Chapter in Review

1. Each person is like all other persons in some ways (human attributes), like just some other persons in certain ways (differences in traits), and like no other person in other ways (unique qualities). Personality is the set of common human psychological characteristics and unique patterns of traits and behavior possessed by each individual. These sets of traits and behavior patterns are organized, integrated, and relatively enduring.

2. For the first 60 or 70 years of psychological science, the field of personality psychology was dominated by the grand theories, including psychoanalysis (Freud), behaviorism (Watson, Skinner), and humanism (Rodgers, Maslow). Sigmund Freud and his theory of psychoanalysis have had massive influence upon many aspects of Western culture as well as psychology. Psychoanalysis is possibly the most complex theory in the history of psychology and also the most controversial. Three central components of the theory are the structural model of the mind, theory of psychosexual development, and theories of dynamic processes. The structural model of the mind includes id (primary process, driven by the pleasure principle); ego (secondary process, functions according to reality principle); and superego (conscience, supervises the work of the ego and passes judgment upon it). The five stages of psychosexual development are the oral stage (birth to 18 months), anal stage (18 months to 3 years), phallic (Oedipal) stage (3 or 4 years to age 5 or 6), latency, and genital stage. Fixation occurs when trauma, or over- or undersatisfaction of impulses occurs at any given stage, exerting negative effects on adult personality. Dynamic processes include dreams and ego defense mechanisms. Freud believed that dreams contained latent content—hidden symbolic meanings that express forbidden sexual and aggressive wishes and impulses. Ego defenses as detailed by Freud's daughter, Anna, include repression, denial, displacement, projection, reaction formation, sublimation, and undoing. Psychoanalysis includes some insightful concepts that are supported by evidence, but many other ideas are unlikely to be correct, and the theory fails in many respects—for example, by violating the principle of parsimony. Many aspects of psychoanalytic theory are also difficult or impossible to test, making the theory "unfalsifiable." "Falsifiability" is one hallmark of a good theory. Neo-Freudians accept certain tenets of psychoanalysis, but have built their own theories based upon some of Freud's ideas. It is more common to find psychoanalysts who are neo-Freudians than classical Freudians.

3. The essence of behaviorist theories of personality is the idea that personality is learned behavior—just like any other human behavior. One acquires personality traits over time through operant and classical conditioning. Although experiences of reinforcement and punishment do exert important effects on personality, principles of learning cannot explain all aspects of personality.

4. The founders of humanistic psychology were optimistic, believed in free will, and had faith in human nature—believing that people generally face problems in a rational manner. Carl Rogers is likely the person most often associated with humanistic psychology views of personality. Rogers believed that each person needs a growth-promoting environment to grow into the fully functioning, competent, fulfilled human being he or she was designed to be. For a person to develop a healthy self-concept four conditions are necessary: accurate empathy, congruence, unconditional positive

regard, and positive self-regard. Abraham Maslow (Chapter 10) and Rollo May are also important humanistic psychology theorists. May is interesting because he incorporated existentialist philosophy into his psychology and because he did not necessarily see human beings as essentially good. Instead, he saw them as an "organized bundle of potentialities" with as much capacity for evil as good.

5. Self-esteem is a person's cognitive and emotional assessment of his or her own self-worth. People with high self-esteem are happier, suffer less from depression, and are more likely to enjoy the good things that happen to them to the fullest and help others do the same. People will go to great lengths to maintain feelings of self-esteem. Two theories attempt to explain the importance of self-esteem: terror management theory, which suggests that self-esteem acts as a buffer against pervasive anxiety all human beings feel in the face of the knowledge of their own inevitable death; and sociometer theory which focuses on the idea that a person's level of self-esteem gives important feedback about social acceptance or rejection. Although people are highly motivated to maintain self-esteem, self-esteem it does not appear to have many of the "magical" properties often attributed to it. Although high self-esteem that is not defensive (narcissistic) is associated with prosocial behaviors (helping others), there is no evidence that it promotes better school performance (although better school performance may increase self-esteem!), success on the job, or better interpersonal relationships. In fact, artificially boosting self-esteem might decrease school performance; and those with defensive (narcissistic) high self-esteem have poorer interpersonal relationships and may be more likely to be aggressive or retaliate if their pride is threatened. There is no evidence that low self-esteem causes criminality, prejudice, teenage pregnancy, drug or alcohol abuse, or sexual problems. Low self-esteem is strongly linked to eating disorders, however, and there may be a link between low self-esteem and aggression or antisocial behavior in men.

6. Traits are relatively stable personality characteristics, attributes and motivations. Traits are commonly captured in adjectives (e.g., cheerful, honest, short-tempered). Gordon Allport identified 4,500 possible traits, initiating what came to be known as the trait perspective. Trait psychology emphasizes description of a person's characteristic patterns of behavior, thought, emotion, and motivation over attempts to explain the origins of these characteristics, as had been the focus of previous grand theories. Based upon the idea of traits and the previous work of Raymond Catell, Hans Eysenck created the two-factor model of personality which brought personality from the era of the grand theories into the contemporary era of research-based personality theory. According Eysenck, personality consists of a limited number of characteristics which interact within any individual and can be measured using psychological tests. Eysenck proposed that there were two basic trait dimensions and all possible traits could be subsumed under these overarching umbrella traits. These trait dimensions, known as superordinate traits, are extraversion-introversion and emotional instability-stability (neuroticism).

7. Some psychologists, including Lewis Goldberg and Robert McRae, suspected that Eysenck's two factors (even with a later addition of a third factor) were not enough to describe all of personality. After conducting statistical research in nations throughout the world, they developed a five-factor model (the "Big Five"). Currently, this is the most widely accepted trait model of personality, with substantial empirical support in

studies conducted on five continents among members of at least fifty cultures. The five factors are Openness to experience, Conscientiousness, Extraversion, Agreeableness, and Neuroticism.

8. In addition to traits, situations can powerfully influence behavior. In 1968 researcher Walter Mischel startled the community of personality psychologists by publishing a book which argued that it was situations, not traits that played the largest role in determining behavior. From this perspective the notion of "traits" and "personality" are not very useful because regardless of a person's traits, he or she may behave quite differently depending upon the situation. However, Seymour Epstein argued that if a person were observed on a number of occasions rather than one—as often happens in psychological research—and the person's behavior "aggregated" or averaged out, the effects of traits would then be apparent. Although Mischel admitted that Epstein had a point, later work by Mischel and his colleague Yuichi Shoda suggested that people's behavior is best be understood by looking at the patterns created by the intersection of people's traits with the various sorts of situations in which they find themselves—patterns known as situation-behavior profiles.

9. Although a substantial number of young adult Americans believe in astrology, and a surprising number also believe that astrology is "scientific," virtually all scientists consider astrology a pseudoscience. Moreover, astrology has been tested again and again under scientific conditions and has been shown to lack validity as a tool to predict either personality or future occurrences. Thus, the continued acceptance of astrology by so many people suggests that astrology is "data proof"—that is, people will continue to believe in it despite substantial evidence that it cannot do what astrologers and believers claim that it can. Although astrology does not live up to claims, like many belief systems it may be helpful for some people in dealing with stressful life events, negative, self-concepts and uncertainties about living.

10. Genes play an important role in personality development. However, some personality traits are more or less heritable than others, and heritability estimates may vary from study to study. On average, approximately 50 percent of differences among people in Big Five or Eysenck's two-factor traits are due to genetic factors. Nonshared environments contribute the bulk of the environmental portion of influence on personality. The nonshared environment consists of each child's unique experiences in the world, rather than environmental influences shared by all children in a family. Nonshared environmental experiences that are likely to have the greatest effects on personality include simple chance, peer influence, and the possibility of differing parental treatment of each child due to causes that lie outside the child's genotype—for example, parental divorce, unemployment, or other major changes in the lives or attitudes of parents over time that might cause major differences in a parent's treatment of his or her children. The influence of chance events is frequently underestimated. Judith Rich Harris is the most vocal proponent of the idea that peer groups, not parents, are the primary socializers of children and the strongest influences upon the development of personality. Harris proposes that personality develops in large part according to the unique ways each child learns to resolve the conflict between the desire to "fit in" with peer groups (socialization system), and "stand out" from them (status system).

11. Personality assessment is the measurement of personality. Projective tests ("instruments") emerged primarily from psychoanalytic theory in the mid-20th century, and they are designed to allow a person to "project" his personality unconsciously on to ambiguous test items. These "projections" must then be interpreted by a psychologist. The Rorschach test and the TAT are projective instruments. Projective tests are often criticized because they may lack validity and reliability, but the TAT fares better than the Rorschach as a result of recent changes in scoring methods. Objective tests of personality, such as the MMPI-2 or the NEO PI-R (Big Five test), are constructed empirically and scored by computer. Objective tests may or may not use items with face validity.

12. Traits are surprisingly stable over time, but not entirely so. Evidence of trait stability comes primarily from research in rank order stability of Big 5 traits. Rank order stability measures an individual's scoring on various traits over time, placing the traits in rank order of their prominence on each measurement occasion. These studies show that temperament is stable to age 3 (as temperament), and personality is most stable past age 50. After age 50, changes in traits are minimal according to rank-order stability research. Evidence for changes over time in traits comes from research using mean-level stability. In this type of analysis, researchers compare the average score of the entire group of participants on each single trait separately, to see if change has occurred over time for that trait—rather than rank ordering each individual's scoring. Although rank order change is relatively minimal over time, mean level change can be substantial, although it occurs most frequently in young adulthood. In addition to a moderate possibility of changes in traits over time, other aspects of personality may change, including characteristic adaptations which may undergo considerable change (without necessarily signaling trait change). Characteristic adaptations include goals, values, beliefs, social roles, and plans for the future. Self-narratives also change. These are the stories and myths we tell ourselves about ourselves, and which reflect our understandings of our place in the world.

Section Summaries*What is personality?*
1. Like many concepts in psychology, "personality" is an abstraction, and psychologists may differ in their ideas about how it ought to be defined.
2. In spite of difficulties and disagreements in defining personality, for our purposes personality will be defined as variations on common human mental and behavioral characteristics, traits, characteristic adaptations, and self-narratives. These factors are organized, integrated, and relatively enduring.

What are the "grand theories" of personality?
1. The psychoanalytic theory of Sigmund Freud may be divided into three central components: a structural model of the mind, a theory of development, and theories of dynamic processes. The structural model of the mind consists of id, ego, and superego. The theory of psychosexual development consists of five stages, each centered around a different erogenous zone and typical psychological conflicts. Dynamic processes refers primarily to dreams and their interpretation, and to ego defense mechanisms as defined by Freud and his daughter Anna.
2. The neo-Freudians had widely varying points of view, but are united in that they all have accepted at least a portion of psychoanalytic ideas.
3. The behaviorists used learning theory to analyze personality. They believed that a person's character is a result of experiences of operant and classical conditioning.
4. The humanists had faith in human nature and tended toward optimism about the human condition. They believed that human beings are reasoning creatures, born with free will and innate strivings for positive goals. Rollo May, also associated with the humanistic movement in psychologist, created a theory of psychology based in existentialist philosophy. He believed that human beings have an innate capacity for evil, just as they do for good, but that they have the freedom to choose.
5. People strive hard to maintain feelings of self-esteem. However, a person's overall level of self-esteem may not predict the types of consequences that many people believe that it does.
6. The grand theories of personality were ambitious and often insightful, but they lost influence in contemporary psychology either because they were not testable by scientific methods or because they had been tested and found wanting.

How do traits and situations affect personality?
1. Traits are stable personality characteristics; states are usually temporary. The trait perspective focuses on description, rather than explanation of personality.
2. In the two-factor model of personality created by Hans and Sybil Eysenck, introversion-extraversion and emotional instability-stability are superordinate traits. All possible traits are in some way derived from these two dimensions.
3. The five-factor model ("Big Five") is the most widely accepted trait model of personality. The five factors are openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism ("OCEAN"). The five-factor model has been shown to be reliable and valid cross-culturally. Levels of five-factor traits are associated with important life outcomes including divorce, educational and occupational attainment, and longevity.

4. Situations are often as important as traits in determining behavior, although traits still predict behavior with some accuracy if behaviors are aggregated (combined) rather looked at individually. Situation-behavior profiles, which take both traits and situations into account, are more predictive of behavior than either situations or traits taken alone.
5. All evidence suggests that astrology is a pseudoscience with no validity. It has not been shown to predict the future or to identify a person's personality any better than chance.

How do genes, environment, and culture influence personality?
1. Genetic inheritance plays an important role in personality. Approximately 50 percent of differences among people in Big Five or two-factor superordinate traits are due to genetics, and 50 percent are due to the nonshared environment.
2. Three aspects of the nonshared environment are often suggested as being particularly important in personality development: differing treatment of children in the home by a parent; peer relationships; and chance.
3. Judith Rich Harris proposes that the primary "engine" driving personality is conflict between the socialization and status systems.
4. Although national character stereotypes are inaccurate, the Big Five traits have been shown to correlate with four of Hofstede's dimensions of culture. Studies among up to 50 cultures show that average traits cluster by culture and geographical area.

How is personality measured?
1. In projective tests, test-takers are believed to "project" aspects of their personalities and mental health problems onto test items that are ambiguous and may be interpreted in different ways.
2. Two of the most frequently used projective tests are the Rorshcach inkblot test and the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT). The Rorschach has been sharply criticized for problems with reliability and validity. The TAT traditionally has had problems with those administering the test failing to adhere to standardized scoring methods.
3. Objective tests rely on statistical methods to score personality tests by computer, avoiding problems of subjectivity. The Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI-2) was created using the criterion-key method. The Revised NEO Personality Inventory (NEO PI-R) was created using face validity.

How much does personality change over time?
1. Rank-order trait stability is stability in the ordering of traits for each individual—an indication of which traits are high or low relative to the others in a single person from one time to the next. Mean-level trait stability refers to stability from one time to the next in the average level of each trait among a sample of people.
2. Personality traits are surprisingly stable from childhood to adulthood, particularly if stability is measured through rank order of traits. However, trait change has also been noted, particularly if measured by mean levels of individual traits.
3. Characteristic adaptations are a person's goals, values, beliefs, social roles, and plans. These aspects of personality may change substantially. Self-narratives are internal

"narratives of the self" that evolve over time. They are also subject to substantial change.