition to respond”. Allport stated that the traits brought together a set of behaviors. These behaviors lead to a consistency in the kind of response that could be expected from a person who possessed the traits. These behaviors are viewed as forms of adaptive and expressive behavior. For example, a highly sociable person, s/he will be more friendly and outgoing. They will view these situations as opportunities to meet and interact with people and relate to them. This helps them function better in the world. Traits represent a readiness to respond to a certain situation in a particular way. Allport believed that traits existed as a “neuropsychic system”. He could not show how one could measure them but he believed

they were rooted in biology and are seen through the individual difference among people.

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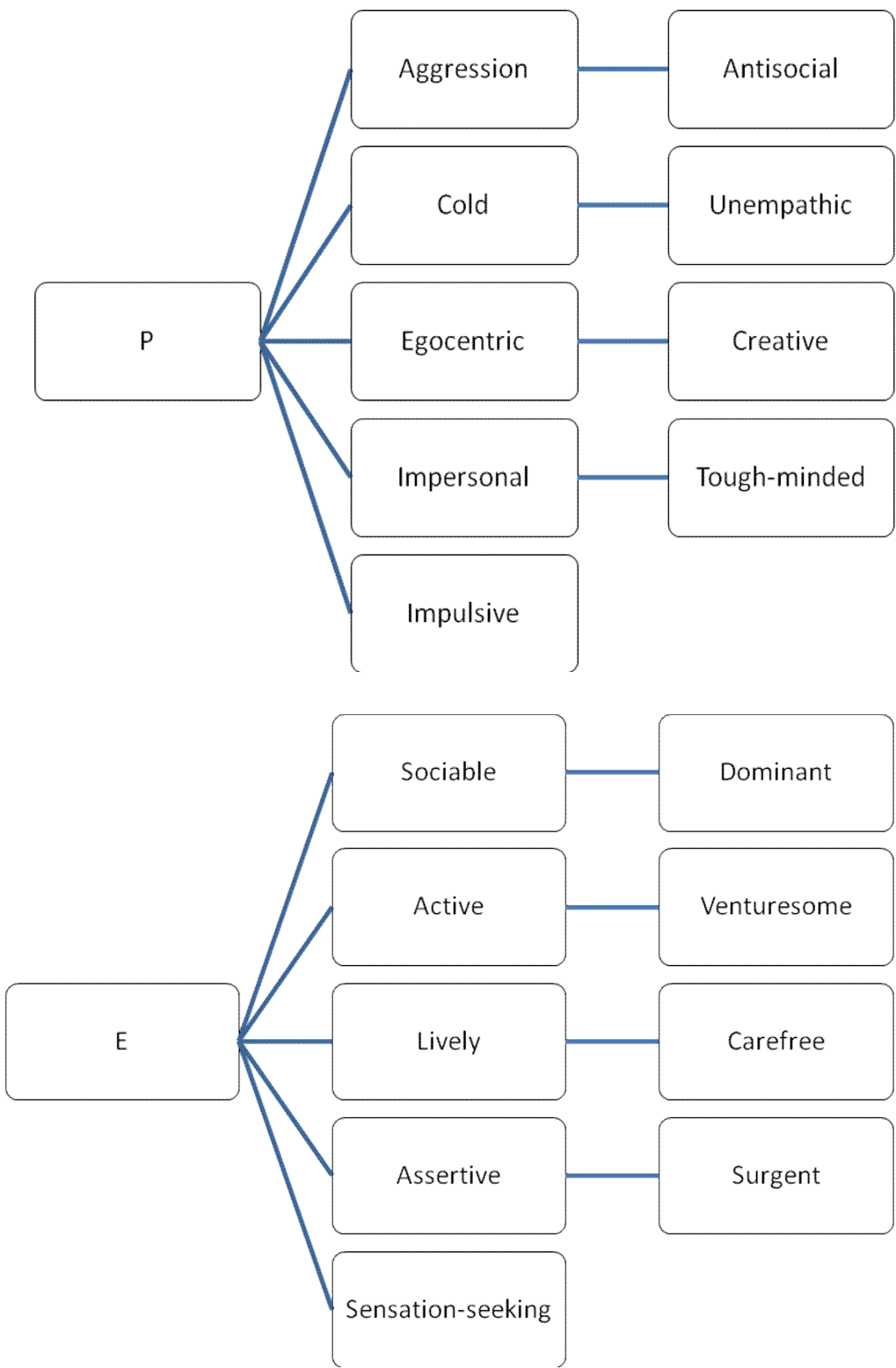
Allport suggested different categories of traits. The first distinction he made was whether traits could be used to describe just a single individual or people in general. This is known as the nomothetic-idiographic issue. The nomothetic approach emphasizes that it's important to develop traits that could be applied to all. The idiographic approach insists that traits are unique to individuals. The second distinction Allport makes is among cardinal, central and secondary traits. A cardinal trait expresses a disposition that is so pervasive in a person's life that virtually every act is traceable to its influence. Central traits [e.g., honesty, kindness, assertiveness] express dispositions that cover a more limited range of situations than cardinal traits but still represent broad consistencies in behaviour. And secondary dispositions represent tendencies that are the least conspicuous, generalized, and consistent (Pervin, 2002, p. 39).

Allport rejected factor analysis as a method to understand personality clusters. He identified important terms from the English dictionary, added some slang terms and classified almost 18,000 terms. These included stable and enduring categories, temporary mood and activity-based, social evaluations and physical characteristics and talent or abilities. The stable category was most significantly related to traits (which are known to be fairly enduring). Although Allport's method of coming up with the categories was not based on research, his work initiated the movement to understand how ordinary language could be used to develop a taxonomy.

Allport emphasized the idiographic approach and was critical of those researches that attempted to identify individual differences or compare individuals to other large groups. He believed that people's behaviour cannot always be predicted and that there was always a strong influence of situational factors. He also believed included motives in the trait approach. He believed motives/motivation was important to the understanding of traits and behaviors.

5.3 EYSENCK

Hans Eysenck proposed the hierarchical model of personality. He developed this based on the traits which he believed were highly heritable i.e., they could be passed on from one generation to the next and they also had a psychophysiological foundation (based on the psychology and physiology). According to Eysenck the three main traits that met this criterion include extraversion-introversion (E), neuroticism-emotional stability (N) and psychoticism (P). Together they were abbreviated as PEN.



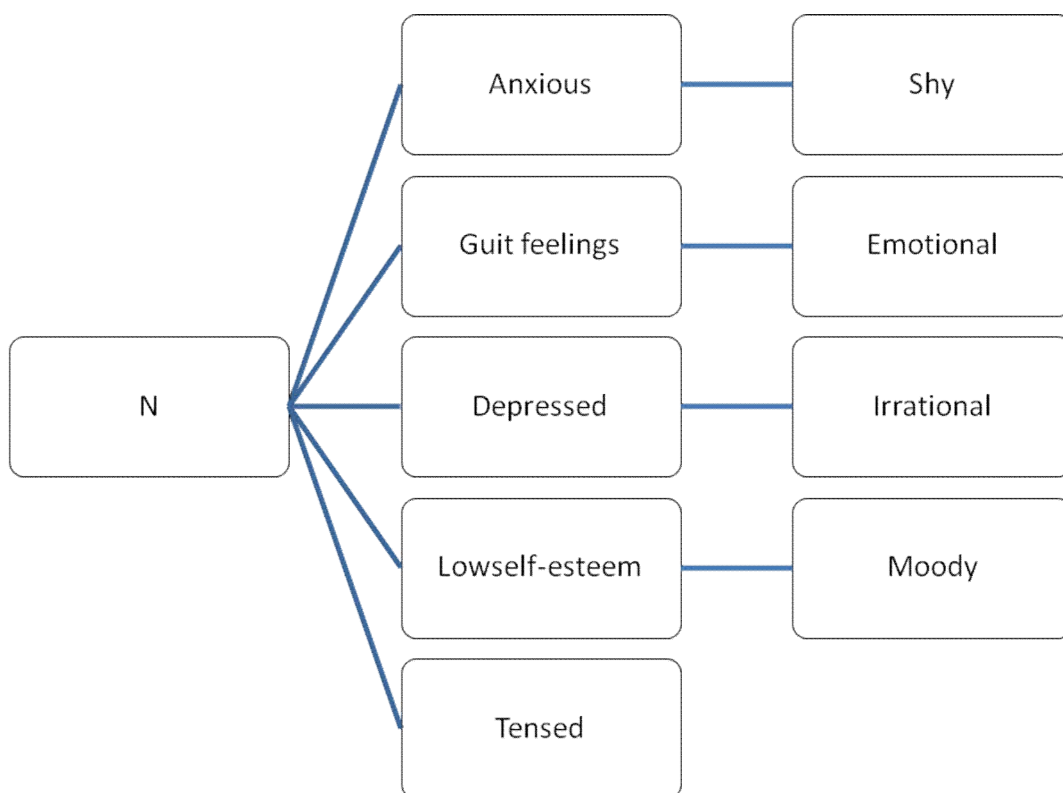


Figure: 5.0: Distribution of Specific traits for Eysenck's hierarchical model

Eysenck described extraversion to include traits like sociable, active, lively, venturesomeness, dominant, etc. Eysenck described extraverts to be people who enjoyed going to parties frequently, having many friends, and constantly wanting to have several people around them to talk to them, they enjoy playing practical jokes on people, they are carefree and easy manner and the high level of activity (Eysenck and Eysenck, 1975). On the contrary, introverts were described as people who enjoy spending time alone, prefer quiet time and solitude and seek activities accordingly. They are sometimes aloof and distant but often have a small number of intimate friends with whom they share confidence. They are described to be more serious than extroverts and prefer a moderate pace. They are well organized, prefer and a routine and predictable lifestyle (Larsen & Kasimatis, 1990 Buss and Larsen, 2008)

The trait of neuroticism (N) includes specific traits such as anxiety, irritability, guilty, lacking self-esteem, tension, shy, and moody. Generally, anxiousness and irritability may be viewed differently but, factor analysis has helped us understand that these two traits are related to each other. When one is anxious, they can become irritable and factor analysis has confirmed this. Those high on neuroticism are worriers and they get easily anxious and depressed. They also have trouble sleeping and can experience a wide range of psychosomatic symptoms (when the conflict and trouble from the mind begin to influence or show itself

through bodily symptoms). Another key characteristic of those high in neuroticism is that they experience high emotional arousal in response to normal stresses of life. That means that even if the stressors in their life are similar to those experienced by others, they have a stronger emotional response to them. Those who score low on neuroticism are found to be emotionally stable, even-tempered and calm and they react slowly to stressful events. They also can return quickly and easily to a normal emotional state after a stressful event has occurred.

The third target trait proposed by Eysenck is psychoticism (P). Those high on this trait exhibit narrower traits like aggression, egocentric, creativity impulsiveness, lacking empathy, and antisocial. Factor analysis has helped us understand that lack of empathy and impulsivity co-occur. This means that those who tend to act without thinking (impulsivity) also find it difficult to see situations from other people's perspectives (lack of empathy). Those scoring high on psychoticism are typically solitary individuals, often called loners. They also are cruel in many ways they may show cruelty to animals as well (e.g., laughing when an animal gets hurt). They also show insensitivity to the pain and suffering of others even /her family members. They are physically and verbally aggressive with their family members. They show deep interest in strange and unusual things and do not get scared of dangerous things/act simply out of curiosity. They enjoy making a fool of other people and in extreme cases, they can display symptoms of antisocial personality disorder.

Several interesting correlations have been studied by researchers in line with psychoticism. High scorers tend to show a strong preference for violent films and rate violent scenes from films more enjoyable and even more comical than those who score low on P (Bruggemann & Barry, 2002; Buss and Larsen, 2008, p. 75). High scorers on P, prefer unpleasant paintings and photographs more than do low-P individuals (Rawling, 2003; Buss and Larsen, 2008, p. 75). Men, but not women, who score high on Machiavellianism (which is highly correlated with P) endorse promiscuous and hostile sexual attitudes - they are more likely than low scorers to divulge sexual secrets to third parties, pretend to be in love when they are not in love, ply potential sex partners with alcoholic drinks, and even report trying to force others into sex acts (McHoskey, 2001; Buss and Larsen, 2008, p. 75). Low scorers of P tend to be more deeply religious, whereas high-P scorers tend to be somewhat cynical about religion (Saroglou, 2002; Buss and Larsen, 2008, p. 75). Also, high scorers are predisposed to getting into severe and life-threatening events, such as violence and criminal activity (Pickering, Farmer, Harris, Redman, Mahmood, Sadler, & McGuffin, 2003; Buss and Larsen, 2008, p. 75).

There are two characteristics of Eysenck's theory which also need to be discussed: hierarchical structure and biological underpinnings.

Hierarchical structure:

As seen in figure 5.0 there are two levels of the traits. The first level includes the super traits and the second level includes narrower traits.

Followed by the second level is a third level called habitual acts. For example, one habitual act under sociable might be talking on the telephone; another might be taking frequent coffee breaks to socialize with other students. Narrow traits include a variety of habitual acts. At the very lowest level in the hierarchy is a specific act (e.g., I talked on the telephone with my friend and I took a coffee break to chat at 10:30 A.M.). If enough specific acts are repeated frequently, they become habitual acts at the third level. Habitual acts when clustered together become narrow traits at the second level and these narrow trait clusters become super-traits at the top of the hierarchy. This hierarchy helps understand behaviors.

Biological underpinnings:

Two aspects of understanding Eysenck's hierarchy by understanding the biological underpinnings. Inclusive of the biological underpinnings are two components heritability and identifiable physiological substrate. Eysenck's criteria for any basic personality trait is that it has high heritability. Behavioural genetics show evidence to support that the three super traits given by Eysenck have moderate heritability. The second criterion is that basic personality traits must have an identifiable physiological substrate. This means that one can identify the brain and nervous system that corresponds to the traits and are known to be partly involved in producing these traits. According to Eysenck, extraversion is supposed to be linked with central nervous system arousal and reactivity. Eysenck predicted that introverts would be more easily aroused as compared to extroverts. Also, he predicted that neuroticism was linked with a high degree of changeability. High scorers are also shown to have high testosterone (a sex hormone) levels and low levels of MOA (Monoamine Oxidases) which is an inhibitory neurotransmitter.

Despite the admirable qualities associated with Eysenck's taxonomy, there are some limitations. One, there are many other traits aside from the one prescribed that show heritability. Second, is that some psychologists argue that Eysenck may have missed some important traits in his taxonomy. This point was argued by several prominent psychologists such as Raymond Cattell, Lewis Goldberg, Paul Costa, and Robert McCrae.

5.4 CATTELL

Cattell worked closely with Charles Spearman who was the inventor of factor analysis. Cattell was very impressed by the potential and utility of factor analysis and realized how important it is for developing a scientific taxonomy of personality. He devoted much of his career to using factor analysis to apply and develop factor analytic techniques to understand personality.

Cattell followed the work of biochemists, who back then were discovering the basic vitamins. He was influenced by how they used alphabets from the English language to name the vitamins. He followed a similar system. He believed that true factors of personality can be found across different

sets of data such as self-report (S-data) and laboratory tests (T-data). Cattell developed a 16-factor taxonomy which was one of the largest taxonomies.

Here is a brief description of the 16 factors developed and identified by Cattell:

Factor	Name	Description
Factor A	Interpersonal warmth	Warm-hearted, personable, easy to get along with, likes being with other people, likes helping others, adapts well to the needs of others rather than has others adapt to his or her needs; this is similar to Eysenck’s extraversion
Factor B	Intelligence	A rough indicator of intellectual functioning or efficiency of processing information
Factor C	Emotional stability	A high level of emotional resources with which to meet the challenges of daily life, ability to work toward goals, not easily distracted, good emotional control, ability to “roll with the punches,” tolerates stress well; this is similar to Eysenck’s neuroticism factor (reverse scored).
Factor E	Dominance	Self-assertive, aggressive, competitive, forceful and direct in relations with others, like to put their ideas into practice and have things their way; occupational groups scoring high on this dimension include athletes and judges, and low-scoring groups include janitors, farmers, and cooks.
Factor F	Impulsivity	Happy-go-lucky, lively, enthusiastic, enjoy parties, likes to travel, prefers jobs with variety and change; occupational groups scoring high on this dimension include airline attendants and salespersons; adults scoring high on impulsivity tend to leave home at an earlier age and move more often during their adult lives.
Factor G	Conformity	Persistent, respectful of authority, rigid, conforming, follows group standards, likes rules and order, dislikes novelty and surprises; military cadets score above average, along with airport traffic controllers; university professors,

		however, tend to be below average on conformity.
Factor H	Boldness	Likes being the centre of attention, adventurous, socially bold, outgoing, confident, able to move easily into new social groups, not socially anxious, and has no problems with stage fright.
Factor I	Sensitivity	Artistic, insecure, dependent, overprotected, prefers reason to force in getting things done; high scorers are found among groups of employment counsellors, artists, and musicians, whereas low scorers are found among engineers
Factor L	Suspiciousness	Suspecting, jealous, dogmatic, critical, irritable, holds grudges, worries much about what others think of him or her, tend to be critical of others; accountants are one group scoring high on this dimension.
Factor M	Imagination	Sometimes called the “absent-minded professor” factor; unconventional, impractical, unconcerned about everyday matters, forget trivial things, and not usually interested in mechanical activities; high-scoring groups include artists and research scientists; high scorers are more creative than low scorers but also tend to have more automobile accidents.
Factor N	Shrewdness	Polite, diplomatic, reserved, good at managing the impression made on others, socially poised and sophisticated, and good control of her behaviour; high scorers may appear “stiff” and constrained in their social relations.
Factor O	Insecurity	Tends to worry, feels guilty, moody, has frequent episodes of depression often feels dejected, sensitive to criticism from others, becomes upset easily, anxious, often lonely, self-deprecating, and self-reproaching; extremely low scorers come across as smug, self-satisfied, and overly self-confident; low-scoring persons may not feel bound by the standards of society and may not operate according to accepted social conventions, (i.e., may be somewhat antisocial).

Factor Q1	Radicalism	Liberal attitudes, innovative, analytic, feel that society should throw out traditions, prefers to break with established ways of doing things; high scorers tend to be effective problem solvers in group decision-making studies; however, high scorers, because they tend to be overly critical and verbally aggressive, are not well-liked as group leaders.
Factor Q2	Self-sufficiency	Prefers to be alone, dislikes being on committees or involved in group work, shuns support from others; social workers tend to be below average on this dimension; accountants and statisticians tend to be high, with Antarctic explorers among the highest groups ever tested on self-sufficiency.
Factor Q3	Self-discipline	Prefers to be organized, think before talking or acting, is neat, does not like to leave anything to chance; high-scoring persons have strong control over their actions and emotions; airline pilots score high on this dimension.
Factor Q4	Tension	Anxious, frustrated, takes a long time calming down after being upset, irritated by small things, gets angry easily, and has trouble sleeping.

Source: Adapted from Krug, 1981; Buss and Larsen, 2008, p. 78-79

Cattell has developed a strong system for studying personality traits but there is some criticism associated with his work some researchers have failed to replicate his taxonomy and some argue that a smaller number of factors can explain the individual difference.

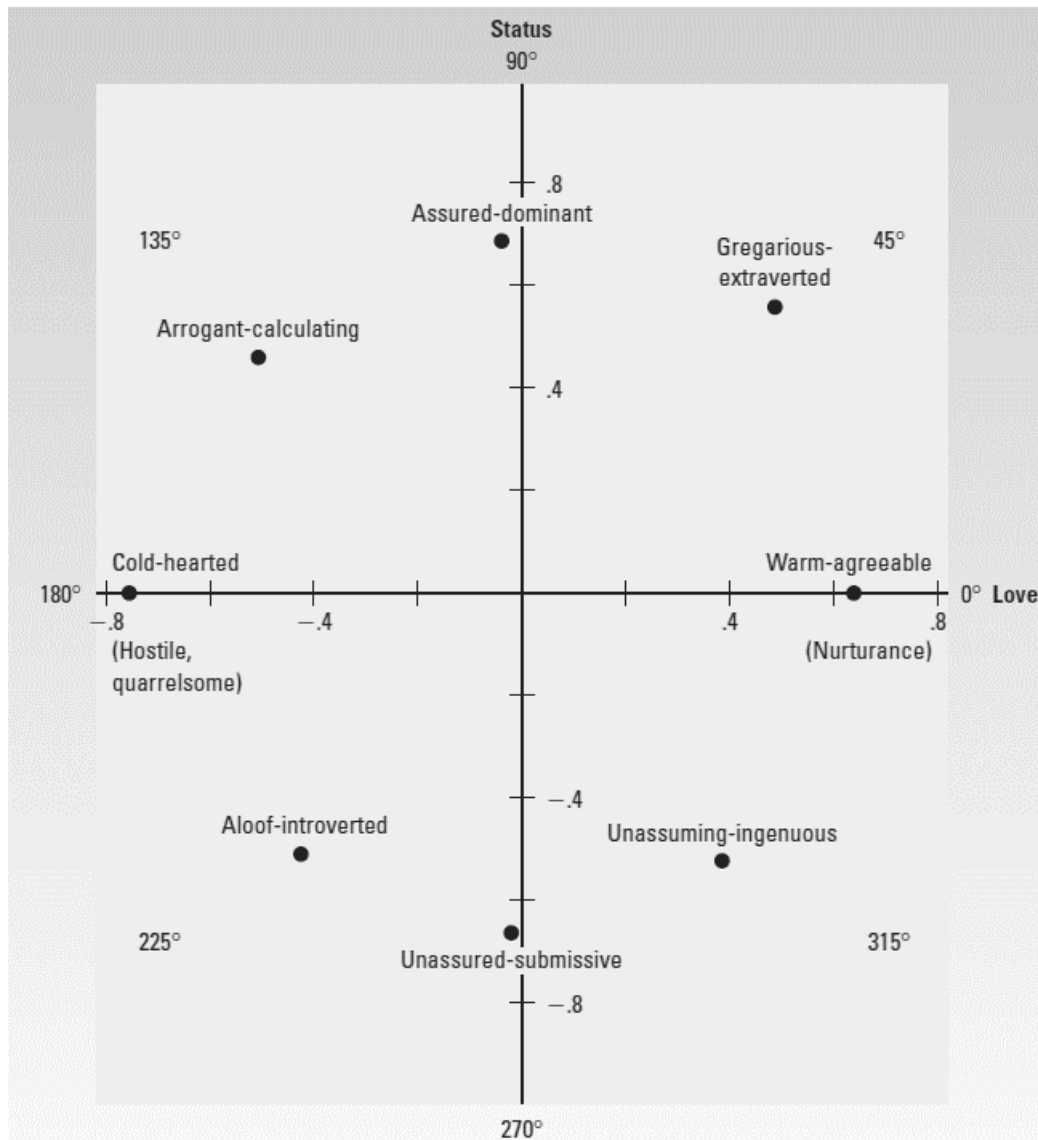
5.5 CIRCUMPLEX TAXONOMIES OF PERSONALITY

Timothy Leary and Jerry Wiggins were the most prominent advocates of circular representation of personality spheres. The circumplex model tries to explain personality traits using a circular representation.

Wiggins (1979) started with a lexical assumption that all individual differences can be depicted within the natural language. He went further in his efforts by arguing that trait terms specify different types of ways in which individuals differ. One of the ways prescribed was *intrapersonal traits*. Other kinds include temperament traits like gloomy, nervous, sluggish, and excitable. Then there are character traits like moral, principled, and dishonest. There are material traits like miserly and stingy;

attitude traits such as pious, and spiritual; mental traits such as clever, and logical; physical traits such as healthy and tough. Wiggins was only concerned with intrapersonal traits. Based on the theorizing given by Foa and Foa (1974) he defined interpersonal as interactions between people involving exchanges. The two resources that define social exchange are love and status: “interpersonal events may be defined as dyadic interactions that have relatively clear-cut social (status) and emotional (love) consequences for both participants” (Wiggins, 1979, p. 398). Thus, the love and status dimensions are two major axes in the circumplex.

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Source: Adapted from “Circular Reasoning About Interpersonal Behavior” by J. S. Wiggins, 1989, *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, 56, p. 297. Copyright 1989 by the American Psychological Association.

Love and status are two axes of Wiggins’ model. For example, someone who is cold-hearted will be low on love and maybe high on status. Someone assured and dominant may be below the status and moderate in

love. This model helps explain traits in a circular manner where every trait can be explained in the context of love and status and a circular relationship of some kind can be established.

The advantages of Wiggins circumplex include firstly, that it provides an explicit definition of interpersonal behavior. We can explain any behavior or transaction about this circumplex. For example, acts of giving love (giving a hug), granting status (showing respect and honor to a parent), denying love (shouting at your partner) or denying status (disrespectfully talking to a colleague). The model gives explanations for everyday interactions.

The second advantage is that it specifies the relationship between each trait and every trait within the model. There are three types of relationships specified by this model.

1. Adjacency: how close the traits are to each other in the circumplex (traits close to each other are positively correlated to each other)
2. Bipolarity: traits which are bipolar i.e., on the opposite ends of the circumplex are negatively correlated to each other.
3. Orthogonality: traits that are perpendicular (90-degree separation or at right angles to each other) to each other are entirely unrelated to each other. There is zero correlation with each other. Orthogonality allows us to specify with greater precision the different ways in which traits are expressed in actual behavior.

The third advantage of the model is that it alerts investigators to the gaps while studying interpersonal behavior. The model directs the attention of researchers to unexplored areas associated with personality.

The major limitation of this model is that it is limited only to two dimensions. Some argue that other traits have not been captured by the model. And those that have not been captured hold important explanations for interpersonal behavior. For example, traits like conscientiousness, neuroticism and emotional stability.

5.6 FIVE-FACTOR MODEL

This model has received the most attention and support. It is also called the Big-Five model. The broad categories have been provisionally named as follows:

1. Surgency or extraversion
2. Agreeableness
3. Conscientiousness
4. Emotional stability
5. Openness-intellect

The model was based on a lexical and statistical approach. The lexical approach was developed by Allport and Odbert (1936) who developed identified around 17,953 traits from the dictionary. Allport and Odbert then divided the original set of trait terms into four lists: (1) stable traits (e.g., secure, intelligent), (2) temporary states, moods, and activities (e.g., agitated, excited), (3) social evaluations (e.g., charming, irritating), and (4) metaphorical, physical, and doubtful terms (e.g., prolific). From this original list, Cattell used 4,500 as a starting point for his work. Due to the lack of limited advances in computers, Cattell could not use factor analysis. He limited his list to 171 clusters by clubbing some traits together and eliminating some. He ended up narrowing it down to 35 traits.

Fiske (1949) used 22 subsets of Cattell's list of 35 clusters and using factor analysis identified a five-factor taxonomy. He was the first known researcher to develop a five-factor model.

Tupes and Christal (1961) made the subsequent major contribution to the five-factor taxonomy. They examined the factor structure of 22 simplified descriptions: surgency, agreeableness, conscientiousness, emotional stability, and culture. This factor structure was subsequently replicated by Norman (1963), and then by a host of other researchers (e.g., Botwin & Buss, 1989; Goldberg, 1981; Digman & Inouye, 1986; McCrae & Costa, 198).

This model has seen a tremendous amount of literature and research generated around it. There is also great consensus amongst research for this model. However, there are key questions and controversies raised.

1. What is the empirical evidence?
2. What is the identity of the fifth factor?
3. Is the Big Five taxonomy comprehensive, or are there major trait dimensions that lie beyond the Big Five?

What is the empirical evidence?

The five-factor model has generated tremendous research. Studies have been conducted over a decade with varying samples in different formats. In the modern format, the model was measured using predominantly in two ways. One way is based on self-ratings of single word trait adjectives like talkative, shy, warm, etc. (Goldberg, 1990) and the second is based on self-ratings of sentence items like "Life is fast-paced." (McCrae & Costa, 1999).

Lewis Goldberg has conducted extensive research surrounding the five-factor model. According to Goldberg (1990), some key adjectives are:

1. Surgency or extraversion: talkative, extraverted, assertive, forward, outspoken versus shy, quiet, introverted, bashful, inhibited.

2. Agreeableness: sympathetic, kind, warm, understanding, sincere versus unsympathetic, unkind, harsh, cruel.
3. Conscientiousness: organized, neat, orderly, practical, prompt, meticulous versus disorganized, disorderly, careless, sloppy, impractical.
4. Emotional stability: calm, relaxed, stable versus moody, anxious, insecure.
5. Intellect or imagination: creative, imaginative, intellectual versus uncreative, unimaginative, unintellectual. (Larsen and Buss, 2008, p. 83)

Paul T. Costa and Robert McCrae developed a measure of the Big Five model using sentence structures called NEO-PI-R (the neuroticism-extraversion- openness (NEO) Personality Inventory (PI) Revised (R) (Costa & McCrae, 1989).

Each of the five factors has a host of specific facets which cover subtle components of personality. For example, the trait of conscientiousness includes facets like self-discipline, competence, order, dutifulness, achievement striving and, deliberation. The global trait of neuroticism includes facets like anxiety, angry hostility, depression, self-consciousness, impulsivity, and vulnerability.

What is the identity of the fifth factor?

There is still a lack of consensus regarding the fifth factor of this model. Different researchers have labelled it differently such as culture, intellect, intellectance, imagination, openness, openness to experience, and even fluid intelligence and tender-mindedness (see Brand & Egan, 1989; De Raad, 1998). The reason for the difference is that different researchers begin from different starting points. Some have begun from the lexical approach and prefer intellect as the meaning and label (Saucier & Godberg, 1996) and those who began with the questionnaire items prefer openness or openness to experience. (McCrae and Costa, 1997; 1999).

To resolve this issue, cross-cultural research could be conducted. Traits that emerge universally rather than in specific cultures can be considered. Unfortunately, there is still a lack of consensus even in the various cross-cultural or culture-specific research conducted. In a study conducted in Turkey, a clear fifth factor emerged that is best described as openness (Somer & Goldberg, 1999). A separate Dutch study found a fifth factor marked by progressive at one end and conservative at the other (DeRaad et al., 1998). In German, the fifth factor represents intelligence, talents, and abilities (Ostendorf, 1990). In Italian, the fifth factor is conventionality, marked by the items rebellious and critical (Caprara & Perugini, 1994; Larsen and Buss, 2008, p. 85). More extensive research, especially cross-cultural and beyond the Western cultures is required to further understand the fifth factor.

What are the empirical correlates of the fifth factor?

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Tremendous literature has been generated surrounding the five factors. Below is the summary of some of the important research findings:

Surgeency or extraversion: Those high on extraversion love to party - they engage in frequent social interaction, take the lead in livening up dull gatherings, and enjoy talking a lot. Recent evidence suggests that social attention is the key feature of

extraversion (Ashton, Lee, & Paunonen, 2002). Extraverts have a greater impact on their social environment, often assuming leadership positions, whereas introverts tend to be more like wallflowers (Jensen-Campbell & Graziano, 2001). Extraverted men are more likely to be bold with women they don't know, while introverted men tend to be timid with women (Berry & Miller, 2001). There are also downsides to having high scores on extraversion such as wanting to drive fast, and listening to music while driving, and as a consequence, they tend to get into more car accidents, and even road fatalities, than their more introverted peers (Lajunen, 2001) (Larsen and Buss, 2008, p. 86).

Agreeableness: Those high on agreeableness favor using negotiation to resolve conflicts; low agreeable persons try to assert their power to resolve social conflicts (Graziano Tobin, 2002; Jensen-Campbell & Graziano, 2001). They are agreeable and more

likely to withdraw from social conflict, avoiding unharmonious situations. These individuals like harmonious social interaction and cooperative family life. Agreeable children tend to be less often victimized by bullies during early adolescence (Jensen-Campbell et al., 2002). (Larsen and Buss, 2008, p. 86).

Conscientiousness: Those high on this trait are hardworking and punctual which leads to several positive outcomes such as higher grade point average, greater job satisfaction, greater job security, and more positive and committed social relationships (Langford, 2003). On the contrary, those who score low are likely to perform poorly at school and work. They tend to procrastinate more than the high scorers. High scorers are more industrious and put in long working hours (Lund et al., 2006). Those scoring low on conscientiousness exhibit risky sexual behaviors and are likely to have multiple romantic relationships at a time (Trobst, Herbst, Masters, & Costa, 2002). They also tend to have higher arrest rates (Clower & Bothwell, 2001). (Larsen and Buss, 2008, p. 87)

Emotional stability: This taps on people's emotional ability to cope with life stresses. The hallmark of those who show emotional stability is mood fluctuations. They can manage their mood swings (Murray, Allen, & Trinder, 2002) which leads them to experience fatigue over the day (De Vries & Van Heck, 2002). Those with emotional instability are more likely to have dissociated experiences, where they cannot remember incidents/life events properly, they may feel disconnected from others around them and can often feel like they have woken up in a strange and

unfamiliar place (Kwapil, Wrobel, & Pope, 2002). Those high in neuroticism also have frequent suicidal thoughts as compared to those who score low (Chioqueta & Stiles, 2005). High scorers show poorer physical health, and more physical symptoms and engage in fewer health-promoting behaviors (Williams, O'Brien, & Colder, 2004). Those scoring high on neuroticism show ups and downs in their social relationships. Emotionally unstable individuals experience more sexual anxiety (e.g., worried about performance) as well as a greater fear of engaging in sex (Heaven, Crocker, Edwards, Preston, Ward, & Woodbridge, 2003; Shafer, 2001). Self-handicapping is defined as a tendency to "create obstacles to achievement in performance or competitive situations to protect one's self-esteem" (Ross et al., 2002, p. 2). Such self-handicapping is observed frequently in those with emotional instability. Those high on neuroticism seem to undermine themselves and create roadblocks to their achievements.

Openness: This trait has been linked to experimentation with new foods, novel experiences, and sometimes even openness to extramarital affairs (Buss, 193). Peterson, Smith & Carson (2002) found that those high in openness had more difficulty in ignoring previously experienced stimuli. The process of information processing is different and people who are high on openness are even open to receiving information.

Some research findings with combinations of Big Five variables:

- Good grades are best predicted by high conscientiousness and high emotional stability (Chamorro-Premuzic & Furnham, 2003). Watson (2001) attributes this to emotionally stable and conscientious people as they are less likely to procrastinate (Watson, 2001).
- Risky sexual behaviors, such as having many sex partners and not using condoms, are best predicted by high extraversion, high neuroticism, low conscientiousness, and low agreeableness (Miller et al., 2004; Trobst et al., 2002).
- Alcohol consumption is best predicted by high Extraversion and low Conscientiousness (Paunonen, 2003). A study by Grano et al. (2004) showed that more than 5,000 workers in Finland found that a low conscientiousness also predicts increases in alcohol consumption over time, that is, who ends up becoming a heavy drinker.
- Egan and Stelmack (2003) found that mountain climbers that climbed Mount Everest tend to be extraverted, emotionally stable, and high on psychoticism (Egan & Stelmack, 2003).
- Happiness and experiencing positive affect in everyday life are best predicted by high extraversion and low neuroticism (Cheng & Furnham, 2003; Steel & Ones, 2003; Stewart, Ebmeier, & Deary, 2005; Yik & Russell, 2001).

- Likelihood to engage in volunteer work, such as campus or community services, is best predicted by a combination of high agreeableness and high extraversion (Carlo et al., 2005).
- Forgiveness, the inclination to forgive those who have committed some wrong, characterizes individuals who are high on agreeableness and high on emotional stability (Brose, Rye, Lutz-Zois, & Ross, 2005).
- Silverthorne (2001) found that leadership effectiveness in business settings is best predicted by high extraversion, high agreeableness, high conscientiousness, and high emotional stability.

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Is the Five-Factor Model comprehensive?

There are critiques of the models who believe that the model leaves out key aspects of personality. Almagor, Tellegen, and Waller (1995) suggest that there are two more factors namely positive evaluation (e.g., outstanding vs. ordinary) and negative evaluation (e.g., awful vs. decent). Goldberg (1995) suggested components like religiosity or spirituality also emerge as factors. Lanning (1994) found a sixth factor which he labels attractiveness which includes items tapping on physical attractiveness, and seeing self as attractive and charming. Schmitt and Buss (2000)

found individual differences in the sexual sphere, such as sexiness

(e.g., sexy, stunning, attractive, alluring, arousing, sensual, and seductive) and faithfulness

(e.g., faithful, monogamous, devoted, and not adulterous). They found sexiness is positively correlated with extraversion, and faithfulness is positively correlated with both agreeableness and conscientiousness (Larsen and Buss, 2008, p. 89). Proponents of the model encourage the addition of more dimensions if there is sufficient empirical evidence (Costa & McCrae, 1995; Goldberg & Saucier, 1995).

An alternative to the Five-Factor Model is the personality descriptive nouns rather than adjectives. Saucier (2003) discovered eight personality domains of personality nouns like Dumbbell (e.g., dummy, moron, twit), Babe/Cutie (e.g., beauty, darling, doll), Philosopher (e.g., genius, artist, individualist), Lawbreaker (e.g., pothead, drunk, rebel), Joker (e.g., clown, goof, comedian), and Jock (e.g., sportsman, tough, machine) (Larsen and Buss, 2008, p. 90).

A second approach is to adopt the lexical approach focusing on large pools of adjectives in different languages. One study of seven languages (Dutch, French, German, Hungarian, Italian, Korean, and Polish) found variants of the Big Five, plus a sixth-factor Honesty-Humility (Ashton et al., 2004). At one end of the Honesty-Humility factor lies trait adjectives such as honest, sincere, trustworthy, and unselfish; the other end is anchored by adjectives such as arrogant, conceited, greedy, pompous, self-important, and egotistical (Larsen and Buss, 2008, p. 90). The inclusion of the sixth factor by Ashton et al. is labelled as the HEXACO model. Where H stands

for Honesty-Humility, E is emotionality, X is extraversion, A is agreeableness, C is conscientiousness and O is openness to experience. Based on this model an inventory was also developed called the HEXACO-PI-R by Lee and Ashton (2004). The HEXACO-PI-R assesses the six broad HEXACO personality factors, each of which contains four "facets", or narrower personality characteristics. (An additional 25th narrow facet, called Altruism, is also included and represents a blend of the Honesty-Humility, Emotionality, and Agreeableness factors.) The six factors, their facets, and the personality-descriptive adjectives that typically belong to these six groups are as follows (Ashton and Lee, 2007):

- Honesty-Humility (H):
 - Facets: Sincerity, Fairness, Greed Avoidance, Modesty
 - Adjectives: {Sincere, honest, faithful, loyal, modest/unassuming} versus {sly, deceitful, greedy, pretentious, hypocritical, boastful, pompous}
- Emotionality (E):
 - Facets: Fearfulness, Anxiety, Dependence, Sentimentality
 - Adjectives: {Emotional, oversensitive, sentimental, fearful, anxious, vulnerable} versus {brave, tough, independent, self-assured, stable}
- Extraversion (X):
 - Facets: Social Self-Esteem, Social Boldness, Sociability, Liveliness
 - Adjectives: {Outgoing, lively, extraverted, sociable, talkative, cheerful, active} versus {shy, passive, withdrawn, introverted, quiet, reserved}
- Agreeableness (A):
 - Facets: Forgivingness, Gentleness, Flexibility, Patience
 - Adjectives: {patient, tolerant, peaceful, mild, agreeable, lenient, gentle} versus {ill-tempered, quarrelsome, stubborn, choleric}
- Conscientiousness (C):
 - Facets: Organization, Diligence, Perfectionism, Prudence
 - Adjectives: {organized, disciplined, diligent, careful, thorough, precise} versus {sloppy, negligent, reckless, lazy, irresponsible, absent-minded}
- Openness to Experience (O):
 - Facets: Aesthetic Appreciation, Inquisitiveness, Creativity, Unconventionality

- Adjectives: {intellectual, creative, unconventional, innovative, ironic} versus {shallow, unimaginative, conventional}

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Aside from extending the Big Five factor and adding more factors, there is also research which is exploring predicting behavioral criteria from within the Big Five using facets. Paunonen and Ashton (2001a) found significantly greater predictability from the facet subscales of need for achievement (a facet of Conscientiousness) and need for understanding (a facet of Openness) than from the higher-level factor measures of conscientiousness and openness themselves. Dudley et al., (2006) found greater predictability for job performance by including facets such as achievement, dependability, order and cautiousness with conscientiousness.

Thus, to conclude whether the Big Five model is comprehensive or not, there is evidence to support its robustness and replicability. Four out of the five factors have shown replicability across investigators, formats, data sources, samples, languages and cultures. This model also is the basis for several personality inventories. But as a limitation Block (1995b) states that the model fails to establish the causal personality processes that researchers are trying to establish. For example, describing someone as high on neuroticism may be helpful in social communication or global character descriptions, but it does not capture the underlying psychological processes involved in things like feeling guilty, obsessing over worst-case scenarios, and worrying excessively when someone fails to respond to an e-mail.

There continues to be scope for further research in the area to develop a comprehensive personality taxonomy.

5.7 SUMMARY

In this unit, we began by explaining what are traits. We tried to see how traits are related to behaviors and how they are also often explanations of behaviors. Then we began looking into how important traits can be identified. Identification of important traits follows three methods: lexical approach, statistical approach and theoretical approach. We then moved to understand the theory of personality and the personality traits identified by Allport. Then we looked into the taxonomy proposed by Eysenck who proposed three primary personality factors and some secondary factors. Lastly, we discussed Cattell's personality taxonomy. Cattell proposed 16 factors that he viewed to be essential in understanding personality. We then tried to understand the widely used and popular Five-Factor Model and also the circumplex taxonomy. We critically evaluated them to understand if they can be useful in understanding personality traits.

5.8 QUESTIONS

A) Write long answers:

- a) Discuss in detail how important traits are identified.
- b) Discuss Allport's theory of personality.
- c) Discuss Eysenck's three-factor theory.
- d) Explain Cattell's 16-factor theory of personality.
- e) What is the frequency formulation of traits?
- f) Write about the circumplex taxonomy of personality.
- g) Explain the five-factor model in detail.

B) Write short notes:

- a) Lexical approach.
- b) Statistical approach.
- c) Act frequency research program.
- d) Limitation of act frequency formulation program.
- e) Evaluate if the Five-Factor model is comprehensive.
- f) Explain the identity of the fifth factor in the Five-Factor model.

5.5 REFERENCES

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DISPOSITIONAL DOMAIN: TRAIT APPROACH - II

Unit Structure

6.0 Objectives

6.1 Introduction

6.2 The Concept of Disorder

6.3 Personality Disorders

6.4 Measurement of Traits and Theoretical Measurement Issues:
Introduction

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6.0 OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you should be able to:

- Understand the concept of disorders.
- To know personality disorders.
- To understand the measurement of traits and theoretical measurement issues.
- Understand the personality prediction.
- To know the personality disposition over time.

- To evaluate the three levels of analysis.
- To understand personality stability over and the changes that occur.
- To know the personality coherence over time.

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Personality traits are described as consistencies in behavior, thought, or action and represent meaningful differences between persons. Personality disorders thus can be viewed as maladaptive variations or combinations of normal personality traits. Extremes on either end of the personality spectrum can be associated with personality disorders. Widiger and colleagues demonstrated how being extremely high or low on a trait would be associated with a personality disorder. Someone with extremely high hostility and low trust might be predisposed to paranoid personality disorder. Someone else with extremely high sociability and low anxiety has a likelihood of developing a histrionic personality disorder.

Motivation is another factor that can contribute to understanding personality disorders. Motives describe what people want and why they behave in a particular way (Larsen and Buss, 2008, p. 622). A common theme across all the personality disorders is the maladaptive variation of the common motives, especially factors such as power and achievement. In some personality disorders, there may be extremely low motivation to engage in intimacy. Another factor could be an extremely high need for power over the situation or people, wanting to be superior and receive praise from others (usually observed in narcissistic personality disorder). Those with

Cognition also will contribute to the understanding of personality and personality disorders. It would involve perceiving, interpreting and planning. These factors are prone to distortions. Some disorders involve routine and consistent misinterpretations of the intentions of others. This would also involve impairment of social judgment, for example, an individual with paranoia may think others are out to get them or a person with borderline personality may misinterpret innocent comments as signs of criticism or rejection.

Emotions also help in understanding personality disorders. Usually, people with a personality disorder do not present a normal range of emotions. They usually depict an extreme variation of inexperienced emotions. Some may show extreme volatility in emotions (e.g., borderline) whereas some may show volatility with a specific emotion like anxiety, fear or rage.

Another building block is self-concept (the person's collection of self-knowledge – one's understanding of oneself). Most personality disorders exhibit some distortion in this area. There is a lack of stability in their self-concept. Related to self-concept is self-esteem is also an important part of the self and some disorders are associated with extremely high or extremely low levels of self-esteem. The self provides an important perspective on understanding personality disorders.

Social relationships are also frequently affected by maladaptive personality disorders. This would involve issues with sexual and emotional intimacy. They may also showcase issues with interpersonal skills which are the basis for any social relationship. This would include empathy (usually extreme lack of empathy). They may also struggle with poor social skills such as maintaining a healthy or appropriate conversation with someone.

Biology is another essential building block for personality and personality disorders. Some personality disorders have been found to have a genetic component. Others have been studied via physiological components, such as examining the brain functioning of antisocial persons. There has even been an evolutionary theory proposed to explain the existence of personality disorders (Millon, 2000a; Larsen and Buss, 2008, p. 623).

6.2 THE CONCEPT OF DISORDER

According to the American Psychiatric Association (1994) distressing and painful to the person, that leads to disability or impairment in important life domains (e.g., problems with work, marriage or relationship difficulties), and that is associated with increased risk for further suffering, loss of function, death, or confinement (Larsen and Buss, 2008, p. 624). An early concept derived by French psychiatrist Philippe Pinel was *manie sans delire* (madness without loss of reason). This applied to those individuals who demonstrated disordered behavior and emotions but who did not lose contact with reality (Morey, 1997; Larsen and Buss, 2008, p. 624). Kurt Schneider an influential psychiatrist proposed the term psychopathic personality which referred to the behavior patterns that caused the person and the community to suffer. He emphasized statistical rarity that hurts the person and the community in which those individual lives. This idea proposed by Schneider highlights how all forms of personality disorders have an impact on social relationships and the people associated also suffer in some way or the other.

The concept of a disorder helps us identify the difference between normal and abnormal or pathological behavior. The field of abnormal psychology studies this in-depth. There are multiple perspectives to defining what is abnormal. One definition may look at anything that is away or different from the normal to be considered abnormal. A statistical way of defining abnormal may be to observe how often something occurs and how rare is this abnormal behavior. The social definition may be to consider those behaviors abnormal that are socially unacceptable. The statistical and social definitions are subject to changes in society and culture, what may be abnormal today may not be considered so 10, 15 or 50 years later. For example, 20 to 30 years ago homosexuality was considered abnormal but that is not the case now (American Psychiatric Association, 1994).

What is a personality disorder?

A personality disorder is an enduring pattern of inner experience and behavior that deviates markedly from the expectations of the

individual's culture, is pervasive and inflexible, has an onset in adolescence or early adulthood, is stable over time, and leads to distress or impairment (American Psychiatric Association, 2013, p. 645). If a trait becomes maladaptive and inflexible and causes significant impairment or distress, then it is considered to be a personality disorder. As per the American Psychiatric Association (1994), a personality disorder reflects itself in many forms: in the person's thoughts, emotions, behaviors, ability to control their behavior, beliefs, how they get along with other people, etc. They display rigidity in many ways which increases distress and impairment in a variety of situations.

To understand personality disorders researchers have assumed two views: categorical and dimensional views. The categorical view is the one that is dominant in psychiatry and clinical psychology. This view tries to categorize people as either having the disorder or not. Contrary to this, the dimensional view assumes personality disorders to be placed on a continuum. This view assumes that the only difference between people with and without a diagnosis of a personality disorder is based on the intensity. This means that those who are diagnosed with a personality disorder, have a higher degree of intensity of the symptoms as compared to those without the diagnosis. Since it is a continuum, some will be on the end as well, those who exhibit severe and intense symptoms. This view suggests that a person diagnosed with a personality disorder engages in behaviors which pose to be a problem to others and themselves.

The effect of context:

An individual's culture, age, gender, the social and ethnic background has a definite impact on our understanding of personality disorders. For example, immigrants, those who have relocated to a different country will have difficulty fitting into the new culture. They will be influenced by the culture, customs, traditions, religion, habits, expressions, values, etc. of their country of origin. Thus, before judging whether an individual should be diagnosed with a personality disorder, we must take into consideration their cultural background.

Age is also an important consideration that must be kept in mind. For example, adolescents may go through a phase of instability and rebellion and it may also include identity crises. They may be rebellious, challenge authority, not follow instructions given by parents and elders, behave recklessly, etc. This may be misinterpreted as a form of personality disorder. This is why the American Psychiatric Association (1994) cautions against diagnosing an individual with a personality disorder before the age of 18. Besides this, those who experience loss, trauma and abuse may also exhibit certain behaviors of instability or impulsive behaviors which may look like a personality disorder. Those who experienced such a traumatic event may also suddenly behave violently or may enter sexual relationships impulsively.

Gender also is an important influencing factor. Certain personality disorders like antisocial personality disorder are frequently found to be

diagnosed amongst men more than women. Other disorders are more frequently diagnosed amongst women than men. There is a gender difference in how men and women respond to a distressing situation which may influence the diagnosis or decision to diagnose. A study of more than Huselid and Cooper (1994) found that males exhibit externalizing problems, such as fighting and vandalism, while females tend to exhibit relatively more internalizing problems, such as depression and self-harm.

6.3 PERSONALITY DISORDERS

The Erratic Cluster:

This cluster has trouble with emotional control and has difficulties getting along with other people. This group includes antisocial, borderline, histrionic and narcissistic personality disorders.

Antisocial Personality Disorder:

People with this diagnosis show a general disregard for other people and care very less about people's feelings, rights and happiness. Those adults who have been given this diagnosis usually have faced a troubled childhood with behavioral issues. They end up violating rules, violating the rights of others (minor thefts), and breaking age-related social norms (smoking at an early age or fighting other children). They also behave aggressively or cruelly with animals, they scare young children, destroy property, lie and break rules in general. They may also use harmful weapons which may be a threat to themselves and others. When the childhood behavioral problems are identified as a pattern, the likelihood of the diagnosis becomes higher. As this person grows up the issues also worsen because they are growing in their strength, cognitive power and sexual maturity. The issues begin as minor behavioral problems but escalate into more serious issues. For example, it may start as simply shoplifting and escalate to theft, vandalism, etc. Thus, the key features of a person diagnosed with an antisocial personality disorder are lack of concern for social norms/rules, repeated lying and conning people for their profit, impulsivity, becoming easily irritated, being irresponsible, lack of remorse (not feeling sorry for whatever bad they have done), disregard for the safety of themselves and others.

Borderline Personality Disorder:

People with this personality disorder are marked by extreme amounts of instability. This instability is seen in their relationships, behaviors, emotions and their view of themselves. They have intense, emotional and sometimes potentially violent relationships. They have a constant fear of abandonment. When their relationship goes through difficulties, they may become angry and aggressive. This may also lead to self-harm (burning or cutting oneself or attempting suicide). They also have a constantly shifting view of themselves. Their values and goals are shallow and constantly change. Their opinions also tend to change constantly, and they may experiment with their friendships and even sexuality. They experience

strong emotions and they are usually due to interpersonal events. They frequently experience feeling empty and lonely. They may experience anger and bitterness followed by shame and guilt. This cycle of negative emotions may quickly continue and occurs frequently. They show major swings between their positive and negative emotions.

Histrionic Personality Disorder:

The hallmark of this personality disorder is excessive attention-seeking and emotionality. They are found to be overly dramatic and want to be the centre of attention constantly. They can come across as charming and flirtatious. And they also tend to thus be sexually provocative. They show excessive and strong emotions in public which may be embarrassing for friends and family members. They get influenced by people's opinions easily i.e., they are suggestible. They take up whatever the popular opinion is. Their excessive need for attention makes them often act impulsively and they may manipulate others to care for them.

Narcissistic Personality Disorder:

The important feature of this disorder is they want to be admired by everyone, they have a strong sense of self-importance and they lack an understanding and insight into other people's feelings. Those with a narcissistic personality disorder will overstate their accomplishments and undervalue other people's work. They constantly want people to appreciate, value and compliment them i.e., they exhibit constant feelings of entitlement. They believe that they should receive special treatment, respect and privilege from everyone. They always showcase a sense of superiority over others. They also cannot recognize the needs or desires of people. This is seen through their conversations which will constantly revolve around "I" and "myself". Ironically there is a narcissistic paradox. This paradox states that although people with narcissistic personality disorder demonstrate that they have high self-esteem, they have fragile self-esteem. Even though they may appear confident and strong, internally they are sensitive to any minor criticism and get into a rage if they are criticized or hear something negative about themselves. They are also envious of other people and their successes.

The Eccentric Cluster:

The second cluster under personality disorders is defined by their oddness. This oddness is seen most commonly in the way they interact with others. Some have no interest in others, some are suspicious and some are extremely uncomfortable.

Schizoid Personality Disorder:

The word schizoid is derived from the word schism which means split off or detached from normal social relations. They show no desire to be attached to their friends or family members. They do not derive any satisfaction from being around family members which usually other people would experience. They have few or no friends and even choose

hobbies that can be done alone. They also experience little or no pleasure from bodily or sensory experiences such as eating or having sex. Their emotional life is limited. They also appear to be socially clumsy and they are also usually passive in the face of unpleasant social situations.

Schizotypal Personality Disorder:

Those with schizotypal personality disorder are anxious in social situations, especially around strangers. And unfortunately, they are not typically found to be comfortable around familiar people either. For example, we all experience mild discomfort around strangers at a party or in a new setting but we can overcome that and become comfortable in the presence of a known person or as we begin to interact with other. But people with this personality disorder may not become comfortable at all, no matter what. They may become anxious and eventually begin to become suspicious as well. They constantly feel like they do not fit in and are different from others. They behave in odd and eccentric ways. They have unusual perceptions that may border around delusions and hallucinations. They believe in superstitions, psychics and other paranormal phenomena. Because of the social discomfort and eccentricity, they violate common social conventions like the inability to make eye contact, not dressing in a tidy way, etc. They also exhibit disorganized thoughts and speech where they may not always make sense in the way they behave or what they speak. This leads to a tendency to avoid people and they exhibit nonconformity in many ways.

Paranoid Personality Disorder:

This personality disorder is characterized by major mistrust of others and they see others as a constant threat. They believe people are going to take undue advantage of them and cheat and deceive them always, even though they do not have sufficient evidence to support this idea. The people with this disorder feel that others may injure them and they constantly are seen doubting the intentions of people in their life. They also tend to misinterpret social events and fear sharing information with others assuming that the information may be misused. They also tend to hold bitterness against someone who may have insulted them in the slightest way possible. They also may look out for unnecessary hidden meaning in the things people say and do. They also are seen be experiencing pathological jealousy. This is an extreme form of jealousy where the person may misinterpret the situation and go out of their way to act upon these feelings of jealousy. For example, a man may suspect that his wife is unfaithful to him without any objective evidence/proof. He may restrict her activities, forbid her from going out of the house, or meeting friends or family members, he may also track her activities, etc. Due to the mistrustful nature of people with paranoid personality disorder, they may also show argumentative and hostile behavior which may provoke others. This in turn will feed the person's paranoid beliefs.

The Anxious Cluster:

This cluster exhibits the neurotic paradox: a behavioral pattern that may successfully solve a problem but may also give rise to a new set of equally or even more severe problems.

Avoidant Personality Disorder:

They experience a constant sense of inadequacy i.e. they feel like they are insufficient. These people are also poor at handling criticism and are sensitive. Generally, no one likes being criticized but people with an avoidant personality disorder will go out of their way to avoid situations at home, work, or school, where they believe they may stand a chance of being criticized. They experience anxiety around their performance for the fear of being criticized. This leads them to avoid making friends and going out to new places even though friends and family may be encouraging. They end up losing out on important opportunities due to the anxiety. They are seen as shy, quiet, lonely and solitary. They also show low self-esteem, their feelings are easily hurt and because they keep away from people at most times, they may find it difficult to find a constant source of social support. The paradox is that they avoid social interactions and shun supportive relationships with caring others that could improve their self-esteem.

Dependent Personality Disorder:

People with this disorder have an excessive need to be taken care of, nurtured and told what to do. They act in an extremely submissive manner and encourage people to take care of them or be in charge of the situation. They need constant advice and encouragement from others and have great difficulty in making decisions. They rarely will take initiative in things for making big or small decisions like what to eat at a restaurant or which course to choose in college. They fear losing people so they avoid disagreement. These people are also not able to work independently so they will wait for others at school or work to take initiative and begin working. They may also avoid becoming experts on a task so that they can always be dependent on someone to help them with it. Their dependence can make them bear extreme situations simply to obtain assurance and support from others. They may go to the extent of tolerating abuse.

Obsessive-Compulsive Personality Disorder:

The person with an obsessive-compulsive personality disorder is worried about perfection and order. They pay unnecessary attention to small and trivial details, rules, rituals, procedures and schedules. They tend to hold very high standards for themselves and end up working so hard at being perfect that they may never be satisfied with their work. For example, a student may not submit their assignment in time because it was not perfect as per their standards. This may lead them to not take a break and find leisure time leading to extreme fatigue and burnout. They may also tend to work at the cost of leisure and friendships. They may also select leisure activities or hobbies that are tiring and demanding or require attention to

detail like stitching, or computer programming. These people may also come across as being inflexible with their ethics and morals and may not mould as per the situation's demands. They believe there is one right way to do things, that is their way. Several people with this personality disorder are also stingy and miserly.

This disorder may be often confused with Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder (OCD) which is an anxiety disorder. However, people with Obsessive-Compulsive Personality Disorder (OCPD) have a high risk of developing OCD.

Dimensional Model of Personality Disorder:

Theorists are now moving to a dimensional model instead of the prior categorical model. This model states that personality traits lie on a continuum where the traits when present at normal levels are on one end and those exhibited at an extreme, rigid and maladaptive level are to be diagnosed as a disorder. Widiger (1997) states that personality disorders are simply rigid and extreme presentations of normal-range personality traits.

This view accounts for how there may be variations between people with the same diagnosis. This view also allows for people to be diagnosed with multiple types of personality disorders. And finally, the fact that something is categorized as abnormal may be a matter of degree than a qualitative break. These points make for the advantages of the dimensional model.

Causes of Personality Disorder:

Some researchers have attempted to find the causes of specific personality disorders. Researchers have examined both biological and environmental factors that may contribute to the development of personality disorders (Nigg & Goldsmith, 1994). For example, persons who suffer from borderline personality disorder experienced poor attachment relationships in childhood (Kernberg, 1975, 1984; Nigg et al., 1994), and several borderline personality persons were the target of sexual abuse in childhood (Westen et al., 1990). There is sufficient evidence that most people with borderline personality disorder grew up in chaotic homes, with a lot of exposure to the impulsive behaviour of adults from their life (Millon, 2000b). There is also evidence to implicate that loss or neglect by parents is another contributing factor to borderline personality disorder.

Schizotypal personality disorder shows causes associated with genetic factors. Several families, twin, and adoption studies suggest that schizotypal disorder is genetically similar to schizophrenia (Nigg & Goldsmith, 1994). Prevalence rates for paranoid and avoidant personality disorders were also high among the relatives of the schizophrenia patients which suggests that these disorders may be genetically related to schizophrenia (Kendler et al., 1993).

There are several explanatory theories for antisocial personality disorder too. Several antisocial persons were themselves abused and victimized when they were children (Pollock et al., 1990). A high proportion of antisocial persons also abuse multiple illegal drugs or alcohol, thus, some researchers propose biological changes associated with drug abuse are responsible for antisocial behaviour. There are also clear familial trends suggesting that antisocial personality disorder is partly due to genetic causes (Lykken, 1995). Some other researchers have proposed learning theories of antisocial personality disorder, due to research showing that such persons are deficient in learning through punishment (e.g., Newman, 1987).

There are biological, learning, psychodynamic and cultural explanations for several personality disorders. Biology and experiences are strongly interconnected. Further research can help clarify the causes in due course of time.

6.4 MEASUREMENT OF TRAITS AND THEORETICAL MEASUREMENT ISSUES: INTRODUCTION

Personality measures can be used in several settings like in an organization for a job interview selection process, it may be used also by dating apps to help people find the right partner for them. Personality evaluations may be used in legal matters to understand the personality characteristics of the individuals involved in the case. It could also be part of aptitude testing for college admissions for specialized courses and high education. Some theoretical issues may arise while conducting or developing such personality scales which will be discussed further.

6.5 THEORETICAL ISSUES

Trait theories are one of the most prominently used sets of theories when understanding personality psychology. They share some common assumptions and are the basic foundation of trait psychology. These include:

1. Meaningful individual differences.
2. Stability and consistency.
3. Consistency across situations.

Meaningful individual differences: Trait psychologists will want to identify how people are different from each other and these differences help them to identify the personality traits. For example, some people talk a lot, some don't talk much, some people are more active than others, some people enjoy challenges, and some love to relax more than others. Thus, trait psychology sometimes is also called **differential psychology**. Differential psychology includes the study of other forms of individual differences in addition to personality traits, such as abilities, aptitudes, and intelligence.

The trait approach takes a quantitative approach which attempts to understand the emphasis on the difference between individuals and the agreed-upon average. This means, trying to understand how much a person differs from the average that has been defined by theory. This approach is the most systematic and statically oriented. We can compare trait psychologists to chemistry scientists. They believe that by combining a few primary traits in various amounts, one can distil the unique qualities of an individual. So no matter how complex or unusual someone's personality is, it is a combination of basic or primary elements.

Stability and consistency: This assumption believes that personality traits will be consistent over time. If someone is highly extroverted when a psychologist observes them, it can be assumed that the extroverted tendency will remain stable over long periods. Especially those personality traits that show biological basis like extraversion, sensation seeking, activity level, shyness, etc. tend to show consistency over time. Attitudes, opinions, and behaviours are less consistent as they tend to change over time based on the social environment that the person is in. Although the assumption states that some traits will be consistent over time, there could be a change in how the traits manifest in particular situations. For example, a child tends to throw temper tantrums frequently which shows high levels of disagreeableness they may start fist pounding and may have undirected rage. But as this child grows up their disagreeableness may manifest i.e., it may be represented in the form of being uncooperative at work and having difficulty in holding a job. Thus, the same trait of disagreeableness is consistent over time but has managed to manifest itself differently in different situations.

There also may be times when traits decrease as the individual grows older like activity level. An adolescent growing up as a teenager may have high activity levels but as they grow older into an adult and then as an older adult their activity levels may decrease. Similarly, the trait of being impulsive can also show a reduction in overage. The way a 20-year-old would show impulsivity would be different from how a 5-year-old would. Also, one person who is highly impulsive at age 20 when compared to others of their age, may continue to show high levels of impulsivity at age 50 when compared to other 50-year-olds.

Consistency across situations: Trait psychologists believe that people's personalities show consistency from one situation to another. For example, if a young man is "really friendly", he would be this way at work, at home and with friends. This person may also be friendly to strangers and people from different backgrounds and age groups. But there will remain a difference in how friendly the person would be for example this person may be more friendly while at home than to strangers or may be more friendly to elderly people than people of their age. Thus, there exists debate in the field about whether traits remain consistent across situations. Walter Mischel in his book called *Personality and Assessment* (1968) published the results of an important study conducted by Hartshorne and May (1928) who were trying to see the consistency of traits across situations. Hartshorne and May (1928) evaluated whether helpfulness and

self-control traits were consistent across situations. They observed a large group of elementary school students who were at a summer camp. They observed honest and dishonest behaviours in various situations. For example, a child may cheat while playing football but was not likely to cheat during an examination. In line with these results, in the book, Mischel reported low correlations for personality scores across situations. Mischel (1968) concluded that “behavioural consistencies have not been demonstrated and the concept of personality traits as broad predispositions is thus untenable” (p. 140). Mischel suggested that differences across situations must be understood as situational differences and not as personality traits changing. This is called situationism. The situationist position can be explained with an example, where a young girl may be friendly with her basketball team and coaches because she wants to pursue her professional basketball career while she may be more shy, quiet and less friendly with her classmates. Thus, Mischel proposed that behaviour is a function of the situation rather than broad personality traits.

Two changes in theory that have been adopted by trait psychologists are person-situation interaction and the practice of aggregation as a tool for assessing personality traits.

Person Situation Interaction: According to this view, there are two possible explanations for behaviour:

1. Behavior is a function of personality traits: $B = f(P)$.
2. Behavior is a function of situational forces: $B = f(S)$.

Thus, we can say that both personality traits and situational forces both work toward explaining behaviour. For example, we would find someone who is quiet and shy across all situations and there could be someone quiet and shy only in some situations.

We can then modify the two formulas: $B = f(P \times S)$. this formula suggests an interaction between personality traits and situational forces. For example, the trait of being hot-tempered is a tendency to respond aggressively to minor frustrations. People who know that a person is hot-tempered may not be aware of the intensity of the trait unless they have been around the person during minor frustrating situations. The trait may only be expressed when a frustrating situation may arise. Thus, when this person is at the ATM which does not function properly, they may experience frustration and may show their hot temperedness by maybe kicking the ATM or pounding their fist. Thus, the interaction view suggests that the personality trait and the situational factors together help explain this incident. This is known as **situation-person interaction**. In this view, the difference in people will be understood under the right circumstances. Some traits are specific to certain situations while some are not. For example, the trait of test anxiety will only occur when someone is going to give a test and they will begin to experience anxiety in that specific situation. This is also referred to as **situational specificity**. However, some situations are so strong that everyone may end up reacting in the same way. For example, Larsen, Diener and Emmons (1986) tried to

understand who overreacted emotionally to everyday events. Participants in this study were asked to keep a daily diary of life events for two months. They also rated their emotions each day. Based on the emotional reactivity and the events that occurred, some incidents evoked strong emotions from everyone like the death of a pet. These situations were called **strong situations**. Some situations like funerals, religious services, crowded places, etc. may be vague and ambiguous where different personalities may react differently.

Situational selection: It is the tendency to choose the situations in which one finds oneself (Ickes, Snyder, & Garcia, 1997; Snyder & Gangestad, 1982). This means people tend to select situations in which they will spend their time. This is viewed as a conscious choice that may reflect the personality's features. So, if someone is extraverted, they may choose situations that bring out this personality trait or go hand in hand with it. Thus, personality influences the kind of situations in which people wish to spend their time. But there is also literature to show how personality can be affected due to the situations encountered by the individual. Bolger and Schilling (1991) wanted to understand this by trying to see if those individuals are high on neuroticism, do they experience stressful situations frequently or react to ordinary situations with greater reactivity. They discovered that both were true: high neuroticism led to frequent stressful life events and they reacted to such stressful events with more subjective distress.

Evocation is another form of person-situation interaction. It is how certain personality traits evoke specific responses from the environment. For example, those who are disagreeable and manipulative may evoke certain hostile or avoidant reactions from others.

Manipulation is the third form of person-situation interaction. It is defined as the different means by which people influence the behaviour of others. It is when people intentionally use certain tactics to influence, force or change others. Manipulation involves altering the environment that they are part of. Researchers have found that people use different manipulation tactics like charm tactics complementing others, acting in a caring and warm manner and doing favours. People also use the silent treatment, ignoring, failing to respond and coercion (making demands, yelling, criticizing, cursing and threatening) (Buss et al., 1987). Extraverts tend to deploy the charm tactic more than introverts do. Those high on neuroticism tend to use silent treatment to get their way. And those high on quarrelsomeness tend to use the coercion tactic to get their way. (Larsen and Buss, 2018, p. 106).

Aggregation: It is the process of adding up and averaging multiple single observations which result in a better and more reliable measure of personality traits rather than a single observation of behaviours. Personality psychologist Seymour Epstein published several papers (1979, 1980, 1983) showing that aggregating several questions or observations result in better trait measures. Also, longer tests are known to be more reliable than shorter ones and hence are better measures of traits. It helps

in improving the trait measures by adding items to a questionnaire and adding observations to an overall score that is obtained. It implies that traits are one of the many factors that influence a person's behaviour in a given situation. Thus, personality becomes an **averaging tendency** and cannot be very good for predicting a single action in a single event/occasion.

6.6 MEASUREMENT ISSUES

Most of the personality measures rely on self-report measures although other measurement methods can be used. The rationale is to identify how much an individual differs from the other on a particular trait. Traits are assumed to be on a continuum i.e., someone who is low on conscientiousness is on the end of the continuum and someone who is extremely high will be on the other end. So, the best way to find out about someone's personality characteristics is to ask them. This assumes that people are willing and able to report accurately on their behaviour. There may be people who may not be willing, some may over-report or under-report. So, the validity, accuracy, reliability and utility must be evaluated carefully.

Carelessness:

Some participants may not be motivated to answer the questionnaire truthfully or carefully. Some may be motivated to complete it carefully but may rush through the items and answer randomly. Some may accidentally skip items, or they may not read the items carefully enough and respond randomly. Some may even face difficulty in reading and understanding the meaning of the statements presented. A common way of identifying the possible error is by using an infrequency scale which is embedded in the questionnaire items. These scales contain items that almost all participants will answer in the same or similar manner. For example, a statement which says "I do not believe that wood burns" or "I walk down the stairs using my hands on the steps". Most people should be answering "false" to these statements. Those who answer "true" can be identified as answering the questionnaire in a random and untrue manner. Another way to identify carelessness is to duplicate items which may come at different sections of the scale. The psychologists can verify if the same participant has given the same answer to the two items.

Faking on questionnaires:

When personality questionnaires are used to make important decisions like for a job, promotion, etc. there is a strong possibility that the person responding may try to fake their responses. Some may be attempting to "fake good" (wanting to appear to be good) or some may "fake bad" (wanting to appear to be bad or maladjusted). For example, in a legal case, the accused may use want to appear as being maladjusted so that they can be proven innocent so they may try to "fake bad" to get a diagnosis from the psychologist. Questionnaire developers must be careful regarding this. Psychologists when interpreting the results may make a mistake in

distinguishing between genuine and faked responses. They may conclude that someone truthful may be faking it (called a **false negative**) or someone who is faking it is being genuine (called a **false positive**). This could certainly become a limitation of self-report measures since the true nature of the faking may not be truly understood.

Response sets:

It is the tendency for some people to respond to a question on a basis that is unrelated to the question content. Psychologists may assume that people will be thinking about the content of the item in the context of all the instances that are related for example for the item “have you smashed items when being angry?” people may not be able to recall all instances when they may or may not have done so. They may not always make a deliberate and conscious effort to consider the content of the question to answer honestly. This tendency is also known as **non-content responding**. An example of this could be **acquiescence** or yea saying which is the tendency to simply agree with the questionnaire regardless of the content of the items. Psychologists attempt to counter acquiescence by using reverse scoring the items. For example, they may word an item for extraversion as “I frequently prefer to be alone”. There is also extreme responding that could take place which is the tendency to give endpoint responses and avoid the middle part response. So, if there are two extreme options like “strongly agree” and “strongly disagree”, they may frequently keep selecting these rather than options such as “slightly agree” or “slightly disagree”. Response sets may hamper the validity of the questionnaire because the person is not responding to the content of the items.

Another important response set is social desirability. It is the tendency to answer items in a way which comes across as socially attractive, likeable or acceptable. For example, there could be an item “I am happy most of the time”, or “I do not intentionally harm animals” these may evoke social desirability i.e., for both the statements the person may respond as “True” when it may not be the case. Social desirability represents distortion or error and should be eliminated or minimized as much as possible. While another view states that it is a valid part of other desirable personality traits like happiness, conscientiousness or agreeableness. It may not be an outright effort to distort responses and thus must be differentiated from outright faking or lying. It simply is the case that the person has a distorted view of themselves or may want others to like them. Although several psychologists believe that it must be eliminated as it does create a bias. Some psychologists believe the questionnaire must be designed well enough so that it measures the construct accurately and does not evoke social desirability, to begin with. This can be done by selecting items that have low correlations to social desirability. Another way to solve the issue of social desirability suggested by psychologists is to eliminate those responses statistically. For example, the social desirability scale developed by Crowne and Marlowe (1964) asks about minor mistakes or transgressions we all make and some saint-like behaviour. For example, “I am always willing to admit it when I make a mistake”, and “I like to

gossip at times”. Those who show perfect saint-like behaviour and do not admit to committing any mistakes can be judged to be high on social desirability. A third approach is to use a forced-choice questionnaire format. Here the test takers are confined to two pairs of statements and must select one that describes them the best. By forcing the participants to choose between equally socially desirable items, it may reduce the effect. For example:

1. a. to read the book.
b. to watch the movie.
2. a. continuous hallucinations.
b. continuous anaesthesia.

Many psychologists are also of the opinion that it can be considered a valid response. They view social desirability as a trait in itself, which means, some people are prone to be giving socially desirable responses regularly. Some research correlates social desirability with happiness, adjustment and conscientiousness. The assumption made is that being mentally healthy involves having an overly positive view of oneself and abilities. Shelly Taylor in her titled “Positive Illusions” (1989) summarizes research surrounding positive and self-enhancing illusions to state that they can promote psychological adjustment and mental health. Psychologist Delroy Paulhus has developed a social desirability inventory called the Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding which contains two subscales namely the self-deceptive enhancement subscale and the impression management subscale. They help identify self-presentation motives and faking good or bad tendencies. (Paulhus, 1984, 1990).

Barnum statements:

These are general statements that could apply to anyone. They often appear in astrology advice columns in newspapers and magazines. For example, “You sometimes have doubts about whether you have done the right thing”, and “You need others to admire and love you.” Or “Although you can deal with confrontation, you tend to avoid it.”. one needs to be careful when getting personality testing done from someone who may not be well-trained or unlicensed. They could use Barnum statements in the interpretation which could be misleading.

6.7 PERSONALITY AND PREDICTION

Personality measures have wide applicability in the industry and government. They can be used in prisons to make decisions about prisoners, can be used in the industry to match the person with a job, can help screen people for employment, and may also be used for making promotion related decisions in an organization. For example, an industry may need someone who is emotionally stable (e.g., psychologist, firefighter, police, etc.), and some jobs may give importance to honesty

(e.g., a jewellery salesman or a money delivery truck driver) some jobs may preference organization and social skills.

Dispositional Domain: Trait
Approach - II

Applications in the workplace:

Organizations are now realizing the importance of using psychological measures, especially personality. Some industries may prefer to identify the normal range of personality characteristics while some may want to identify psychopathology or an abnormal level of functioning. There are options like the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) or the California Personality Inventory (CPI).

The personality inventories can be used for **personnel selection** to select or de-select people for a job.

It can be used for **integrity testing** especially common in retail and financial service industries for selecting employees at the entry level since they handle cash or merchandise sometimes in an unsupervised environment.

There could arise issues with **negligent hiring**. For example, if an employee harms another employee, the employer can be held responsible and accountable for negligent hiring. The employer can be held responsible for irresponsibly hiring potentially problematic employees. But personality tests can come in handy in such cases since the employer can defend themselves provided, they have screened the employee beforehand. It can also come in handy if finding criminal and other past relevant records of the employee becomes difficult.

Apart from personnel selection, personality testing can also be used in legal matters surrounding criminals or suspects which can aid the legislation to arrive at some decisions on the matter.

6.8 PERSONALITY DISPOSITION OVER TIME

Conceptual Issues: Personality Development, Stability, Change and Coherence:

Personality development is defined as the continuities, consistencies and abilities in people over time and how people change over time (Larsen and Buss, 2008, p. 138). Many forms of personality change and stability have been identified by researchers.

Rank order stability is the maintenance of an individual position within a group. This means that if someone scores high on traits like conscientiousness or impulsivity for their age of 15 years, as they grow older, they will continue to have a high-rank order for this trait. So, when this individual high on conscientiousness or impulsivity turns 30 years old, they will continue to remain in the high-rank order when compared to other 30-year-olds.

Mean Level Stability: it is the constancy level. If there is an average level of religiousness in a group, that average may remain constant even with

the increase in age. There could also be a mean level change, maybe due to socio-political conditions and the average level of religiousness may shift.

Personality Coherence: a change in the manifestation of a trait is personality coherence. Consider the example of dominance at the age of 20. This 20-year-old's manifestation of dominance may be seen amongst friends and family members. They are known to be high on the dominance trait. As this individual grows old, they continue to show high dominance with friends, coworkers and their partner where the manifestation has become more physical. Thus, this shift in manifestation but maintenance of the rank order is known as personality coherence. Personality coherence does not require the manifestation to be constant. This includes elements of continuity and change.

Personality Change: not all personality changes can qualify as development. And not all internal changes can properly be considered development. Like when we fall sick, the way our body changes may not always account for development. Hence, the two qualities of personality change include firstly that changes are usually internal to the person and not just changes that take place in the external surroundings. Second, the changes are relatively enduring over time and not temporary changes.

6.9 THREE LEVELS OF ANALYSIS

Population-level: this level of personality development is the changes and constancies that apply to more or less everyone. Almost everyone will hit sexual puberty, overall, there is a decrease in impulsivity level or risk-taking behaviour as an individual grows up. So, these changes are part of almost the entire population.

Group Difference Level: some changes affect different groups differently. For example, sex differences. Females go through puberty differently than males. Age-based differences can also be observed. The aggression shown by adolescents versus that shown by adults will vary. Cultural and ethnic groups will also show differences in some aspects. For example, body image satisfaction varies across American, European, and African American women.

Individual Differences Level: personality psychologists focus on the individual differences in personality differences. There are issues related to whether we can predict the individual's change over time in the various characteristics that they exhibit.

6.10 PERSONALITY STABILITY OVER TIME

This section examines the research evidence surrounding change and stability across infancy, childhood and adulthood.

Stability Of Temperament During Infancy:

Dispositional Domain: Trait
Approach - II

Many parents often state how their children are different from each other. One extreme but a good example of this is Albert Einstein, the Nobel prize winner, and father of modern physics who had two sons. The older son, Hans was fascinated by puzzles as a child and he had a gift for mathematics. He went on to become a distinguished professor of hydraulics at the University of California at Berkley. The younger son, Eduard took interest in music and literature, but unfortunately, he ended up in a Swiss psychiatric hospital and died. This is an example of no matter if you have good genes passed on from your parents, you and your sibling may turn out to be different in many ways.

The most commonly studied aspect related to infancy is temperament, which is the individual differences that emerge very early in life and have been heritability. These are often behaviours like emotionality of arousability. Researcher Mary Rothbart (1981, 1986) conducted a study of a group of infants at different ages starting at 3 months and examined their temperament using some measures that the infants' caregivers filled out. The measures included:

1. activity level: the overall motor activity of legs, arms, etc.
2. Smiling and laughter: how much did the infant smile or laugh?
3. Fear: the amount of distress and reluctance shown by the child to approach new stimuli.
4. Distress to limitations: how much distress did the child express at being denied food, being dressed, being confined, etc.
5. Soothability: the degree to which the child reduced stress or calmed down after being soothed.
6. Duration of orienting: the degree to which the child sustained attention to objects in the absence of a sudden change.

The results showed that in those infants who scored high on these aspects of temperament, these traits increased with age (3 to 6 months, 3 to 9 months, 3 to 12 months, etc.). activity level and smiling and laughter showed higher levels of stability over time. Personality traits also showed to be stable at the end of infancy i.e. around 9 to 12 months. The limitation of this study by Rothbart is that caregivers may not always be honest or accurate in reporting about their infants. It may be their conception rather than the actual behavior of the infant. However, we can draw important conclusions from this study which are that stable individual differences appear to emerge early in life, temperament variables show moderate levels of stability overtime during the first few years of life, and the stability temperament tends to be higher over short intervals of time rather than long intervals of time and lastly that the level of stability of temperament tends to increase as infants mature (Goldsmith and Rothbart, 1991; Larsen and Buss, 2008).

Stability during Childhood:

Longitudinal studies which examine the same groups of individuals over time have their set of limitations since they can be costly and difficult to conduct. Because of such limitations, there are few such studies. An important study is a Block and Block Longitudinal Study which was conducted by testing a sample of more than 100 children from the Berkley-Oakland region of California. This sample has been followed through ages 4, 5, 7, 11 and adulthood. The first publication from this project was to identify the differences in activity levels of the children. The activity level of the sample when they were 3 years old was measured using an actometer a recording device that is attached to the wrists of the children during playtime. This records the motoric movement. There was also a teacher-observed activity level questionnaire containing three items enquiring whether the child was “physically active”, “is vital, energetic, active” and “has rapid personal tempo”. The actometer readings were correlated at ages 3 and 4 and also different sources such as a judge were given the questionnaire. The correlations between the same measure obtained at two different points in time are called the **stability coefficient** while those correlations that are different measures of the same trait obtained at the same time are called **validity coefficients**. (Larsen and Buss, 2008, p. 145).

This study helped draw critical conclusions. First, the actometer measurements of activity level showed significant positive validity coefficients with the judge-based measurements of activity. This meant that activity levels in childhood can be assessed validly through observational judgements and activity recordings. Second, the activity level measurements are positively correlated with measurements of activity level taken at different ages. Thus, when the measures were taken at 4 and 7 years, those who scored high at age 3 continued to score high at age 4 and 7. Third, the measures that are taken early are stable over time and have predictability for later life. If the activity levels are measured between short intervals the predictability may reduce.

In sum, the individual personality differences emerge very early in life and they are moderately stable over time. The stability coefficients gradually decline as the distance between testing increases.

Rank Order Stability in Adulthood:

Several studies were conducted to evaluate the stability of adult personality. Costa and McCrae (1994) categorized five personality factors for the five-factor model. The self-report measures data indicated that traits of neuroticism, extraversion, openness to experience, agreeableness and conscientiousness are all moderate to highly stable traits with average correlations between these traits, scales and time intervals was roughly +.65. There were studies with others reports which also showed stability like a six-year longitudinal study of adults where spouse ratings were used. Neuroticism, openness to experience and extraversion showed stable correlation coefficients. Some other studies used peer ratings. (Costa and

McCrae, 1988, 1992). A study conducted by Richard Robins and colleagues (2001) evaluated 275 college students during their freshman year and again in their senior year. They made use of NEO-PI inventory which indicated stability for extraversion (.60), agreeableness (.59), conscientiousness (.53) and neuroticism (.70). Trzesniewski, Donnellan, and Robins (2003) also found stability in self-esteem over time. They found consistency in self-confidence levels too. Roberts and DelVecchio (2000) found that personality consistencies have a step-wise pattern with increasing age. The average personality consistency during teenage years was +.47 which increased to +.57 in the twenties and was +.62 during the thirties. Also, the consistency was found to peak in the fifties. Thus, as people age, their personality appears to become traits become more set/stable.

Mean Level Stability in Adulthood:

The five-factor model by Costa and McCrae shows mean level stability over time. Especially after the age of 50, there are little changes to the average level of stability in openness, extraversion, neuroticism and agreeableness. Little change does not mean any change. There is a tendency for openness, extraversion and neuroticism to gradually decline with increasing age, till age 50. Conscientiousness and agreeableness on the other hand show a gradual increase over time. Recent studies confirmed that the mean-level personality traits change is slight but important during adulthood. The most consistent change is in lower levels of neuroticism. Students have shown a decrease in neuroticism (Vaidya, Gray, Haig, & Watson, 2002). 2001). Similar findings were obtained in a massive longitudinal study of 2,804 individuals over a 23-year time span - negative affectivity decreased consistently as the participants got older (Charles, Reynolds, & Gatz, 2001). A massive meta-analysis of 92 different samples found that both women and men gradually become more emotionally stable as they grow older, with the largest changes occurring between the ages of 22 and 40 (Roberts, Walton, & Viechtbauer, 2006). People were also found to score higher on agreeableness and conscientiousness as they grow older. Studies found that college students became more agreeable, conscientious and extraverted from freshman year to two and half years later, and conscientiousness and agreeableness showed an increase throughout early and middle adulthood (Vaidya et al., 2002; (Srivastava, John, Gosling, & Potter, 2003). "The personality changes that did take place from adolescence to adulthood reflected growth in the direction of greater maturity; many adolescents became more controlled and socially more confident and less angry and alienated" (Roberts, Caspi, & Moffitt, 2001, p. 670). Interestingly, Ralph Piedmont (2001) found that the Big Five personality dispositions may change due to therapy. They administered therapy to 82 men and 50 women over six weeks. The sample showed a decrease in neuroticism and an increase in agreeableness and conscientiousness. And these results were maintained post a 15 month follow up assessment. Thus, predictable changes do occur for certain personality traits but overall stability can be observed.

6.11 PERSONALITY CHANGE

Most of the global measures of personality traits focus heavily on personality stability. There is very little literature to understand personality change.

Changes in Self-esteem from Adolescence to Adulthood:

Block and Robbins (1993) studied self-esteem about personality characteristics associated with it. They defined self-esteem as “the extent to which one perceives oneself relatively close to being the person one wants to be and/or as relatively distant from the kind of person one does not want to be, concerning person-qualities one positively and negatively values.” (Block and Robbins, 1993, p. 911). It was measured by an overall difference between the current self-description and the ideal self-description. The researchers hypothesized that the smaller this difference higher the self-esteem. They assessed the sample at age 14 and then at age 23. There was no change in self-esteem with increasing age for the sample as a whole. When males were compared to females there were stark differences. Males’ self-esteem increased with age, while it showed a decrease for females. There were also interesting differences with the other personality correlates. Those females whose self-esteem was increasing over time, observers judged them to have an excellent sense of humour, be protective of others and be a talkative and giving person. The females whose self-esteem tended to go down over time were judged to be moody, hostile, negativistic, irritable, unpredictable and condescending.

For males whose self-esteem increased over time, they were observed to be socially at ease, regard themselves as physically attractive and were observed to be calm and relaxed. Those who showed a decrease in self-esteem tended to be anxious, easily stressed, ruminative and self-defensive. There was thus a significant difference in males and females as they age in their self-esteem levels.

Flexibility and Impulsivity:

In a study of creative architects, the researchers measure personality twice with testing across 25 years (Dudek & Hall, 1991). The California Psychological Inventory (CPI) and Adjective Check List (ACL) were administered. The architects were tested at the beginning of their careers and again after 25 years. Some architects turned out to be highly creative and successful while some were just average. The highly creative architects displayed high scores on spontaneity, the intensity of motivation and independence. The less creative ones showed high scores on conformity even 25 years later. They all showed a decrease in impulsivity and flexibility with age.

Autonomy, Dominance, Leadership and Ambition:

Howard and Bray (1988) conducted a longitudinal study with 266 managerial candidates at AT&T. They tested these men in their twenties and then followed up 20 years later in their forties using the Edwards

Personal Preference Schedule. There were several dramatic observations throughout the study. There was a steep drop in the ambition scores which was dropping during the first 8 years and continued to drop for the next 12 years. The men who went to college started with high ambition but saw a sharp drop compared to non-college men. The men became more and more realistic about their expectations which were discovered through the interviews conducted. Their scores on autonomy, leadership, motivation, dominance and achievement increased over time. The men seemed to become less dependent on others.

Sensation Seeking:

It is commonly believed that people become more cautious and conservative with age. The literature surrounding sensation-seeking confirms that. The Sensation-Seeking Scale (SSS) has four subscales namely thrill and adventure-seeking (e.g., "I would like to try out parachute jumping"), and experience-seeking (e.g., "I am not interested in experience for its own sake" vs. "I like to have new and exciting experiences and sensations even if they are little frightening, unconventional or illegal"), disinhibition (e.g., "I like wild uninhibited parties" vs. "I prefer quiet parties with good conversation") and boredom susceptibility (e.g., "I get bored seeing old faces" vs. "I like the comfortable familiarity of everyday friends"). The trait of sensation seeking is known to increase with age from childhood to adolescence around the age of 18 to 20. Then it begins to fall continuously as one ages (Zuckerman, 1974).

Femininity:

Helson and Wink (1992) examined personality changes in a longitudinal study of women from Mills College in San Francisco. They used the California Psychological Inventory to study the femininity scale. High scorers were described by observers as being dependent, emotional, gentle, feminine, high strung, nervous, mild, worrying, sympathetic, sentimental, sensitive, and submissive (Gough, 1996). Low scorers i.e., those who scored high on masculinity were described as tough, strong, self-confident, masculine, independent, forceful, determined, confident, assertive, boastful and aggressive. An interesting finding is that this sample of educated women showed a consistent drop in femininity as they moved from the age of 40 to 50, but the underlying cause remains undetermined.

Competence:

A key element from the longitudinal study from Mill College mentioned earlier is self-assessment of competence. It was measured using the Adjective Check List (ACL) scale. Which contained items such as items: goal-oriented, organized, thorough, efficient, practical, clear thinking, realistic, precise, mature, confident, and contented (Helson & Stewart, 1994). The high scorers state that these items describe them well. The women who were part of the sample showed a sharp increase in the self-assessments of competence. Their spouses showed constant scores across

two time periods. The scores did not depend on they whether they had children or not.

Independence and Traditional Roles:

The study also gave some other fascinating findings. The women in the study were divided into four categories:

1. Homemakers with intact marriages and children.
2. Working mothers with children (neo-traditional)
3. Divorce mothers
4. Non-mothers (Helson and Picano, 1990).

The CPI Independence scale measured two related facets. First included self-assurance, resourcefulness and competence. Second, distancing self from others and not bowing to conventional demands of the society. Those who were high on independence tended to set goals for groups that they were part of, they would talk to many people at the party, and they would also take charge of situations when called for. The high scorers also tend to interrupt conversations and do not necessarily follow instructions from those who are in the position to lead. for divorced mothers, working mothers and non-mothers the independence scores increased significantly over time. Only traditional homemakers showed an increase over time in independence. Causation cannot be assumed since the data was correlational. The study nevertheless shed light on the idea that specific subgroups will show specific changes in personality characteristics.

Personality Changes across Cohorts: Women's Assertiveness in Response to Changes in Social Status and Roles

Interesting to understand whether personality changes are a function of individual variations or there can be a cohort effect observed i.e., the effect of the social time that they lived in on the personality. Jean Twenge (2000, 2001a, 2001b) studied the cohort effect extensively. She argues that American society has drastically changed over the past seven decades which has led to a change in women's status and roles. During the 1930s women had more domestic roles which kept changing from the 1960s to the 1990s. Twenge (2001a) also discovered that women's scores on assertiveness also shifted as per the cohort in which they were raised.

6.12 PERSONALITY COHERENCE OVER TIME

Personality coherence is the predictable changes in the manifestations or outcomes of personality factors over time even if the underlying characteristics remain stable.

Marital Stability, Marital Satisfaction and Divorce:

Kelley and Conley (1987) studied 300 couples from the 1930s from the time they were engaged to the 1980s. Amongst the couples studied, 22

broke their engagements. 278 couples did get married and 50 ended up divorced. During the first testing in the 1930s, the acquaintances of the participants were asked to give ratings to each participant's personality on several dimensions. There were three predictors of divorce - neuroticism of the wife and the husband and the impulse control of the husband. Those high in neuroticism were found to be high in marital dissatisfaction in the 1930s, 1955 and 1980. When the husband and wife were high on neuroticism and lacked impulse control it was a strong predictor of divorce. Those husbands who showed low impulse control when first assessed were more likely to engage in extramarital affairs as compared to those high on impulse control who managed to avoid engaging in flings.

Neuroticism was also important for resilience after losing a spouse. A study found that the best predictor of coping with the death of a spouse was emotional stability (Bonanno, Wortman, Lehman, Tweed, Haring, Sonnega, Carr, & Nesse, 2002). Out of the 205 individuals assessed, several years before the death of their spouse, then 6 and 18 months post the demise, those who were high on emotional stability grieved less, showed less depression and showed quick psychological recovery.

Alcoholism and Emotional Disturbance:

Conley and Angeldes (1984) found that early personality predictions can help understand the development of alcoholism and emotional disturbance. They studied 233 men and 40 were judged to develop serious emotional problems or alcoholism and they were rated as being high on neuroticism by acquaintances. The early personality characteristics helped distinguish between men who had become alcoholics and men who developed emotional disturbance. Impulse control was found to be related to emotional disturbance. Recent studies have found that those who are high scorers on measures of sensation-seeking and impulsivity and low scorers on agreeableness and conscientiousness tend to use and abuse alcohol more than others (Cooper, Wood, Orcutt, & Albino, 2003; Hampson, Sevenson, Burns, Slovic, & Fisher, 2001; Markey, Markey, & Tinsley, 2003; Ruchkin, Koposov, Eisemann, & Hagglof, 2002)

Education, Academic Achievement and Dropping Out:

Kipnis (1971) conducted a self-report measure of impulsivity. He also obtained their SAT scores which measure academic achievement and potential. Those high scorers on SAT showed high impulsivity. Impulsive individuals were more likely to drop out of college. Impulsivity has also been found to affect workplace performance. A longitudinal study looked at personality dispositions at the age of 18 and then checked the work-related outcomes at age 26. They found that those high on self-control at age 18 showed higher occupational attainment, were more involved in their work and had superior financial security at age 26 (Roberts, Caspi, & Moffitt, 2003).

Conscientiousness was the best predictor of achievements at work and school. Those who were high on conscientiousness at age 3 were predicted

to perform successfully in academics, nine years later. (Asendorpf and Van Aken, 2003). Emotional stability, agreeableness and openness also are predictors of success but conscientiousness is the strongest. As adults these people become less alienated, they are better at handling stress, they show an increase in social closeness, they like people more, and they turn to others for comfort.

Health and Longevity:

High conscientiousness, positive emotionality (extraversion) and low levels of hostility are predictors of longevity (Danner et al., 2001, 2001; Friedman et al., 1995; Miller et al., 1996). Conscientious individuals engage in more health-promoting practices, like maintaining a good diet and engaging in regular exercise; they also avoid unhealthy practices such as smoking and having a sedentary lifestyle. Those low on conscientiousness in adolescence are more likely to get addicted in young adulthood to all sorts of drugs. Extroverts tend to have lots of friends so they have a social support network which is linked with positive health outcomes. Those low on hostility put less stress on their heart and overall cardiovascular system.

Prediction of Personality Change:

Caspi and Herbener (1990) tried to answer the question of whether we can predict who is likely to change their personality and who is not. They studied middle-aged couples over 11 years. They tested the couples twice, in 1970 and 1981. The question was if you marry someone similar to you, do you tend to remain more stable over time than if you marry someone different from you? They reasoned that by marrying someone similar you would find a supportive and stable environment and marrying someone different may lead to attitudinal clashes and encountering social and environments that you may not generally seek which may make you uncomfortable. Thus, they divided the sample into those couples who were highly/moderately/least similar to each other. They found that men and women who are married to someone similar to themselves in personality show the highest levels of personality stability over time.

6.13 SUMMARY

In this chapter, we first understood the concept of disorders, specifically personality disorders. We then examined the various types of personality disorders based on the categorization i.e., the erratic cluster, the eccentric cluster and the anxious cluster. We then moved on to understanding the measurement process, and how can psychologists measure the various personality traits and disorders. There could be some possible issues that could arise in the measurement process, those were also examined. We then try to understand how personality characteristics can be used to predict certain everyday aspects of human life. We also attempted to explore the literature surrounding personality change and whether there is stability or change that occurs.

6.14 QUESTIONS

Dispositional Domain: Trait
Approach - II

A) Write long answers:

- a) Detail the erratic cluster of personality.
- b) Explain the eccentric cluster of personality.
- c) Detail the anxious cluster of personality.
- d) Evaluate personality change with research examples.
- e) Explain measurement issues surrounding personality traits.

B) Write short notes:

- a) Explain the concept of personality disorders.
- b) Write a note on personality coherence over time.
- c) Explain the theoretical issues that can arise during the measurement of personality traits.

6.15 REFERENCES

Larsen, R. J., & Buss, D. M. (2008). *Personality Psychology: Domains of Knowledge About*



SOCIO-CULTURAL AND ADJUSTMENT DOMAIN- I

Unit Structure

7.0 Objectives

7.1 Personality and Social Interaction

7.1.1 Selection

7.1.2 Evocation

7.1.3 Manipulation: Social influence tactics

7.1.4 Panning Back: An overview of personality and social interaction

7.2 Sex, gender and personality

7.2.1 The Science and Politics of studying gender

7.2.2 Sex differences in personality

7.2.3 Masculinity, Femininity, Androgyny and sex roles

7.2.4 Theories of sex differences

7.3 Summary

7.4 Questions

7.5 References

7.0 OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you should be able to:

- To understand how personality is affected by and expressed through social institutions, social roles and expectations, and through relationship with other people in our lives.
- To understand how large or small the sex differences are there in different personality traits as there is debate among researchers.
- To understand the process of selection, evocation and manipulation.
- To understand how cultures shapes personality and how specific cultures are different from, or similar to, each other.
- Understand the History and study of sex differences, technique of interpreting a difference between men and women on a particular Psychological trait by examining the concept of effect size, the concept of Androgyny, etc.
- Actual sex differences found in research on various psychological variables.
- Various theories of sex differences.

Sue and Joan were discussing about their first date. Sue said that, “Micheal at first seemed like a nice guy, but eventually he started displaying aggression towards the waitress in the restaurant we went and also dominated what I should eat for the dinner that day. He did not even give me a good-night kiss, and when I tried, he acted aggressively!”

The personality characteristic of others affects whether we select the people as dates, friends, or marriage partners. People's personality characteristics also play a role in the kinds of interpersonal situations they select to enter and stay in. For example, someone with a personality different from Sue's might actually be attracted to a guy like Michael and could put up with his self-centeredness and brash behaviour.

The personality traits of other people evoke certain responses in us. Michael's aggressive displays upset Sue, evoking an emotional response that would not have been evoked if he had been kinder and more caring.

Personality is also linked to the ways in which we try to influence or manipulate others. The question here is, “What are the strategies that people use to get what they want from others?” A person may first use a charming tactic to convey others, then, may use the boasting tactic and finally use the aggressive tactic. People have different personalities. So, different people use different tactics of social influence.

7.1.1 Selection:

People choose to enter some situations and avoid other situations. We select social situations often on the basis of our personality characteristics in everyday life. The choices range in importance from trivial (“Should I attend this party tonight?”) to the profound (“Should I select this person as my marriage partner?”). Social selections are decision points that direct us to choose one path and avoid another.

E.g., by selecting a mate, you are altering your social environment as you are simultaneously selecting the social acts you will experience and the network of friends and family in which those acts will be carried out.

Questions arise generally in our mind that who do people select as mates? Any common personality characteristics highly desired by anyone? Do we look for mates similar to our personality or different than other personality? And how is the choice of a mate related to the likelihood that a couple will stay together over-time?

- **Personality characteristics desired in a marriage partner:**

What do people want in a marriage partner? A total of 37 samples were chosen from 33 countries, representing every major racial group, religious group, and political system including Australian, South-African and Zulu people, Gujrati Indians. The sample varied in socio-economic status. Standardized questionnaires were translated into the native language of

each culture and were administered to the samples by native residents of each culture. This study revealed that personality characteristics are important in selecting a long-term mate.

Mutual attraction or love was the most desired/favoured characteristic by almost everyone. After love, other characteristics that were important were—dependable character, emotional stability, and pleasing disposition.

- **Assortative Mating: Search for the similar:**

There are two competing theories have been developed regarding who is attracted to whom. y competing scientific theories have been advanced for who is attracted to whom. Complementary needs theory postulates that people are attracted to those who have different personality dispositions than they have E.g., people who are submissive, will choose a mate that dominates and controls them. We can think of this Theory by remembering a phrase, “Opposites attract”.

Attraction similarity theory says that people are attracted to those who have similar personality characteristics. People who are submissive, will be attracted to people who are submissive. We can remember this Theory by a phrase, “Birds of a feather, flock together.”

Assortative mating phenomena tells us that people are married to people who are similar to themselves. For physical characteristics such as height, weight, and, astonishingly, nose breadth and earlobe length, couples show positive correlations. Couples who have been together the longest appeared most similar in personality, which may result from the fact that couples growing more similar in personality over time or from dissimilar couples breaking up more often.

Are these positive correlations due to the active selection of mates who are similar? Or they are by-products of other causal processes? E.g., people may marry each other because they stay close-by, called “Shared proximity.” since people in close proximity may have certain common characteristics, the positive correlations found between married couples may be just a side effect of mating or being with those who are close by, rather than the active selection of partners who are similar. When we are born in a particular culture, or go to a College or School, these institutions may promote associative mating by selecting individuals who are similar with respect to intelligence, social skills, etc.

Research by Botwin, Buss, & Shackelford, 1997 found that the correlations between people’s personality traits and the traits they desired in partner were positive. Those partners who were high on Extraversion wanted to select a partner who is Extraversive. But there is one caution in the study: The preferences people express for the personalities of their ideal mates might be influenced by the mates they already have. If an emotionally stable person is already mated to an emotionally stable person, perhaps they justify their choice by claiming that they are truly attracted to the one they are with. That could result in positive correlations

between one's own personality and the personality people express for a desired mate.

Even people who are not mated, show similar pattern of results- They prefer those who are similar to themselves, supporting the attraction similarity theory.

- Do People get the mates they want and are they happy?

Many people are mated with those who fall short of their ideals. Therefore, we can predict that individuals whose mates deviate, or are different from their ideals will be less satisfied than those whose mates embody their desires. But, research by Botwin et al, 1997 shows that there are modest but consistently positive correlations between the personality desired in a partner and the actual personality characteristics displayed by the partner. The correspondence/agreement between what one wants and what one gets is strong for Extraversion and Intellect-Openness. But, people seem to get the mates they want in terms of personality.

Let us say, that people get what they want in marriage partners. So, are they happier than those who do not get what they want? To test this, Botwin et al. (1997) created difference scores between the preferences each individual expressed for the ideal personality of a mate and assessments of the spouse's actual personality. The results showed that one's partner's personality had a substantial effect on marital satisfaction. People were happy with their relationships if they were married to partners who were high on Agreeableness, Emotional Stability, and Openness. And, the difference scores between the partner's personality and one's ideal for that personality did not predict marital satisfaction. Thus, it seems that the key to marital happiness is having a partner who is agreeable, emotionally stable, and open, regardless of whether the partner departs in specific ways from what one wants. It has been found that people married to agreeable partners are more satisfied with their sex lives, view their spouses as more loving and affectionate, as a source of shared laughter, and as a source of stimulating conversation.

It was also found that men whose wives score high on Conscientiousness are significantly more sexually satisfied with the marriage than are other husbands. Women whose husbands score high on Conscientiousness are more satisfied, happier with their spouses as sources of stimulating conversation. Both men and women whose spouses are high on Emotional Stability are more satisfied, view their spouses as sources of encouragement and support, and enjoy spending time with their spouses. Both men and women whose spouses score high on Openness are generally satisfied with the marriage and perceive that a lot of love and affection are expressed in the marriage. Optimism also predicts high levels of satisfaction in romantic relationships overtime.

- **Personality and selective breakup of couples:**

According to Violation of Desire Theory, people married to others who lack desired characteristics, such as dependability and emotional stability

will frequently dissolve marriage/breakup. So, breakup should occur more when your desires are violated rather than satisfied. We can also predict that couples who are dissimilar on personality traits will breakup more often than those who fulfill their desires for similarity.

Emotional instability has been a consistent predictor for marital instability and divorce. One reason why this characteristic is associated with marital instability and divorce is that these emotionally unstable people may experience jealousy within romantic relationships. Husbands who are low on impulse control and conscientiousness are good predictors of marital dissolution. Low agreeableness also predicts marital dissatisfaction and divorce although this is a less consistent finding. One reason maybe that low agreeableness and low conscientiousness were associated with sexual infidelity. Although extraversion and dominance are also related to sexual promiscuity, these variables are not related to marital breakups and satisfaction.

Other researches point to two other influences of personality on relationship satisfaction or dissatisfaction. One is similarity in overall personality profile, rather than similarity in individual personality traits. The second is closeness/extent of match between an individual's conception of an ideal mate and their partner's actual personality.

- **Shyness and selection of risky situations:**

Shyness is a tendency to feel anxious, tense, worried during social interactions are anticipating social interactions. Shyness is not unusual, it is a common phenomenon, as more than 90% of people report feeling shy atleast in some point of their life or the other. But, some people are dispositionally shy- they tend to feel awkward in most social situations and, so, tend to avoid situations in which they will be forced to interact with people. Effects of shyness are well-documented, as, e.g., shy women avoid others, creating social isolation, are less likely to go a doctor for gynecological exams, put themselves at greater health risk, are less likely to bring the issue of contraceptives with sexual partners, etc.

It is also seen that shyness also affects whether a person is willing to select risky situation in the form of gambles. In a research study by Addison and Schmidt, 1999, it was found that shy women chose smaller bets that had a high likelihood of winning whereas non-shy women preferred/chose riskier bets with a low probability of winning, but a larger payoff, if they did win. Thus, shy women avoid choosing risky gambles.

- **Other personality traits and selection of situations:**

Empathy is another personality trait. It is found that those who are empathic choose to volunteer for community activities, etc. People who are high on psychoticism seem to choose volatile and spontaneous situations more than formal or stable ones. Those high on Machiavellianism (a personality trait marked by a calculating attitude toward human relationships and a belief that ends justify means, however

ruthless.)prefer face-to-face situations, as they give a better chance to ply their social manipulative skills to exploit others.

High sensation-seekers are more likely to volunteer for unusual things, like experimenting with drugs and sex, frequently choose to enter risky situations, engage in unwanted sex when drunk, engage in risky sexual behaviour such as having unprotected sex, etc.

7.1.2 Evocation:

Evocation is the ways in which features of our personality elicit reactions from others. Let us take an example. There are 2 groups of children- one highly active and the other, less in activity. As compared to less active peers, children who are high in activity elicit/evoke hostility and competitiveness from others. Whereas, social interactions of less active people are more peaceful and calm, harmonious. Thus, — a personality characteristic (in this case, activity level) evokes a predictable set of social responses from others (hostility and power struggles).

- **Aggression and evocation of hostility:**

It is seen that aggressive people expect that others will be hostile toward them. One study has shown that aggressive people chronically interpret ambiguous behavior from others, such as being bumped into or a mistakenly clashed into someone, as intentionally hostile. This is known as “Hostile Attributional Bias”- the tendency to infer hostile intent on the part of others in the face of uncertain or unclear behaviour from them.

Because they expect others to be hostile towards them, they themselves also behave aggressively towards others. And, so, as a result, others will aggress back. Thus, it becomes like a cycle. Thus, aggressive reactions from others confirm what the aggressive person suspected all along- that the other person has hostility towards him/her. But, the person with hostile attributional bias fails to realize that aggression on the part of others is a product of his own making-the aggressor evokes it from others by treating them aggressively.

- **Evocation of anger and upset in partners:**

After the initial selection of partner, there are 2 ways in which personality can evoke conflict in close relationships. First way is the person can perform an action that can evoke an emotional response in a partner. E.g., a dominating person can act in condescending manner, habitually evoking upset in the partner. The second way is when a person evokes actions from others, those actions, can in turn upset the original elicitor. Let us take an example. An aggressive man, may elicit silent treatment from his mate, which results in upsetting him because she won't speak to him.

In order to support these 2 processes, a research study was carried out. The personality characteristics of both husbands and wives were assessed through three data sources: self-report, report by partner, and independent reports by two interviewers. Statistical analyses was performed to

determine which personality traits predicted that the spouse became upset. Results indicated that husbands who were high on dominance tended to upset their partners by being condescending (treating opinions of wives as stupid or inferior and putting more values on their own opinions). The husbands who scored low on conscientiousness, in contrast, tended to upset their wives by having extramarital affairs—seeing someone else intimately or having sex with another woman. Husbands low on openness evoked upset in their wives by acting rejecting (ignoring the wife's feelings), abusive (slapping or hitting the wife), physically self-absorbed (focusing too much on his face and hair), sexually withholding (refusing the wife's sexual advances), and abusive of alcohol (getting drunk).

The strongest predictors of evoked anger and upset were the personality characteristics of emotional instability and disagreeableness. Disagreeable husbands upset their wives in ways such as condescending, neglecting them, rejecting them, abusing them, etc. The emotionally unstable individuals evoked anger and upset in ways such as condescending, abusive, unfaithful, inconsiderate, and abusive of alcohol, and these husbands' upset wives by being moody, jealous, possessive.

The personality traits that are found to evoke or diminish conflict in interpersonal relationships are Agreeableness and emotional stability. It has been found in a study that people high on agreeableness tend to evoke less interpersonal conflict than people low on agreeableness. One reason maybe that they tend to use compromise as a way of dealing with conflicts and people who are low on Agreeableness are less willing to use compromise and use physical force and verbal insult to deal with conflict.

The links between personality and conflict show up at least as early as early adolescence as e.g., young teenagers low in agreeableness not only evoke more conflict, but also are more likely to be a victim/victimized by their peers in high school. Also, it was found that people high on agreeableness use effective conflict resolution strategies, a path leading to harmonious social interactions. Those high in negative emotionality (high neuroticism) were likely to experience more conflict in all their relationships, whereas those high in positive emotionality (a close cousin of agreeableness) had less conflict in all of their relationships.

Thus, we can say that Agreeableness and emotional stability are key traits which are consistently found to be most conducive to evoking satisfaction in relationships.

- **Evocation through expectancy confirmation:**

Expectancy confirmation is a phenomenon which means people's beliefs about the personality characteristics of others cause them to evoke in others, actions that are consistent with their initial beliefs. It is also called as Self-fulfilling prophecy.

In one study regarding this, researchers Synder and Swann(1978) led people to believe that they would be dealing with aggressive and hostile individuals and then researchers introduced 2 people. People's beliefs

caused them to behave aggressively with the unsuspecting target. Then, the behaviour of unsuspecting target was examined. It was found that the unsuspecting target actually acted in a more hostile manner, behaviour that was evoked by the person who was led to expect hostility. In this example, beliefs about the personality of the other (Here, the other person will be aggressive) actually created the behavior that confirmed those initial beliefs (These expectations led Participants to behave in a hostile manner towards the unsuspecting target, and then, due to Participant's aggressive behaviour, the target also responded in an aggressive manner).

Thus, we often hear about the person's reputation prior to or following the actual encounters with other person. Our beliefs regarding these personality characteristics have far-reaching effects on evoking behaviour that confirm our initial beliefs. Sometimes, it is said that if you want to change your personality, move to a place where people do not know you. Through the process of expectancy confirmation, people who already know you may unwittingly evoke in you, the behavior that confirms their beliefs, thereby constraining your ability to change.

7.1.3 Manipulation: Social Influence tactics:

Manipulation, or social influence, involves all the ways in which people intentionally try to change the behavior of others. We influence each other all the time. Thus, the term manipulation is used here descriptively, with no negative connotation. Natural selection favours people who successfully manipulate their objects in the environment. Objects can be inanimate such as tools, shelter or animate, such as parents, members of different species, etc.

There are 2 questions that can be asked. One can ask, "Are some individuals consistently more manipulative than others?" Second, we can ask, "Given that all people attempt to influence others, do stable personality characteristics predict the sorts of tactics that are used?" Do extraverted people, more often use the charm tactic, and introverts use the silent treatment tactic?

- **A Taxonomy of Eleven tactics of manipulation:**

A taxonomy is a classification scheme- the identification and naming of groups within a particular subject field. Example, taxonomies of plants and animals, for example, have been developed to identify and name all the major plant and animal groups. In Psychology, the Big 5 personality traits is a taxonomy is an attempt to develop taxonomy regarding the major dimensions of personality.

A taxonomy of tactics of manipulation was developed through the following steps: (1) nominations of acts of influence and (2) factor analysis of self-reports and observer-reports of the previously nominated acts. The act-nomination procedure is: "Please think of your [romantic partner, close friend, mother, father, etc.]. How do you get this person to do something? What do you do? Please write down specific behaviors or

acts that you perform in order to get this person to do things. List as many different sorts of acts as you can.”

After this list was generated, the researchers converted it into a questionnaire that could be administered via self-report or observer report. Several participants completed versions of an expanded instrument, consisting of 83 acts of influence or tactics. Factor analysis was then used to identify clusters of acts of influence, or tactics. After doing Factor-Analysis (A statistical technique of data-reduction). 11 tactics of manipulation were discovered as showed in the following table:

Table 7.1	
<i>11 tactics of manipulation.</i>	
Tactic	Sample Act
Charm	I try to be loving when I ask her to do it
Coercion	I yell at him until he does it.
Silent treatment	I don't respond to her until she does it
Reason	I explain why I want him to do it.
Regression	I whine until she does it.
Self-abasement	I act submissive so that he will do it.
Responsibility invocation	I get her to make a commitment to do it.
Hardball	I hit him so that he will do it.
Pleasure induction	I show her how much fun it will be to do it.
Social comparison	I tell him that everyone else is doing it.
Monetary reward	I offer her money so that she will do it.

Source: R.J. Larsen and D.M. Buss (2009). *Personality Psychology: Domains of Knowledge about human nature*(4th ed.). McGraw Hill.

• **Sex differences in tactics of manipulation:**

Do men and women differ in their use of tactics of manipulations? In a research by Buss(1992), it was found thatwomen and men equally performed almost all of the tactics of social influence. There was only a small exception regarding the regression tactic. In dating couples and married couples, women more than the men reported more frequent use of the regression tactic, including crying, whining, pouting, and sulking to get their way. The differencewas quite small, thus, supporting the overall conclusion that men and women, in general, are similar in their performance of tactics of manipulation.

- **Personality predictors of tactics of manipulation:**

Whether people with particular personality traits are more likely to use particular tactics of manipulation? More than 200 participants rated each act of influence on the degree to which they used it in each of four relationships: spouse, friend, mother, and father. Correlations were then computed between the personality traits of the participants and their use of each tactic of manipulation.

Findings indicated that those scoring relatively high in dominance (extraversion) tended to use coercion, such as demanding, threatening, cursing, and criticizing, in order to get their way. Highly dominant people tended to use responsibility invocation, getting others to make commitments to a course of action and saying that it was their duty to do it. People low in dominance (relatively submissive individuals) used the self-abasement tactic as a means of influencing others. They also tended to use the hardball tactic—deception, lying, degradation, and even violence.

Agreeable people used pleasure induction and reason. Those who were disagreeable used silent treatment and coercion. Low-agreeable individuals are also likely to take revenge on people whom they have perceived to have wronged them in some way. They tend to be more selfish in their use of collective resources, whereas high agreeable individuals exercise more self-restraint when the group's resources are scarce or threatened.

Conscientiousness is related to only one tactic of manipulation: Reason. They explain why they want the other person to do something, provide logical explanations for wanting it done, and explain the underlying rationale for doing it. People low-conscientious individuals are more likely to use criminal strategies in gaining resources.

Emotionally unstable individuals use hardball and coercion and also the use of monetary reward. They also most commonly used regression. Thus, this kind of behavior comes close to the definition of emotional instability—the display of volatile emotions, some positive and some negative. People high on Intellect-Openness use the tactic of reason above all other tactics as they are smart and perceptive and pleasure induction and responsibility invocation. Whereas, people low on Intellect-Openness use the tactic of social comparison- comparing the partner with someone else who would do it, and telling others that they will look stupid if they do not do it.

7.1.4 Panning Back: An overview of Personality and social interaction:

The most important message we should take is that personality does not passively reside within the individual, but reaches out and profoundly affects each person's social environment. Let us consider selection first. In the physical habitat, an Introvert is more likely to "choose/select" a rural habitat whereas an Extravert is likely to choose a city with has lot of opportunities for social interaction. In the social domain, extravert will

select a mate who is extraverted and introverted will select a mate who is introverted.

For the process of evocation, In the social domain, narcissistic people evoke admiration from their followers and contempt from those who dislike their unbridled self-centeredness. For the process of manipulation, research has shown that personality affects how people mold and modify the rooms in which they live. Those with high in Openness will decorate their rooms with unconventional, fashionable and stylish objects, books and C.D.'s that are highly varied in Genre. People low on Openness have fewer and more conventional decorations, narrower range of books, more delimited collection of CDs. In the social area, disagreeable individuals are more likely than stable people to use "the silent treatment" as a tactic of manipulation. Those high in Intellect-Openness tend to use reason and rationality to get their way.

Personality, thus, affects the mates and friends a person chooses as well as the environments a person decides to enter or avoid (selection); the reactions elicited from others and from the physical environment (evocation); and the ways in which one's physical and social environments are altered once inhabited (manipulation). See figure 7.1.

Figure 7.1

Personality and social interaction.

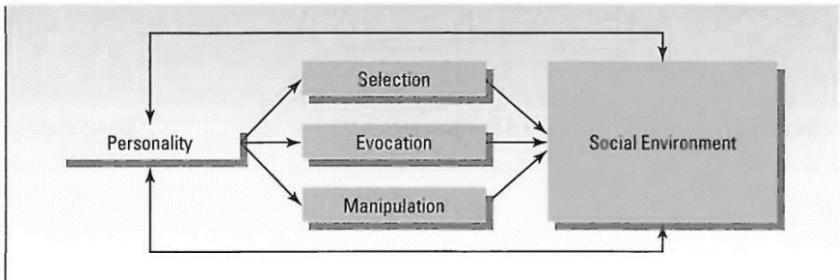


Figure 7.1: Source: Buss D.M. & Larsen R.J. (2009). *Personality Psychology: Domains of knowledge about human nature*(4th ed.).McGraw Hill.

Further research is needed to determine whether the causal arrows in the figure run in both directions. Does the choice of a mate who is similar in personality, for example, create a social environment that reinforces that personality and makes it more stable over time? Does the wide variety of manipulative tactics used by emotionally unstable individuals—from hardball to threats to sulking, whining, and pouting—create a social environment that is indeed rocked with greater turmoil, thus maintaining the personality disposition of neuroticism?

People are intrinsically fascinated with psychological sex differences: average differences between women and men in personality or behavior. Second, many people are concerned with the political implications of findings of sex differences. Will such findings be used to foster gender stereotypes (beliefs about how men and women differ or are supposed to differ, in contrast to what the actual differences are.)? Will such findings be used to oppress women? People are concerned with the practical implications of sex differences for their everyday lives. Will knowledge of sex differences help us, for example, understand and communicate better with others?

7.2.1 The Science and Politics of studying sex and gender:

Few topics generate as much controversy as the topic of sex differences. Some people worry that findings of sex differences might be used to support certain political agendas, such as excluding women from leadership or work roles. Still others worry that findings of sex differences might be used to support the status quo, such as keeping men in power and women out of power. Some people argue that findings of sex differences merely reflect gender stereotypes rather than real differences. Some psychologists argue that any discovery of sex differences merely reflects the biases of the scientists and are not objective descriptions of reality.

A Psychologist Roy Baumeister actually advocated that study on sex differences must be stopped because sex differences may conflict with the ideas of egalitarianism, although he has reversed his views on this and published articles on sex differences. Others argue, that both scientific psychology and social change will be impossible without coming to terms with the real sex differences that exist.

Feminist Psychologist Alice Eagly (1995), for example, argues that sex differences exist, they are consistent across studies, and they should not be ignored merely because they are perceived to conflict with certain political agendas. She says that feminists who try to minimize these differences or pretend that they do not exist, actually hamper the feminist agenda and present a dogma that is out-of-touch with reality. Janet Hyde, argue that sex differences have been exaggerated and that there is so much overlap between the sexes on most personality traits that the differences are minimal.

- **History of the study of sex differences:**

The study of sex differences has a fascinating History within Psychology. Prior to 1973, little attention was paid to sex differences and in Psychology research, participants used to be of only one sex, males. And even when participants were of both genders, few articles actually analyzed or reported whether the effects differed for men and women.

All these things changed in early 1970's. In 1974, Eleanor Maccoby and Carol Jacklyn published a classic book, *The Psychology of Sex*

Differences, in which they reviewed hundreds of studies and then drew conclusions about how men and women differed.

Their conclusion was that women were slightly better than males in verbal ability and men were slightly better than women in Mathematical and Spatial ability.

In terms of personality characteristics, they concluded that men were more aggressive than women. With other aspects of personality and social behavior, they concluded that there was not enough evidence to determine whether men and women differed. They concluded that sex differences were less/few in number and trivial in importance.

The book set off an avalanche of research on the topic. The book itself was criticized on various grounds. Some argued that many more sex differences existed than mentioned in the book itself or by the authors. Also, method by which authors drew their conclusions were crude with respect or if we compare them to today's standard.

Following the publication of the book, journal began to change their reporting practices. They started to require authors who calculated and report sex differences. There began the explosion of research and thousands of studies were conducted on sex differences.

Since Maccoby and Jacklyn's early work, researchers have developed a more precise quantitative procedure for examining conclusions across studies and for determining sex differences, called meta-analysis.

Meta-analysis is a statistical method for summarizing the findings of large numbers of individual studies. Meta-analysis allows researchers to calculate with greater objectivity and precision whether a particular difference—such as a sex difference—is consistent across studies. It also allows researchers to estimate how large the difference actually is—called the effect size.

- **Calculation of Effect size: How large are the sex differences?**

Most commonly used Statistic in meta-analysis is effect size, or d statistic. It is used to indicate a difference in standard deviation units. How to interpret d?

A d of 1.00 means that the difference between the groups is one full standard deviation (S.D.) A d of 0.25 means-the difference between the groups is one-quarter of a S.D. An effect size can be calculated for each study of sex differences and then averaged across studies to give a more precise and objective assessment of whether and how much sex differences exist.

Most meta-analyses have adopted a convention for interpreting effect sizes as follows:

Table 7.2: <i>Interpretation of effect sizes.</i>	
d score	Meaning
0.20 or -0.20	Small difference
0.50 or -0.50	Medium difference
0.80 or -0.80	Large difference

Source: R.J. Larsen and D.M. Buss (2009). *Personality Psychology: Domains of Knowledge about human nature* (4th ed.). McGraw Hill.

Positive d scores, such as 0.20 or 0.50, indicate that men score higher than women. Negative d scores, such as -0.20 or -0.50, indicate that women score higher than men. E.g., a d score of —0.85 means that women score much higher on a particular trait.

Let us take an example. Which sex can throw the ball faster? Although individual differences in ball throwing exist, it generally clear that men, on an average throw the ball faster than women. One researcher reported that d is approximately 2.00. It means that the sexes differ, on average, by 2 standard deviations, which is quite large.

Another example: Which sex scores higher in verbal ability? It turns out that women are slightly better than men, but the d is only —0.11. Findings from most research tells us that men and women are generally same with respect to cognitive abilities, but only one exception is in the realms of spatial ability. The d value for spatial ability is 0.73, which comes close to the standard for "large".

It is important to keep in mind that even large effect sizes for average sex differences do not necessarily have implications for any one particular individual. Even with a d of 2.00 for throwing distance/spatial ability, some women can throw much farther than the average man and some men cannot throw as far as the average woman.

- **Minimalists and Maximalists:**

Those who describe sex differences as small and inconsequential are called "Minimalists". They say, first, empirically most research findings show small magnitude of affect arguing that any personality variable shows tremendous overlap in men and women. Second, is that if the sex differences are small, they have little practical importance and do not have much consequences for people's lives, so it is important to focus on other psychological issues.

Maximalists argue that magnitude of sex differences are equal to the magnitude of other effects in Psychology and should be regarded as small

or trivialized. Accordingly, some sex differences tend to be small in magnitude, whereas others are large in magnitude, and many are in the moderate range. Eagly, a Maximalist, notes that even small sex differences can have large practical importance. A small sex difference in the proclivity to help other people, for example, could result in a large sex difference in the number of lives each sex aids over the long-run in times of distress.

7.2.2 SEX DIFFERENCES IN PERSONALITY:

The five-factor model of personality provides a convenient framework for organizing a number of findings about sex differences in personality.

- **TEMPERAMENT IN CHILDREN:**

Temperament reflects biologically-based emotional and behavioural consistencies that occur early in life and predict in conjunction with other factors—patterns and outcomes in several other domains such as Psychopathology and personality. One research included a massive meta-analysis ever undertaken of sex differences in temperament in children.

They found that inhibitory control (the ability to control inappropriate responses and behaviours) showed the largest sex difference, $d = -0.41$, considered in moderate range. Inhibitory control is related to the later development of Conscientiousness. The sex difference appears to get less/fade, as adult men and women do not differ much in conscientiousness. Perceptual sensitivity (The ability to detect subtle stimuli from the environment) showed a sex difference favouring girls. Thus, girls are more sensitive than boys on Perceptual sensitivity.

Surgency (A cluster of approach behaviour, high inactivity and high impulsivity) showed a sex difference with boys scoring higher than girls. The combination of high surgency and low inhibitory control may account for the fact that boys land up with more disciplinary difficulties in School than girls in early lives. In addition, this combination may also account for males scoring high on physical aggressiveness than girls. The contexts in which this sex difference emerged, however, were quite specific, leading the authors to suggest that "gender differences in personality can be conceptualized as patterns of social adaptation that are complex and context-specific".

Is there any dimension on which boys and girls show no sex difference? Yes! That is negative affectivity that includes anger, difficulty, amount of distress, sadness. Only on the component of fearfulness, it was found that girls were slightly more fearful than boys. This general lack of gender difference in negative affectivity is interesting because it is closely connected with emotional instability, which does show a moderate sex difference in adulthood. Else-Quest and her colleagues (2006) speculate that gender stereotypes—beliefs that females are more emotional than males—may lead to the actual development of the gender difference in adulthood, given the negligible gender difference among children.

- **FIVE-FACTOR MODEL:**

Five-Factor model are a broad set of personality traits within which we can examine whether men and women differ.

Extraversion: Three facets of extraversion have been examined for sex differences: gregariousness, assertiveness, and activity. A study of personality in 50 different cultures revealed a relatively small gender difference. Women score slightly higher on gregariousness than men, but the difference is quite small. Men score very slightly higher on activity level. A study of personality in 50 different cultures revealed a relatively small gender difference gender difference on extraversion. The only subscale of extraversion showing gender difference is Assertiveness, with men scoring moderately higher than females on that. A related study also showed that men placed more importance on the value of power than do women. Means, men value social status and dominance more than women. Thus, men are more likely than women to interrupt in conversation than women. An important source of conflict between the sexes— unwanted interruptions of dialogue—may stem from this moderate sex difference in assertiveness.

Agreeableness: The 50-culture study revealed a small to medium sex difference ($d = -0.32$) was found on Agreeableness, with women scoring higher than men. Older adults (65-98) also show a similar pattern with women scoring higher on this facet than men. On the facet of trust in Agreeableness (the proclivity to cooperate with others, giving others the benefit of the doubt, and viewing one's fellow human beings as basically good at heart), women scored higher than men. Tendermindedness, another facet of Agreeableness (a nurturant proclivity—having empathy for others and being sympathetic with those who are downtrodden.), women scored substantially higher than men.

Meta-analyses of smiling show that women smile more often than men, with an effect size of -0.60 . If smiling reflects Agreeableness, we can conclude that women are more Agreeable than men. But, if, some argue that low-status people do a lot of smiling. So, if this is correct, then, smiling maybe more a reflection of low status rather than Agreeableness.

Aggressiveness is at the opposite end of agreeableness. In general, the effect sizes for aggression are largest for projective tests, such as the TAT ($d = 0.86$), the next largest for peer report measures of aggression ($d = 0.63$), and the smallest for self-report measures of aggression ($d = 0.40$). Worldwide, men commit roughly 90 percent of all homicides, and most of the victims of these homicides are other men, men are also involved in gang wars, various violent crimes. The largest sex differences in violent crimes show up just after puberty, peaking in adolescence and the early twenties. After age 50, violent crimes of all sorts start to reduce, and men and women become much more similar to each other in criminal aggressiveness.

Conscientiousness: The 50-culture study revealed negligible sex difference on this factor. The effect size of sex differences in

Conscientiousness is $d = -0.13$. This means that women and men are essentially the same on this dimension. Even very small effects can sometimes have large cumulative effects over time. E.g., a small difference in order between marriage partners may result in a large number of arguments about housecleaning over the course of a year.

Emotional stability: At one end of the dimension are those who are steady, calm, and stable. One can label this end "emotionally stable." The opposite end is characterized by volatility and changeability of mood. The 50-culture study found that Emotional stability found the largest sex difference($d= -0.49$) indicating women are moderately lower than men on this dimension. This pattern is true even in case of older adults.

Intellect-Openness to experience: The 50-culture study revealed no sex differences on this factor ($d= -0.05$). Openness means the range of thoughts or concepts that a person entertains. Botwin et al. (1997) studied sex differences in Intellect-Openness to experience using three data sources: self-report, spouse-report, and independent interviewer reports (one male and one female interviewer). Separate analyses of these three data sources yielded no sex differences in Openness-Intellect.

• **Basic emotions: Frequency and Intensity:**

The most extensive research studied 2,199 Australians and an international sample of 6,868 participants drawn from 41 different countries (Brebner, 2003). 8 fundamental emotions were studied, four "positive" emotions (Affection, Joy, Contentment, Pride) and four "negative" emotions (Fear, Anger, Sadness, Guilt). Participants used rating scales to indicate how frequently/often they experienced each emotion andthe intensity with which they experienced each emotion. Table 3 summarizes the basic findings of research.

Table 7.3		
<i>Basic emotions: Frequency and Intensity</i>		
Emotion	Frequency	Intensity
<i>Positive emotions</i>	0.20	0.23
Affection (Positive emotion)	0.30	0.25
Joy	0.16	0.26
Contentment	0.13	0.28
Pride	Ns	Ns
<i>Negative emotions</i>	0.14	0.25
Fear	0.17	0.26
Anger	0.05	0.14
Sadness	0.16	0.28
Guilt	Ns	0.07

Source: Source: Buss D.M. & Larsen R.J. (2009). *Personality Psychology: Domains of knowledge about human nature*(4th ed.).McGraw Hill.

As shown in the table, there are small, but statistically significant differences in the experience of emotions in this international sample. All

point to women experiencing both positive emotions and negative emotions more frequently and intensely than do men. In the positive areas, affection and joy show the largest sex differences. Pride, shows no sex difference in either frequency or intensity. In the negative areas, women experience fear and sadness more than men, especially in the reported intensity of the experience. Guilt, in contrast, shows a minimal sex difference in intensity and no sex difference in frequency—perhaps contradicting the stereotype that women are more guilt-prone than men.

These results must be qualified in two ways. First, the effect sizes are generally small. Next, other research has revealed that more specialized explorations of emotions reveal some reversals of these sex differences, such as women experiencing more intense jealousy in response to the emotional infidelity of a partner. One of the most common complaints that women express about men is that they don't express their emotions enough (Buss, 2003). Men often complain that women are too emotional. The results point to one possible reason for these complaints—perhaps men don't express their emotions because they literally don't experience emotions as frequently or as intensely as do women.

• **OTHER DIMENSIONS OF PERSONALITY:**

SELF-ESTEEM: It is how we feel good about ourselves. Research has explored many facets of self-esteem such as, self-esteem in athletic abilities, social skills, etc. One far measured component is Global self-esteem- “The level of global regard one has for self as a person.” It can range from highly positive to highly negative and reflects an overall evaluation of self.

People with high self-esteem appear to cope better with the stresses and strains of daily life. When faced with negative feedback about one's performance, people with high self-esteem perform better on cognitive tasks. They tend to take credit for their successes but deny responsibility for their failure.

The overall effect size is relatively small, with men scoring slightly higher than females in self-esteem ($d = 0.21$). Young children (ages 7-10) showed only a slight sex difference in self-esteem ($d = 0.16$). As the children approached adolescence, the gap between the sexes widened/expanded. At ages 11-14, d was 0.23. The sex difference was at the peak during the ages of 15-18 ($d = 0.33$).

Females seem to have lower self-esteem than males as they hit their mid-to late teens. In adulthood, the self-esteem gap starts to close. During the age range 19-22, the effect size shrinks to 0.18. During the ages of 23-59, the sexes come even closer, with a d of 0.10. From age 60 on up, the d is only -0.03 , which means that the males and females are virtually identical in self-esteem.

The magnitude of all these effects is very small, and even during adolescence, the gap between the sexes is widest. So, it is not true that women's self-esteem is permanently decimated. Even small differences in

self-esteem can be extremely important to day-to-day well-being, so this sex difference cannot be dismissed.

SEXUALITY AND MATING: Meta-analyses show profound sex differences in certain aspects of sexual desire, motivation, and attitudes. It was found that men have a more favourable attitude towards casual sex than women ($d = 0.81$). Can men and women be just friends? It turns out that men have more difficulty than women in just being friends than opposite sex. Men are more likely than women to initiate friendship with someone of the opposite sex because they are sexually attracted to them; more likely to actually become sexually attracted to opposite sex friends, and men dissolve friendships if such friendships do not result in sex.

Not all men, but men who have hostile masculinity (domineering and degrading attitudes towards women), men who lack empathy, who are narcissistic, are more sexually aggressive than women in the form that in forcing women to have sex when they express an unwillingness to have sex.

People-Things Dimension: People who score toward the "things" end of the dimension prefer vocations that deal with impersonal objects—machines, tools, or materials—examples include carpenters, auto mechanics, building contractors, tool makers, and farmers. Those scoring toward the "people" end of the dimension prefer social occupations, which include thinking about others, caring for others, or directing others. The correlation between sex and the people-things dimension is .56, or a d of roughly 1.35, which means that men are more likely to score at the things end of the dimension, and women are more likely to score at the people end of the dimension.

When girls are asked to describe themselves spontaneously, they more likely than boys make references to their close relationships. They value personal qualities linked to group harmony, such as sensitivity to others. They more likely identify their personal relationships as central to their identity.

7.2.3 MASCULINITY, FEMININITY, ANDROGYNY AND SEX ROLES:

In 1930's, it was found that men and women differed on personality items in large inventories. Researchers assumed that the differences could be described by a single personality dimension, with masculinity at one end and femininity at the other end. A person who scored high on masculinity was assumed to score low on femininity. Researchers thought that all could be located on this single personality dimension- Masculinity-Femininity. But does a single scale with masculinity and femininity really capture the important individual differences? Can't someone be both masculine and feminine? This question takes us to a new concept- Androgyny.

- **THE SEARCH FOR ANDROGYNY:**

New researchers started with the premise that masculinity and Femininity are independent dimensions. Thus, one can be high on both, or, low on both. Or, one can be stereotypically masculine, means high on masculinity and low on Femininity or stereotypically feminine, high on Femininity and low on masculinity. Two major personality instruments were published in 1974 to assess people using this new conception of sex roles (Bern, 1974; Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1974). The masculinity dimension contained items reflecting assertiveness, boldness, dominance, self-sufficiency, and instrumentality.

The femininity dimension contained items that reflected nurturance, expression of emotions, and empathy. Those who agreed with personality trait terms connoting these qualities scored high on femininity. Those who scored high on both dimensions were labeled androgynous, to reflect the notion that a single person could possess both masculine and feminine characteristics. Researchers who developed these measures were of the view that androgynous persons are most highly developed as it was believed that they had most valuable elements of both the sexes. They were presumed to be liberated from the shackles of traditional notions of sex roles.

This approach of Androgyny led to the concept of feminism in America as women started working in workforce and men also began to opt for more nurturant roles. The new androgynous conception of sex roles, was not without its critics. The new scales were criticized on several aspects. Like, items on the inventories and their correlations with each other. Researchers assumed that masculinity and femininity were single dimensions. Other researchers argued, that both constructs were actually multidimensional, containing many facets. Another criticism is that masculinity and femininity, indeed, consist of a single, bipolar trait.

In response to these criticisms, the originators of Androgyny changed their views as one author believes that their instrument does not measure sex roles, but measures personality characteristics of instrumentality and expressiveness. Instrumentality consists of personality traits that involve working with objects, getting tasks completed in a direct fashion, showing independence from others, and displaying self-sufficiency. Expressiveness, is the ease with which one can express emotions, such as crying, showing empathy for the troubles of others, and showing nurturance to those in need.

Another author also says that the inventory measures Gender schemata, cognitive orientations that lead individuals to process social information on the basis of sex-linked associations. Thus, the ideal is not to be androgynous but, to be gender-aschematic. That is, the ideal is not to use gender at all in one's processing of social information. Findings generally suggest that genes also play a role, even within each gender, in the degree to which the sex roles are adopted, but environmental influences also affect them.

- **GENDER STEREOTYPES:**

Stereotypes are beliefs that we hold regarding way in which the sexes differ, regardless of whether those beliefs are accurate reflections of reality. Gender stereotypes have three components. The first component is cognitive which deals with the ways in which we form social categories. The second component is affective. The third component is behavioral. For example, you may discriminate against someone (Action/behavioural component) simply because he belongs in a social category—in this case, "man."

In most of the studies, it was found that women, compared with men, were commonly seen as more affiliative, deferent, heterosexual, nurturant, and self-abasing (Communal) oriented towards the group. Men, are perceived to be more instrumental—asserting their independence from the group. In addition to general gender stereotypes, studies show that most people have more finely differentiated stereotypic views of each sex. Stereotypes of women fell into a smaller number of subtypes. One might be called the "classically feminine" subtype, which includes housewives, secretaries, and maternal women. A second subtype is defined by short-term or overt sexuality which includes sex bombs, tarts, and vamps.

A third stereotype of women, however, involves a subtype that may have emerged relatively recently, perhaps over the past 20 or 30 years—the confident, intellectual, liberated career woman.

7.2.4 THEORIES OF SEX DIFFERENCES:

- **SOCIALIZATION AND SOCIAL ROLES:** The most widely held theory, Socialization theory, the notion that boys and girls become different because boys are reinforced by parents, teachers, and the media for being "masculine," and girls for being "feminine." Example, boys are given baseball bats and trucks. Girls are given dolls. Boys are praised for engaging in rough-and-tumble play. Girls are praised for being cute, obedient. Boys are punished for crying. Girls are comforted when they cry. Over time, according to socialization theory, children learn behaviors deemed appropriate for their sex.

In Bandura's social learning theory, boys and girls also learn by observing the behaviors of others, called models of their own sex. Boys observe their fathers, male teachers, and male peers. Girls observe their mothers, female teachers, and female peer models. Overtime, through direct reinforcement, the model provides guidance for behaviours that are masculine or feminine.

Studies of socialization practices have found that both mothers and fathers encourage dependency more in girls than in boys (J. H. Block, 1983). Parents encourage girls to stay close to home, and boys are permitted or even encouraged to roam. Fathers get involved in more physical play with their sons than with their daughters. Fathers do not interact with their daughters as frequently as with their sons (Whiting & Edwards, 1988). Girls in most cultures tend to be assigned more domestic chores than boys.

In most cultures, boys are permitted to stray farther from home than are girls and are socialized to be more competitive than are girls. Girls are trained to be more nurturant than the boys. In the majority of the cultures, the parents tried to teach their daughters to delay having sexual intercourse, whereas the boys were encouraged to have sexual intercourse.

One potential difficulty, however, pertains to the direction of effects—whether parents are socializing children in sex-linked ways or whether children are eliciting their parents' behavior to correspond to their existing sex-linked preferences. E.g., parents may buy a variety of toys for boys and girls. But, if girls show no interest in trucks and boys show no interest in dolls, parents may stop purchasing masculine toys for girls and feminine toys for boys. Another problem for traditional theories of socialization is that they provide no account of the origins of differential parental socialization practices. Why do parents want their boys and girls to grow up differently?

According to this Theory, sex differences originate because men and women are distributed differently into different occupational and family roles. Men, are expected to devote to the breadwinning role. Women are expected to assume the homemaker role. Over time, children learn these behaviors that are linked to these roles. But, like socialization theory, however, social role theory fails to provide an account of the origins of sex-linked roles. This theory is becoming increasingly testable as family and occupational roles change. Women are pursuing breadwinning roles more often than in the past, and men are pursuing greater responsibility for domestic duties. With these changes, if social role theory is correct, sex differences should decrease as well. The countries that are most sexually egalitarian—which give most equal access to education and knowledge and the greatest levels of economic wealth—show the largest, not the smallest, sex differences in personality.

- **HORMONAL THEORIES:**

Men and women differ because the sexes have different underlying hormones. It is these physiological differences, not differential social treatment, that causes boys and girls to diverge over development. There is some evidence that hormonal influences on sex differences begin in utero. The hormonal bath that the developing fetus is exposed to, for example, might affect both the organization of the brain and consequently the gendered interests and activities of the individual. Good evidence for this comes from a condition called congenital adrenal hyperplasia (CAH), in which the female fetus has an overactive adrenal gland. This results in the female being hormonally masculinized.

There are some researches that have tried to identify links between hormones such as testosterone (present in greater amounts in men) and sex-linked behavior. There are even sex differences in circulation of testosterone levels. sex differences in circulating testosterone are linked with some of the traditional sex differences found in behavior, such as aggression, dominance, and career choice. In women, high levels of

testosterone are associated with pursuing a more masculine career and having greater success within the chosen career. Also, higher testosterone levels are linked with greater dominance and aggressiveness in both sexes.

Sexual desire is linked to levels of circulating testosterone. Women's testosterone levels peak just prior to ovulation, and women report a peak in their sexual desire at precisely the same time. Men whose testosterone level is high also report a higher level of sexual motivation.

But, correlation does not mean causation. There is some evidence in nonhuman primates that rises in testosterone levels follow rises in status and dominance within the group, rather than cause them.

An additional limitation of hormonal theories of sex differences in personality is one shared with socialization theories—that is, neither of these theories identifies the origins of the differences.

• **EVOLUTIONARY PSYCHOLOGY THEORY:**

Men and women are predicted to be essentially the same in domains where they have faced similar adaptive problems. They are assumed to be different in those domains where they have faced different adaptive challenges. Here, adaptive problems mean the problems that need to be solved for survival and reproduction. E.g., men and women show similarities in food preferences for sugar, fat, protein, etc. These preferences point out to an adaptive problem of getting calories and nutrients to survive.

In the domain of mating, men and women have faced different adaptive problems like women must carry and gestate and embryo for nine months in order to reproduce and men only do that with a single act of sex. Thus, women have faced the adaptive problem of securing resources to carry them through harsh winters or droughts, when resources might be scarce and a woman's mobility might be restricted by the burden of pregnancy. The costs of making a poor choice of a mate, according to this logic, would have been more damaging to women than to men. Thus, women's mate preferences for men who have the ability and willingness to invest them and their children.

On the other hand, men are predicted to be sexually wanton, and more aggressive than other men because they compete with other men for opportunities for sexual access to women. Because of women's heavy investment, they become an extraordinary valuable reproductive resource over which men compete. Women are more selective than men. An act of casual sex will be more reproductively beneficial for ancestral man than to ancestral woman. Research has shown us that men desire a larger number of sex partners, seek sex after a shorter time period has elapsed in knowing a potential partner, and have more fantasies about casual sex than do women.

But, this perspective also, leaves some questions unanswered for us: What accounts for individual differences within each sex? Why are some

women very much interested in casual sex? Why are some men meek, dependent, and nurturing, whereas others are callous and aggressive? Some women benefit greatly from having a short-term sexual strategy, which can lead to obtaining more and better resources, switching to a mate who is better than her regular mate, and possibly securing better genes for her offspring.

• AN INTEGRATED THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE:

The theoretical accounts we have examined seem very different, but they are not necessarily incompatible. To some extent, they operate at different levels of analysis. An integrated Theoretical perspective will take into account all the levels of analysis because they are clearly compatible with one another. It has been found that parents have interest in socializing boys and girls differently, and these differences are universal. There is also evidence that both sexes change their behaviour according to the roles to which they are assigned. E.g., both become dominant in supervisor role, both become submissive when being supervised. Thus, socialization theories play a role in integrated theory of sex differences.

Men and women clearly differ in circulating testosterone levels, and these differences are linked with differences in sexuality, aggression, dominance, and career interests. Although, we cannot ignore the casual possibility, that, being in a dominant position causes the testosterone level to rise. Thus, social roles and hormones are closely linked and this finding is important for an integrated theory of sex differences. These proximate paths—socialization and hormones—might provide the answers for how the sexes differ, whereas evolutionary psychology provides the answers for why the sexes differ.

But, it's true that all the 3 level of analysis- current social factors, circulating hormones and evolutionary processes are needed for a complete understanding of gender and personality.

7.3 SUMMARY

In this unit we began by understanding the three processes of personality: Selection meaning we selecting situations or avoiding situations based on our personality dispositions, evocation, meaning, personality qualities of othersevoke certain responses in us and manipulation, personality influences the ways in which we try to influence or manipulate others. We also saw the different aspects that selection affects such as personality characteristics desired in marriage partners, effect of shyness on selecting risky situations, etc. We also saw factors such as aggression, expectancy confirmation in evocation. We also understood tactics of manipulation used by both sexes.

Then, we saw how the study of sex differences evolved through History, the important factor of “Effect size” when analyzing sex differences. We also took a look at sex differences in temperament, basic emotions and sex differences on the factors of Five Factor model. We also understood a

newer concept of Androgyny, related concepts of instrumentality and expressiveness, etc.

We also looked at some Theories and their varying views regarding why and how sexes differ, namely the socialization, hormonal and Evolutionary views on why and how sexes differ.

7.4 QUESTIONS

A) Write long answers:

- a) Explain the concept of “Selection” and related concept of assortative mating, personality characteristics desired in a marriage partner and shyness and selection of risky situations.
- b) Explain the concept of “manipulation”. The taxonomy of 11 tactics of manipulation and sex differences in manipulation and personality predictors of tactics of manipulation.
- c) Comment on the Science and Politics of studying gender, History of study of sex differences, calculation of effect size. And, the views of Minimalists and Maximalists.
- d) Explain socialization/social roles Theory and Evolutionary Theory of sex differences.

B) Write short notes:

- a) Evocation through expectancy confirmation.
- b) Evocation of anger and upset in partners.
- c) Sex differences in the Five-Factor Model.
- d) Hormonal Theories of sex differences.

7.5 REFERENCES

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SOCIO-CULTURAL AND ADJUSTEMENT DOMAIN -II

Unit Structure

8.0 Objectives

8.1 Culture and Personality

8.1.1 Cultural violations: An Illustration

8.1.2 What is Cultural Personality Psychology?

8.1.3 Three major approaches to culture

8.2 Stress, Coping, Adjustment and Health

8.2.1 The models of personality-illness connection

8.2.2 The concept of stress

8.2.3 Coping strategies and styles

8.2.4 Type A and cardiovascular disease

8.3 Summary

8.4 Questions

8.5 References

8.0 OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you should be able to:

- Understand how culture affects personality, the within cultural similarities and between-cultural variations with regards to personality traits.
- Understand The three major approach to understanding personality across cultures: Evoked culture, Transmitted culture and whether personality traits found in the West effectively can be replicated and found in other cultures or not (Cultural universals).
- Understand stress and coping the theories telling us theories of how personality and illness are connected, as well as stress and coping styles of people.
- Grasp the link between Type A behaviour and cardiovascular disease.

8.1 CULTURE AND PERSONALITY

Let us begin with an example. There are two groups of a cultural heritage: High-land Yanomamo Indians and low-land Yanomamo Indians. Both differ in various personality traits. Like, the low-land people like fighting, raid neighbouring villages when food stock goes down, show aggressive tendencies, beat wives, etc. The high-land people are more peaceful and dislike fighting, are more agreeable, do not raid neighbouring villages. The question is how can we understand the differences between personality of high and low-land Yanomamo Indians? Was one group temperamentally more disposed to aggression than the other group? Or, did the two groups start out the same, and only subsequently did cultural values took hold in one group different from those that took hold in other group? Other questions that we will try to find out in this Unit are What is the effect of culture on personality? What is the effect of personality on culture? And how can we understand patterns of cultural variation amid patterns of human universals?

Personality Psychologists explore personality across cultures because they want to find out whether concepts of personality in one culture are also applicable in other cultures. Another reason is understanding whether cultures differ, on an average, in the level of different personality traits. E.g., are Indians more Agreeable than Americans? Third reason is to see whether factor structure of personality traits across cultures and see whether it is universal. E.g., Will the five-factor model of personality discovered in American samples, for example, be replicated in Holland, Germany, and the Philippines? A fourth reason is to see whether certain features of personality are universal, corresponding to human nature level of personality analysis.

8.1.1 CULTURAL VIOLATIONS: AN ILLUSTRATION:

Consider the following events:

1. One of your family members eats beef regularly, (your beef-eating family member)
2. A young married woman goes alone to see a movie without letting her husband know. When she returns home, her husband says, "If you do it again, I will beat you black and blue." She does it again; he beats her black and blue.
3. A poor man goes to the hospital after being seriously hurt in an accident. The hospital refuses to treat him because he cannot afford to pay. (the refusing hospital)

Examine each event and decide whether you think the behavior on the part of the person or institution in parentheses is wrong and a serious violation, a minor offense, or not a violation at all?

If you are a Brahman Hindu, you will believe that first event is a serious violation, but the second event is not a serious violation. If a person is an

American, he will not see first event as a serious violation, you see nothing wrong in eating beef, but you will see second event as serious violation. This points out that some aspects of personality (attitudes, values, self-concepts) are highly variable across cultures, but other aspects are universal. The main question is "What are the ways in which people from different cultures differ in personality, and what are the ways in which people from all cultures are the same?"

8.1.2 WHAT IS CULTURAL PERSONALITY PSYCHOLOGY?

"Humans everywhere show striking patterns of local within-group similarities in behaviour and thought and profound intergroup differences." (Tooby & Cosmides, 1992, p. 6). These local within-group similarities and between-group differences can be of any sort – physical, psychological, behavioural, or attitudinal. This is known as cultural variations. E.g., beef-eating: It is rare among Hindu's and considered abhorrence among Hindus. Among Hindus in India, values and behaviours are shared for most part (within-group similarity). But they differ from widely shared American attitudes towards beef-eating (between-group differences). This difference—a local within-group similarity and between-group difference—is an example of a cultural variation. But it doesn't explain what has caused the cultural difference or why the groups differ.

Cultural Personality Psychology has three key goals: 1) To understand/discover principles underlying cultural diversity, 2) To understand/discover how human Psychology shapes culture, 3) To understand how cultural understanding, in-turn shape our Psychology.

8.1.3 THREE MAJOR APPROACHES TO CULTURE:

Certain traits are common to all, whereas certain traits show differences. Cultural variations are personality attributes that differ from group to group. Psychologists have developed three major approaches to explaining and exploring personality across cultures: evoked culture, transmitted culture, and cultural universals: Evoked culture, Transmitted culture and Cultural Universals.

- **Evoked Culture:**

These are cultural differences caused by differing environmental conditions activating predictable set of responses. E.g., Kung Bushmen of Botswana, for example, tend to have thicker calluses on their feet than most Americans because they walk around without shoes. These differences can be thought of aspects of evoked culture- different environments have different effects on people's callus-producing mechanisms and on sweat glands. People who live near the equator sweat more because they are exposed to more intense heat than people who live in more Northern parts.

Two components are needed to explain cultural variations: 1) A universal underlying mechanism (Sweat glands possessed by all people), 2)

Environmental differences in the degree to which the mechanism is activated (In this case, differences in ambient temperature). Droughts, snakes are all environmental events that affect some groups more than others. These events cause the operation of mechanisms in some groups that lay dormant in other groups.

This concept provides one model for understanding and explaining cultural variations in personality traits, such as cooperativeness or aggression. It says that all humans have the same potentials. The aspects of these potentials that get evoked depend on features of the social or physical environment.

Evoked cooperation: An example of evoked culture is the patterns of cooperative food sharing found among different bands of hunter-gatherer tribes. High-variance foods, means the foods that differ in their availability from day-to-day. E.g., on any particular day, one hunter will be successful, whereas another hunter will be empty-handed. Gathered food, is a lower-variance food resource. Under high-variance conditions, there are large and high benefits to sharing. As, you may share your meat with an unlucky hunter today, and next week, the same hunter will share his meat with you. The benefits of sharing are also increased by the fact that large game animal contains more meat than a single person, or even a single family can share. So, if it is not shared, it will get spoiled.

In one research study, it was found that for gathered food (low-variance condition), sharing did not occur outside family. Cooperative sharing seems to be evoked by environmental condition of high-variance. It has been also found in another research that the degree of egalitarianism is correlated with variance in food supply. E.g., Kung San's food supply is highly variable, and they share food and express egalitarian beliefs. Among the Gana San, where the food variance is low, and they show great economic inequality. They tend to hoard their food and rarely share it outside extended families.

Thus, environmental conditions can activate some behaviours like cooperation and food sharing. Everyone indeed has the capacity to cooperate, but the degree of cooperation depends on external environmental conditions, such as variance in food supply.

Early experience and evoked mating strategies: Jay Belsky and his colleagues found that harsh, inconsistent, rejecting child-rearing practices, erratically provided resources and marital discord lead children to develop a personality of impulsivity and mating strategy of early reproduction. Whereas, sensitive, supportive, responsive child-rearing, reliable resources and spousal harmony foster in children conscientiousness and mating strategy of commitment marked by delayed reproduction and stable marriage.

As, children in uncertain and unpredictable environments seem to learn that they cannot rely on a single mate, so, opt for a sexual life that starts early and to seek gratification from multiple mates. In contrast, children who grow up in stable homes and whose parents predictably invest in their

welfare, opt for long-term mating because they expect to attract a stable, high-investing mate. Research shows that children from divorced homes, reach puberty early, have sexual intercourse earlier, be more impulsive, have more sex partners than children from intact homes.

The sensitivity of personality and mating strategies to early experiences may help explain the differences in the value placed on chastity across cultures. E.g., in China, marriages are lasting, divorce is rare, and parents invest heavily in their children over extended periods. In Sweden, there are many children born out of wedlock, divorce is common, and lesser fathers invest consistently over time. These cultural experiences may evoke in the two groups different mating strategies, with the Swedes more than the Chinese tending toward short-term mating and more frequent partner switching. These examples illustrate how a consistent pattern of individual differences can be evoked in different culture producing a local pattern of within-group similarity and between-group differences. As, all humans have within them a strategy of short-term mating, frequently switching sexual partners, strategy of long-term mating such as commitment and love. But, these mating strategies maybe differentially evoked in different cultures, resulting in enduring cultural differences in mating strategies.

Honors, Insults and evoked aggression:

Why do people from some cultures engage in killing more, whereas people from some other cultures engage in killing less? Nisbett (1993) has provided a Theory to account for these cultural differences.

Nisbett has proposed that the economic means of subsistence of a culture affects the degree to which the group develops what he calls a culture of honor where insults are viewed as highly offensive public challenges, that must be met with direct confrontation and physical aggression. The differences in the degree to which honor becomes a central part of culture rests ultimately within economics, the manner in which the food is obtained. In herding economies, one's entire stock could be lost suddenly to thieves.

Cultivating a reputation as willing to respond with violent force—e.g., by displaying physical aggression when publicly insulted—presumably deters thieves and others who might steal one's property. In more settled agricultural communities, the cultivation of an aggressive reputation is less important as one's means of subsistence cannot be rapidly undermined/lessened.

Nisbett found that people from Southern parts of United States (Historically using animal herding for subsistence) were more likely to endorse violence for protection and in response to insults as compared to Northerners (Historically, who use farming or agriculture for subsistence). Violence rates were higher in Southern parts as compared to the Northern parts.

Nisbett found a same pattern in the laboratory, where the northern and southern participants were insulted by an experimenter. The experimenter intentionally bumped into the participants and then called them "an asshole." Then, the participants were asked to complete a series of incomplete word stems, such as "hate". The southerners who had been insulted wrote down more aggressive words, such as hate, than did the northerners who had been insulted, suggesting that the insults had evoked in the southerners a higher level of aggression.

We all have the capacity to develop a high sensitivity to public insults and a capacity to respond with violence. These capacities are evoked in certain cultures, and lie dormant in others.

- **Transmitted Culture:**

It comprises of ideas, values, attitudes, beliefs that are originally there in one person's mind and those are transmitted to other person's mind through interaction with the original person (Tooby & Cosmides, 1992). E.g., among Hindus, the view that it is wrong to eat beef, for example, is an example of transmitted culture. This value originated in the mind of one person, who then transmitted it to all others.

Cultural differences in moral values:

Cultures differ tremendously in their beliefs about what is morally right and what is morally wrong. E.g., consider this statement, "It is immoral for adults to disobey their parents." If you are a Hindu-Indian, you would agree to this statement. If a person is an American, odds are great that he/she will disagree with the statement strongly. Culturally variable views of morality are transmitted to children early onwards in life.

Views of what is right and what is wrong are important psychological principles that guide behavior, and they are central to personality. Different cultures differ in their views of what is right and wrong, sometimes in seemingly arbitrary ways. Among the Semang of Malaysia, for example, is sinful to comb one's hair during thunderstorm, to watch dog's mate, to act casually with one's mother-in-law. There are also universal similarities in what is considered right and wrong. E.g., Indian Brahman's and American's agree about the following wrongs: Ignoring an accident victim, breaking a promise, committing brother-sister incest, stealing a flower, etc.

In certain royal dynasties, incest between brother and sister was actively encouraged as a way to preserve the family's wealth and power. Statements about universality are relative in the sense that there are always some cultural or subcultural exceptions. Thus, many moral values are specific to particular cultures and are likely to be examples of transmitted culture. They appear to be passed from one generation to the next, not through genes but through the teachings of parents and teachers or through observations of the behavior of others within the culture.

Cultural differences in self-concept:

The ways in which we define ourselves are self-concepts- they influence our behaviour. E.g., A woman who defines herself as conscientious, may take pains to show up for classes on time, to return all phone calls from friends and family, etc. So, our self-concepts affect how we present ourselves to others and how we behave in everyday life.

Markus and Kitayama (1991, 1994, 1998) propose that each person has two fundamental "cultural tasks," which have to be confronted. First is Interdependence, this cultural task deals with how much you are affiliated with, attached to a larger group of which you are a member, your relationships with other members of the group, your embeddedness with your group. The second cultural task is of Independence, —involves how you differentiate yourself from the larger group. It includes your unique abilities, your personal internal motives and personality dispositions, the ways in which you separate yourself from the larger group.

People from different cultures differ in the ways in which they balance these two tasks. Western cultures, according to this theory, are characterized by independence. Conversations focus on individual choices (e.g., "Where do you want to eat tonight?"). In contrast, many non-Western cultures, such as Japan and China, are characterized by interdependence and value the fundamental interconnectedness among those within the group.

The self is meaningful, only with reference to the larger group of which the person is a part. The major cultural tasks in these cultures are to fit in and to promote harmony and group unity. Personal desires are to be constrained rather than expressed in a selfish manner (e.g., "Where do we want to eat tonight?"). Conversational scripts focus on sympathy, deference, and kindness.

This fundamental distinction between independence and interdependence is similar to a distinction that many other cultural psychologists do. Triandis (1989, 1995), coined the terms individualism (a sense of self as autonomous and independent, with priority given to personal goals) and collectivism (a sense of self as more connected to groups and interdependent, priority given to group goals). In individualist societies, people tend to act independently of their groups, giving priority to personal rather than group goals. They act according to their own attitudes and desires rather than succumbing to the norms and attitudes of their ingroup. In collectivist societies, people are interdependent with others in a group, giving priority to the ingroup goals. Here, people are especially concerned about social relationships. They tend to be more self-effacing and are less likely to boast about their own personal accomplishments. There is a lot of overlap between the independent-interdependent conception of cultural differences advanced by Markus and Kitayama and the individualistic-collectivistic conception of cultural differences advanced by Triandis.

Is there empirical evidence that the way in which we define ourselves depends on the culture in which we reside? Using the Twenty Statements Test, researchers have discovered that North American participants tend to describe themselves using abstract internal characteristics, such as smart, stable, dependable, and open-minded (Rhee et al., 1995). Chinese participants, more often describe themselves using social roles, such as "I am a daughter" or "I am Jane's friend".

The study was designed to examine cultural differences in self-concept, but with an interesting twist: do Asians living in New York who self-identify as Asian differ in self-concept from Asians living in the same place who do not self-identify as Asian? In other words, do some people shift their self-concepts and adopt self-concepts similar to those of the adopted culture? The process of adapting to the ways of life in one's new culture is called acculturation. The Asian Americans living in New York who did not self-identify as Asian described themselves using highly abstract and autonomous self-statements, similar to the responses of European Americans residing in New York.

These Asian Americans used even more trait terms in their self-descriptions (45 percent) than did the European Americans (35 percent). In contrast, in the study, the New York-dwelling Asians who identified themselves as Asian used more socially embedded self-descriptions, much as the Chinese respondents did. They often referred to themselves by describing their role status (e.g., student) and their family status (e.g., son). They were more likely to qualify their self-concepts with contextual information. (Rather than describing themselves as reliable, they described themselves as "reliable when I'm at home.")

Another study asked Japanese and American College students to complete Twenty Statements Test in four social contexts: With a friend, in a classroom with other students and in a Professor's office. They found that the Japanese students tended to describe themselves using preferences (I like yoghurt) and context-dependent activities (I like to listen to rock music on weekends). The American students used abstract, context-independent items such as "friendly, "assertive" to describe themselves. Also, the Japanese students tended to characterize themselves differently in different contexts.

In another study, it was found that 84% Japanese students described themselves as ordinary, whereas only 18% American students did. Thus, the theme of being standing out and being unique versus fitting in and getting along the group is seen in the folk sayings of American and Japanese culture proverbs. In America, people say, "The squeaky wheel gets the grease." In the Japanese culture, people say, "The nail that stands out gets pounded down."

These cultural differences may be linked to the ways in which people process information. Japanese, compared with Americans, tend to explain events holistically—with attention to relationships, context, and the links between the focal object and the field as a whole (Nisbett et al., 2001).

Americans, in contrast, tend to explain events analytically—with the object detached from its context, attributes of objects or people assigned to categories, and a reliance on rules about the categories to explain behaviour. So, we can see that the cultural differences in the personality attributes of individualism-collectivism or independence-interdependence may be linked to underlying cognitive proclivities in the ways in which individuals attend to, and explain, events in their world.

Criticisms of Interdependence-Independence and Collectivistic-Individualistic concepts:

Matsumoto (1999) contends that the evidence for the Markus-Kitayama theory comes almost exclusively from North America and East Asia and may not generalize to other cultures. Also, there is far more overlap in the self-concepts of people from different cultures than Markus and Kitayama imply. Many people in collectivist cultures, do use global traits (e.g., agreeable, fun-loving) when describing themselves. Many in individualist cultures use relational concepts (e.g., "I am the daughter of . . .") when they describe themselves. The cultural differences are more a matter of degree.

Church (2000) notes that "attempts to characterize cultures of individuals in terms of such broad cultural dichotomies may be overly simplistic" (p. 688). Views of the self in all cultures incorporates both independent and interdependent self-construals, and self-concepts in all cultures vary somewhat across social contexts. A meta-analysis also suggested that caution needs to be taken in generalizing about cultural differences in individualism and collectivism. It found that even though European Americans tended to be somewhat more individualistic (valuing independence) and less collectivistic (valuing interdependence) than those from other cultures, the effect sizes proved to be small and had important exceptions.

European Americans were not more individualistic than either African Americans or Latinos. Neither were they less collectivistic than Japanese or Koreans—two cultures anchoring one end of the interdependence continuum. Actually, the Chinese, rather than the Japanese or Koreans, were unusually collectivistic and non-individualistic in self-concept. Still other studies have found little support for the influence of transmitted culture on self-concept. One study of two individualistic and two collectivistic cultures found: 1) People in all four cultures described themselves in trait terms with a high level of frequency, 2) People in all four cultures mentioned personal rather than collective or social identity as important to their sense of self.

Also, these characterizations such as Individualistic-Collectivistic have been criticized on the grounds that they are far too general conflating the different kinds of social relationships and ignoring the context-specificity in which they are expressed. E.g., Americans, may be individualistic and independent at work and while playing computer games, but more collectivistic and interdependent while with their families or in Church.

Despite these criticisms, there are real differences across cultures, and these must be explained. Most researchers have assumed that cultural differences in individualism-collectivism are instances of transmitted culture. Others on the basis of evolutionary psychology and evoked culture (Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002b) hypothesize that humans have evolved psychological mechanisms for both types of self-concepts and can switch/transfer from one mode to another depending on fitness advantages. When one's group is low in mobility, is limited in resources, and has many relatives in close proximity, it has paid fitness dividends to be highly collectivistic and interdependent. One's genetic relatives then, tend to benefit. When mobility is high and when resources are relatively abundant, and when few genetic relatives live close by, it has paid fitness dividends to adopt a more individualistic and independent proclivity.

Cultural Differences in Self-enhancement:

Self-enhancement is described as tendency to describe and present oneself using socially valued and positive attributes as kind, understanding, intelligent, industrious. One research showed that the self-concepts of American adults contain more than four times as many positive attributes as negative ones (Herzog et al., 1995). Japanese give far fewer spontaneous positive statements about themselves. The Japanese participants score lower than American participants on translations of self-esteem scales (Fiske et al., 1997). Japanese respondents tend to give more negative descriptions of themselves, (Yeh, 1995). Even the positive self-descriptions of the Japanese tend to be in the form of negations, such as "I'm not lazy."

Korean participants are more likely to endorse negative statements about themselves, whereas American participants are more likely to endorse positive statements. Differences in self-enhancement also are visible in parents' self-descriptions of the quality of their parenting practices. American parents describe their parenting in generally glowing terms whereas Korean parents give mostly negative self-evaluations. Cultural differences in self-enhancement extend to evaluation of one's group compared to the evaluation of other groups. Heine and Lehman (1995) asked Japanese and Canadian students to compare their own university with a rival university within their own culture. The two pairs of universities used for the study were matched in reputation. Among the Canadians, there was a strong tendency toward in-group enhancement, with the rival university evaluated negatively by comparison. Among the Japanese, there was no favoritism in the evaluation of one's own university in comparison with the rival university.

Why do these cultural differences in self-enhancement occur? Psychologists have advanced 2 explanations. One is that Asians engage in Impression-management- as deep in hearts, they evaluate themselves positively, but they do not do so publicly as it may damage their reputation. Second explanation is that cultural differences accurately reflect one's deep experiences. Asians, due to profound cultural

differences in values, evaluate themselves truly negatively as compared to North-Americans. There has been only one empirical research test of these competing explanations (Fiske et al., 1997). When self-evaluations are made in conditions of total anonymity, (no one will identify the respondent), researchers still found that the self-enhancement commonly seen among Americans does not occur among Asian respondents. This study supports the theory that these cultural differences reflect the actual subjective experiences of the respondent and are not merely surface differences due to impression management by the Asians.

Cultural differences are matters of degree; people in all cultures appear to display a self-enhancement bias to some extent. In a study of three cultures—Kurman (2001) asked participants whether they considered themselves to be below average or above average for the sex and age group on six traits: intelligence, health, (agentic traits) and cooperation, and generosity (communal traits). Although the Singaporeans showed slightly more self-enhancement than the other two culture in agentic traits, as people in all cultures showed a self-enhancement bias. On the communal traits, 85 percent of the participants in all three cultures viewed themselves as "above average" for their age and sex group. On the agentic traits, the Druze and Jewish Israeli samples showed a self-enhancement level of 90 percent and 87 percent, respectively, the Singaporeans showed a self-enhancement level of nearly 80 percent.

Do cultures have distinctive personality profiles?

Are people from the Mediterranean region of Europe or a particular region of the world really more emotionally expressive, or is this merely an incorrect stereotype? Robert McCrae and 79 colleagues from around the world studied the personality profiles of 51 different cultures, using 12,156 participants (McCrae, Terracciano, et al., 2005a). They studied the aggregate Big Five personality scores for each culture. The largest difference they found across cultures was on Extraversion. As a general rule, Americans and Europeans scored higher than Asians and Africans on Extraversion.

It is important to bear in mind that these differences in average personalities are relatively small. Most of the differences in personality occur within cultures, not between cultures. The most significant finding is how similar the 51 cultures actually are in their overall scores on the five-factor model.

Personality Variations within cultures:

Within-culture variations can arise from several sources, including differences in growing up in various socioeconomic classes, differences in historical era, or differences in the racial context in which one grows up. Social class also has an influence on one's personality. Parents from lower-class value obedience to authority, whereas parents from upper-class emphasize self-direction and nonconformity to dictates of others. According to Kohn, these socialization practices result from the sorts of occupations that parents expect their children to enter. Higher-status jobs

(e.g., manager, start-up company founder, doctor, lawyer) often require greater self-direction, and lower-status jobs (e.g., factory worker, gas station employee) more often require the need to follow rules and permit less latitude for innovation. In studies of American, Japanese, and Polish men, Kohn and colleagues found that men from higher social classes in all cultures tended to be more self-directed, had lower levels of conformity, greater intellectual flexibility than men from lower social classes.

These findings are correlational, so, direction of effects cannot be unambiguously assumed. People with personalities having self-direction and intellectual flexibility tend to move towards the higher social classes. Or the socialization practices of higher-social-class parents tend to produce children with personalities that are different from the personalities of lower-social-class children. Even though cultures can differ in their average level on a particular trait, many people within that one culture can be higher (or lower) than many individuals in the other culture.

Another type of intracultural variation are the effects of historical era on personality. E.g., people who grew up during Great Depression in 1930's, might be more anxious about job security, adopting a more conservative spending style. Disentangling the effects of historical era on personality is an extremely difficult endeavor because most currently used personality measures were not in use in earlier eras.

• CULTURAL UNIVERSALS:

The third approach to culture and personality is to identify features of personality that appear to be universal, or means present in most of the cultures. In the History of study of personality and culture, the study of cultural universals has long been remained in disfavour. For most of the twentieth century, the focus was almost exclusively on cultural differences. This emphasis was fueled by anthropologists who reported on exotic cultures, which did everything differently than American culture did. Human nature was presumed to be infinitely variable, infinitely flexible, and not constrained in any way by a universal human nature: "We are forced to conclude that human nature is almost unbelievably malleable, responding accurately and contrastingly to contrasting cultural conditions" (Mead, 1935, p. 280).

Over the past few decades, the pendulum has swung to moderate view. Anthropologists who visited the islands Mead had visited failed to confirm Mead's findings (e.g., Freeman, 1983). In cultures in which sexual jealousy was presumed to be entirely absent, it turned out that sexual jealousy was the leading cause of spousal battering and spousal homicide. In cultures such as the Chambri, where the sex roles were thought to be reversed, anthropologists instead found that men were considered to be in charge (Brown, 1991; Gewertz, 1981). All available evidence back to 1850, suggest that the Chambri's sex roles are, in fact, strikingly similar to those of Western cultures. Now we will see three examples of cultural universals.

Beliefs about personality characteristics of men and women:

Socio-Cultural and Adjustment
Domain- II

Williams and Best (1990) studied 30 countries over a period of 15 years. In each country, university students were asked to examine 300 trait adjectives (e.g., aggressive, emotional, dominant) and indicate whether each trait is more often linked with men, or women, or with both sexes. Results were shocking: Most of the trait adjectives which were highly associated with one or the other sex and there proved to be tremendous consensus across cultures.

How can we summarize, interpret these differences in beliefs about men and women? Williams and Best (1994) scored some trait adjectives on the following dimensions: favorability (How desirable is the trait?), strength (How much does the trait indicate power?), and activity (How much does the trait signify energy?). These dimensions originate from older classical work in the field that discovered three universal semantic dimensions of evaluation (good-bad), potency (strong-weak), and activity (active-passive) (Osgood, Suci, & Tannenbaum, 1957). The traits ascribed to men and women were equally favourable. As, some masculine traits, such as, “serious and inventive” were viewed as favourable, whereas, other traits, such as “arrogant” and “busy” were viewed as unfavourable. Some feminine traits such as “Charming and Appreciative” were seen as favourable. Whereas others, “Fearful” and “affected” were seen as unfavourable.

How can we interpret these cultural universals in beliefs regarding the personality characteristics of men and women? One is that these beliefs represent stereotypes based on the roles men and women take universally. Williams and Best (1994), argue that society assumes that men are stronger than women and so assigns men to roles and occupations such as soldier and construction worker. A second possibility is that the traits ascribed to men and women in all 30 cultures reflect actual observations of real sex differences in personality. Studies of the five-factor model, tell us that women score lower on Emotional Stability, suggesting that they are more fearful and emotional. Thus, it means universal beliefs about differences in men and women reflect actual differences in personality.

Expression of emotion:

It is widely and commonly believed that people in different cultures experience different emotions. Personality psychologists have argued that different cultures have different words to describe emotional experience. E.g., the Tahitians do not experience the emotions of grief, longing, or loneliness, so they have no words in their language to express these emotions.

Thus, cultural variability in the presence or absence of emotion words has been interpreted by some personality psychologists to mean that cultures differ in the presence or absence of experiences of emotions. Are emotions really this culturally variable? Or are there cultural universals in the experience of emotions?

The oldest/earliest evidence of cultural universals in emotions came from Charles Darwin. In gathering evidence for his book on emotions, *The Expression of Emotions in Man and Animals*, Darwin (1872/1965) asked anthropologists and travelers who interacted with peoples on five continents to give detailed information about how the native people expressed different emotions, such as grief, contempt, disgust, fear, and jealousy. He summarized the answers he received as: "The same state of mind is expressed throughout the world with remarkable uniformity; and this fact is in itself interesting as evidence of the close similarity in bodily structure and mental disposition of all the races of mankind".

Darwin's methods, crude by today's scientific standards, but subsequent research over the past few decades has confirmed his basic conclusions. Psychologist Paul Ekman developed a set of photographs of people expressing six basic emotions and then showed them to people in various cultures (Ekman, 1973). Some cultures, such as the Fore foragers of New Guinea, had had almost no contact with Westerners. The Fore spoke no English, had seen no TV/movies, had never lived with Caucasians. He also administered the tests to people in Japan, Brazil, Chile, Argentina, and the United States. Ekman asked each participant to label the emotion expressed in each photograph and to make up a story about what the person in the photograph had experienced. The six emotions—happiness, sadness, anger, fear, disgust, and surprise—were universally recognized by people in the various cultures. These findings have been subsequently replicated in other countries also. Further research by Ekman and his colleagues has grown the list of universal emotions to include contempt, embarrassment, and shame (Ekman, 1999).

Ekman also reversed the procedure. He then asked the Fore participants to act out situations, such as "Your child has died" and "You are angry and about to fight," and then photographed them. The emotions expressed in these photographs were easily recognized by facial expressions and were strikingly similar to the expressions of the same emotions seen in the photographs of the Caucasian participants.

Further evidence for the universality, and possible evolutionary origins, of these basic emotions comes from the research showing that children who are blind from birth display the same facial expressions than those with full sight display (Lazarus, 1991).

Pinker suggests that whether a language has a word for a particular emotion or not matters little, if the question is whether people experience the emotion in the same way: Tahitians are said not to have a word for grief; however, "when a Tahitian woman says 'My husband died and I feel sick,' her emotional state is hardly mysterious; she is probably not complaining about acid indigestion" (Pinker, 1997, p. 367). People universally may experience the emotion of pleasure in an enemy's misfortunes in the same way, even if all cultures do not have a single word in their language to capture it.

The view that language is not necessary for people to experience emotions may be contrasted with Whorfian hypothesis of linguistic relativity, which contends that language creates thought and experience. In the extreme sense, the Whorfian hypothesis argues that the ideas that people can think and the emotions they feel are constrained by the words that happen to exist in their language and culture (Whorf, 1956).

The difference between experiencing an emotion and expressing that emotion in public may be important to resolve this debate. Ekman (1973) performed an experiment to explore the difference between the experience of emotion and its expression in public. He secretly videotaped the facial expressions of Japanese and American students when they watched a graphic film of a primitive puberty rite involving genital mutilation. In one condition, experimenter wearing a white lab coat was present in the room (Public context). In another condition, the participants were alone. When the experimenter was present, the Japanese students smiled politely during the film, but the American students expressed horror and disgust. If this were the only condition conducted in the study, we might conclude that Japanese and American students experience the emotion of disgust differently. When the students were filmed when they were alone in the room viewing the film, both the Japanese and American students showed equal horror. This result suggests that Japanese and American students experience this emotion in the same way, even if they differ in their expression of it in a more public setting.

Five- Factor Model of Personality:

A question is whether there is a universal structure of personality, such as the five-factor model, or whether different factorial models exist in different cultures. According to some, even the concept of personality lacks universality. Hsu, for example, argues that "the concept of personality is an expression of the Western ideal of individualism" (Hsu, 1985, p. 24). Shweder, a well-known cultural psychologist, argues that "the data gathered from ... personality inventories lends illusory support to the mistaken belief that individual differences can be described in language consisting of context-free global traits, factors, or dimensions" (Shweder, 1991, pp. 275-276).

These views have been elaborated on: "Universal [personality] structure does not by itself imply that 'personality' as understood within a European-American framework is a universal aspect of human behavior . . . nor does it imply that the variability that appears as an obvious feature of human life is a function of attributes called 'personality'" (Markus & Kitayama, 1998, p. 67). Cultural anthropologist Lawrence Hirschfeld argues that "in many, perhaps most, cultures there is a marked absence of discourse that explains human behavior in terms of trans-situationally stable motivational (or intentional) properties captured by explanations of trait and disposition" (Hirschfeld, 1995, p. 315).

What is reflected in all these quotations is a fundamental challenge to personality psychology—whether the core concept of traits is universal or,

instead, is a local concept applicable only in Western cultures. The most extreme perspective suggests that the very notion of personality, as an internal set of psychological characteristics, is an arbitrary construction of Western culture (Church, 2000). If this extreme position were really true, then any attempt to identify and measure personality traits in non-Western cultures would be doomed to failure (Church, 2000). At the other extreme is the position that personality traits are universal and precisely the same personality structure will emerge across cultures.

The first source of evidence bearing on this debate pertains to the existence of trait terms in other cultures. Many non-Western psychologists have, in fact, described trait-like concepts that are indigenous to non-Western cultures and that appear strikingly like those that appear in Western cultures. Following are some examples: the Filipino concepts of *pakikiramdam* (sensitivity, empathy), *pakikisama* (getting along with others); the Korean concept of *chong* (human affection); the Japanese concept of *amae* (indulgent dependence), etc.

A second source of evidence on the debate concerns whether the same factor structure of personality traits is found across cultures. The trait perspective does not require the existence of precisely the same traits in all cultures. The trait perspective might be extremely useful even if cultures were to differ radically in terms of which trait dimensions they used. The support for the trait perspective across cultures would be there if the structure of personality traits were found to be the same across cultures. Two approaches have been taken to exploring this issue. In first, called the "transport and test" strategy, Psychologists have translated existing questionnaires into other languages and then have administered them to native residents in other cultures. It has generated some findings supporting the five-factor model. The five-factor model has now been replicated in France, Holland, and the Philippines and in languages from entirely different language families, (McCrae et al., 1998).

The most impressive was a massive study of 50 different cultures (McCrae, Terracciano, et al., 2005b). This research, involving 11,985 participants, had college-age individuals rate someone they knew well using the Revised NEO Personality Inventory. Factor analyses of these observer-based ratings yielded the five-factor model, with only minor variations in factor structure across cultures. This study is important in suggesting that cross-cultural evidence for the five-factor model is not limited to self-report data but extends to observer-based data also. Using the transport and test strategy, the five-factor structure of personality appears to be general across cultures only it failed to emerge among those with relatively low levels of intellectual ability.

A more powerful test of generalizability would come from studies that start out using indigenous personality dimensions first, then testing whether the five-factor structure still emerges. This approach has been tried in Dutch, German, Hungarian, Italian, Czech, and Polish (De Raad et al., 1998). The trait terms in each of the languages were identified. Although the absolute numbers of personality trait terms varied from language to language, the

percentage of words in each language that constituted trait terms was remarkably consistent, averaging 4.4 percent of all dictionary entries. It is similar to the Lexical Hypothesis- which states that the most important individual differences have been encoded within the natural language.

The next step in the study was to reduce this list to a manageable number of several hundred trait terms, identified as indigenous to each culture, which could then be tested in each culture. Factor analyses of each sample within each culture showed that there was tremendous replicability of four of the five factors: Extraversion, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, and Emotional Stability. Despite cross-cultural agreement on these four factors, this study found some differences in what constituted the fifth factor. As, in Polish and German, the fifth factor resembled the American fifth factor of Intellect/Openness, in which Intelligent and imaginative were on one end and dull and unimaginative at the other end.

Other languages, revealed different fifth factors. E.g., in Dutch, the fifth factor seemed more like a dimension of political orientation, ranging from conservative at one end to progressive at the other. Recent cross-cultural research using the lexical approach, has found strong evidence for six factors, rather than five (Ashton et al., 2004; Saucier et al., 2005). The new sixth factor—honesty-humility—indicates a major discovery.

Thus, in summary, further indigenous tests are needed to determine whether the five-factor trait model of personality structure is universal or not. Based on the existing data, we can conclude trait terms appear to be present in all languages. Using more rigorous standard of instruments developed indigenously, four of the five factors emerged consistently across cultures. The fifth factor is somewhat variable across cultures and therefore may reflect an important lack of universality of personality trait structure.

8.2 STRESS, COPING, ADJUSTMENT AND HEALTH

AIDS: Its cause is a virus; its transmission is through specific behaviors. For example, unsafe sex practices (e.g., not using condoms) and sharing intravenous needles by drug addicts. Psychologists are searching for the best ways to change people's high-risk behavior. This is one example of the importance of behavior in understanding illness. In earlier centuries, most of the serious illnesses that afflicted humans were caused by microbe infection, e.g., tuberculosis. As modern medicine developed effective vaccines, these microbial diseases disappeared as major causes of death (at least in the United States). Today, many of the leading causes of death and disease are related to lifestyle factors, such as smoking, poor diet, inadequate exercise, and stress. Now we are curing microbial infections, psychological factors have risen as important contributors to the development of illness.

The fact that Psychological and behavioural factors can have important health consequences has given rise to the field of Health Psychology. Researchers in this area of Psychology study the relation between the

mind and the body, and the ways in which these two components respond to challenges from the environment (e.g., stressful events, germs) to lead to either illness or health. Many of the psychological variables of interest have to do with stable patterns of behavior—for example, whether a person copes well with stress, exercises some or not at all, etc.

Life-span studies tell us that personality can have lifelong effects on health, though the effects differ depending on the traits being considered (Aldwin et al., 2001) or the specific health outcomes under investigation, such as the cancer-prone personality characterized by being unassertive and emotionally inhibited, the coronary-prone personality characterized by being hostile and aggressive.

8.2.1 MODELS OF PERSONALITY-ILLNESS CONNECTION:

Stress is the subjective feeling produced by events that are not controllable or threatening. It is important to understand that stress is a response to the perceived demands in some situation. Stress is not in the situation; stress is how people respond to a particular situation.

An early model of the personality health relationship, called the interactional model, suggests personality factors determine the impact of objective events by influencing people's ability to cope. Personality has its effects on coping responses—that is, on how people respond to the event.

It is called the interactional model because personality is thought to moderate (influence) the relationship between stress and illness. Events such as exposure to microbes or chronic stress cause illness, but personality factors make a person more or less vulnerable to those events. E.g., if a person were infected with a cold virus but had a hard-driving, competitive personality, such that the person would not rest, would not take time off from work, and would not do other behaviors necessary to quickly recover from a cold, this person could become very ill, with the cold turning into pneumonia, because the person's personality influenced how well he or she coped with the viral infection.

One limitation of the above model was that researchers could not find stable coping responses that were adaptive or maladaptive. Then, this model got developed into realistic model, Transactional model – Personality has these effects: It can influence coping, it can influence how the person appraises or interprets events, it can influence the events themselves. In this model, we can see that it is not the event itself that causes stress but how the event is appraised, or interpreted, by the person. The third point on the transactional model at which personality can have an impact consists of the events themselves, i.e., people don't just respond to situations; they also create situations through their choices and actions. As we saw in earlier Unit, people choose to be in certain kinds of situations, they evoke certain responses from others from those situations.

These two parts of the transactional model—appraisal and the person's influence on events—are why the model is called transactional. These two elements of the model imply that stressful events don't just influence

persons; persons also influence events. And this influence comes through the appraisal of events, as well as the selection and modification of events. This reciprocal influence of persons and events makes this a more complicated, though perhaps more realistic, model of how the process actually works.

The Third model is Health Behaviour Model, adds another factor to Transactional model. It says personality does not directly influence the relationship between stress and illness. Instead, personality affects health indirectly, by health-promoting or health-degrading behaviors. Everyone knows that poor health behaviors, such as eating too much fat, smoking, increase the risk of developing certain illnesses. Personality affects the degree to which a person engages in various health-promoting or health-degrading behaviors. E.g., individuals who are low in the trait of conscientiousness engage in a variety of health damaging behaviors, including smoking, unhealthy eating habits, dangerous driving, and lack of exercise (Bogg & Roberts, 2004).

A fourth model is Predisposition model, is completely different and holds that personality and illness are both expressions of an underlying predisposition. It suggests that associations exist between personality and illness because of a third variable, which is causing them both. E.g., enhanced sympathetic nervous system reactivity may be the cause of further/subsequent illnesses, as well as the cause of the behaviors and emotions that lead a person to be called neurotic.

The predisposition model has not been the topic of much study, though it seems likely that this model will guide investigators interested in the genetic basis of illnesses. Some genetic predispositions are expressed both in terms of a stable individual difference and in terms of susceptibility to specific illnesses (Bouchard et al., 1990). For example, some researchers speculate that there is a genetic cause of novelty seeking (a trait like sensation seeking) and that this genetic sequence also causes, or increases the probability of a person more likely to develop, an addiction to drugs (Cloninger, 1999). Consequently, the correlation between the novelty-seeking personality trait and addiction to drugs such as cocaine, meth, or heroin may be due to the reason that these two variables are both independently caused by a third variable—genes. This simple model may be useful as the human genome project progresses from mapping the genome to understanding what specific genes control.

The final model is Illness-behaviour model- Illness is defined as the presence of an objectively measurable abnormal physiological process, such as fever, high blood pressure, or a tumor. Illness behavior, is the action that people take when they think they have an illness, such as complaining to others about their symptoms, going to a doctor, taking the day off from school or work, or taking medication. Illness behaviors are related to actual illnesses, but not perfectly. Some individuals may tough out an illness, refusing to engage in illness behaviours (e.g., refusing to take the day off from work when ill). Other people engage in all sorts of illness behaviors even in the absence of actual/true illness.

Personality influences the degree to which a person perceives and pays attention to bodily sensations and interprets and labels those sensations as an illness. The way in which a person perceives and labels those sensations, then, influences the person's illness behaviors, such as reporting the symptoms and going to a doctor. E.g., the personality trait of neuroticism is associated with a tendency to complain about physical symptoms.

It is important to note that these models linking personality to physical health are not mutually exclusive, i.e., they may all apply, depending on the personality trait and the illness under consideration. E.g., hostility may be associated with heart disease because it is a manifestation of the same underlying process (the predisposition model), conscientiousness may relate to illness through specific health behaviors (the health behavior model), and neuroticism may relate to ill health through its effects on stress appraisal and stress exposure (the transactional model).

8.2.2 The Concept of Stress:

Events that cause stress are called stressors, also, appear to have several common attributes: 1. Stressors are extreme - They produce a state of feeling overwhelmed or overloaded, that one just cannot take it much longer, 2. Stressors often produce opposing tendencies, such as wanting and not wanting an activity or object—as in wanting to study but also wanting to put it off as long as possible, 3. Stressors are uncontrollable, i.e., outside our power to influence, such as an exam we cannot avoid.

Stress response:

When a stressor appears, people experience a pattern of emotional and physiological reactions. You experience some startle, your heart beats faster and your blood pressure goes up, and your palms and the soles of your feet begin to sweat. This pattern of reaction has been called the fight-or-flight response. This physiological response is controlled by an increase of sympathetic nervous system activity. These physiological reactions prepare you for action such as running away, or holding a weapon. This physiological response is usually very brief, and, if the stressor is as minor as someone honking a car horn to see you jump, then you return to your normal state in a minute or so.

If, however, a person is exposed to a particular stressor day in and day out, then this physiological fight-or-flight response is just the first step in a chain of events termed the general adaptation syndrome (GAS) by Hans Selye (1976), a pioneer in stress research. ALARM STAGE is Fight-or-flight response of the sympathetic nervous system and the associated peripheral nervous system reactions. They involve release of hormones that prepare the body for challenge. RESISTANCE STAGE occurs if the stressor from the Alarm stage continues, The body is using its resources at an above average rate, even though the immediate fight-or-flight response has subsided. At this point, stress is being resisted, but it is taking a lot of effort and energy. EXHAUSTION STAGE occurs if the stressor still continues, people enter into this stage. This is the stage in which a person

is most susceptible to illness, as his or her physiological resources are depleted.

- **MAJOR LIFE EVENTS:**

Holmes and Rahe (1967) studied various major life events, that require people to make major adjustments in their lives. Holmes and Rahe wanted to estimate the potential stress value of a wide variety of life events. They started with a long list of events such as the death of a family member, loss of a job, or being put in jail. They then had a large number of subjects rate each of the events for how much stress each was likely to provoke. Each event was then associated with so many stress "points" and, by counting up the events a person had experienced, and adding up the stress points for all of those events, a good estimate of the amount of stress experienced by that person could be achieved. They also developed "Stressful event schedule." For high levels of stress, there are several things you can do like monitoring for early signs of stress, recurring stomachaches or headaches. Avoid negative thinking, pessimism, or catastrophizing, Practicing relaxation technique regularly. Consider your friends and relatives for support.

Holmes and Rahe tallied up the stress points that each of the research participants had accumulated in the prior year. They found that the persons with the most stress points were also the most likely to have a serious illness during that year. This research was among the first systematic demonstrations that elevated stress—a psychological phenomenon— was associated with elevated risk of developing an illness.

Cohen, Tyrrell, and Smith (1997) obtained reports of stressful life events for a group of volunteers and were able to score each participant along the lines of Holmes and Rahe's criteria for stressful points for various events. These researchers then tried to infect half of them with a cold by giving them nose drops containing the cold virus. The other half of them were given plain nose drops; they served as the control group in this experiment. The participants with more negative life events in the previous year like a lot of stress, were more likely to develop a cold after being given the cold virus than the participants who had fewer stressors in life (Who were more resistant to cold virus).

The researchers interpreted this finding as consistent with the general adaptation syndrome: persons under chronic stress eventually deplete bodily resources and become vulnerable to microbial infections. Stress is thought to reduce/lessen the functional ability of the immune system to mount an effective response to the presence of microbes, thereby leading to lowered immunity to infection and resulting illness.

- **DAILY HASSLES:**

Although only minor, daily hassles can be chronic and repetitive. E.g., having too much to do all the time, having to fight the crowds while shopping, getting stuck regularly in heavy traffic, waiting in lines all the time, unpleasant boss at work, and having to worry over money. They can

be chronically irritating, though they do not initiate the same general adaptation syndrome evoked by some major life events. People with a lot of minor stress in their lives suffer more than expected from psychological and physical symptoms.

- **VARIETIES OF STRESS:**

Acute stress is what most people relate with the term stress. It results from the sudden onset of demands and is experienced as tension headaches, emotional upsets, gastrointestinal disturbances, feelings of agitation, and pressure.

Episodic acute stress is more serious, the repeated episodes of acute stress, such as a weekend job that is stressful or having to meet a deadline each month. It can lead to migraines, hypertension, stroke, anxiety, depression, or serious gastrointestinal distress.

Traumatic stress refers to a massive instance of acute stress, the effects of which can reverberate for years or even a lifetime (e.g., Bunce, Larsen, & Peterson, 1995). Traumatic stress is different from acute stress in terms of the symptoms associated with the stress response. This collection of symptoms, called posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), is a syndrome that occurs in some persons following the experience of or witnessing life-threatening events, such as military combat, natural disasters, terrorist incidents, serious accidents, or violent personal assaults such as rape. These symptoms can be severe enough and last long to significantly impair the person's daily life.

Chronic stress refers to stress that does not end. Chronic stress grinds us down until our resistance is gone. Serious illnesses, such as diabetes, decreased immune system functioning, or cardiovascular disease, result from chronic stress. Health Psychologists believe and think that stress has additive effects; i.e., the effects of stress add up and accumulate in a person over time. Stress affects each person differently.

- **PRIMARY AND SECONDARY APPRAISAL:**

According to psychologist Richard Lazarus (1991), for stress to be evoked for a person, two cognitive events must occur. The first is primary appraisal, is for the person to perceive that the event is a threat to his or her personal goals. The second cognitive event, secondary appraisal, is when the person concludes that he or she does not have the resources to cope with the demands of the threatening event. If either of these appraisals is absent—then stress is not evoked. E.g., if an event, such as an upcoming exam, is perceived as threatening to someone's goals, yet the person feels he or she has the resources demanded by that event (i.e., person has been studying and otherwise preparing for the exam), then the person might experience the event more as a challenge than as stress. Or, the person might feel he or she does not have the resources demanded by the event (secondary appraisal) but might not think that the event is very important to his or her long-term goals (primary appraisal) and, so, might not respond with stress.

8.2.3 COPING STRATEGIES AND STYLES: Some people seem better able to cope, to get over stressful events, or to somehow see such events as challenges rather than as sources of stress.

- **ATTRIBUTIONAL STYLE:**

Attributional style is a dispositional way of describing/explaining the causes of bad events. "Where does the person typically place the blame when things go wrong?" The threedimensions of attribution are external versus internal, unstable versus stable, and specific versus global. Various measures have been developed for assessing people's typical attributional style. One such measure is the Attributional Style Questionnaire (ASQ), developed by psychologist Chris Peterson and his colleagues (1982). Another technique for scoring attributional style is by analyzing the content of people's written or spoken explanations. It is possible to find these explanations in verbatim material and to rate them along the attributional dimensions of internality, stability, and globality. This technique for measuring attributional style was also developed by Peterson and his colleagues (1992), who called it the Content Analysis of Verbatim Explanations (CAVE). The CAVE technique has an advantage of allowing the researcher to study participants who are either not available or not willing to participate in typical research, provided that such participants have made public some material involving causal explanations.

Peterson, who has done a great deal of research on attributional style, now prefers the term optimism to refer to this individual difference construct (Peterson, 2000). Persons who make stable, global, and internal explanations for bad events are seen as pessimists, whereas persons who make unstable, specific, and external explanations for bad events are seen as optimists. Optimism/pessimism is viewed as a trait-like dimension along which people differ. Optimists think/believe that life events are unstable and specific and that what they do actually influences outcomes in life. Pessimists, believe that they are helpless when it comes to bad events, that bad events have long-lasting causes that adversely affect many aspects of their lives (i.e., they blow things out of proportion). Pessimists believe that their behaviour is not related to outcomes in their lives.

Researchers emphasize dispositional optimism as the expectation that good events will be plentiful in the future, and that bad events will be rare in the future. Another concept related to optimism, called self-efficacy, was developed by Bandura (1986). It is the belief that one can do the behaviors necessary to achieve a desired outcome.

Optimists also perceive that they are at lower risk for such negative events than the average person is. Most people generally underestimate their risks, the average person rating his or her risk as below what is the true probability. This has been called as the optimistic bias, and it may actually lead people in general to ignore or minimize the risks inherent in life or to take more risks than they should.

• **OPTIMISM AND PHYSICAL WELL-BEING:**

Optimism in general has been shown to predict good health as measured by self-report, ratings of general health made by the participants' physicians, immune system functioning, longer life (Carver et al., 1993; Scheier & Carver, 1992; Scheier et al., 1999). It is found to correlate with a number of positive health behaviors, such as exercising regularly, avoiding fatty foods, drinking only in moderation or not at all, etc.

The correlations between optimism and health or health behaviors tend to run between .20 and .30. Peterson and colleagues (1998) examined more than 1,000 individuals over almost a 50-year period. The researchers found that the participants who scored in the more pessimistic direction were more likely to die at an earlier age than the optimistic participants were. They thought that the biggest difference might be in deaths due to cancer and heart disease, and they predicted that pessimists would have more of these lethal medical problems. This was not the case as they found that the real difference between the optimists and pessimists, in terms of the causes of death, was in the frequency of accidents and violent deaths, with pessimists having more accidental deaths and deaths due to violent causes, resulting in a generally shorter life span, than that of the optimists. This effect was strong for the men in this sample.

Pessimists, specially male pessimists, have a habit of being in the wrong place at the wrong time. This research does not actually tell us specifically what the participants were doing when they accidentally or violently died. The link between pessimism and a greater likelihood of mishaps appeared to be due to a preference for potentially hazardous situations and activities on the part of pessimists to escape gloomy mood. Because of optimism's obvious health benefits, psychologist Marty Seligman and his colleagues are attempting to develop therapeutic ways to increase people's level of optimism (2002; Seligman & Peterson, 2003). Seligman has introduced a "pessimism prevention" program for use in grade schools.

• **MANAGEMENT OF EMOTIONS:**

We sometimes try to inhibit the expressions of negative emotions under certain circumstances and that is called emotional inhibition. Are there any Major consequences of inhibiting one's emotions? Some theorists suggest that it leads to undesirable consequences. For example, Sigmund Freud believed that most psychological problems were the result of inhibited negative emotions and motivations, pushing undesirable wishes and impulses in the unconscious. i.e., repression and the other defense mechanisms are mechanisms of preventing an unacceptable emotion from surfacing and being directly experienced and expressed.

Psychoanalytic therapy, or as called the "Expressive therapy" (As their goal was to get person release inhibited feelings), was designed to bring unconscious emotion into conscious awareness, so that the emotion could be experienced and expressed in a mature manner. The therapeutic relationship was seen as a place to experience and express emotions that had long been inhibited.

The ability to inhibit emotions is acquired at an early age, at around 3 years, and is a major developmental achievement. What are the effects of chronically inhibited emotions? Psychologists James Gross and Robert Levenson (1993, 1997; Gross, 2002) designed studies in which some of the participants were asked to suppress the expression of any emotions they were feeling while they watched a video designed to generate the emotions of happiness (a comedy routine), then sadness (scenes from the funeral of a child, showing a distraught and highly emotional mother). Half were assigned to suppression condition and other half were assigned to no-suppression condition. While the participants watched the video, the researchers videotaped them to determine how much they expressed their emotions while watching it and they also asked participants to report their feelings after each segment of the video.

It was found that the participants who were instructed to suppress their emotions showed increased levels of physiological arousal, even before the video began, compared with the no-suppression participants, meaning, they were preparing for the effort necessary to suppress their emotions. They showed heightened physiological activity during the video, indicating increased sympathetic nervous system arousal, compared with the no-suppression participants. The researchers suggested that suppression of emotion takes effort and exerts physiological costs above and beyond the emotional arousal. The participants in the suppression condition displayed less outward expression of emotion than did the control participants. The participants who suppressed the emotion reported slightly less amusement in the amusement condition, but not less sadness in the sadness condition, compared with the no-suppression participants.

Gross and John (2003) showed that the suppression of negative emotions, was also associated with diminished positive emotions later in the experiment. Butler et al. (2003) showed that people who suppressed their negative emotions had worse interpersonal relations and lower levels of well-being than the more expressive persons. They said that by not expressing themselves, suppressors disrupt what is a normal form of communication.

Brain areas associated with the successful regulation of negative emotions were mainly in the prefrontal cortex of the brain. This frontal part of the brain, involved in planning and executive control, is active when people are controlling their emotions.

Problems can arise when someone who chronically and characteristically inhibits the free expression of emotion may suffer the effects of chronic sympathetic nervous system arousal. For example, Levy and colleagues (1985) have shown that people who keep their negative emotions to themselves are more likely than expressive persons to have a higher mortality rate, a greater probability of recurrence of cancer after treatment, and a suppressed immune system. It also has been found that cancer patients who express their negative emotions and emotionally fight their disease, sometimes live longer than patients who accept their situation, inhibit their emotions, and quietly accept their treatment. Research has

also found that emotional expressiveness correlated with higher levels of happiness over the three weeks, lower levels of anxiety and guilt, fewer problems in relationships when partners express their emotions, etc.

- **DISCLOSURE:**

Disclosure is telling someone about a private aspect of oneself. Psychologist James Pennebaker has been a pioneer in researching the effects of disclosure. In his studies, he asks participants to think of an upsetting or traumatic event that has happened to them, something they have not discussed with anyone. Then, he asks them to write down these secrets. Pennebaker argues that not discussing traumatic, negative, or upsetting events can result in problems. It requires physical energy to inhibit the thoughts and feelings associated with such events. Thus, it is not easy to keep a secret to ourselves, and keeping something in, especially if it is a major trauma, is upsetting and takes a lot of energy. Over time, this stress builds and, like all stress, can increase the likelihood of stress-related problems, such as trouble sleeping, irritability, physical symptoms (e.g., stomachaches and headaches), and even illness resulting from lowered immune system functioning. Telling the secret, relieves this stress. Confronting the traumatic memory by telling someone or even writing about it frees the person from the work of keeping the secret.

In a study (Pennebaker & O'Heeron, 1984), researchers contacted participants who had lost a spouse through accident or suicide. Such a sudden and complete loss of a loved one through an unexpected and traumatic death must have a huge impact on the surviving spouse. The survivors were asked how much they discussed the tragedy with friends, family, or other helping professionals, as a priest, minister, or therapist. Researchers also did a thorough assessment of the survivors' health since the death of the spouse. They found, the more the participants had talked about the tragedy with others, the better their subsequent health. Those who kept the trauma to themselves tended to suffer more health problems than those who disclosed their feelings to others.

In another research, one group was asked to recall and write about an experience that they found distressing. The other group was asked to write about a trivial topic, such as what they normally ate for breakfast. The students wrote about their assigned topic for 15 minutes each night for four consecutive nights. The participants writing about the traumatic event reported feeling more distress and discomfort while writing, and measures of blood pressure taken while writing suggested they were feeling more stress than was the trivial topic group. Six months later, the participant's health history was obtained. Students who had written about a trauma for four days had had fewer illnesses in the next six months, compared to those who had written about trivial topics. Just the mere act of writing about an upsetting event, even if no one ever reads the writing, may have a beneficial effect on health.

People who keep unpleasant information about themselves as a secret are more likely to develop anxiety or depression than are those who tell

someone. Being open to others with our feelings may be curative, and one reason why talk therapy may work is because through it we uncover secrets and reveal what we have been keeping to ourselves.

How does disclosure promote healthy adjustment? Pennebaker's first theory of the mechanism concerned the relief that results from telling a secret. It basically says that disclosure reduces the cost of having to inhibit this information. Pennebaker has put forward a second explanation. It concerns how writing about an event allows a person to reinterpret and reframe the meaning of that event. A person writing or talking about a past traumatic event can try to better understand that event, search for some positive meaning in the event (the silver lining that is in every cloud), and can integrate that event into her or his current situation.

8.2.4 TYPE A AND CARDIOVASCULAR DISEASE:

In the 1970s, physicians began to consider a new risk factor, a specific personality trait. This grew out of the observation by some physicians that the patients who had had heart attacks often behaved differently, and they seemed to have different personalities, compared with other patients. The heart attack patients were more frequently competitive and aggressive, more active and energetic in their actions and speaking, and more ambitious and driven (Friedman & Rosenman, 1974). They called this cluster/collection of behaviors the Type A personality.

One thing to keep in mind is that Type A and Type B personalities are not categorical variables, but, dimensional variables, ranging from one extreme to the other, with most people falling somewhere around the middle.. It is distributed normally, not as a category variable.

Type A is a syndrome of several traits. It is a collection of three sub-traits. One is competitive achievement motivation. They like to work hard and achieve goals. These people like recognition, power, the defeat of obstacles and feel that they are at their best when competing with others. The second subtrait is time urgency. Type A persons hate wasting time and are always in a hurry and feel under pressure to get the most done in the least amount of time. They do two things at once, quite often, such as eat while reading a book. Red lights are their enemies, and they hate to wait in line for anything. The third subtrait is hostility. When blocked from attaining their goals, which means frustration, Type A persons can be hostile and aggressive. They get frustrated easily, and this frustration can make them act in an unfriendly or in a malicious manner.

Early researches on the Type A personality found that it was an independent risk factor for developing cardiovascular disease. An independent risk factor operates independently from other known risk factors, such as being overweight or smoking.

Physicians conducted most of the early researches on Type A personality, and to they developed a structured interview to measure this personality variable. The interviewer was very interested in the behavior of the participants, such as tempo of their speech, did they frequently interrupt

the interviewer or put words in interviewer's mouth? Did they fidget? Did they vigorous gestures with their hands and heads frequently? In one part of the interview, the interviewer tries/aims to aggravate the participants by talking very slowly. Type A people are especially aggravated when other people talk slowly, and Type A people interrupt, talk out of turn, or finish sentences for people in order to speed them up.

As research on Type A personality gained momentum in the 1980s, researchers tried to devise a more efficient measure as interviews take a lot of time to measure each participant. Hence, they began using questionnaires as they are much cheaper because they are generally faster, as they can be given to whole groups of people, and one person can assess 100 or more persons at a time. One of the most widely used questionnaire measure of Type A personality is - Jenkins Activity Survey.

In the beginning, researchers using the structured interview often found a relationship between Type A personality and risk for heart attack and cardiovascular disease. Later, using the Jenkins questionnaire, often failed to replicate this finding. This puzzled researchers for several years.

Researchers using the questionnaire measure were less likely to find a relationship between Type A and heart disease than the studies using the structured interview (Suls & Wan, 1989; Suls, Wan, & Costa, 1996). Researchers have reached to the conclusion that the questionnaire measure taps into different aspects of Type A behavior than does the structured interview measures. The structured interview taps more on the lethal component of Type A. But, what component of Type A behaviour is lethal and related to heart disease?

• **HOSTILITY: THE LETHAL COMPONENT OF TYPE A BEHAVIOUR PATTERN:**

As researchers began to use the questionnaires more and more, evidence began to accumulate, showing that general Type A personality did not predict heart disease. After comparing the interviews with the questionnaires and learned that the interview method tapped more of the hostility component than the questionnaire method. Researchers began to test the hypothesis that it was really the more specific trait of hostility, rather than the general syndrome of Type A personality, that was the better predictor of heart disease.

People who were high in hostility are likely to react disagreeably to disappointments, frustrations, and inconveniences. Frustration is the subjective feeling that comes when you are blocked from an important goal. They are easily irritated, even by small frustrations, become visibly upset, sometimes even becoming rude and uncooperative or even antagonistic. Several studies have now established that hostility is a strong predictor of cardiovascular disease. Psychologists Dembrowski and Costa have demonstrated that even a questionnaire measure of the specific trait of hostility is a better predictor of artery disease than are questionnaire measures of Type A. Recent studies have also shown that hostility is associated with systemic inflammation, as indicated by elevated blood

leukocyte counts, also known as white blood cell counts (Surtees et al., 2003). Thus, the correlation with hostility, while not large, was statistically significant and remained so even after accounting for known risk factors for chronic inflammation, such as age, sex, smoking history, and alcohol intake. Chronic inflammation may be the pathway of how hostility is linked to the health endpoint of cardiovascular disease.

• **HOW ARTERIES ARE DAMAGED BY HOSTILE TYPE A BEHAVIOUR:**

Strong feelings of hostility and aggression produce the fight-or-flight response. This response involves an increase in blood pressure, accompanied by a constriction of the arteries, plus an increase in heart rate and in the amount of blood pumped out with each heartbeat. The person's body suddenly pumps more blood through smaller arteries. These changes can lead to wear and tear on the inside lining of the arteries, causing microscopic tears and abrasions. These abrasions then become sites/locations at which cholesterol and fat can become attached. Stress hormones released into the blood during the fight-or-flight response may lead to artery damage and subsequent buildup of fatty deposits on the artery walls causing the arteries become progressively narrower. This is called arteriosclerosis, or hardening or blocking of the arteries. When the arteries that feed the heart muscle are blocked, the subsequent shortage of blood to the heart is called a heart attack.

8.3 SUMMARY

In this unit we began by understanding what is cultural personality Psychology. We looked at the three major approaches to studying culture: Evocation, Transmitted culture and Cultural Universals. We also tried to understand how cooperation and mating strategies have evoked and how culture affects self-concepts, self-enhancement behaviours, etc. (Aspects of Transmitted culture). We also saw various models that explain the illness-behaviour relationship. Then, we tried to figure out what is stress, how daily hassles and major life events cause stress. There we also saw varieties of stress and primary and secondary appraisal. Under coping strategies or strategies to deal with stress, we saw attributional style, optimism, management of emotions and disclosure. Then, finally, we looked at what is Type A Behaviour, how hostility as a Type A component particularly is related to lethality or cardiovascular disease and how arteries are damaged by hostile, Type A behaviour.

8.4 QUESTIONS

A) Write long answers:

- a) Explain transmitted culture as an approach to exploring cultural Personality Psychology.
- b) Explain cultural universals as an approach to exploring cultural Personality Psychology.

- c) Explain the models of Personality-Illness connection and the concept of stress.
- d) Explain the relation between Type A personality and cardiovascular disease.

B) Write short notes:

- a) Explain attributional style and optimism and physical well-being as coping strategies.
- b) How does disclosure help to cope with stress?
- c) Explain evoked culture and evoked cooperation as a related concept.
- d) Explain cultural differences in self-concept.

8.5 REFERENCES

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