PERSONALITY: a set of emotional, cognitive, and behavioral tendencies that people display over time and across situations and that distinguish from each other

Freud → Dynamic Personality

→ Aka psychoanalytic theory: the mind can be analyzed to understand the causes of mental events and behaviors

→ Psychological determinism: the view that all thoughts, feelings, and behavior, no matter how mundane or insignificant, ultimately have an underlying psychological cause

→ Sex and aggression are the primary motivating forces of human behavior

→ Personality is a bubbling cauldron, rocked by unconscious, irrational forces at war with one another, competing for expression and preventing the individual’s exercise of free will. Tension arises when thoughts and desires are not allowed to be expressed.

- Consciousness is divided into 3 levels
  1. Normal awareness (conscious) = thoughts, feelings, motivations that you are aware of
  2. Preconscious = subjective material that you can easily bring into conscious awareness, but are not aware of most of the time (ex: your telephone number)
  3. Unconscious = thoughts, feelings, motivations that you can’t voluntarily bring into consciousness, yet still influence your thoughts, feelings, and behavior (this is where most of your thoughts, feelings, motivations live!)

Freud’s 3 Mental Structures:

1. **Id**: exists at birth, houses sexual and aggressive drives, physical needs, and simple psychological needs; lives by **pleasure principle** (i.e.: instant gratification, regardless of consequences)
2. **Superego**: formed during early childhood after id and ego, houses the sense of right and wrong, based on the internalization of parental and cultural morality; tries to prevent the expression of id’s inappropriate sexual and aggressive impulses; can cause feelings of guilt, leading to inadequacy; responsible for **ego ideal** (provides the ultimate standard of what a person should be)
3. **Ego**: develops in childhood, tries to balance the competing demands of id, superego, and reality; guided by **reality principle** (assess what is most realistically possible in the world); responsible for problem solving and reasoning

Childhood is central in determining the formation of personality.

- **Psychosexual stages**: 5 distinct developmental stages based on erogenous zones (areas of the body that can provide satisfaction of instinctual drives: mouth, anus, genital); the specific needs of each stage must be met for its successful resolution
  - Oral; Anal; Phallic; Latency; Genital
  - Each zone demands some form of sexual gratification, with a different zone being prominent during each stage.
  - If a child does not satisfy the needs of a given stage, s/he will develop a **fixation** (state in which energy is still focused on an earlier stage of development, even as the child moves on to the next stage).
    - People will regress to the thoughts, feelings, behaviors of the fixated stage in times of stress.
    - Fixation can create **neurosis**: an abnormal behavior pattern relating to a conflict between the ego and either the id or the superego.
    - **Psychosis**: conflict between ego and reality → break from reality
  - **Oedipus complex**: boys in the phallic stage jealously love their mothers, view fathers as competitors for their mothers’ love, so they both fear and hate their fathers
    - Castration anxiety: a boy’s fear that as punishment for loving mother and hating father, his father will cut off his penis

Please pardon any spelling errors or typos!
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KOSSLYN CHAPTER 8 – Personality: Vive La Différence

- Solution: boy identifies with father, accepts subordinate position to “introject” his father’s morality as part of his superego
  - Electra complex: girls in the phallic stage are preoccupied with the discovery that they don’t have penises, which leads them to have penis envy; girls unconsciously struggle with feelings of anger and jealousy toward the mother (anger for neither providing a penis for daughter nor having one herself, jealousy because of the mother’s relationship with the father); girls ambivalently identify with mothers
- Justification of women’s lower status in Victorian society: partially resolved phallic stage, less well-developed superego, less ego strength, less ability to negotiate between reality and id

Defense Mechanisms: unconscious processes that prevent unacceptable thoughts or urges from reaching conscious awareness. Relying too much on a particular defense mechanism will result in neurosis.

1. Repression – most important; ego directly blocks threatening unconscious thoughts, impulses, and memories from entering consciousness.
   - [Ex: “forgetting” to go to dentist]
2. Denial – threatening thoughts are denied outright.
   - [Ex: denial of a drinking problem]
3. Intellectualization – threatening thoughts or emotions are kept at arm’s length by thinking about them rationally and logically.
   - [Ex: While watching a scary movie, you focus on make-up, camera angles, other emotionally non-threatening details.]
4. Projection – threatening thoughts are projected onto (attributed to) others.
   - [Ex: accusing someone else of wanting an affair when you really do]
5. Rationalization – creating explanations to justify threatening thoughts or actions.
   - [Ex: instead of studying, you watch a football game, fail the exam, but say that you’ll “make up for it on the final exam”]
6. Reaction Formation – unconsciously changing an unacceptable feeling into its opposite.
   - [Ex: transforming your anger at your boss’ obnoxious behavior into appreciation of “his fairness as a manager”]
7. Sublimation – threatening impulses are directed into more socially acceptable activities.
   - [Ex: playing hockey instead of getting into fights]
8. Undoing – your actions try to “undo” a threatening wish or thought.
   - [Ex: you think of eating several slices of chocolate cake, so you go to the gym and work out for an hour]

Neo-Freudians: expanded on Freud’s work; deemphasized sexuality

- Carl Jung: emphasized collective unconscious (the unconscious storehouse of ideas and memories common to all humankind), including archetypes (the basic personality types found in all cultures and folklore)
- Alfred Adler: emphasized feelings of inferiority and helplessness in personality formation. Feelings of inferiority fuel the striving for superiority; if inferiority feelings become too severe, they can lead to an inferiority complex, which hampers such strivings
- Karen Horney: emphasized parent-child interactions, proposing that parents should show warmth, respect, and consistent interest in their children; proposed that girls did not have penis envy, but privilege envy (the desire for the privileges that go along with having a penis)

Faults of Freudian Theory

1. Not testable
2. Complicated so that it can explain, or explain away, almost anything
3. Doesn’t generalize well to most people: Freud developed his theory by analyzing mostly female patients and himself (inherent bias)

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Strengths:
1. The type of attachment we have to our parents predicts the type of attachment we will have to a partner / own children.
2. Defense mechanisms as coping styles
3. Broad idea that some mental processes can be unconscious (i.e.: occurring without awareness)

HUMANISTIC PSYCHOLOGY → Thinking Positively
Focus on people’s positive aspects → innate goodness, creativity, free will
We all strive to achieve self-actualization: an innate motivation to attain our highest emotion and intellectual potential
Appeals to people because of its emphasis on the uniqueness of each person and on free will
How you live your life is determined not by unconscious force but by using your conscious awareness and your freedom to choose your experiences
Faults: difficult to test; too idealistic; do we really need unconditional positive regard all the time?

Carl Rogers: developed theory of personality as well as a form of psychotherapy – client-centered therapy
- Self-concept: our sense of ourselves and of how others see us → this is in part a reflection of how others see us... so we have a basic need for unconditional positive regard: acceptance without any conditions
  - Ex: adults praise children for behaving in accordance with societal rules, which leads children to learn conditions of worth, or “what it takes” to be treated as worthwhile.
- Some aspects of personality (ex: motives) revolve around meeting conditions or worth in order to be accepted by others, so people spend too much time / energy pleasing others and not achieving their full potential.
  - Solution: adults need to distinguish between a child’s inappropriate behavior and his/her worth as a human being

People have enduring personality traits: relatively consistent tendencies to think, feel, or behave in a characteristic way across a range of situations
Allport: Some personality traits can be grouped as central traits (traits that affect a wide range of behavior, vary from individual to individual)
- Traits are not always accurate in predicting behavior!

The situations in which we find ourselves can exert powerful influences on behaviors, thoughts, feelings.
Hartshorne & May: investigated whether honesty applies across situations in children
- Children who were honest in one situation were not necessarily honest in another. There was some consistency across situations, but less <10% of the differences in behavior across situations could be explained by the one trait of honesty.
- The more similar the situations, the more likely it was that each child behaved similarly across situations (ex: lying about number of push-ups more similar to amount of work done than stealing)
Mischel: found inconsistencies in how people behave across situations that draw on the same trait
Different measures of what should be the same trait often were only weakly correlated or not related at all. The “same” trait can also be expressed in different ways.

Theory of Situationism: a person’s behavior is mostly governed by the particular situation, not by internal traits
- Situation doesn’t determine everything → personality characteristics interact with the situation
Interactionism: interaction between personality and the situation

3 Major Factors:

1. The same “objective” situation is experienced differently by people who have different personalities. When different individuals are in the same situation, they differ in what they pay attention to, how they interpret the stimuli they perceive, what emotions are associated with those stimuli, and then how they respond.

2. Our personalities partly create our situations.

3. People often can choose their situations (jobs, friends, leisure activities). People tend to choose environments that fit their personalities

The more narrowly a personality trait is defined, the better it predicts behavior, but the fewer situations there are to which it can be applied. Personality traits can also be very broadly defined as personality dimensions: sets of related personality traits. aka superfactors.

- Factor analysis (takes a set of correlations and derives dimensions that underlie those correlations)

Disadvantage of superfactors: they predict behavior less well than do the traits on which they are built. (i.e.: People attain high scores by being extreme on different traits that are part of that dimension / score high on the dimension for different reasons)

The Big 5 Superfactors and Their Traits: (OCEAN)

- **Openness** → fantasy, aesthetics, feelings, actions, ideas, values
- **Conscientiousness** (aka dependability) → competence, order, dutifulness, achievement striving, deliberation, self-discipline
- **Extraversion** (aka sociability) → warmth, gregariousness, assertiveness, activity, excitement seeking, positive emotions
- **Agreeableness** → trust, straightforwardness, altruism, compliance, modesty, tender-mindedness
- **Neuroticism** (aka emotionality) → anxiety, hostility, depression, self-consciousness, impulsiveness, vulnerability

**Hans Eysenck** → 3 superfactors [extraversion, neuroticism, psychotism (lose touch with reality, ex: schizophrenia; social deviance, lack of conventional socialization)]

- Some people have suggested using nonconformity or social deviance rather than psychotism to highlight the traits of creativity and nonconformity that are also part of this dimension (ex: artists)

Although different models may group personality traits differently, all models include some version of the broad personality characteristics of extraversion and neuroticism.

**Measuring Personality**

Most methods of assessing personality measure behaviors that psychologists believe to be expressions of a given trait, and then infer the strength of the trait from the behaviors.

4 Methods:

- **Interview** → people respond to verbal questions
- **Observation** → noting / recording behavior
- **Inventory**: most common method; a lengthy questionnaire for assessing personality that requires the test takers to read statements and to indicate whether each is true or false about themselves or to indicate how much they agree or disagree with each statement (along a multipoint scale)
  - Result: personality profile – a graphic summary of the scores of the different traits that constitute someone’s personality.

*Please pardon any spelling errors or typos!*
Usually assess many different traits, contain 300+ test statements to include items that address different facets of each trait

- Used by mental health professionals to assess mental illness; research psychologists to investigate the possible reasons for differences in personality traits; employers to assess how personality characteristics are related to aspects of job performance

- Advantages: easy to administer, computers make them easy to score / interpret; easy way to compare the same personality traits among different people

- Disadvantages: limited type of information that can be obtained from the questions on the inventory; responses can be biased (people check off “agree” more often than “disagree,” regardless of the content of the statement... aka acquiescence)
  - Solution: word half of the items negatively
  - Social desirability: source of bias in responding to questions that occurs when people try to make themselves “look good” even if it means giving answers that are not accurate
    - Solution: answers are scaled untrue answers);

- Ex: Raymond Catell’s 16 PF
- Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory 2: assesses psychopathology
- NEO-PI-R (Neuroticism, Extraversion, Openness... Revised) Personality Inventory → assesses 30 personality traits from the 5 Factor Model; can be completed by individual whose personality is being assessed or by someone close to that individual; valid and reliable

- Projective Test: method used to assess personality and psychopathology that asks the test-taker to make sense of ambiguous stimuli (people’s personalities can be revealed by what they project onto ambiguous stimuli as their minds impose structure on them)
  - Ex: Rorschach Test: inkblots that people are asked to interpret
    - Questionable validity and reliability
  - Ex: Thematic Apperception Test (TAT): set of detailed black-and-white drawings; for each drawing, the test taker is asked to tell a story about what the drawing illustrates
    - Faults: although systematic scoring systems exist, only 3% of clinicians actually use a scoring system to interpret the TAT, prefer to rely on intuitive interpretations of participants’ responses; from a person’s response to the cards, the test administrator cannot distinguish between how the person actually thinks, feels, and would behave versus how the person wishes to think, feel, and behave
    - Strengths: the tests’ abilities to predict future behavior depend not only on the test administrator’s experience, but on the specific behavior(s) that the tests are being used to predict

BIOLOGY’S INFLUENCES ON PERSONALITY
Some aspects of personality are biologically based, so personalities are partly born, not entirely made.

Temperament: an inclination to engage in a certain style of thinking, feeling, behaving; a temperament initially arises from the effects of genes and biology, and an individual’s environment moderates these effects
- Affects what people think, feel, and do as well as how they think, feel, and act in the ways that they do
- Relatively consistent throughout the life span, consistent across situations
- ≠ personality traits

Buss & Plomin → 4 broad dimensions of temperament (existing along a continuum)
1. Sociability: a preference for being in the company of others rather than alone
2. **Emotionality**: an inclination to become aroused in emotional situations, but only when the emotion of distress, fear, or anger is involved
3. **Activity**: a preference for a particular activity level, which has 2 components – *vigor* (the intensity of activity) and *tempo* (the speed of activity)
4. **Impulsivity**: a tendency to respond to stimuli immediately, without reflection or concern for consequences

Kagan → is extreme shyness innate? Some babies are more reactive / sensitive to environmental stimuli, and are more fussy than other babies
- “high-reactive” infants are more likely than “low-reactive” babies to respond to a recording of a woman’s voice / colored toy with crying, general distress, increased motor activity; have faster heart rates, higher levels of cortisol
- Babies with a fast heart rate in the womb are more likely later to become inhibited, fearful children who startle more easily → shy teenagers / adults who feel fear and distress in social situations
- The ways the family and culture react toward inhibited, shy behavior will determine how a person thinks and feels about him/herself.
  - Ex: American culture favors outgoing people; puts shy people at disadvantage → negative self-image → increased likelihood of an autonomic reaction in social situations
- Some toddlers “outgrow” the inhibition; not all inhibited children become shy adults.
- The environment can play a role in diminishing the effects of shyness / maintaining shyness into adulthood.
- Children at extremes of shyness / outgoingness are the least likely to change over time

*Sensation-seeking*: the pursuit of novelty or highly stimulating pursuits (ex: sky-diving, fast driving, drug / alcohol use) or occupations (ex: working in hospital ER)
- These people are more likely to send angry e-mails, surf vs. play golf, prefer visiting museums of modern art vs. ancient art, listen to punk music
- High sensation seekers view a given situation as less risky than do low sensation seekers

**BIOLOGICALLY BASED THEORIES OF PERSONALITY**

**Jeffrey Gray** → 2 brain systems can explain broad aspects of temperament and personality:

1. **Behavioral Activation System (BAS)** – mechanism based on activation of behavior and on the effects of reward on behavior
   - Triggers positive feelings (ex: elation, hope), underlies impulsivity
   - People with an easily activated BAS tend to respond readily to even minor incentives and rewards; more likely to have problems with substance abuse
   - Underlies impulsivity → people with an easily activated BAS respond readily to even minor incentives / rewards
   - Associated with extraversion
2. **Behavioral Inhibition System (BIS)** – mechanism based on inhibition of behavior and on effects of punishment on behavior
   - Activated by threat-related stimuli and punishment, triggering anxiety and inhibit behavior
   - People with an easily activated BIS become distressed when confronted with even minor threats; people with an insensitive BIS are not distressed by most threats even when confronted with significant threats.
   - Associated with anxiety, depression, neuroticism
- These 2 systems arise from characteristics of specific brain structures, neurotransmitters.
**Eysenck’s Theory** → biological mechanisms underlie 3 personality dimensions

A hierarchy where the personality dimensions are composed of more specific traits, which in turn arise from automatic response, which are themselves based on specific, learned associations between a stimulus and response.

- **EXTRAVERSION** → the cortex of extraverts (compared to introverts) is less easily aroused by stimulation of the senses (i.e.: it takes more stimulation to arouse / overstimulate extroverts).
  - Because of this higher threshold, extraverts seek out activities that are more stimulating and arousing (ex: hang-gliding / espionage)
  - Introverts and extroverts have different biological responses to caffeine, nicotine, and sedatives, reward and punishment, even different patterns of brain waves.
  - Research has yielded mixed results
- **NEUROTICISM** → those who score high on the dimension of neuroticism are easily and intensely emotionally aroused and so are more likely to experience conditioned emotional responses (i.e.: emotional responses elicited by previously neutral stimuli… ex: fear)
- **PSYCHOTICISM** → those high on psychoticism have less control over their emotions and therefore are more likely to be aggressive or impulsive, engage in delinquent behavior
  - Research on the relationship between psychoticism and social deviance has yielded complex results and social deviance is associated with high scores of psychoticism usually only in conjunction with high scores on neuroticism and/or extraversion.
  - Because other personality dimensions affect the way psychoticism influences personality, it is understandable that research has not revealed specific biological underpinnings of psychoticism.

**Cloninger’s Theory** → people differ on 4 basic personality dimensions:

1. **Reward dependence** (desire for socially rewarding experiences; its opposite is aloofness; related to BAS)
2. **Harm avoidance** (pessimism, shyness, fear of uncertainty, inhibition of approach behaviors, increase in avoidance behaviors, related to BIS)
3. **Novelty seeking** (excited response to new situations; related to BAS)
4. **Persistence** (tendency to continue to seek a goal in the face of obstacles or resistance)

Each of these dimensions corresponds to some combination of Big Five superfactors and is associated with a distinct brain system.

- Ex: novelty seeking → combination of a high score on extraversion, low score on conscientiousness in the Big Five; related to dopamine-0based reward system in brain

**Zuckerman’s Theory** → Alternative 5

1. **Sociability** ~ extraversion
2. **Neuroticism-anxiety** ~ neuroticism
3. **Impulsive sensation seeking** – tendency to act impulsively; reconceptualiation of Eysenck’s psychoticism, related to sensation seeking and Gray’s BAS; opposite end of the Big Five’s conscientiousness superfactor; more typical of men than women; associated with insensitivity to punishment or loss of reward; heritable??
4. **Activity** – need for activity, high energy level, preference for challenges, difficulty in relaxing
5. **Aggression-hostility** – tendency toward antisocial behavior, verbal aggression, vengefulness
All 4 theories of personality have a dimension related to sociability and a dimension related to anxiety or emotionality, although the theories differ in the breadth of these dimensions and in the specific traits associated with them.

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The Heritability of Personality

Many researchers have reported evidence that genes influence personality. Behavioral genetics: focuses on sorting out the influence of heredity vs. environment on thoughts, feelings, and behaviors.

Identical twins (share virtually all of their genes) have more similar personalities than do the fraternal twins (share 50% of their genes). Identical twins have higher correlations between their scores on personality tests than do the fraternal twins.

Even identical twins raised apart score similarly on personality tests. Heritability: number that quantifies the amount of variation in characteristics that arises from genes. Associations of a personality dimension / trait with different alleles of a gene.

Genes influence different personality dimensions and traits more or less strongly, and to different degrees of influence.

Genetic differences predict behaviors as well (ex: amount of time spent watching TV, number of childhood accidents, tendency to marry, religious attitudes)

Different genes may underlie variations in happiness for men and women:

- Subjective sense of well-being has a higher heritability in women than in men

Genes can affect personality both directly (ex: through temperament) and indirectly (ex: through the types of responses a person elicits from others). But this doesn’t mean that personality is fixed from birth to death!

Other factors also shape personality.

Family environment is not a large contributor to personality traits

- Exception: social closeness (desire for intimacy with others), positive emotionality (a set of traits characterized by an active engagement in one’s environment)
- Many aspects of the family environment are not truly shared.

Problems in determining how genes contribute to personality:

- Most aspects of personality are affected by numerous genes that exert their influence in concert. It is unusual for a single gene to influence a personality dimension. (Exception: novelty seeking)
- Variations in a single gene, interacting with other genes, may affect more than one aspect of personality.
- The effects of any one gene are subtle.

Most common explanation for how genes exert their influence: neurotransmitters... ??????

Learning and Personality:

An individual’s inclination to behave in consistent ways arises from his / her conditioning history:

- Classically conditioned behaviors: phobias
- Operantly conditioned behaviors: taking part in highly stimulating activities because of past reinforcement
- Behaviors learned through observation: being polite
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**Sociocognitive View of Personality:**
- Social interactions affect thoughts, feelings, and behaviors → consistent thoughts, feelings, behaviors create personality, affect which stimuli are attended to / ignored.

**Expectancies:** expectations that have a powerful influence on thoughts, feelings, and behaviors, and in turn, on personality
- Expectations can arise from learning
- To the extent that expectancies are consistent across situations, they can be thought of as personality traits.
- Acknowledges influence of biological factors on personality traits and dimensions, but emphasizes the role of the person’s experiences, of consistent patterns of mental processing, of the self-concept, and of behavior.
- Stresses that society and culture contribute to a person’s experiences and ultimately even affect biology

When the cause of an event is ambiguous, people differ in the extent to which they perceive that they have control over the event
- **Locus of control:** a person’s perception of the source of control over life’s events when the cause of events is ambiguous
  - *Internals* – control over events comes from within, feel personally responsible for what happens to them, increase expectancies in response to success, lower expectancies in response to failure
  - *Externals* – control comes from outside forces, feel less personal responsibility, lower expectancies after success, raise them after failure
  - Locus of control has changed over time → college students are becoming increasingly external in their locus of control

**Self-Efficacy:** sense of having the ability to follow through and produce specific desired behaviors
- High → you can behave in a specific way if you want to

**Bandura:** self-efficacy helps people believe in themselves and in their ability to change or perform behaviors previously viewed as difficult or impossible

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**SOCIOCULTURAL INFLUENCES ON PERSONALITY**

**Birth Order**

**Sulloway:** used meta-analyses to show that openness to experience is shaped by birth order, but birth order is not the only factor involved (ex: number of children in family, conflict, sex, number of years between siblings, temperament, social class, loss of parent, etc.)
- Why do some people support revolutions whereas others maintain status quo
- Opposite views can occur within the same family.
- Firstborns / “Only” children are more likely to support parental authority, see things as their parents do, be less open to new ideas and experiences
- Younger siblings, because they must find a different niche in the family and in the world around them, are more likely to be open to new ideas and experiences
- Middle children are less likely to define their self-identities by family than are both their elder or younger siblings → react more to the word “friends” than “brothers / sisters”; less likely to define themselves by family name; more rebellious / impulsive; less conscientious

**Gender**

Women score higher on traits reflecting *social connectedness* (focus on the importance of relationships) and measures of neuroticism, tend to be more empathetic than men; report more nurturing tendencies.

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Men score higher on traits reflecting individuality, autonomy (focus on separateness from others, achievement, self-sufficiency), measures of anger and aggression

Why sex differences in personality traits may exist:
• Social Role Theory → boys and girls learn different skills and beliefs based on the social roles of males and females
  o Beliefs and skills become so ingrained that they lead individuals to think, feel, and act in consistent ways across a variety of situations.
  o Expectancy effects (how boys and girls are expected to behave)
  o The importance of context?? (i.e.: interactions with same-sex friends vs. opposite-sex strangers)
  o Although differences between men’s and women’s personalities have been observed, they do not necessarily arise in all – or even most – situations
• Biological
  o Hormone differences: testosterone
  o Evolutionary theory: differences in mate selection and parenting strategies have given rise to the sex difference in social connectedness
    ▪ Women have greater investment in offspring → caretaker role → more strongly attached to children → survival advantage
  o Differences between men and women are not as large as differences within each sex!

CULTURE AND PERSONALITY

Personality changes within a culture, over time
• Increasing external locus of control
• Increased anxiety / neuroticism
• Increased extraversion
• Reflect cultural / environmental shifts → increasing fear of crime, terrorism, other dangers; increased value placed on traits related to extraversion; decreased emphasis on personality traits related to sex roles

Consistent Personality Differences Across Cultures
• Personality measures reveal the same Big Five personality superfactors in many, but not all cultures.

Culture affects personality development!
• Chinese immigrants in North America have personality profiles resembling those of native-born North Americans. The longer they live in North America, the more similar the profiles.
• People from collectivist cultures have different personalities than do people from individualist cultures.
  o Collectivist culture: emphasizes the rights and responsibilities of the group over those of the individual
    ▪ Value humility, honoring the family, efforts to maintain the social order, more likely to care for others
  o Individualist culture: emphasizes the rights and responsibilities of the individual over those of the group
    ▪ Value individual freedom, equality, enjoyment over the needs of the group
  o Children in a given culture tend to be socialized according to that culture’s values, and thus are more likely to exhibit personality traits valued by the culture.
  o Collectivist-individualist distinction between types of cultures has been used to explain why crime rates are lower in collectivist culture.
  o The self-concept also differs between the 2 types of cultures.

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