Chapter

8

Personality Theories

"We all agree that your theory is crazy, but is it crazy enough?"

—Niels Bohr

PLAN AHEAD...

- How did Sigmund Freud explain personality development? Did he emphasize sexuality and the unconscious? What are id, ego, superego, and Oedipus complex?
- Who were some of Freud's followers, and how did they react to his theory?
- What is a collective unconscious? What are archetypes?
- How do behavioral and humanistic psychologists explain personality?
- Do we inherit our personalities? What is the nature-nurture controversy, and how do modern psychologists resolve it?
- What are the parts of an emotion? How do psychologists describe and explain emotional reactions?
- What motivates people to behave in a certain way?

SARA IS THE DAUGHTER OF MY GOOD FRIENDS, AND I watched her mature through adolescence and young adulthood. Throughout her teens, she was shy, cautious, and conservative in her political views and her approach to life. But in her twenties, Sara changed abruptly and dramatically, becoming animated, gregarious, and extremely liberal. Everything about her seemed to blossom and change. Do you know someone like that? As a psychologist, watching Sara made me wonder how any personality theory could adequately capture the nuances of the complex and changing thing we call personality.

Many psychologists have developed theories about personality—how to describe it, how it emerges, what influences it, how it changes, and what constitutes a healthy or an abnormal personality. Here you will learn about the three most important personality theories: psychoanalytic theory, behaviorism, and humanism. Do you remember reading about them in Chapter 1?
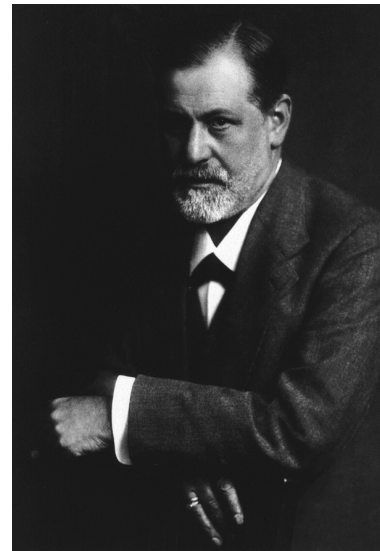
PSYCHOANALYTIC THEORY

"A Freudian slip is when you mean one thing and say your mother."
—ANONYMOUS

The first of the modern personality theories was developed by Sigmund Freud and is known as **psychoanalytic theory**. The psychiatric practice of this theory is called **psychoanalysis**. Freud's ideas were plentiful, profound, and often controversial. His theory about personality has had tremendous influence on societies around the world through many different disciplines. Not only psychology has been influenced and informed by the ideas of Freud, but also literature, art, philosophy, cultural studies, film theory, and many other academic subjects. Freud's theory represents one of the major intellectual ideas of the modern world. Right or wrong, these ideas have had a lasting and enormous impact.

Exploring the Unknown

To understand Freud's theory of personality, we must begin with the concept of the **unconscious**. This is the cornerstone idea in psychoanalytic theory. Freud believed that most behaviors are caused by thoughts, ideas, and wishes that are in a person's brain but are not easily accessible by the conscious part of the mind. In other words, your brain knows things that your mind doesn't. This reservoir of conceptions of which we are unaware is called the unconscious. Psychoanalytic theory proposes that personality characteristics are mostly a reflection of the contents of the unconscious part of the mind.

Sigmund Freud, founder of psychoanalytic theory and psychoanalysis.

FYI

Freud was named Sigismund Schlomo Freud by his parents. He never used his middle name and gradually switched his first to Sigmund during his university years. As a young man, Freud taught himself Spanish so that he could read *Don Quixote* in the original.

Freud's first book, *Studies in Hysteria*, was written with his colleague Dr. Joseph Breuer in 1896. The book consists of a series of case studies of people who had physical complaints in the absence of any organic cause, what was then known as **hysteria.** Most doctors at that time believed there was some organic cause for these symptoms and that research would eventually discover it. But Freud and Breuer believed that the cause of hysteria was in the unconscious—in the anxiety-provoking thoughts that lurked there, hidden from awareness.

Their first patient was a woman named Bertha Papenheim, who later went on to become a successful and important feminist leader. In the literature, she is known as Anna O. She began as a patient of Breuer, to whom she reported a large number of physical complaints, such as paralysis of her legs and right arm, that seemed to have no organic cause. In addition, after receiving hypnosis and therapy from Dr. Breuer for some time, Anna O. came to harbor the delusion that she was pregnant with Dr. Breuer's child (a type of delusion that is sometimes called hysterical pregnancy). This was tremendously upsetting to Dr. Breuer (and to his wife). Although Breuer had had great success in relieving many of her hysterical symptoms, he was terribly embarrassed by this turn of events and resigned as Anna O.'s therapist. Sigmund Freud took over and was able to complete Ms. Papenheim's cure by helping her to uncover the unconscious causes of her physical complaints. This case is presented in the 1962 film *Freud.*

Pushing Things Down

Freud believed that the unconscious is a part of our biological nature and that it operates naturally, just as do all our biological functions. Freud suggested that certain ideas and thoughts are **repressed,** that is, pushed out of awareness and into the unconscious. This happens, according to Freud's theory, when those ideas and thoughts are threatening to us. Repression works something like our immune system: It protects us from dangerous things. In the case of personality, dangerous things include anything that threatens self-esteem or feelings of comfort and pleasure. When we have thoughts or ideas that are threatening, they are pushed out of consciousness because awareness of them produces anxiety. They make us feel nervous. Thereby, through repression, our unconscious protects us from anxiety.

Here's an example from my personal life: I hate going to meetings. (That is a key fact in understanding this example.) One day, I had a meeting scheduled for 3 o'clock. I put the agenda of the meeting on my desk and wrote reminders to myself on my desk calendar and on my wall calendar. After returning to my office just before 3 o'clock, I looked at the meeting agenda on my desk, I looked at the meeting reminder on my desk calendar, and I looked at the reminder on my wall calendar. Then I put on my coat and went home! Three times I was reminded of the meeting, yet I did not go to the meeting. Although I looked at the agenda and the two reminders, I went home with no awareness that I was missing a meeting. I did not *forget* to go to the meeting. Forgetting and repressing are not the same thing. My unconscious was looking after me. It protected me from that horrible meeting by repressing it!

Of course, Freud wasn't talking about missing meetings. But this analogy might help you understand the idea of repression. Freud's theory is about how psychologically charged and threatening experiences, especially things that happen during childhood, can be repressed and later affect behavior and moods. Sexual abuse in childhood, for example, would be a very horrible experience that Freud theorized could affect one's personality through repression. Even sibling rivalry might be threatening enough to one's ego to be a source of repression.

THINK TANK   Can you give some examples that might represent repression—things from your life, from people that you know, or from books or movies?

How are repression and forgetting different from each other?

Dreams and Slips

Although repression keeps undesirable information in the unconscious and out of awareness, that repressed information is influential and, according to Freudian theory, can seep out of the unconscious and express itself through behaviors, thoughts, and dreams. Unconscious thoughts express themselves in a disguised form so as not to overly disturb the conscious mind. It is as if the unconscious is a boiling cauldron of threatening and anxiety-producing ideas, but the steam from this boiling pot can filter up into our awareness and influence our behaviors and haunt our emotions and cognitions. Freud proposed that the best place to look for clues to the unconscious is in dreams. A dream, Freud said, is a disguised form of what we unconsciously wish for. Dreams are wish fulfillment. Through them, we get what our unconscious wants. But dreams are not obvious and direct mirrors of unconscious ideas. A dream must be analyzed and interpreted in order to understand the clues that it provides.

The things that are present and the events that happen in a dream are known as the **manifest content** of the dream. These are disguised versions of unconscious thoughts. The meanings of those dream elements are called the **latent content** of the dream. A dream about an Egyptian mummy (the manifest content) might be a dream about one's mother (mommy); or it might be a dream about frustration (being bound); or it might be about a desire for more freedom; or it might represent a wish to be hugged and cuddled or to feel possessed by someone; or it might be an expression of the death wish (**thanatos,** as opposed to the life wish, **eros**) that Freud used to explain suicides, war, and other circumstances; or it might represent a desire to go to heaven or to be warm or to be rested (all possible latent contents). The manifest content, the mummy, represents something in the unconscious, the latent content. Freud developed a number of counseling techniques (including dream interpretation) intended to help reveal what was in his patients' unconscious minds based on the belief that revealing the contents of the unconscious would cause the patient's symptoms to disappear.

THINK TANK   Some people find it fun and interesting to keep a dream journal.

Keep a pen and paper near your bed, and when you awaken, immediately attempt to recall your dreams and write them down.

If you have trouble remembering your dreams, set your alarm to wake up at a different time than usual, maybe 20 minutes earlier.

Can you find any meanings in your dreams?

What themes are common?

Sometimes, according to Freud, a mistake is not a mistake. Just as dreams have hidden meanings, some mistakes have hidden meanings. When we make a mistake that is influenced by the unconscious (when a mistake is not a mistake, when a mistake has meaning) it is called a **Freudian slip,** for example, a slip of the tongue. If you accidentally call your boyfriend or girlfriend by the wrong name, it might just be a mistake; but it might be a Freudian slip. That is, it might be a mistake that reveals something about your unconscious thoughts and wishes. If a person has done something that he believes to be wrong (perhaps he told a lie earlier in the day) and this act has made him feel guilty, then perhaps later, while peeling potatoes, he might unintentionally cut himself. Freud said that sometimes such an act is no accident. The feelings of guilt in the unconscious might have directed the person to cut himself as a punishment for his lying.

Remember, it does no good to ask a person whether this is true. Freud's theory says that this information is in the unconscious—a person is not aware of it. In fact, during therapy, Freudian psychoanalysts believe that if a patient becomes overly upset when a therapist suggests that there is a particular thought or wish in the patient's unconscious, this might be evidence that the therapist is on the right track. In psychoanalytic theory, this is known as **resistance,** referring to the idea that patients will *resist* suggestions that probe the anxiety-producing contents of the unconscious. The unconscious wants to keep those thoughts from awareness and becomes upset when they are approached. One of the techniques used in psychoanalysis is to analyze the patient's resistance, to see what clues it might provide regarding the person's unconscious thoughts.

Theoretically, the stuff in the unconscious is there because it is bothersome to the person. The mind actively represses the information, whether that is rational or not. Freud's view is that repression might be harmful and might be the cause of a patient's mental or behavioral symptoms. Freud's "cure" is to reveal the unconscious information. If a therapist suggests that a patient's problems might be connected to his relationship with his mother and the patient screams, "Leave my mother out of this!" the psychoanalytic therapist views this response as indicative of repression and resistance and a signal that therapy should proceed in that direction.

Mental Protection

Psychoanalytic theory suggests that there are other ways in which our unconscious protects us besides by repression. These protective devices of the unconscious are known as **defense mechanisms.** Here are some examples.

- **Rationalization:** Sometimes our unconscious makes up a good-sounding reason to explain something we don't like. If we fail a test, we blame it on others. If our favorite candidate doesn't win the election, we say that it's for the best anyway. If we don't complete an assignment, we think the teacher was unfair to have given the assignment. "Sour grapes" is another example—if we don't get something we want, we find something wrong with it and convince ourselves we're better off without it. Rationalizing protects us from the anxiety of seeing ourselves as deficient. This is a common defense mechanism because of the importance placed on giving good reasons for things. However, this is not *rational,* it is *rationalizing.* Being rational means being objective. In rationalization, our mind protects us with a reason that only *sounds* good; it is not objective, it just seems to be. Our mind is trying to help us out!
- **Projection:** In this case, when we have some thoughts or feelings that we consider to be wrong or upsetting, we project them onto other people instead of on ourselves. If I believe that a certain attitude or feeling that I have is terribly wrong, I will claim that others have it. A person who wants to use illegal drugs but who believes that it would make him a horrible person might expect everyone else to want to use illegal drugs. This defense mechanism deflects the anxiety away from

us and onto others. Many of the predictions that a person makes about someone else are, in fact, true about the person making the prediction. Be careful what you say about others, it might be true about you! If a man says that he believes people lie on their resumes, perhaps it's an indication that he has an inclination to lie on his resume. Is he simply being objective? Or is he saying people lie because his unconscious knows he would act that way? That would be projection.

- **Sublimation:** We sublimate if we redirect or rechannel our undesirable emotions and thoughts into a socially acceptable activity. If I am full of rage and horrible thoughts, I might vigorously wash my car. Many people sublimate by pouring their emotions into works of art. The famous painter Vincent van Gogh is the example that is most often given. His mental and emotional distress seems evident in the vivid colors, thick paint, and forceful brushstrokes of his paintings. We can imagine van Gogh's moods merely by looking at his paintings. Many famous composers and poets also are good examples of this defense mechanism. Their mental anguish is redirected into wonderful works of art. There is a long list of composers and poets who suffered from depression and bipolar disorder. That is a tragedy, but one that provided us with a world of music and literature. Through sublimation, unpleasant mental energy is redirected into acceptable work.

- **Reaction formation:** Sometimes people's mental and emotional energy is so threatening that they adopt the reverse—the opposite—of what they really want. A person who believes that drinking alcohol is a terrible sin yet who has a desire to drink alcohol might be protected by reaction formation. In this case, the person's unconscious adopts a hatred of alcohol. The person might join groups that protest alcohol use and might attempt to pass laws against drinking alcohol. She becomes vociferous, wildly critical of alcohol. We might say, paraphrasing Shakespeare, that she *protests too much*. If a man believes that being gay is a horrible thing yet feels attracted to other men, he might express a deep hatred of gays and attempt to harm them. In reaction formation, a person's unconscious takes on the beliefs that are opposite of the true desires, those repressed in the unconscious. This protects the conscious part of the mind from what the unconscious considers to be awful.

- **Displacement:** Freud suggested this defense mechanism to explain how a person's unconscious wishes could appear in dreams but in disguise. A woman who is angry with her brother Tom might dream that she harms a noisy tomcat. Her conscious will not be aware of the connection between the names. Her anger is displaced onto a symbol of her brother. This defense mechanism is often used to explain behaviors outside of dreams; for instance, when a person's displeasure is directed toward some object other than the source of the displeasure (for example, if an employee displaces his anger toward his boss onto his wife, a subordinate, or his dog).

- **Denial:** This defense mechanism is a primitive form of repression. In this instance, a person simply denies things that produce anxiety. The term is often used today in referring to people who have obvious problems with alcohol, drugs, or relationships but refuse to accept that those problems exist.

- **Regression:** Under conditions of severe trauma or stress, a person might revert to developmentally earlier forms of behavior and thinking. This is known as regression. A person who is under significant stress, for example, might begin sucking his or her thumb. Freudian theory argues that regression provides a person with feelings of security and calm when under threatening conditions.

There are many other defense mechanisms that have been proposed by Freud and other psychoanalytic theorists, but these seven, together with repression, will give you a good understanding of the basic premise of Freud's ideas about where personality comes from. At the center is the unconscious and its biological drive to protect us from

Connecting Concepts

The projective tests (such as the Rorschach Inkblot Test) described in Chapter 7 are based on the concept of projection. That is, it is assumed that what a person sees in an ambiguous stimulus is a reflection of the person's personality–people project their characteristics (values, traits, ideas) into the stimulus.

"Denial ain't just a river in Egypt."
—Mark Twain

Conscious mind

Preconscious (outside awareness but accessible)

Unconscious mind

Ego

Superego

Id
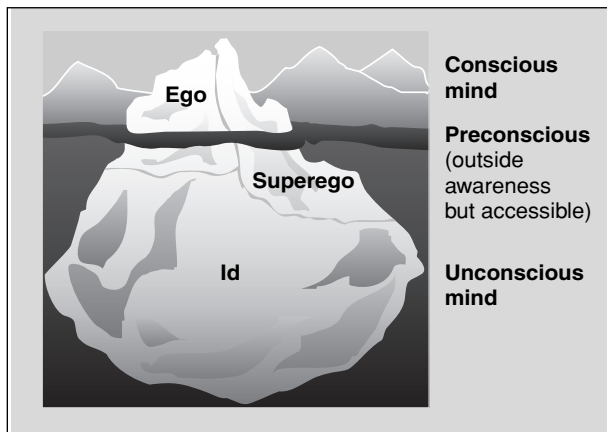
Freud theorized that personality contains three structures—the id, ego, and superego—and that the mind is like an iceberg, the unconscious making up 90% while the conscious (like the tip of the iceberg floating above water) makes only 10% of the mind.

what is threatening. Defense mechanisms protect us from anxiety and threats. In that sense, they are useful and good. However, they can go too far and take us into abnormality. When defense mechanisms become extreme, they cause more problems than they solve. A person might then develop symptoms of mental disturbance. Freud proposed a clinical therapy to deal with those instances, as noted above, a therapy known as psychoanalysis. The essence of this approach is to reveal the contents of the unconscious to the patient so that he or she can see that there is nothing to be afraid of. This, Freud said, will result in a disappearance of the symptoms. We will return to this issue later in Chapter 10. For now, more about psychoanalytic personality theory.

Personality Structures

Freud suggested an analogy about the mind. He said that the mind is like an iceberg in the ocean, floating 10% above the water and 90% below. The unconscious, Freud proposed, makes up the vast majority of our mind. In Freud's view, only about 10% of our behaviors are caused by conscious awareness—about 90% are produced by unconscious factors. According to psychoanalytic theory, most of what controls our behaviors, thoughts, and feelings is unknown to our aware minds. Normally, the unconscious guides us.

Freud said that the mind could be divided into three abstract categories. These are the **id,** the **ego,** and the **superego.** Although these are known as *structures*, do not take the term literally. Freud did not mean that these are physical parts of our bodies or our brains. He coined these terms and proposed this division of the mind as abstract ideas meant to help us understand how personality develops and works, and how mental illnesses can develop.

Connecting Concepts

Freud did not develop his theory on the basis of scientific experiments, such as correlation and controlled studies (see Chapter 2). He drew his conclusions mostly from the patients that he saw. He used the case study method. The therapy that he developed is discussed in Chapter 10.

1. *The id:* Latin for the term "it," this division of the mind includes our basic instincts, inborn dispositions, and animalistic urges. Freud said that the id is totally unconscious, that we are unaware of its workings. The id is not rational; it imagines, dreams, and invents things to get us what we want. Freud said that the id operates according to the **pleasure principle**—it aims toward pleasurable things and away from painful things. The id aims to satisfy our biological urges and drives. It includes feelings of hunger, thirst, sex, and other natural body desires aimed at deriving pleasure.

2. *The ego:* Greek and Latin for "I," this personality structure begins developing in childhood and can be interpreted as the "self." The ego is partly conscious and partly unconscious. The ego operates according to the **reality principle;** that is, it attempts to help the id get what it wants by judging the difference between real and imaginary. If a person is hungry, the id might begin to imagine food and even dream about food. (The id is not rational.) The ego, however, will try to determine how to get some real food. The ego helps a person satisfy needs through reality.

3. *The superego:* This term means "above the ego," and includes the moral ideas that a person learns within the family and society. The superego gives people feelings of pride when they do something correct (the **ego ideal**) and feelings of guilt when they do something they consider to be morally wrong (the **conscience**). The superego, like the ego, is partly conscious and partly unconscious. The superego is a child's moral barometer, and it creates feelings of pride and guilt according to the beliefs that have been learned within the family and the culture.

Freud theorized that healthy personality development requires a balance between the id and the superego. These two divisions of the mind are naturally at conflict with one another: The id attempts to satisfy animal, biological urges, while the superego preaches patience and restraint. The struggle between these two is an example of **intrapsychic conflict**—conflict within the mind. According to psychoanalytic theory, defense mechanisms are automatic (unconscious) reactions to the fear that the id's desires will overwhelm the ego. Freud believed that a healthy personality was one in which the id's demands are met but also the superego is satisfied in making the person feel proud and not overwhelmed by guilt. If the id is too strong, a person will be rude, overbearing, selfish, and animalistic. If the superego is too strong, a person is constantly worried, nervous, and full of guilt and anxiety and is always repressing the id's desires.

An overly strong id makes one a psychopath, lacking a conscience, or an ogre, self-ishly meeting one's needs without concern for others. An overly strong superego, on the other hand, makes one a worrier, a neurotic, so overwhelmed by guilt that it is difficult to get satisfaction. Sometimes it is said that the ego is the mediator between the id and the superego, but this is not what Freud said. The ego does not help to find compromise; the ego helps the id to satisfy its desires by focusing on what is real.

Recap

— Sigmund Freud developed an intricate theory of personality known as psychoanalytic theory. The therapeutic practice is called psychoanalysis.

— This theory says that traumatic events are repressed into the unconscious part of the mind, where they can influence behavior and personality.

— Freud described hysteria as an example of repression.

— Freud taught that slips of the tongue and dreams could be analyzed to give clues as to what is in a person's unconscious. The elements of a dream are called the manifest content; the hidden meanings are called the latent content.

— In psychoanalytic theory, the mind protects itself from threats by using defense mechanisms such as repression, rationalization, and sublimation.

— Freud theorized three structures of personality: the id (seeks pleasure), the ego (judges reality), and the superego (morality, including conscience).

— Intrapsychic conflict can involve disputes between the id (which attempts to satisfy biological urges) and the superego (which represents morality).

The Stage Is Set

Freud theorized that personality traits evolve through a series of stages that occur during childhood and adolescence. These are called **psychosexual stages** because they focus on mental (psyche) ideas about sex. However, it is important to note that Freud's language was German, and not everything from German translates precisely into English. When we say that Freud's theory concentrates on "sex," we are using that term in an overly broad manner. There is no word in English for exactly what Freud was talking about. "Sensuality" might be closer than "sex" to the concept that Freud had in mind. Freud was referring to everything that gave a person bodily pleasure. In psychoanalytic theory, sucking your thumb is part of sex. Massaging your neck is also included. Freud believed

that these pleasurable activities of the body were instinctually inborn and that they were often frowned on by society. The sexual activities that were most disapproved of were repressed into the unconscious and therefore were most likely to influence personality.

Freud proposed that personality traits arise at certain times of our lives. For instance, dependency is a personality trait that arises during childhood when the child is very dependent on others. In a sense, Freud suggested that the seeds of adult personality traits are planted during childhood. The particular things that happen to us, those things that were repressed because they were sexual or traumatic, are retained in our unconscious and thereby sprout up as adult personality characteristics. The seeds of our adult traits were planted during the psychosexual stages.

The adult personality, according to Freud, is a reflection of the contents of the unconscious. The unconscious is the reservoir of important things that happened to us in childhood. Biological urges, trauma, sexuality, aggression, and other incidents that were repressed provide the impetus for certain personality traits. According to Freud's psychoanalytic theory, an adult personality trait is a throwback to some unconscious urge, such as the urge to gain parental favor. If too much or too little satisfaction occurs during a childhood stage or if a traumatic event occurs during that stage, then a person will exhibit personality traits consistent with that stage. This is known as **fixation.** We say that a person with babyish traits such as dependency or biting his or her fingernails is fixated in the oral stage. According to psychoanalytic theory, the roots of personality are found in childhood.

The Psychosexual Stages

Freud's psychosexual stages are as follows:

1. *Oral:* The first stage in Freud's theory covers babies up to about the age of one and a half years. The driving force during this stage is interest and pleasure in activities involving the mouth (hence the term *oral*), such as sucking and biting. Adult oral personality traits that derive from the oral stage include anything to do with the mouth, such as smoking, overeating, or biting the nails, and anything that is babylike, such as being naïve ("swallowing" anything you are told) or being dependent on others.

2. *Anal:* This stage centers on toilet training, beginning around the age of 18 months or two years and extending up to preschool, about age three. The term *anal,* of course, refers to the anus, the rear end (the opposite end of oral), and one of the jokes in psychology is that you can't spell *analysis* without *anal.* This joke makes light of the fact that Freud believed this stage to be crucial in planting the seeds for a number of adult personality traits. In the anal stage the child is being toilet trained and is learning to hold in and to let out at appropriate times. Therefore, Freud proposed that personality traits related to either holding in or letting out were formed during the anal stage. The following traits are known as **anal-retentive** (finding pleasure from holding in): neatness, orderliness, punctuality, cleanliness, compulsiveness, perfectionism, and stinginess. The following are called **anal-expulsive** (finding pleasure from letting out): being undisciplined, messy, disorderly, late, impulsive, and overly generous.

3. *Phallic:* This stage occurs approximately during the preschool years. The term *phallic* means any representation of the penis, which, according to Freud, is the main occupation of the unconscious during the childhood years of about three to six among both boys and girls. It is at this time,

theoretically, that children become aware of whether or not they have a penis, and Freud believed that this causes a bit of anxiety in the unconscious parts of their minds. Boys, Freud reasoned, become protective of their penis and fear having it taken away. This is known as **castration anxiety** and might be manifested in a young boy's fear of knives, scissors, or being bitten by dogs. Girls, Freud thought, feel resentful that they do not have a penis and hence seek phallic things and activities that will provide them with feelings of power and possession. This is known as **penis envy** and might be seen when preschool girls develop a deep fondness for horses, unicorns, and other strong, masculine things or long, pointed objects.

Freud proposed an unconscious drama during this stage that he called his most important idea. It is called the **Oedipus complex** (sometimes referred to as the *Oedipal conflict*). This unconscious process is named after the Greek story of Oedipus, the man who was raised by foster parents and grew up to unwittingly kill his biological father and marry his biological mother. Freud said that a similar drama occurs in the unconscious minds of preschool boys, who favor their mothers and fear their fathers (castration anxiety). The child resents the father for getting all of the mother's attentions. Many psychoanalysts suggest a similar conflict for preschool girls, referred to as the **Electra complex;** it is essentially the reverse of the situation for boys: love and desire for father, resentment for mother.

According to psychoanalytic theory, these complexes become so severe and anxiety-producing that the child's unconscious must resolve them using a defense mechanism. The solution is for the child to begin to identify with the same-sexed parent. The child begins to internalize the personality of the same-sexed parent, thereby relieving the anxiety and vicariously winning the love of the opposite-sexed parent. For a little boy, being like daddy means no longer having to fear and resent him, and it also means getting mommy's love through daddy. For a little girl, it means winning daddy's love by being like mommy. This process is called **identification with the aggressor;** sometimes simply known as *identification*. The result is that children begin to internalize the values, morals (the superego), traits, attitudes, and behaviors of their parents.

In fact, in 1925, Freud concluded that he had been wrong about penis envy in young girls and theorized that the Oedipal struggle for girls, as well as for boys, centered on love for the mother. As you can imagine, this remains a controversial idea among psychoanalysts.

4. *Latency:* After resolving the Oedipal conflict through identification (at about the age of six), children enter a stage during which sexual urges are dormant or resting. The term *latent* means that something is present or has potential without being active or evident. During this stage, sexual urges are taking a recess; they are at a minimum. From about the ages of 6 to 12, boys typically stick together and say that they do not like girls, or they act squeamish around girls. Similarly, girls during this stage are highly critical of boys, are shy around them, and avoid them. Apparently, the demands of the previous stage and the Oedipal drama were so overwhelming that the unconscious needs a bit of a rest.

5. *Genital:* This final of the psychosexual stages arises during adolescence when teenagers begin again to show sexual interests. This stage leads to adult affection and love. If all has gone well in the previous stages, Freud theorized, interest during adolescence is on heterosexual relationships. This is a time of exploring pleasure through more mature love and affection.

TABLE 8.1   Freud's Psychosexual Stages

Stage	Approximate Ages	Main Features
1. Oral	Birth–1 1/2 or 2	Mouth, dependency
2. Anal	1 1/2–3	Toilet training, give and take
3. Phallic	3–6	Oedipus complex, identification, superego
4. Latency	6–12	Repression of sexuality
5. Genital	12–Adulthood	Development of normal sexuality

THINK TANK

Can you think of characters from literature or movies that represent psychoanalytic concepts?

Is it always good to know what is in one's unconscious?

Why or why not?

One should not think of Freud's psychoanalytic theory as a scientific theory, but more as a form of literature or storytelling. People often ask whether Freud's theory is right or wrong. This question is difficult to answer, perhaps impossible, because psychoanalytic theory is not totally a scientific or empirical theory that can be tested to determine its veracity. It is probably best to treat psychoanalytic theory as a series of interesting stories with plots and characters. Whether these stories are good or not depends on the extent to which they provide a deeper and better understanding of human personality development. Some of Freud's concepts have met that test—for example, the unconscious, repression, the importance of childhood sexuality, and the influence of parenting on the child's personality. It is hard to deny the basic tenets of psychoanalytic theory: The unconscious can influence our behaviors and our personality, things that happen in childhood plant the seeds for adult personality development, traumatic events in childhood can have lasting effects on our personalities, and the sexual drive is an important factor in our lives that can influence our personality.

On the other hand, many of Freud's ideas are not supported by research and observation. His theory provides some provocative ideas about the course of human development and the causes of behaviors, but these often fail when put to an empirical test. Perhaps a good way to conclude this discussion of Freud's ideas is to use a variation on Freud's remark about his cigar smoking: Sometimes a theory is just a theory.

Freud had great influence, particularly early in the twentieth century, and he had many followers who developed their own theories of personality development, often contradicting Freud's. Here are a few of the major ideas of some **neo-Freudians,** early followers of Freud who splintered off and formed their own theories.

Carl Jung

Freud's closest friend and dearest colleague was a psychiatrist from Switzerland named **Carl Gustav Jung** (1875–1961). (The name *Jung* is pronounced "yooung.") Freud selected Jung to be the first president of the International Psychoanalytic Association in

1910. However, Carl Jung later developed his own ideas that deviated from Freud's, and as a result, the two great thinkers grew distant toward each other and even stopped writing or talking to each other. By 1914, their friendship and communication had ceased, and they never saw each other again. Jung's personality theory is known as **analytic theory** or **analytical psychology.**

Jung placed a great deal of emphasis on the study of different cultures. He believed that the similarities between cultures were an indication of what it means to be human; that is, by looking at how we are all alike, we can determine the essence of humanity. Like all psychoanalysts, Jung looked for signs and symbols that for him were clues to understanding human personality.

Perhaps Jung's greatest contribution was that he expanded the notion of the unconscious. Freud used the term *unconscious* to apply to the hidden thoughts and ideas of one person. In Freud's view, each person has his or her own unconscious, and although they have some similarities (the structures and defense mechanisms, for example), what is in one person's unconscious might not be in another person's unconscious. This conception is known as the **personal unconscious.** Each of us has our own personal unconscious. However, Carl Jung proposed a broader idea. He suggested that all human beings share certain unconscious ideas because we are all human and were created from similar evolutionary circumstances and common ancestors. The unconscious that we all share is called the **collective unconscious.**

According to Jung, the collective unconscious is the storehouse of hidden memory traces that were inherited from our ancestral past. It is our minds' residue of human evolutionary development. Jung theorized that the components that make up the collective unconscious are universal types or propensities that we all share and that have a mythic, overarching quality. These elements (the content) of the collective unconscious are known as **archetypes.** They include the following:

1. *The self:* Our feelings of wholeness and unity, our sense of organization within our personality, our identity
2. *The persona:* The artificial, phony self that we show to others; our public self that conforms to societal standards, the personality "mask" that we wear in public
3. *The anima:* The feminine side of men
4. *The animus:* The masculine side of women
5. *The shadow:* The dark, cruel side of us that contains animal urges and feelings of inferiority. Jung considered the shadow to be a source of creativity.

Other of Jung's theoretical archetypes represent the universal themes of the human experience, things such as wise old man, mother, death, God, the sun, and the hero. Jung taught that the archetypes color our world of experience and express themselves within our personalities. The archetypes are manifested in our dreams, influence whom we are attracted to, and become part of our art, our folklore, and the symbols that we use in our cultures. The symbols for motherhood, for example, are the same from one culture to another, Jung argued.

Jung also proposed what he called *the attitudes:* two types of personalities—extraverts and introverts. The extraversion attitude orients a person toward the external world; the introversion attitude drives a person toward the inner, subjective world. Most people, he said, are a blend of both, ambiverts!

FYI

Freud and Jung exchanged 330 letters in less than seven years.
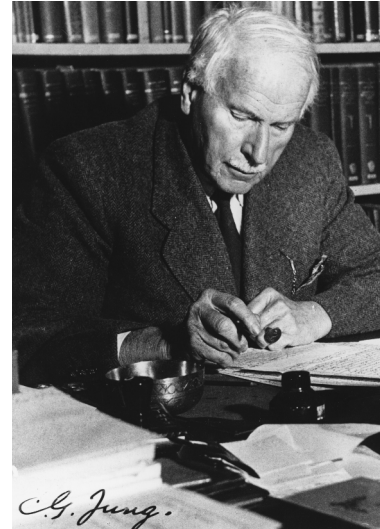
Carl Jung

FYI

Some have called Jung an anti-Semite because he admired Hitler and said that Germans and Jews could not get along because their archetypes were too different. Jung, however, denied that he favored Nazism.

Jung's theory remains very popular. In many ways, it does not seem like a psychological theory, because it leans so heavily on anthropology, spirituality, and myths. It is probably the most mystical of all the psychological personality theories.

THINK TANK   Try using Jung's archetypes on yourself.

Divide a piece of paper into three sections.

In the first, write PERSONA, and list things about yourself that you show to others.

In the second section, write ANIMA or ANIMUS, and list the qualities of the opposite sex that you have.

In the third section, write SHADOW, and list your personality qualities that you keep hidden, that might represent the "bad" part of you.
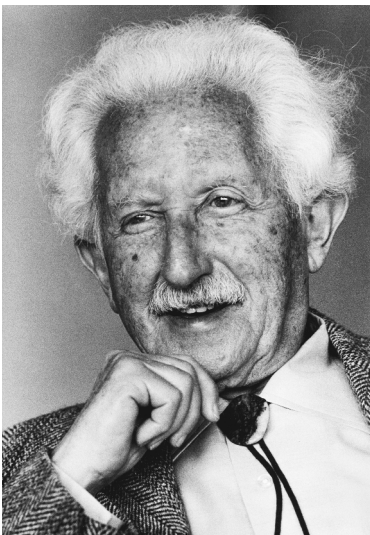
Erik Erikson

Sigmund Freud had a daughter named Anna, who also became a famous psychoanalyst. One of her star pupils was a teacher named **Erik Erikson** (1902–1994). He is one of very few people to become a psychoanalyst without being a psychiatrist. Erikson learned about Freudian psychology from Anna Freud, then moved to New York, where he took up the practice of psychoanalysis.

The funny thing is that Erikson noticed that most of his patients were not hung up on sexual problems, as the patients of Sigmund Freud reported, but instead talked about problems with understanding themselves and getting along with others. Erikson believed that Freud's theory needed to be updated. In 1950, he wrote a book entitled *Childhood and Society*, in which he proposed a theory of **psychosocial development.**

Erikson converted Freud's emphasis on sexuality to a focus on social relationships and then extended Freud's five *psychosexual* stages to eight *psychosocial* stages. These stages became known as the **Eight Ages of Man.** (As you know, at that time in history, the word *man* was used to apply to all human beings. No sexist discrimination was intended.) Each of Erikson's eight stages was described as a time of crisis—a time when the personality would go one way or the other. For example, you've likely heard of the identity crisis. Erikson theorized that during adolescence, we all face a crisis of figuring out who we are. Each of the stages has this either-or quality.

Erik Erikson

Karen Horney

Not all of Freud's disciples were men, and not all (though nearly all) concentrated on the personality development of men. The leader of the exceptions was a strong-willed woman named **Karen Horney** (1885–1952), who today is recognized as having proposed the most complete psychoanalytic theory of women's personality development. Whereas Freud had placed great importance on biological factors, Horney believed that the differences between men and women were mainly due to societal conditions. She argued that women felt inferior to men not because of an innate penis envy, but because of the way women were treated in society.

TABLE 8.2   **Erikson's Psychosocial Stages**

1. Infant	**Trust versus mistrust**	Babies whose needs are met develop a feeling of trust for the environment. If infants have frustration and deprivation, they learn a basic mistrust for the world that will stick throughout life.
2. Toddler	**Autonomy versus shame and doubt**	When toddlers learn to act independently and to control their bodies (toilet training, walking, etc.), they learn self-confidence and a feeling of autonomy. Failure leads to feelings of inadequacy and therefore a sense of basic shame and doubt.
3. Preschool	**Initiative versus guilt**	The preschooler is ready to take action—in play, in imagination, and in running his or her life. Success here leads to good self-esteem; problems lead to feelings of guilt.
4. Early school age	**Industry versus inferiority**	The school-aged child is ready for learning many new skills and, if successful, will develop a sense of industry—being good at things. Failures at this stage result in a deep sense of being no good, of being inferior to others—a feeling that might carry into adulthood.
5. Adolescent	**Identity versus role confusion**	An adolescent is beginning to think abstractly and can conceptualize his or her self-identity and personality. The adolescent begins to consider questions of identity such as: Who should I be? What should I value? And what interests should I have? The teen must answer these to develop a good sense of self-identity. Exploration of various roles and personalities is common in this stage.
6. Young adult	**Intimacy versus isolation**	A young adult faces the challenge of developing close emotional relationships with other people. Here the term *intimate* does not mean sexuality, but social and emotional connections with others. The opposite result, for those who do not develop a sense of intimacy, is to become isolated from social contact.
7. Middle-aged adult	**Generativity versus stagnation**	Middle-aged adults feel an urgency to leave a mark on the world, to generate something of lasting value and worth. Finding a purpose in life is a central theme. To fail at generating something significant means a person becomes stagnant and stops moving forward; this person may become selfish and self-absorbed.
8. Old adult	**Integrity versus despair**	In old age, it is common to look back on life and reflect on what was accomplished. People who feel good about what they have done build a sense of integrity. For those whose evaluations are not so good, there is despair, the feeling of regret and remorse for the life they led.

THINK TANK   What are some ways in which young adults show that they are dealing with the issue of intimacy versus isolation?

How does adolescent behavior represent a crisis in identity?

Give examples.

In addition, Horney theorized that psychological disorders did not arise from fixation on psychosexual stages, as Freud taught, but from poor interpersonal relationships during childhood, particularly with parents. She stressed that certain parenting styles could influence the child's development of personality traits. Today, many contemporary thinkers are returning to the writings of Horney because of her emphasis on parent-child interactions and the role of society and culture in shaping personality.

Alfred Adler

Adlerian psychology still flourishes in certain parts of the United States. **Alfred Adler** (1870–1937) was an early follower of Freud who became a neo-Freudian because of his strong disagreement with Freud over a few issues. Adler's theory is known as **individual psychology.** First, Adler assumed that we are motivated not so much by sexuality as by social urges. He considered our interest in social relationships to be an inborn drive. Second, Adler theorized the **creative self,** a subjective experience by which we interpret and find meaning in our experiences.

Third and most important, Adler said that the primary motivation of humans was a **striving for superiority.** Because children are small and weak, Adler thought that they develop feelings of inferiority. If these feelings become overwhelming, a child develops an **inferiority complex,** which has to be overcome. The final goals toward which we all strive, according to Adler, are perfection, security, conquest, and being successful. Adler considered the striving for superiority to be the utmost drive of human beings and believed that it is inborn. When this striving goes too far, a person develops a **superiority complex** in which this drive is wrongly self-directed and aimed at selfish goals, such as power and self-esteem, whereas, according to Adler, a normal individual's goals should be manifested in the social arena.

Karen Horney

Recap

— Personality evolves in stages, according to Freud's psychoanalytic theory. The psychosexual stages are oral, anal, phallic, latency, and genital. Events that happen during these stages influence the development of certain traits. For example, generosity is an anal trait.

— The Oedipus complex occurs in preschool children. In the unconscious part of their minds, they develop affectionate feelings for the opposite-sex parent and harbor ill feelings for the same-sex parent. This conflict is solved by identification with the same-sex parent.

— Freud had a number of followers who later developed their own theories of personality. They are known as neo-Freudians.

— Carl Jung was Freud's best-known follower. Jung developed a theory centered on the collective unconscious, which consists of universal archetypes.

— Erik Erikson developed a theory of psychosocial stages, consisting of eight crises, such as the identity crisis of adolescence, known as the Eight Ages of Man.

— Karen Horney was one of the few psychoanalysts to emphasize female personality development. Her theory stresses societal conditions and parental interactions.

— Alfred Adler stressed the drive for superiority, and the inferiority complex.

BEHAVIORISM

"The term Science should not be given to anything but

the aggregate of the recipes that are always successful."
—Paul Valéry

Freud's psychoanalytic theory was the first modern theory of personality and, as was shown above, had great influence and many adherents. However, psychoanalytic theory also had numerous detractors. Chief among the critics of psychoanalytic theory was a young American psychologist named **John B. Watson** (1878–1958), who believed that psychology should eschew the subjective study of the mind and instead should embrace scientific methodology and empirical research. Watson initiated a revolution in thinking about psychology, creating a new school of thought called **behaviorism.** Watson was joined by a large number of psychologists who also believed that psychology should reject the mental and unconscious ideas of Freud and others and that psychology should focus on the scientific exploration of overt, observable behavior.

Searching for Laws

The behaviorists were like physicists attempting to uncover the fundamental natural laws of behavior, one experiment at a time, while ignoring the mind altogether. Their leader was **B. F. Skinner** (1904–1990), a brilliant experimentalist who eventually equaled, or even surpassed, Freud in influencing the course of psychology. Skinner performed many experiments on lower animals, discovering the basic laws of animal action, and wrote many books. He was an ethical person, a hard worker, a good husband and father, and a brilliant scientist. Unfortunately, because many people did not like the results that Skinner found in his experiments, they criticized him unfairly. Skinner suffered the same complaints that Socrates, Galileo, and Darwin did. Because their ideas challenged common views, people who didn't like the message often attacked the messengers.

Skinner was often asked whether he thought about himself the same way that he thought about his research animals. It's likely that this question was not meant in all fairness, because Skinner's research animals were lower animals such as rats and pigeons. But Skinner took the question seriously and in 1983 responded somewhat proudly and defiantly: "The answer is yes. So far as I know, my behavior at any given moment has been nothing more than the product of my genetic endowment, my personal history, and the current setting." This is a good summary of the behaviorist view of personality. Personality is defined as behavior, and behavior has three causes: genetics, personal history, and the current setting.

The Basics of Behaviorism

First, notice from Skinner's response that he answered the question with reference to behavior. A psychoanalyst, by contrast, would have responded to this question with reference to the unconscious. When questioned

B. F. Skinner, foremost proponent of behaviorism, with some of his common experimental subjects.

Connecting Concepts

The behaviorists, more than any other early psychologists, used the experimental methods described in Chapter 2 to find the laws and principles of behavior. Those laws were described in Chapter 5. Also, the behaviorist emphasis on the power of the situation is similar to the discussion of social psychology in Chapter 7.

about personality, behaviorists think first of behavior. Second, notice that Skinner does not ignore genetics. It is often said that behaviorism does not give any regard to heredity. This quotation from the leading behaviorist shows that the suggestion is incorrect. Next, note that Skinner credits the current setting as a contributing factor. This portion of answer refers to situationism, the notion that circumstances around us at any given moment can influence how we act. Finally, Skinner mentions personal history. This needs some explanation.

When behaviorists speak of personal history, they are not referring to the kind of events that Freud and the psychoanalysts believed were important in personality formation, such as the traumatic, aggressive, and sexual events that become stored in a child's unconscious. When they speak of personal history, behaviorists are not referring to the mind at all. What they mean is that each person has experiences in his or her environment, most importantly experiences with people, experiences that by means of reinforcement and other laws of behavior influence the person's disposition to act a certain way. For instance, if a child's outgoing behavior is reinforced, then that behavior will become more common. Similarly, if a child has unpleasant experiences around animals, then that child may come to dislike animals. A child who consistently receives praise for acting cooperatively or generously will begin to act cooperatively or generously in similar situations in the future, depending on the circumstances and on hereditary variables. By personal history, behaviorists mean the reinforcing events that each of us has experienced in our pasts. Behaviorists theorize that personality is behavior and that behavior is shaped mostly by our experiences in the environment. Behaviors that are successful or that lead to pleasure will become more frequent. Behaviors that fail or that lead to unpleasantness will become less frequent. These considerations are modulated by the constraints of heredity and situationism.

The cornerstone idea of behaviorism is that behavior is learned and that behavior might or might not be consistent from one situation to another. If extraverted behavior is reinforced in one set of conditions but not in another, the person will come to demonstrate extraverted behavior in situations that are similar to the first but not in situations similar to the second. Skinner's answer provides us with the fundamental argument made by behaviorism: As far as we know, a person's *behavior* at any moment is the result of (1) his or her heredity, (2) the situation he or she is in, and (3) that person's previous experiences in the environment. Please note that one very optimistic thing about behaviorism is the idea that if behaviors are in fact learned, they can also be unlearned.

Social Learning Theory

Behaviorism is technically not so much a coherent theory of personality as it is a collection of experimental research findings that suggest certain principles of personality formation. Behaviorism is not so much a theory as it is an extrapolation of experimental findings. Its principal teachings are based on the results of scientific research. All behaviorist explanations of personality embrace situationism. The focus of behaviorism is not on the personal characteristics of people, but on how people behave in various situations. Behaviorists do not talk about traits; they talk about actions. Personality, in the context of behaviorism, is the sum of the actions a person takes in different circumstances.

Some followers of behaviorism have proposed theoretical models based on the experimental research findings that are at the core of this school of psychology. These theories are often called **social learning theories** because they emphasize the importance of social settings (interactions with people), and the significance of learning as the key component of personality development. Behaviorism defines personality as the different behaviors that a person engages in and argues that these behaviors have been learned, primarily through interactions with parents, family members, teachers, and others.

Observational Learning

One of the fundamental principles of social learning theory is that humans learn many of their behaviors not through their own direct experiences with the world, but by

The famous Bobo-the-clown experiment by Bandura, Ross, and Ross (1961) found that children were very influenced by observational learning. After watching a movie in which adults hit a doll, children imitated the behavior very precisely.

observing others. Certainly, babies learn to speak and understand words not by any formal training, but by the constant, little by little, trial-and-error process of listening and pronouncing. When behaviors are learned via seeing or listening, this process is called **observational learning.** One of the leading social learning theorists, **Albert Bandura,** has proposed that observational learning is a key component of human personality development. Bandura was the lead researcher in an important and influential experiment that demonstrated that observational learning could affect even children watching movies.

Bandura, Ross, and Ross (1961) showed children a movie in which an adult hit and punched a blow-up Bobo-the-clown doll in rather distinctive ways. For example, the adult knelt atop the doll and hit it in the face with a wooden mallet. After the children watched the movie, they were sent to a room to play—a room full of many toys, including a Bobo-the-clown doll. Cameras recorded the children's behavior in the room. As you might have guessed, the children ran directly to the doll and began hitting it and punching it in precisely the same distinctive manner that the adult had used in the movie. The results were stunning—observational learning was far more powerful than anyone had imagined. Thousands of similar experiments have been done since that seminal study, and these studies have consistently shown the same results. For instance, Dutton (2000) reported that abusive adults were likely to have witnessed abuse as a child.

Behaviorist theories have incorporated the powerful influence of observational learning into their explanations of personality formation. On the basis of the extensive research on this topic, Albert Bandura expressed his belief that "Most human behavior is learned by observation through modeling."

THINK TANK   Name some behaviors of your own (or of others) that were influenced by observation.

Behaviorism's Tenets

The basic tenets of behaviorism are fairly simple, though the details may not be. Here are the fundamental theoretical beliefs of behaviorism:

1. Personality is an abstract, hypothetical concept that is best conceptualized as the sum of a person's behaviors in various situations. Personality should be viewed not as part of the mind, but as observable behavior.
2. Behaviors should be studied empirically to determine the precise variables within the world of experience (the environment) that influence and shape personalities. Psychology must be a scientific enterprise.
3. Mental variables (the mind) are not proper subjects of scientific inquiry and furthermore are not elements that influence behavior. Skinner said, "The practice of looking inside the organism for an explanation of behavior has tended to obscure the variables which are immediately available for a scientific analysis. These variables lie outside the organism, in its immediate environment and in its environmental history. The objection to inner states is not that they do not exist, but that they are not relevant" (Skinner, 1953).
4. People are born neither good nor bad, but are shaped by their experiences. Each person has hereditary factors that influence his or her development, but the primary forces of personality development are the events that happen to people in their lives.
5. Behaviors are developed predominantly via learning. Learning occurs mainly through the processes of reinforcement and observation. Behaviors that are learned under one set of conditions might not be learned under a different set of conditions; therefore, personality might be inconsistent from one situation to another.

Behaviorism had tremendous influence on the course of psychology, particularly during the first half of the twentieth century. Behaviorism influenced the kind of research that was done, the development of many theories and many practical applications that

Recap

— Behavior theorists shifted the focus away from the mind and onto observable, measurable behavior. They emphasize that personality is learned.

— John B. Watson was the founder of behaviorism, but B. F. Skinner was the most influential researcher and advocate of this school of psychology.

— Skinner stressed three factors as determiners of behavior: genetics, personal history, and the current setting.

— Behaviorism focuses on behavior, how it is learned within the environment, and how situations influence a person's actions.

— The behaviorist approach to personality sees a newborn as essentially neutral; behaviors are learned depending on experiences in the world.

— Social learning theories emphasize the role of human interaction in the development of personality.

— Behavioral theories also emphasize observational learning—learning behaviors by seeing or hearing others.

— Bandura, Ross, and Ross showed how children learn aggressive behaviors by viewing adults acting aggressively.

continue to be used in schools, mental hospitals, workplaces, and the home. In recent years, behaviorism has waned somewhat, and today is often tempered with doses of cognitive psychology and physiological psychology. Still, the remnants of this powerful school of psychology reverberate throughout the discipline. Many research studies that are conducted in contemporary psychology use methodology that would not have been possible without the progress and paradigms created by B. F. Skinner and his followers. In this sense, behaviorism will always be a part of psychology.

HUMANISM

"When the only tool you own is a hammer, every problem begins to resemble a nail."
—Abraham Maslow

Psychoanalytic theory and behaviorism were the first two major theories of personality development in the modern discipline of psychology. Both have had tremendous influence and have inspired practical endeavors as well as theoretical notions. But there is still another theoretical school in modern psychology. This third approach, called **humanism** or **humanistic psychology,** was initiated in the 1950s by an American psychologist named **Abraham Maslow** (1908–1970).

The Inner Drives

Maslow was critical of psychoanalytic theory because it focused on the abnormal personality and had little to say about the normal, healthy personality. Maslow argued that psychology should give more attention to the highest and most affirming of human personality qualities, things like love, self-esteem, and creativity. Maslow wrote, "It is as if Freud has supplied to us the sick half of psychology and we must now fill it out with the healthy half" (Maslow, 1998).

Additionally, Maslow believed that a personality theory should be centered on the conscious, not the unconscious, mind. He argued that human personality is primarily a matter of making conscious choices and rational decisions that are guided by our desire for excellence and fulfillment. Maslow wanted the aware mind to take center stage in a theory of personality.

Just as he was critical of psychoanalytic theory, Maslow also criticized the basic tenets of behaviorism. Personality theories should emphasize human qualities, not the behavior of lower animals, he reasoned. Personality theories should focus on the inner life (feelings and thoughts) of the individual, not on a person's overt behaviors. Maslow did not believe that taking a scientific approach to personality was important. For him, personality should focus on the subjective mental life of people—emotions, thoughts, attitudes, and the conscious mind. Maslow carefully began to build a third approach to personality, the approach now known as humanism or humanistic psychology.

Maslow's ideas were similar to those of many philosophers who are collectively known as existentialists. It is not easy to define **existential philosophy,** because the topics covered in this broad field are very diverse and abstract.
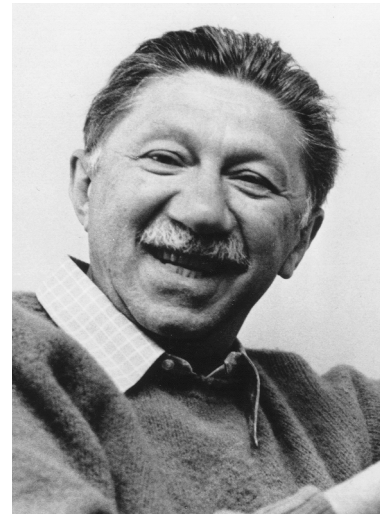
Abraham Maslow, founder of humanistic psychology.

FYI

While at the University of Wisconsin, Maslow longed to marry a girl from back home in Brooklyn (his first cousin) but was wary of asking her to join him. He asked a professor for advice and was told to follow his heart. He was happily married for years. Perhaps this personal incident influenced his ideas about psychology.
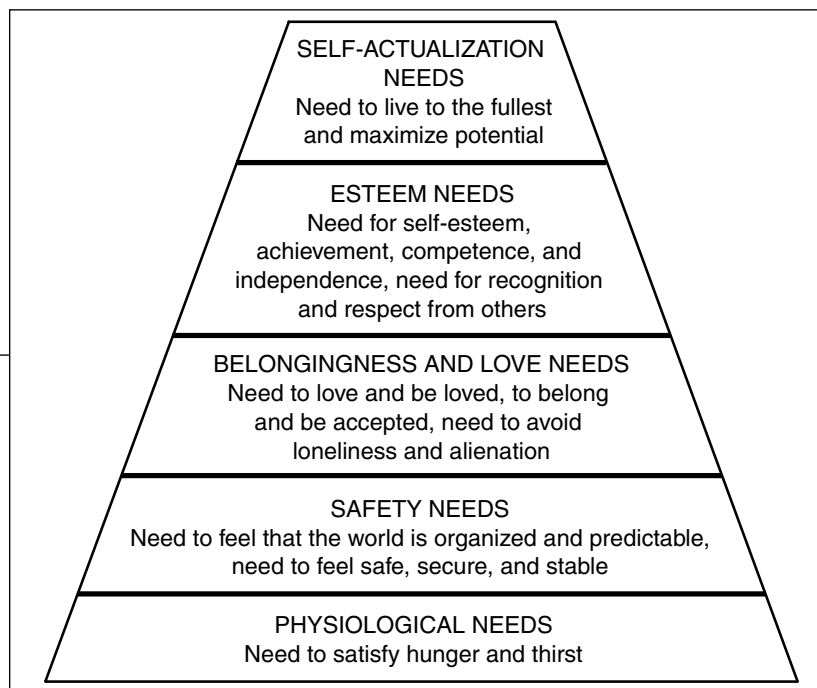
Fundamentally, existentialism is concerned with matters of existence. Humans are viewed as having free will and therefore being capable of making free choices in a world of possibilities. The main topic of interest in existentialism is the purpose of life—finding meaning in the world of experience. Humans are viewed as fallible, rational, suffering, and driven. Up against the many problems of life, a person must select the path that will take him or her to a place of inner satisfaction. A person must make the choices that will lead to fulfillment and meaning.

One of the shared characteristics of these two philosophies is the emphasis on **phenomenology.** In humanism, the focus is on how a person perceives the world. Scientific objectivity is useless, the humanistic psychologists argue, because what matters is the person and his or her perspective. What humanists care about is a person's private, personal, subjective view—his or her feelings, thoughts, perceptions, and concerns. This is what is real and important. It doesn't matter what the objective situation is. What matters is how the person perceives it and feels about it. The focus is on the person—the inner, conscious life of the person.

Remember, the central theme of psychoanalytic theory is the unconscious and the central theme of behaviorism is learning. For humanistic psychology, there is no more important idea than **self-actualization.** Theoretically, this is the highest human motivation, the most advanced drive of humans, the ultimate end of our inner personality and our attempt to understand ourselves. Self-actualization is a process of self-fulfillment, of finding our true inner self, of becoming true to our inner identity. Maslow said, "What a man can be, he must be" (Maslow, 1998). Erich Fromm said, "Man's main task in life is to give birth to himself, to become what he potentially is. The most important product of his effort is his own personality" (Fromm, 1962). For humanistic psychologists, self-actualization is the struggle of a lifetime that we all experience: the struggle to find a personality that fits, that is right and true to our inner desires and needs.

Maslow hypothesized that self-actualization, although the ultimate goal of the human personality, could not be satisfactorily achieved unless other drives and needs were mostly fulfilled first. These other needs are called **prepotent,** because they must be mostly fulfilled in order to concentrate on higher ones. Maslow placed human needs and motivations into five categories and then arranged them in a hierarchy that is often referred to as Maslow's **pyramid of needs.**

Maslow's hierarchy of needs.

SELF-ACTUALIZATION
NEEDS
Need to live to the fullest
and maximize potential

ESTEEM NEEDS
Need for self-esteem,
achievement, competence, and
independence, need for recognition
and respect from others

BELONGINGNESS AND LOVE NEEDS
Need to love and be loved, to belong
and be accepted, need to avoid
loneliness and alienation

SAFETY NEEDS
Need to feel that the world is organized and predictable,
need to feel safe, secure, and stable

PHYSIOLOGICAL NEEDS
Need to satisfy hunger and thirst

According to humanistic psychology, a person must fulfill the lower, prepotent needs to a certain level in order to move up the pyramid and work on satisfying the higher needs. We cannot become creative and intellectually fulfilled if we are starving to death. We must be accepted and loved and feel that we belong in order to develop a sense of healthy self-esteem. And, of course, we cannot make a successful journey of self-actualization unless all of our lower, prepotent needs are satisfactorily met.

FYI

Maslow studied with Harry Harlow, who worked with monkeys at the University of Wisconsin (remember from Chapter 1). Harlow's study of monkey dominance hierarchies likely influenced Maslow's ideas.

THINK TANK

Describe some situations in which needs higher on Maslow's hierarchy might take precedence over lower needs. For example, do people who are hungry always delay higher needs until they get food? Also, can you think of any human needs that Maslow did not include?

Focus on Self

One of Maslow's colleagues and collaborators in humanistic psychology was a counseling psychologist named **Carl Rogers** (1902–1987) who developed an influential theory of personality centered on the idea of self-concept. Rogers's theory is quite often known as **self theory.** This approach emphasizes conditions of worth, valuing people, and the self-actualizing tendency.

Rogers theorized that each person has an inner concept of what she or he ideally would like to be—an **ideal self.** This is your conception of what kind of person, what kind of personality, would be perfect for you. Also, it is theorized that each of us has an inner concept of what we are really like—a **real self.** This is your conception of what kind of person, what kind of personality, is actually true about you—what you are really like. The drive of self-actualization, then, is the striving to merge these two concepts. Self-actualization is the ongoing attempt to make your real self congruent with your ideal self, to bring the concept of what you are actually like (your real self) more and more into accord with what you think you should be like (your ideal self).

Rogers proposed a style of counseling that included many therapeutic techniques intended to help people along their journey of self-actualization. These counseling techniques are widely used today and are known by several terms, including **Rogerian, person-centered, client-centered,** and **nondirective.**

The essence of Rogers's counseling style is to help clients (notice that they are not called *patients*) with the process of self-discovery. That is, the counselor helps a client to become aware of his or her true inner self, the true personality of feelings and self-concept. Then the client must come to accept his or her true feelings and personality and to embrace the inner self. The client should then be ready to take the necessary steps to fulfill his or her inner needs and to bring the world of experience into line with the inner self-concept.
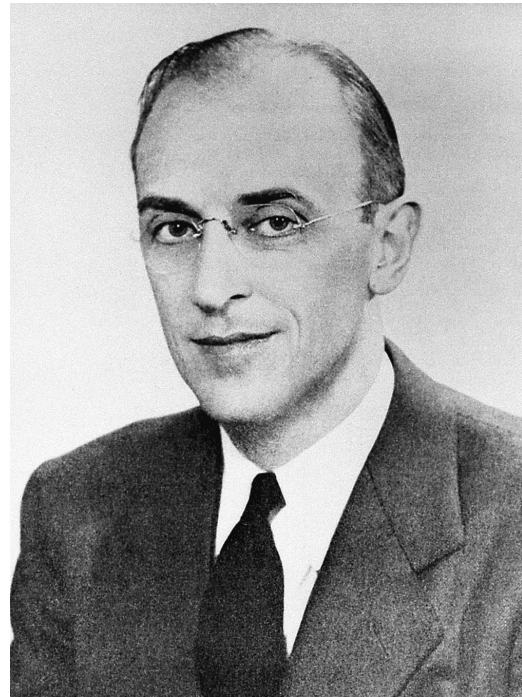
Carl Rogers

Connecting Concepts

Learn more about non-directive counseling (including a short example) in Chapter 10.

Humanism's Tenets

The fundamental tenets of humanism are as follows:

1. Every person exists in a continually changing world of experience of which he or she is the center. A person is the best source of information about himself or herself.
2. A person reacts to the world of experience according to his or her own perceptions, interpretations, and feelings.
3. A person acts as a whole, integrated organism, not with a series of simple stimulus-response reactions.
4. A person's one basic striving is to maintain and actualize the self. The self-concept is at the center of the personality.
5. The structure of the self is created by experiences in the world and through interactions with others. The self is the organized pattern of perceptions, values, and emotions that create the concept of "I" or "me."
6. Behavior is a goal-directed activity meant to satisfy needs. A person adopts ways of acting that are consistent with the concept of the self. Therefore, the best way to change behavior is to change the self-concept.
7. Experiences that are not consistent with the concept of self are threatening. Psychological maladjustment occurs if a person denies awareness to experiences and does not allow them into the self-concept. Humans seek congruence between their world of experience and their self-concepts. When there is **incongruence,** abnormality results. Self-actualization is the process of building **congruence** between our experiences in the world and our sense of self.

Humanism has made a lasting impression on psychology. It is widely popular among the general public and continues to have adherents within psychology, especially on the practical or applied side of the discipline in such fields as counseling. While psychology has become much more of a scientific discipline in recent years, humanistic psychology has been somewhat left behind, although a new subfield called **positive psychology** uses scientific methods to explore similar topics, such as happiness and optimism. Like those of psychoanalytic theory, the concepts of humanistic psychology are not easily placed into a scientific framework; still, humanistic psychology has been very influential, was founded and flourished during the "love and peace" era of the 1960s, and is at the root of the currently popular self-help movement.

Table 8.3 allows you to compare and contrast the three major theories of personality.

Now that we have looked at the most important personality theories, let's turn next to some research findings and speculations about where personality comes from.

THINK TANK   Name some human characteristics, behaviors, or problems and state how they might be viewed or explained by psychoanalytic theory, behaviorism, and humanism.

TABLE 8.3   **Summary of Personality Theories**

	Psychoanalytic theory	Behaviorism	Humanism
Major leaders:	Sigmund Freud	John B. Watson, B. F. Skinner	Abraham Maslow
Important others:	Carl Jung, Erik Erikson, Karen Horney, Alfred Adler	Albert Bandura	Carl Rogers
Emphasis:	Unconscious mind	Observable behavior	Self-concept, subjective feelings and thoughts
View of people:	Animalistic, biological drives for sex and aggression	Behavior is subject to laws; depends on experience in the environment	Whole, unique, good, valuable, worthy of dignity and respect
Personality structure:	Id, ego, superego	Sum of behaviors in situations	Conscious, human qualities
Motivation:	Sex, defense mechanisms, intrapsychic conflict	Reinforcement, observational learning	Self-actualization; pyramid of needs
Development:	Psychosexual stages	Learning of behaviors through reinforcement and observation	Emergence of self-concept and self-esteem; congruence
Abnormality:	Fixations, unconscious conflicts	Maladaptive behaviors are learned	Incongruence, poor self-actualization
Example: Anorexia:	Unconscious desire to avoid sex and pregnancy (food makes stomach big)	Learned behavior through attention and other reinforcements	Self-esteem problem; inability to accept self

BIOLOGICAL SOURCES OF PERSONALITY

"Personality must be accepted for what it is."
—Oscar Wilde

All personality theories stress the importance of experiences, particularly childhood experiences, in shaping and influencing personality. They differ, of course, in the precise dynamics of how experiences contribute to personality development and change. Whereas the effects of experience take center stage in personality theories, physiological factors are normally given only a secondary role. Though some theories mention heredity and other biological factors (Eysenck's theory in particular), the classic theories have mostly ignored biological sources as contributors to personality. However, in recent years, psychologists have shown much more interest in how personality may be influenced by biological factors, particularly heredity.
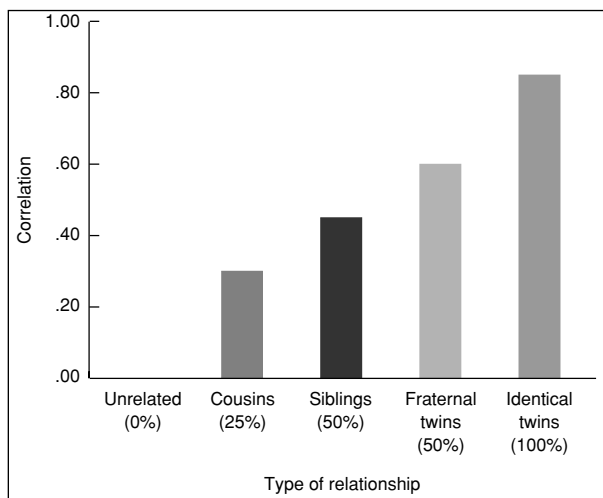
Nature and Nurture

For a hundred years or more, psychologists have debated and researched what has been called the **nature-nurture question**. To what extent are psychological characteristics a part of our innate, inherited nature, and to what extent are they influenced by

our upbringing, our experiences, our nurturing? Psychologists of the past gave a great deal of attention to this issue. In addition, it has generated a tremendous amount of controversy, because the question typically gives rise to statements about race, gender, ethnicity, and other biological factors that many people get very upset about. How would you like it if some scientists said that people of your ethnic background are likely to have a certain kind of personality—particularly if the personality was something undesirable?

Although the nature-nurture question is still with us and many psychologists continue to research and discuss it, some of the most forward-thinking psychologists today now dismiss this issue as phony. Of course, they argue, everything about us is a result of both hereditary factors and experience; it is impossible and irrelevant to divide our qualities into certain percentages of each. Just like everything else in this world, they say, we are a mix of numerous influences. These contributing factors work together in ways that are inseparable. For example, cognitive psychologist Steven Pinker in *How the Mind Works* (1997) wrote:

> Framing the issue in such a way that innate structure and learning are pitted against each other is a colossal mistake. These statements are true but useless. Learning is not a surrounding gas or force field, it is made possible by innate machinery designed to do the learning. The metaphor of a mixture of two ingredients, like a martini, is wrongheaded. We need new ways of thinking.

It is silly to suggest that either nature or nurture makes us what we are or even to try to divide our psychological qualities into some proportion of these two interacting influences. It would be like asking what percent of a chocolate cake is the result of the recipe and what percent is the result of oven temperature? Or what percentage of a TV's reception is due to the receiving antenna and what percentage is due to the transmitter? Although the idea of dividing human qualities into some percentage of inborn and learned is not an accurate or even useful endeavor, most psychologists and most of the general public continue to try to untangle heredity from experience.

The Heritability of Intelligence

The primary psychological trait that has been at the center of the nature-nurture debate is intelligence. Thousands of studies have been conducted in an attempt to ascertain what percentage of the variation in intelligence is caused by heredity and what percent by experience. People have different IQ scores. Why? If we all had the same heredity, by how much would the variation in scores shrink? If we could all be reared exactly the same—same food, same parents, same everything—we would end up more like one another in IQ. But by how much? Correlational studies give us some clues about the answers to these questions.

Many correlational studies have been done, and the results have been somewhat consistent, though not exactly the same. Predominantly, these studies show that IQ scores are most similar among identical twins raised together and that correlations get lower and lower as people get less and less similar in heredity and in environment. Identical twins raised together have IQs that correlate about +0.90, while identical twins raised apart have a correlation of about +0.75. Less similar environments result in less similar IQ scores. However, fraternal twins who are raised together have a correlation in IQ of about +0.65, lower than that for identical twins raised apart. This means that heredity is important. In fact, across the board,

The more genetically related people are, the more similar they are in IQ scores. However, experience also influences IQs, of course.

correlations decrease as genetic relatedness decreases. Again, this is evidence that heredity is important. Today most reasonable experts would say that the differences between people in IQ scores are due about 50% to heredity and 50% to environment. Notice that this applies to groups. For any one individual, we do not know whether this question even makes sense.

Many psychologists have suggested that a useful way to think about intelligence (as measured by IQ tests) is that the limits of what is possible are set by our heredity, but precisely where we end up is determined by our experiences. There is no doubt that heredity contributes to whatever it is that allows a person to score high on an IQ test. Certainly, we can imagine that things like brain anatomy and physiology are involved. However, there is also no doubt that IQ is heavily influenced by experience. Disadvantaged children who enroll in programs such as Head Start make significant gains in IQ scores. Even environmental experiences that we don't normally think of, such as diet, are critically important for a brain to do well intellectually. Children who live in older, poorly maintained neighborhoods often suffer from lead poisoning, a significant contributor to decreased mental abilities. There are many similar environmental conditions that affect IQ. Heredity may be a contributor, but it is only part of the story.

> **FYI**
>
> Sir Cyril Burt (1883–1971) was a famed British psychologist who argued that intelligence was mostly inherited. The schools of England placed children into tracks because of Burt's influential research. In 1976, Burt was accused of fabricating his data. This view was later refuted by other investigators. The whole affair was troubling, to say the least, but more important, it missed the main point. It is wrong to conclude that if something is influenced by heredity, it is not changeable. This is perhaps the greatest error of Burt and his followers, whether he cheated or not.

Double Your Pleasure

One of the common ways today to investigate the influences of heredity and environment are studies of twins. There are many such research efforts, including the **McArthur Longitudinal Twin Study** and the **Minnesota Study of Twins Reared Apart (MISTRA).** Psychologists at the University of Minnesota comb the world to find twins, particularly identical twins who were raised apart, then bring them to Minneapolis and put them through a weeklong series of tests. The results of these tests often indicate that heredity plays a large role in the formation of personality and other psychological qualities. For example, happiness has been discovered to be influenced by heredity (Lykken & Tellegen, 1996). Divorce, too, turns out to be affected by genetics (McGue & Lykken, 1992). Reciprocal social behavior, the extent to which children engage in social interaction with others, was recently found to be highly influenced by heredity (Constantino, 2000). There are many other examples; heredity plays a significant role in shaping personality.

MISTRA has studied 59 pairs of identical twins and 47 pairs of fraternal twins who were adopted into different families. Researchers have reported that correlation coefficients for the identical twins were much higher than for the fraternal twins in two traits: **extraversion** and **neuroticism.** The two traits appear to be highly influenced by heredity.

What must be surprising to personality theorists is that MISTRA found that the family environment in which one is reared contributes only modestly to personality. Family environment does not have the same effect on each child. Children respond differently to the same family event or experience. Perhaps how a child responds is influenced by his or her **temperament,** which has been shown to be a highly inherited quality. Temperament can be thought of as analogous to climate, something that is long-term and pervasive, rather than a moment-to-moment quality. Moods or emotions

are more like weather in the sense that they are more immediate and related to the situation. More about emotions in a minute.

Temperament = climate   Mood or emotion = weather

Scientific research has identified a significant number of personality traits and behaviors that appear to be influenced by heredity. These include shyness, amount of time spent watching TV, religious attitudes, political attitudes, leisure time interests, and even the number of accidents a child has. Psychologists do not believe that these variables are directed by specific genes—rather, that certain overarching features, such as activity level, are highly influenced by heredity and that subsequently such general attributes influence specific behaviors and dimensions of personality. For example, a child with a certain temperament and activity level will be more likely to have accidents.

On the other hand, research has indicated that certain personality variables are less related to heredity and more the result of the family environment. These include the desire for social closeness and being actively engaged in the environment. Remember, however, that all psychological traits are the result of a complex blending of forces and that these studies apply to trait variability among *groups*, not in individuals. Everything about us is influenced to some extent by our genes. But of course, our experiences also contribute to what kind of person we become.

Recap

— Abraham Maslow founded a third theoretical school of psychology called humanistic psychology.

— Humanism is similar to existential philosophy and focuses on subjective, phenomenal experiences.

— Self-actualization is the key motivation in humanistic theory. Maslow's pyramid of needs puts it at the top, while prepotent needs are below.

— Self-actualization represents a drive to merge the real self with the ideal self.

— Carl Rogers developed self theory and a method of nondirective counseling aimed at helping people become more self-actualized and building congruence between experiences and the person's sense of self.

— Humanistic psychology has led to the self-help movement and a new subfield called positive psychology that scientifically studies good human qualities.

— The nature-nurture question asks to what extent our personalities are shaped by heredity or by experience. Contemporary thinkers believe that this question is oversimplified and misleading. All traits come from a complex interaction between those forces.

— The heritability of intelligence has been extensively studied. The current understanding is that variability between people in intelligence is due about 50-50 to heredity and to environmental variables.

— Studies of twins have found personality traits that are greatly influenced by heredity, including extraversion, neuroticism, and temperament.

EMOTIONS

"Emotional responses are the result of a long history of

evolutionary fine-tuning. Emotions are part of the bioregulatory

devices with which we come equipped to survive."
—Antonio Damasio

Emotions are a major component of personality and a critical feature of our lives. We love, we hate; we get angry, afraid, and surprised; we feel delighted, sad, and even disgusted. Emotions are typically triggered by some experience, such as seeing a snake, winning the lottery, or being cheated, but, of course, they are created by and connected to biological events in our brains and bodies. Emotions evolved because they helped people to adapt. For instance, anger is useful in helping people change how they react to a situation that was not satisfying in the past. Fear and happiness have obvious advantages. So our emotions help us to adapt. But just what are emotions, and how do they work?

Emotional Baggage

Emotions are more complicated than they seem at first. We can begin to understand emotions by dividing them into four components:
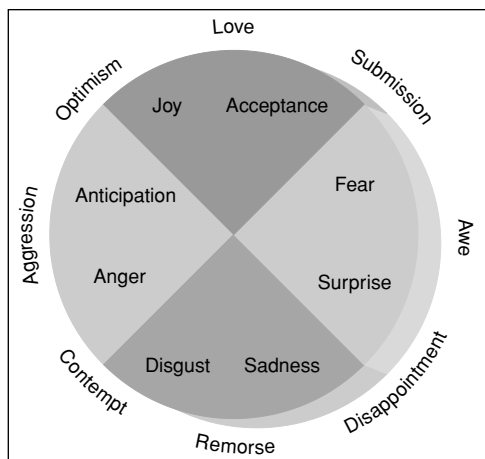
1. *Affect*: The subjective feeling that one experiences, such as happiness, fear, anger, disgust, or sadness
2. *Physiology*: The biological events that take place in one's body, such as increased blood pressure and heart rate, the release of adrenaline and other hormones, or dilation of the pupils
3. *Expression*: The facial reactions and nonverbal body movements a person makes, such as a smile, raised eyebrows, furrowed brow, wide-open mouth, stooped shoulders, or a hand slapped on the forehead
4. *Cognition*: The thinking and interpreting that one does during an emotion, such as "That guy's a jerk," "This is a scary situation," or "What a fun place."

So emotions consist of APEC! Let's briefly examine each of these four.

Affect

What are the various feelings that people experience, that is, what is the range of emotions? Some psychologists have theorized that our feelings arise from certain **basic** or **primary emotions**. The most commonly listed primary emotions are happiness, sadness, anger, fear, surprise, and disgust. Theoretically, other feelings (**secondary emotions**) result from combinations of these six primary emotions. For example, contempt is a combination of anger and disgust, remorse is a combination of disgust and sadness, and disappointment is a combination of sadness and surprise. Also, emotions vary in what is called *valence*, that is, whether the emotion is pleasant or unpleasant.

Do newborn infants experience emotions? Or do emotions develop as a part of socialization? Like the nature-nurture question, this is a bit unfair, because all human qualities are an interdependent blending of both forces. However, feelings of pleasure and pain seem evident in newborns, as does a startle or fear reaction (to a loud noise,

Love

Optimism

Submission

Joy Acceptance

Fear

Aggression

Anticipation

Awe

Anger Surprise

Contempt

Disgust Sadness

Disappointment

Remorse

Psychologists have created many different models for defining and classifying emotions. One model proposes eight primary emotions that each can vary in intensity. Secondary emotions are a combination of basic emotions; for example, love is a combination of joy and acceptance (Plutchik & Kellerman, 1980).

Connecting Concepts

Learn more about stress and the body's reaction to it in Chapter 9 (Psychological Disorders).

a fall, or other stimuli). Also, people in all cultures show similar emotions and reactions. So the capacity for emotion and the range of emotions seem to be determined as part of our evolutionary heritage. But the nuances and particulars of emotions are obviously learned. An angry person might act aggressively, scream, talk it out, or merely pout, depending on his or her cultural and personal experiences.

Physiology

Our bodies react to emotional experiences in many ways, including the release of various hormones and changes in the cardiovascular system. These physiological events prepare the body for action, as in the **fight-or-flight response** to fear. Interestingly, these physiological changes are useful in the short run but can be harmful in the long run. For example, the hormones that are released during emotional distress help us by providing energy and strength but ultimately can damage body organs, including brain cells (Sapolsky, 1996). So a life of constant stress could, in fact, kill you.

Most people assume that physiological events in the body are caused by the awareness or feeling of an emotion. However, over one hundred years ago, American psychologist William James and Dutch psychologist Carl Lange separately proposed that this common view is exactly backward. How do we identify an emotion? The **James-Lange theory** said that physiological events come first and give rise to the emotion. That is, one becomes aware of an emotion because of the body's reactions. The James-Lange theory is playfully summarized by the statement. "I am running, therefore I must be afraid!" One fascinating fact in support of this theory is that people often do feel happier when they force a smile. Try it! This is called the **facial feed-back hypothesis,** because it supposes that feedback from the muscles in your face influences your brain to feel a certain emotion (Izard, 1971).

Years ago, researchers Walter Cannon and Phillip Bard showed good evidence why the James-Lange theory cannot be completely correct. They showed that physiological responses are too slow—that emotions occur faster than body reactions. Cannon and Bard believed that the brain, not physiological responses, was the central factor. The **Cannon-Bard theory** said that the brain produces both the emotion and the body events at about the same time.

Subsequent research has shown that both of these early theories of emotion have some truth to them but that they are incomplete. Physiological events are different for different emotions and do provide a cue for emotions, as James and Lange argued. However, the brain is the main determiner of emotion, as Cannon and Bard pointed out. In fact, there are different brain pathways for the basic emotions. Unfortunately, it is difficult to embrace either of these theories entirely because they both exclude important features of emotions, such as the cognitive processes that accompany, and even help shape, an emotion. Take fear, for example. Neuroscientists have found that there are two pathways in the brain for this emotion: one that is quick, that produces a rapid body response, and one that is slower, using the thinking part of the brain. An emotion, it turns out, is a complicated tangle of many interacting events—in the mind, the body, and in the way the feeling is expressed.

Expression

People in all cultures of the world are remarkably consistent in their facial expressions of emotions and in their ability to judge another person's emotional state by that person's facial expression. Although there are some minor variations in body language and posture, it is amazing how similarly people react to emotional experiences. It is easy to notice when people are happy, sad, afraid, or angry simply on the basis of their expressions.

Look at your face in a mirror when you are thinking about (1) an awful, hideous odor (did you wrinkle your nose?); (2) a foul-tasting food (did you make the "yech" expression with your mouth?); (3) a big surprise (did you open your mouth and raise your eyebrows?). Humans have universal ways of signaling their emotions with their faces. Researchers found brain activity in the same emotional centers when people watched someone else show disgust in their face (Wicker et al., 2003). Also, people with damage to particular regions of their brains, such as the amygdala, experience difficulty in expressing emotions and judging the emotions of other people on the basis of their facial expressions (Damasio, 1999).
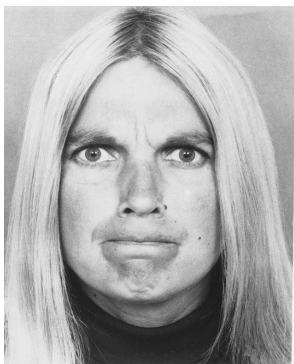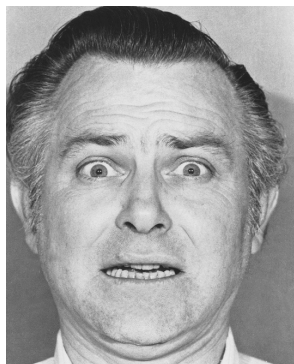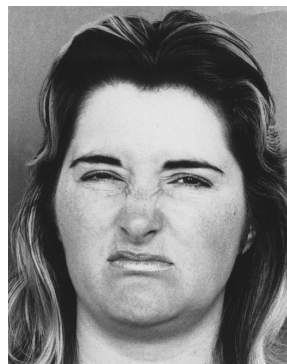
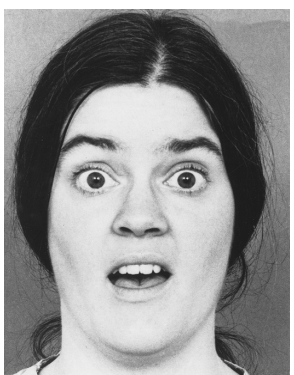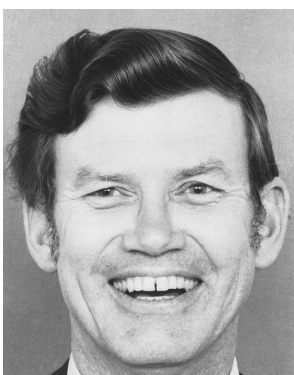(1)   (2)   (3)

(4)   (5)   (6)

Can you tell what emotion is being expressed in each of these photos? Happy, sad, fear, anger, surprise, disgust? Answers on page 310.

Cognition

How do we determine which emotion we are feeling? In unclear situations, cognition—or mental interpretation—becomes an important part of creating or influencing an emotion. As was mentioned above, the brain has two pathways for emotions: one that quickly produces unconscious reactions and another that recruits the higher thinking areas of the brain. So cognition is also important.

A famous 1962 experiment by Stanley Schachter and Jerome Singer showed how people could be influenced to interpret their emotions a certain way. The participants were given injections of adrenaline. This aroused their physiology. They were then placed in a room where a stranger (an actor) was acting either happy or angry. The participants felt their bodies becoming aroused but didn't know why, because they were told that the injection was a vitamin (a control group was told the truth). The researchers found that the participants felt either happy or angry depending on how the stranger was acting.

THINK TANK

Anthropologists define an adaptation as a feature that was designed by natural selection to help individuals survive and ultimately reproduce.

How was it helpful for our ancestors to be able to identify emotions by people's expressions?

How could this ability have made the difference between life and death for an early human? Is it useful today?

In what ways?

How do you tell what someone else is feeling?

How certain are you that your judgment is right?

Do you ever get it wrong?

Connecting Concepts

The response of a person's amygdala (Chapter 3) depends on his or her personality. Canli and colleagues (2002) found that extraverts show strong amygdala activation when they see a happy face, but introverts do not. Apparently extraverts learn that a happy face is an important social stimulus to pay attention to, while introverts do not deem it relevant.

Apparently, the participants interpreted their body arousal as either happiness or anger depending on the situation. Those in the control group did not have the same response because they knew why their body was aroused. The idea that cognition is important in influencing our emotions is often called the **Schachter-Singer theory.**

In an earlier experiment, Schachter (1959) found that people who were frightened wanted to be with other people in the same situation, apparently to make comparisons to determine precisely what to feel. Schachter said that not only does misery love company, but misery loves miserable company! In other words, to determine what we are feeling and how we should act, especially in unclear situations, we often observe those around us who are in a similar situation. This is part of **social comparison theory,** the notion that our ideas about ourselves often come through comparing ourselves with others. How should we feel when it is not obvious? Look around at others to get some clues!

When people are aroused, they may look around at the circumstances or the surrounding people to determine what they are feeling. We may come to identify our aroused state as a certain emotion depending on the situation. For example, researchers found that if a hiker encountered an attractive woman while on a swaying bridge (an arousing situation), he was more likely to find her attractive and to call her for a date than if he encountered her on a hiking trail (not a very arousing situation) (Dutton & Aron, 1974).

Most people think that emotions are separate from intellect. Consider, for example, the character Mr. Spock on *Star Trek.* Mr. Spock supposedly maintains a high intellect by not allowing his emotions to interfere with his thinking. But current research suggests that this won't work. Some studies found that patients who had brain damage that made them unable to feel certain emotions also suffered from cognitive impairments, particularly in making judgments (Damasio, 1999). Also, researchers found that when people are making decisions, the emotional areas of their brains are active (Shibata, 2001). Apparently, emotions help us to direct our thinking and make value judgments, thereby helping us to make better decisions. So emotions and cognitive processes are linked in a give-and-take manner.

MOTIVATION

"We talk on principal, but act on motivation."
—Walter Savage Landor

Personality theories include explanations for what motivates people and animals. Motivation refers to what moves us to act a particular way. Psychoanalysts (led by Freud) found motivation for behavior in the unconscious; behaviorists (Watson and Skinner) emphasized incentives in the environment, such as reinforcers, as motivational forces; and humanistic psychologists (Maslow and Rogers) tended to look inside a person's feelings and conscious mind, at things such as self-actualization. Maslow, for instance, created the well-known pyramid of needs as one way to view motivation.

Naturally, some motivations are driven by survival needs. Hunger, thirst, and other internal **drives** are part of our biological makeup. Other motives are more social in origin. Things such as achievement motivation, thrill-seeking, and the needs for power, status, cognition (enjoying thinking), and affiliation (wanting to be with others) certainly are grounded in our evolutionary past but also are greatly shaped by our personal experiences in the world. These more social motives have been extensively studied by psychologists. For instance, the need for achievement was studied for more than 30 years by David McClelland.

Motivation has been described by using certain key ideas:

1. An **instinct** is an inherited tendency toward certain behavior. Evolutionary psychologists have explained a number of human behaviors on the basis of their survival value (and reproduction value, of course, since surviving isn't enough to pass on genes!) for our predecessors. The biological drives such as hunger and thirst have obvious value. But some psychologists have also pointed out that motives such as affiliation, aggression, and achievement have their roots in our evolutionary past. That is, these motives had reproduction value for our ancestors. For instance, people today have an instinct (a natural competency, a natural reaction) to avoid people who cheat in social situations. This is because affiliating with cheaters in the past, for our distant predecessors, reduced their ability to reproduce (Cosmides & Tooby, 1992).

2. **Intrinsic motivation** refers to an animal's tendency to perform a behavior for its own sake. For example, you might enjoy doodling, singing in the shower, or playing computer games just for fun, not because you get something for these activities. Intrinsic means the motivation is coming from within. Psychologists use the term **drive** to refer to a force inside of us that makes us do something.

    Extrinsic motivation, on the other hand, refers to behavior that is motivated by some payoff, something outside the body. For instance, you might agree to do some boring work to get money. The term **incentive** is used to refer to the payoff.

    One of the interesting debates in psychology is the extent to which people are motivated by drives or incentives. Interestingly, it has been found that

if a person's behavior consistently leads to a tangible reward, the person may come to think of the behavior as one that is not interesting in its own right. That is, intrinsic motivation may in fact be decreased by receiving tangible rewards. If we want someone to enjoy a behavior, perhaps we should not make that behavior constantly dependent on an outside reward. Praise, compliments, and fun often increase intrinsic motivation more than do money, treats, or goodies. However, if a person has little or no intrinsic motivation to perform a task, then extrinsic, tangible rewards can increase motivation.

Almost always, intrinsic and extrinsic factors work together to motivate behavior. As an analogy, consider the fact that a plant will grow toward sunlight. What causes this: the internal nature of the plant or the effect of sunlight on the plant? Of course, it is the interaction between the two forces that gives rise to the actions of the plant. Similarly, humans and other animals have internal mechanisms that interact with things in the environment. It is this interaction that motivates us.

3. **Homeostasis** refers to a body's internal state of balance. For example, body temperature, hunger, and thirst are homeostatic motives. A person's body attempts to maintain a balance in those things. When the body state is too low, a person is motivated to increase it (eat or drink, for example), and when the body state is too high, the motivation is to lower it (stop eating or drinking).

An interesting example is **arousal.** Psychologists have found that people tend to strive for a medium level of stimulation. When a lecture is boring, students begin to swing their legs, tap their pencils, and fidget. They are motivated to become more aroused. But when people have too much stimulation, say, after a hard, stressful day at work, they tend to want relaxation and quiet.

Researchers found that people normally perform at their best when at a medium level of arousal. This is known as the **Yerkes-Dodson law.** If we need to perform some task and we are understimulated, we will be careless and sluggish. However, if we are overstimulated (too nervous, for example) then we will be tense and distracted and will make mistakes. That's why opposing coaches call a time-out when a player is to shoot a free throw or kick a field goal. The attempt is to increase that player's arousal so as to decrease performance. Think about the Yerkes-Dodson law when you take tests. Your best performance is likely to result when you are stimulated some but not too much.

Of course, the optimum level of arousal, though in the middle, does vary from one task to another. In general, tasks that require creativity are performed better at a lower level of arousal than are tasks that require tedious repetition. You will probably need a higher level of arousal to add a table of numbers than to solve a crossword puzzle.
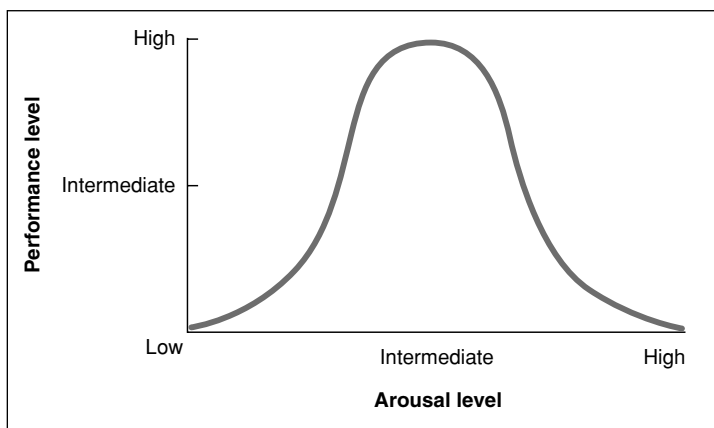
The Yerkes-Dodson law states that performance is best when motivation is medium, neither too high nor too low.

Answers from page 307

1. anger   4. surprise
2. fear   5. happy
3. disgust   6. sad

Recap

— Emotions can be divided into four components: affect, physiology, expression, and cognition.

— Emotions can be thought of as primary or secondary. The most commonly listed primary emotions are happiness, sadness, anger, fear, surprise, and disgust. Secondary emotions are a combination of these.

— The body reacts to emotions with physiological events such as the release of hormones. These events prepare the body for action in what is called the fight-or-flight response.

— Physiological responses to emotion, such as hormones, are helpful in the short run but can harm body organs in the long run. Stress is dangerous in the long run.

— The James-Lange theory says that we are aware of an emotion because of the physiological events that are happening in our bodies.

— The Cannon-Bard theory says that our brains both produce our emotional feeling and produce body changes at about the same time.

— The Schachter-Singer theory says that interpretation (cognition) is important in determining which emotion we feel.

— Social comparison theory says that our ideas about ourselves and how we feel and act are influenced by comparing ourselves with those around us.

— People are remarkably consistent in the facial expressions they make when experiencing a particular emotion. There are brain areas dedicated to this.

— Ideas of motivation include these concepts: instinct, intrinsic versus extrinsic, and homeostasis.

— Some motives, such as hunger, are based on survival. Others, such as status and achievement, are more social in nature.

— Motivation is almost always the result of an interaction between internal states and external conditions.

— The Yerkes-Dodson law states that behavior is best when arousal is at a medium level.

I Link, Therefore I Am

The Freud home page is at http://freudnet.tripod.com/ and the Freud archives are at http://users.rcn.com/brill/freudarc.html There are many other sites devoted to Freud including http://www.freudfile.org/ and http://freud.t0.or.at/ and http://www.mii.kurume-u.ac.jp/~leuers/Freud.htm

The B. F. Skinner Foundation home page is http://www.bfskinner.org/

Learn more about Maslow and his ideas at http://www.ship.edu/~cgboeree/maslow.html

The Association for Humanistic Psychology is at http://www.ahpweb.org/

Additional information about Carl Rogers can be found at http://www.oprf.com/Rogers

Information about Carl Jung can be found on many Web sites, including http://www.cgjungpage.org

For a description of Erikson's theory see http://snycorva.cortland.edu/~ANDERSMD/ERIK/

You can find some interesting data about temperament and personality at http://www.educ.drake.edu/doc/dissertations/TMPR/home.htm

STUDY GUIDE FOR CHAPTER 8:
Theories

Key terms and names (Make flash cards.)

psychoanalytic theory
psychoanalysis
unconscious
hysteria
repression
manifest content
latent content
thanatos
eros
Freudian slip
resistance
defense mechanisms
rationalization
projection
sublimation
reaction formation
displacement
denial
regression
id
ego
superego
pleasure principle
reality principle
ego ideal
conscience

intrapsychic conflict
psychosexual stages
fixation
anal-retentive
anal-expulsive
castration anxiety
penis envy
Oedipus complex
Electra complex
identification with the
     aggressor
neo-Freudians
Carl Gustav Jung
analytic theory or
     analytical psychology
personal unconscious
collective unconscious
archetypes
Erik Erikson
psychosocial development
Eight Ages of Man
Karen Horney
Alfred Adler
individual psychology
creative self
striving for superiority

inferiority complex
superiority complex
John B. Watson
behaviorism
B. F. Skinner
social learning theories
observational learning
Albert Bandura
Humanism (humanistic
     psychology)
Abraham Maslow
existential philosophy
phenomenology
self-actualization
prepotent
pyramid of needs
Carl Rogers
self-concept
self theory
ideal self
real self
Rogerian
person-centered
client-centered
nondirective
incongruence

congruence
positive psychology
nature-nurture question
McArthur Longitudinal
     Twin Study
Minnesota Study of
     Twins Reared Apart
     (MISTRA)
temperament
affect
basic (primary) emotions
secondary emotions
fight-or-flight response
James-Lange theory
facial feedback hypothesis
Cannon-Bard theory
Schachter-Singer theory
social comparison theory
drive
instinct
intrinsic motivation
extrinsic motivation
incentive
homeostasis
arousal
Yerkes-Dodson law

Fill in the blank

1. The first of the modern personality theories was developed by _____ _____ and is known as _____ theory.
2. The cornerstone idea in psychoanalytic theory is the _____ mind.
3. When ideas and thoughts are pushed out of awareness and into the unconscious, it is called _____.
4. The things that are present and the events that happen in a dream are known as the _____ content of the dream, and the meanings of those dream elements are called the _____ content of the dream.

5. When a mistake is not a mistake, that is, when a mistake has meaning, it is called a _____ _____.
6. In psychoanalytic theory, when patients resist suggestions that probe the anxiety-producing contents of the unconscious, it is called _____.
7. Protective devices of the unconscious are known as _____ _____.
8. When the unconscious makes up a good-sounding reason to explain something we don't like, it is called _____.
9. Vincent van Gogh is often used as an example of the defense mechanism of _____.

10. Sometimes a person's mental and emotional energy is so threatening that the person adopts the reverse, the opposite, of what they really want. This is called _____ _____.

11. Under conditions of severe trauma or stress, a person might revert to developmentally earlier forms of behavior and thinking. This is known as _____.

12. Freud said that the id operates according to the _____ principle.

13. The ego operates according to the _____ principle.

14. The _____ includes the moral ideas that a person has.

15. The struggle between the id and the superego is known as _____ _____.

16. If too much or too little satisfaction occurs during a childhood stage or if a traumatic event occurs during that stage, then _____ in a stage may occur.

17. The first stage in Freud's theory is the _____ stage.

18. The following traits are known as _____: neatness, orderliness, punctuality, cleanliness, compulsive, perfectionism, and stinginess.

19. The unconscious process named after a Greek myth is called the _____ _____.

20. Carl Jung proposed an unconscious that we all share called the _____ unconscious.

21. The elements or content of the collective unconscious is known as _____.

22. The artificial, phony self that we show to others is called the _____.

23. A theory of psychosocial development was proposed by Erik _____.

24. Erikson's theory includes stages became known as the _____ Ages of _____.

25. The most complete psychoanalytic theory of women's personality development was proposed by _____ _____.

26. Alfred _____ said that the primary motivation of humans was a striving for superiority.

27. John B. Watson initiated a revolution in thinking about psychology, creating a new school of thought called _____.

28. The behaviorists were like physicists attempting to uncover the fundamental natural laws of behavior, one experiment at a time while ignoring the mind altogether. Their leader was B. F. _____.

29. Skinner said that behavior at any given moment is a result of three things: _____, _____, and _____.

30. Behaviorism theory is also known as _____ _____ Theory.

31. When behaviors are learned via seeing or listening, this process is called _____ learning.

32. The Bobo-the-clown experiment was performed by Albert _____.

33. The third approach to personality was initiated by _____ _____ and is called _____.

34. Humanism's ideas are similar to those of _____ philosophy.

35. The focus on how a person perceives the world is called _____.

36. In humanistic psychology, there is no more important idea than _____ _____.

37. Maslow theorized a _____ of needs.

38. Carl Rogers developed an influential theory of personality centered on the idea of _____ - _____.

39. Rogerian counseling is also known as _____.

40. For a hundred years or more, psychologists have debated and researched whether personality comes from _____ or _____.

41. Identical twins who are raised together have IQs that correlate about _____.

42. A major study of the effects of heredity is the Minnesota Study of _____ _____ _____.

43. Identical twins are more like one another than fraternal twins in two traits: _____ and _____.

44. Temperament = _____ and mood or emotion = _____.

45. The four components of emotion are _____, _____, _____, and _____.

46. The body's reaction to a stressful situation is known as _____ or _____.

47. The _____ theory says that emotions are identified by the body's reaction.

48. The Cannon-Bard theory says that emotions and body reactions are both triggered by _____.

49. Interpretation or cognition is important in the _____ theory.

50. Social comparison theory says that our behavior is often influenced by comparing ourselves with _____.

51. Behavior that is driven by forces inside the person is called _____, and motivation arising from things in the environment is called _____.

52. The state of bodily equilibrium or balance is called _____.

53. The _____ law says that behavior will be most efficient when arousal is at a _____ level.

Matching

1. Carl Jung _____
2. Karen Horney _____
3. B. F. Skinner _____
4. Oedipus complex _____
5. rationalization _____
6. Abraham Maslow _____
7. anal stage _____
8. homeostasis _____
9. repression _____
10. incentive _____
11. pleasure principle _____
12. superego _____
13. Cannon-Bard theory _____
14. reality principle _____
15. observational learning _____
16. self theory _____
17. Yerkes-Dodson law _____
18. identical twins _____
19. identity crisis _____
20. sublimation _____

a.   push into unconscious
b.   balance
c.   id
d.   second of Freud's stages
e.   University of Minnesota study
f.   feminist psychoanalytic theory
g.   sounds logical
h.   archetypes
i.   conscience
j.   extrinsic motivation
k.   Vincent van Gogh
l.   Carl Rogers
m.   during phallic stage
n.   brain is main factor
o.   Erik Erikson
p.   humanism
q.   laws of behavior
r.   arousal
s.   ego
t.   Bobo-the-clown

Multiple choice

1. Sheila's school counselor tells her to listen to her heart to decide what to do. Which personality theory does this advice remind one of?
   a. behaviorism   b. humanism
   c. psychoanalytic   d. social-learning
2. A new technique attempts to determine whether people are in love by measuring their eye movements. Which aspect of emotion is being studied?
   a. affect   b. expression
   c. physiology   d. cognition
3. At the movies, when the audience laughs at something on the screen, it makes me think that thing was funny. Which theory of emotion does this remind one of?
   a. James-Lange   b. Cannon-Bard
   c. Schachter-Singer   d. Yerkes-Dodson
4. Which theorist suggested the idea of a collective unconscious?
   a. Carl Rogers   b. Carl Jung
   c. Karen Horney   d. Erik Erikson
5. You are talking to a friend who is rocking back and forth, shifting her feet, and moving her arms. Your conclusion that she is bored is based on
   a. the Yerkes-Dodson law
   b. the power of incentives
   c. sublimation
   d. Maslow's hierarchy of needs

6. Suppose Freud and Skinner were talking about a person who washes his hands too much.
   a. Freud would mention the importance of the consequences of hand washing.
   b. Skinner would point out the unconscious mental suffering that must be causing this behavior.
   c. Freud would say the hand washing is just a symptom of some inner, unconscious problem.
   d. Skinner would be concerned about the person's inner mental state.
7. Your friend says that your generosity must be due to the praise and encouragement that you got from your parents. Which personality theory does this thinking best represent?
   a. psychoanalytic   b. behaviorism
   c. humanism   d. social comparison
8. Observational learning is part of the theory of
   a. humanistic psychology
   b. existentialism
   c. behaviorism
   d. psychoanalysis
9. The true meaning of a dream is called its
   a. latent content   b. manifest content
   c. valid content   d. thanatos content
10. The life instinct is called
    a. the id   b. the superego
    c. eros   d. sublimation

11. In which defense mechanism does a person "protest too much"?
    a. projection
    b. displacement
    c. reaction formation
    d. sublimation

12. If a person is nervous and curls up into a fetal position and starts to suck his or her thumb, this might be considered to be the defense mechanism of
    a. sublimation
    b. displacement
    c. regression
    d. reaction formation

13. Jehane failed her test and is blaming it on the fact that the teacher required too much reading and did not explain things very well, although these things are not really true. This is the defense mechanism called
    a. rationalization
    b. sublimation
    c. reaction formation
    d. displacement

14. A person who is very neat, clean, orderly, and obsessed with perfectionism might be said to be fixated in the _____ stage.
    a. Oedipal
    b. oral
    c. anal
    d. phallic

15. The Eight Ages of Man was theorized by
    a. Karen Horney
    b. Carl Rogers
    c. Erik Erikson
    d. Alfred Adler

16. A feminist psychoanalytic theory was suggested by
    a. Karen Horney
    b. Carl Rogers
    c. Anna Freud
    d. Alfred Adler

17. The most important element in the theory of Carl Rogers is the
    a. animus
    b. collective unconscious
    c. self-concept
    d. persona

18. For Alfred Adler, the most critical personality component is
    a. the archetypes
    b. the personal unconscious
    c. generativity
    d. striving for superiority

19. Erik Erikson suggested the identity crisis and a crisis in
    a. social conditions
    b. intrapsychic conflict
    c. self-actualization
    d. trust versus mistrust

20. A car's cruise control speeds up or slows down the car depending on road conditions. This is similar to the principle of
    a. homeostasis
    b. instincts
    c. the Yerkes-Dodson law
    d. observational learning

21. Your friend says that he didn't notice he was nervous during his exam until he saw his palms get sweaty. Which theory of emotions does this best exemplify?
    a. Schachter-Singer
    b. Cannon-Bard
    c. Yerkes-Dodson
    d. James-Lange

22. Which personality theory is based mostly on scientific research?
    a. psychoanalytic
    b. behaviorism
    c. humanism
    d. existentialism

23. Albert Bandura found that children _____ an adult who hit a Bobo-the-clown doll.
    a. criticized
    b. disliked
    c. wouldn't talk to
    d. imitated

24. Which theory says that the conscious mind is not a proper subject of scientific study?
    a. behaviorism
    b. humanism
    c. analytic psychology
    d. psychoanalytic

25. The founder of humanistic psychology was
    a. Albert Bandura
    b. B. F. Skinner
    c. Abraham Maslow
    d. Erik Erikson

26. Popeye says, "I am what I am." Which personality theory would Popeye probably like best?
    a. psychoanalytic
    b. behaviorism
    c. humanism
    d. social-learning

27. Phenomenology refers to
    a. the personal feelings and perspective of a person
    b. the archetypes manifested through behavior
    c. the scientific analysis of variables
    d. a personality crisis as seen by others

28. Existentialism is most closely related to which personality theory?
    a. psychoanalytic
    b. behaviorism
    c. humanism
    d. Personal psychology

29. At the top of the pyramid of needs is
    a. physiology
    b. self-esteem
    c. love
    d. self-actualization

30. The nature-nurture question asks how much of personality is influenced by
    a. heredity and environment
    b. unconscious mental processes
    c. memory and other cognitive processes
    d. internal biological functions

31. Identical twins raised together have IQ scores that correlate about
    a. +0.90
    b. +0.75
    c. +0.50
    d. −0.75

32. Studies have found that _____ is a highly inherited variable.
    a. desire for social closeness
    b. temperament
    c. striving for superiority
    d. being actively engaged in the environment

33. Alloys are complex metals that are combinations of elemental metals. This idea is similar to the idea of
    a. the id
    b. the Oedipus complex
    c. secondary emotions
    d. the MMPI

34. What was the point of Freud's analogy that the mind is like an iceberg?
    a. The mind is always melting and then refreezing as we change our opinions about things.
    b. You cannot know what's in someone's mind because it is so cold.
    c. The mind is cloudy, fuzzy, and difficult to see into, just like cloudy ice.
    d. Most of what controls us is below the surface, just as with a floating iceberg.
35. Which of these comparisons is most correct?
    a. Freud's approach is like a detective searching for clues.
    b. Maslow's approach is like a physicist studying and measuring variables.
    c. Jung's approach is like a good friend who listens carefully to you and does not make judgments.
    d. Skinner's approach is like a doctor doing an interview for a case study of an individual.
36. If a preschool boy begins to imitate his father, according to psychoanalytic theory
    a. there is a defect in his superego
    b. he is resolving the Oedipus complex
    c. his id has taken a prominent role in his life
    d. his intrapsychic conflict is entering his conscious mind

37. Your aunt believes that people are essentially good and that psychology should stress the worth of the normal individual. Which theory of personality would your aunt like best?
    a. Schachter-Singer
    b. psychoanalytic
    c. behaviorism
    d. humanism
38. Which of these most closely resembles the homeostatic concept?
    a. A refrigerator motor starts and stops to keep the inside temperature constant.
    b. A baseball pitcher throws pitches harder and harder throughout the game.
    c. A professor's voice tires as his lecture gets longer.
    d. A dog's tail wags very rapidly when she sees her owner approaching.

Short answer and critical thinking

1. Name two defense mechanisms, and give an example of each.
2. What is intrapsychic conflict?
3. What is the difference between the personal unconscious and the collective unconscious?
4. What is the meaning of Freud's iceberg metaphor?
5. Describe self-actualization with regard to the "ideal self" and the "real self."
6. Choose a personality trait or behavior and give a brief idea of how it would be viewed by (1) psychoanalytic theory, (2) behaviorism, and (3) humanism.

7. What is the nature-nurture question? Why does Steven Pinker call it "wrongheaded"?
8. Which personality theory appeals to you the most? Why? Which one do you think most accurately captures the truth about people? Why?
9. Name the four components of emotions, and give a general statement or example for each one.
10. Choose a motivation of some type, such as hunger or achievement, and describe some intrinsic and extrinsic variables that would influence it.