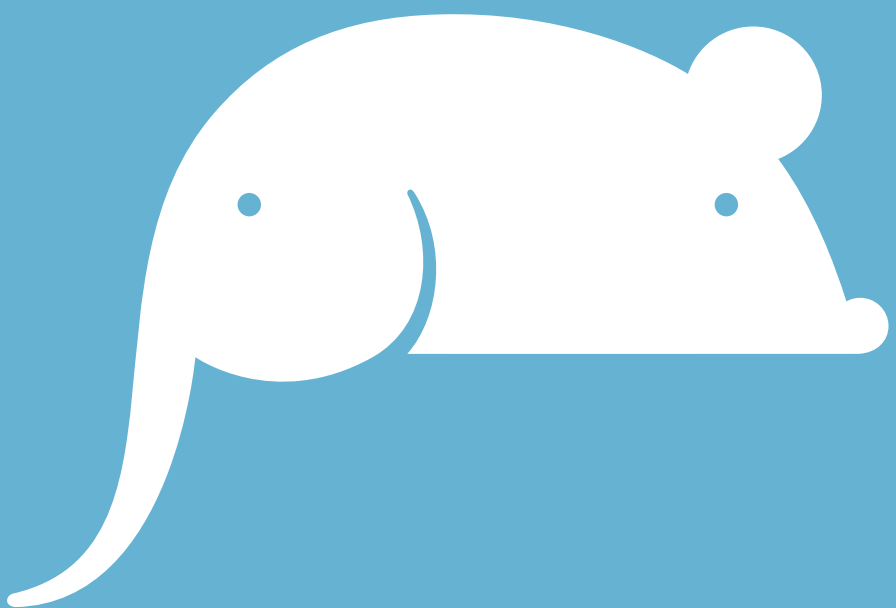

SEVENTH EDITION

Theories of Personality

Understanding Persons

Susan Cloninger

Theories of Personality

Understanding Persons

Seventh Edition

Susan Cloninger
The Sage Colleges

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Brief Contents

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Preface

I've been writing and revising this text with its various editions for over a quarter of a century and have come to realize that it will always be a work in process. What used to feel like "completion" now feels simply like a "milestone" as each new edition is sent to production. That is fitting, as the field of personality psychology, too, continues to develop. Over the years, some of the hot topics (like the debate over traits versus situationalism, and the controversy over repressed memory of abuse) have faded into the historical past as theories have matured and research has guided reconceptualizations, and some topics have been dropped altogether, in order to make room for the new.

While not reflected in the words I have crafted for this edition, I sometimes reminisce about the first term paper I wrote in my first personality course, where I explored all that I could find written by Gordon Allport. If there is a unitary vision, however vague and incomplete, for the field, it seems—at least so far in the development of personality theory—to be his personology. But details are lacking in his statements, and for that, we need many other theories, ranging from the exciting findings of neuroscience to the very practical and socially important recognition of cultural contexts (e.g., challenges to the Protestant bias of Allport-inspired work on religious orientations). I do hope that personality researchers and theorists will continue their efforts to reach outside of their theoretical silos, to show how important ideas transcend theoretical boundaries. A unified theory of personality seems a distant goal, however, and one that will need to include other disciplines as well.

Researchers and theorists in personality have more contributions that deserve reporting than I can possibly include in this text: so many research findings and theoretical ideas, it would take a whole series! I invite students to do as I have done, and make understanding personality a life's work, whether through academic study or by thoughtful observations of self and others. Understanding persons brings practical as well as academic benefits to our lives.

New to This Edition

- New Illustrative Biographies: Malala Yousafzai (Chapter 4), Serena Williams (Chapter 9), and George Harrison (Chapter 15).
- Updated research literature throughout. This includes neuroscience research, not only in the biological chapter but also integrated with various other theories (including Freud, Jung, and meditation in Buddhism).
- Updated discussion of current thinking and research about various theoretical concepts, including archetypes in Jung's theory (Chapter 3); the replacement child and bullying in Adler's theory (Chapter 4); epigenetics, gender identity, and sexual orientation in Erikson's theory (Chapter 5); Alice Miller's work on childhood victimization (Chapter 6); the effects of both nature and nurture in the Five-Factor Model (Chapter 8); increased attention to culture and the environment in evolutionary approaches (Chapter 9); and additional research using cultural and historical material in Kelly's theory (Chapter 11).
- Updated details about various theorists' lives, including controversy over racism in Cattell's theory (Chapter 8) and Jung's theory (Chapter 3); the contributions of his daughter Natalie and his relationship with Gloria in the film by Carl Rogers (Chapter 14); and the abusive behavior of Maslow's mother (Chapter 15).
- Updated details about some illustrative biographies that are continued from the previous edition, including Mother Teresa (Chapter 7), Sonia Sotomayor (Chapter 8), Barack Obama (Chapter 13), and the Dalai Lama (Chapter 16).
- Encouragement of students' critical thinking about many issues, such as conflict (Chapter 2), synchronicity (Chapter 3), cultural change (Chapter 6), religion and values (Chapter 7), free will (Chapter 10), and self-beliefs (Chapter 12).

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Test Bank—includes multiple-choice, true/false, and essay questions. They are tied to the numbered learning objectives from the text and tagged as per the level of difficulty and skill type.

MyTest—an electronic format of the Test Bank to customize in-class tests or quizzes.

About The Author

Susan C. Cloninger, PhD, is a professor emerita from The Sage Colleges, Troy and Albany, New York, where she taught psychology for 36 years. Her graduate study was at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, where she earned a PhD in psychology with specialization in personality (in particular, social motivation). In addition to *Theories of Personality: Understanding Persons*, she has contributed to the *Cambridge Handbook of Personality Psychology*. In retirement, Sue is active as a volunteer in a supportive housing unit for persons with a history of homelessness and mental illness; in her Unitarian Universalist church; and as an amateur gardener and proud grandmother. Her professional curiosity is a quest for understanding that bridges issues from biological to social-political understanding.

Acknowledgments

With each revision, it becomes increasingly apparent that books require a team effort, even when only one author is listed. This seventh edition is no exception. Indeed, over the decades that I have been learning to become an author, I've come to rely on others as helpers, rather than fearing their judgments.

First, thanks to Pearson. They envisioned the first Revel edition and guided me through the translation of my ideas into a new format, with enhanced pedagogy built into the text. I've done a lot of online teaching, both at The Sage Colleges and Empire State College, but never with the integration of activities with content that this exciting format permits. I know that the management skills of sponsoring editor Bimbabati Sen and development editor Elisa Rogers have made my work much easier.

In particular, I am much indebted to Elisa Rogers, my development editor, who has worked closely with me throughout the revision process, interpreting the overall Revel vision and formatting to me in ways that this novice could understand, and gently suggesting better ways to implement my ideas. Her professional expertise and her personable presence has made me look forward to her emails. Certainly the book is much improved by Elisa's gentle hand, and the process was much more enjoyable.

I've occasionally bounced ideas off friends and colleagues that helped shape the decisions for the new edition, including my choice of biographies to illustrate the various theories. Particular thanks to Syb, Christy, Tony, and people I've come to know at the Hill Street Inn. This edition includes some of those suggestions, and I welcome advice for future editions (email: clonis@sage.edu). I'm reluctant, though, to analyze living people, especially those who, because of youth or changing circumstances, are still developing or revealing their personalities—though I've made an exception in the case of Malala Yousafzai.

My family, John and Krissy in particular, have encouraged me and helped keep writing in perspective, and my grandson Ollie has me rethinking theories from a developmental perspective. They remind me that personality is an active and changing process in the real, interpersonal world.

Those who have created the academic content from which I draw must obviously be acknowledged: theorists and researchers who continue to ask important questions about personality and to seek answers. I love the intellectual stimulation of days immersed in their ideas and feel privileged to be their student.

In this interconnected world of resources, I am grateful to the expanding network of booksellers. It is a joy to see the care with which these tomes have been maintained and delivered, carefully wrapped with the love and respect that classics deserve.

In today's electronic information age, I rarely visit the physical library (mostly going to pick up interlibrary loan books), but I owe thanks to the librarians of The Sage Colleges for their efficient responses to my requests, even once going beyond reasonable expectation by crawling through dusty storage areas to retrieve a microfiche version of a very old source that hadn't been converted to modern form.

Ultimately, writing can't be delegated or automated. Shortcomings and errors remain my responsibility, of course.

Finally, I am grateful to faculty who responded to the publisher's request to serve as reviewers of the previous edition in order to help plan this revision.

Chapter 1
Introduction to Personality Theory

Learning Objectives

1.1 Outline the fundamental questions considered in the theories of personality

1.2 Characterize the ways researchers describe personality

1.3 Describe the motivations that drive personality dynamics

1.4 Identify the factors that influence personality development

1.5 Explain the influence of the scientific approach on personality theory research

1.6 Summarize research methods used by personality theory researchers

Writers and philosophers have reflected about personality for centuries. They describe various types of people.

> The true artist will let his wife starve, his children go barefoot, his mother drudge for his living at seventy, sooner than work at anything but his art.
>
> —(George Bernard Shaw, *Major Barbara*, act 1)

> A fool uttereth all his mind.
>
> —(Prov. 29:11)

They tell us about the dynamic motivations and emotions of human nature.

> We would all be idle if we could.
>
> —Samuel Johnson (quoted in Boswell's *Life of Johnson*)

> Unlimited power is apt to corrupt the minds of those who possess it.
>
> —William Pitt (speech, House of Lords, January 9, 1770)

Sayings tell us how personality develops down various paths.

> Train up a child in the way he should go: and when he is old, he will not depart from it.
>
> —Matt. 22:6

> Spare the rod and spoil the child.
>
> —Samuel Butler (*Hudibras*, pt. ii, c. I, 1. 844).

With centuries of such commentary about personality, we might think that we may leave scientific investigation for other problems, perhaps to explore the mysteries of the physical universe and biological processes. Yet formal study is needed, perhaps here more than anywhere, for there are contradictions in culture's lessons about personality.

> Virtue is bold, and goodness never fearful.
>
> —Shakespeare (*Measure for Measure*, act 3, line 215)

> Boldness is a child of ignorance and baseness.
>
> —Francis Bacon (*Essays*, line 12)

How can we know, given such contradictory observations, whether boldness should be admired or pitied? Perhaps when we and our friends are bold, we will agree with Shakespeare and leave Bacon's skepticism aside until we confront a bold enemy. Such sayings, although charming, are disconcerting because there seems to be a saying to support any belief. Cultural sayings do not offer a systematic understanding of human nature. For that, we turn to psychology.

1.1: Personality

OBJECTIVE: Outline the fundamental questions considered in the theories of personality

Psychology uses the methods of science to come to some clearer and less ambiguous (if, alas, less literary) understandings of human nature. It is the nature of science to seek precise methods and definitions. But such a scientific analysis risks obscuring the whole picture, yielding detailed description of what we can precisely and objectively measure but at the loss of understanding how it all fits together to constitute a functioning human being. Personality theories vary in their emphasis on these two polarities: methodological precision to facilitate research, or holistic description of individuals. Both emphases are valuable, which is why most personality psychologists subscribe, more or less, to an eclectic approach—one that takes valuable lessons from a variety of theories of personality.

Theories vary in other ways, too. Some are primarily influenced by observations of the process of psychotherapy, while others study convenient populations of college students, or people in the general population. Some focus on adults, while others theorize and sometimes observe children as their personalities are developing. All theories of personality, though, attempt to understand individual persons who vary from one another, and to do so they must address what we may call the "three Ds" of personality: its description, dynamics, and development.

1.1.1: Definition of Personality

Personality may be defined as *the underlying causes within the person of individual behavior and experience*. Personality psychologists do not all agree about what these underlying causes are, as the many theories in this text suggest. They offer a variety of answers to three fundamental questions. First, how can personality be described? Personality **description** considers the ways in which we should characterize an individual. How do people differ from one another, and should we describe personality traits by comparing people with one another or use some other strategy, such as studying each individual separately? Second, how can we understand personality **dynamics**—how people think about and adjust to their life situations, and how they are influenced by culture? Third, what can be said about personality **development**—how personality changes over the life span, influenced by biological factors and experience? These three questions are so fundamental that each theory considers them in some way.

Three Fundamental Questions: Description, Dynamics, and Development

All theories of personality must address three fundamental issues about personality. How shall we describe a person, so as to show how one person differs from another? How do we understand the person's dynamics, that is, motivation? And finally, how does the person develop over a lifetime?

Description—How shall we describe personality? The answers to this question also have implications for measurement. Should we look to how people behave—that is, who is assertive and talkative in a crowd, and who stays away from people? Should we inquire how they think—whether they are thinking about the next exam, or the next hook up? Are their thoughts simple and straightforward, or complex and complicated? Should we assume that the real differences aren't readily seen either in behavior or in answers to questions about what people are thinking, but rather are found in the content of their dreams, or in their DNA or brain structures? What makes us different from one another, after all?

Dynamics—What affects people's motivation, the dynamics of their personality? Are they motivated to work toward their future goals? to achieve sexual satisfaction? to be held in high regard by others? Do they seek long-term goals, or do they strive to experience immediate pleasure and to avoid current pain? Do other people inspire them, or are they more self-motivated? Is their behavior affected by what is happening around them in their current situation? To what extent does a person's self-awareness have an effect? Does changing their thoughts change people's motivation? How does culture influence personality, and can we propose cultural changes that would improve this influence? What helps or hinders a person from adjusting in a healthy way to life's demands? What motivates a person, after all?

Development—What affects personality development, and when does this occur? Is development driven by biology? Should we examine childhood experiences to understand what kind of adult develops? How important are parents in this process, and can we teach them to do a better job of parenting? Do experiences throughout adulthood have the potential to make significant changes in personality, or not? How does heredity influence personality development? How does, and how can, personality develop, after all?

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Reflecting on Description, Dynamics, and Development

Look at the 3 Ds of personality theory: Description, Dynamics, and Development. For each of these issues, identify any questions that you find particularly interesting, or that you already have strong opinions about.

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1.2: Description of Personality

OBJECTIVE: Characterize the ways researchers describe personality

The most fundamental theoretical question is this: What concepts are useful for describing personality? Should we concentrate on the differences between people? Or should we avoid comparisons, instead focusing on intensive understanding of one person?

1.2.1: Differences Between People

Personality researchers have devoted considerable effort to identifying the ways that individuals differ from one another—that is, of describing **individual differences**.

Three Ways of Describing Personality

Essentially, we have the choice of classifying people into a limited number of separate groups, a type approach. Or we can decide that people vary in gradations and describe people by saying how much of the basic dimensions they possess, a trait approach.

Types—The *type approach* proposes that personality comes in a limited number of distinct categories (qualitative groupings). Such personality **types** are categories of people with similar characteristics. A small number of types suffice to describe all people. In ancient Greece, for example, Hippocrates described four basic types of temperament: sanguine (optimistic), melancholic (depressed), choleric (irritable), and phlegmatic (apathetic) (Merenda, 1987). Those ancient Greek categories are no longer used in current psychology, but now as then, each person belongs to only one category, and there are no gradations or partial memberships in a category.

Traits—Nature often presents us with more gradual transitions (quantitative dimensions). Consider "cruelty": Between Mother Teresa and Stalin lie many intermediate levels of cruelty. Therefore, personality researchers generally prefer **quantitative measures**, which give each person a score, ranging from very low to very high or somewhere in between. In contrast to types, **traits** are such quantitative measures. Traits permit a more precise description of personality than types because each trait refers to a more focused set of characteristics, and each person is a combination of many traits, each of which describes a narrower and more precise scope of behavior.

Factors—More traits than types are necessary to describe a personality. One classic study counted nearly 18,000 traits among words listed in the dictionary (Allport & Odbert, 1936). Do we really need that many? To eliminate unnecessary redundancy (e.g., by combining synonyms such as "shy" and "withdrawn"), researchers rely on statistical procedures that compute correlations among trait scores, and on that basis they have proposed broad **factors** of personality. Factors are quantitative, like traits, but they include a broader range of behavior. Factors are often thought to derive from underlying biological variables.

Types, traits, and factors are similar in that they all are ways of describing the differences between people. They differ in how broad or specific they are, with types being the most general and traits the most specific. Examples of popular types, traits, and factors are presented in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1 Ways of Describing Personality

Types, traits, and factors all have a role in personality theory and research. The terms are sometimes used imprecisely, but knowing their differences helps us understand the variety of ways that personality can be described and measured.

Way of Describing Personality	Example
Type	One model of personality in popular culture, the Enneagram, suggests that there are nine categories of people: reformer, helper, achiever, individualist, investigator, loyalist, enthusiast, challenger, and peacemaker.
Trait	Students in a personality course are assigned to search the psychological literature for research on whatever dimension of personality they find interesting. Students choose quite a variety: shyness, bullying tendency, self-esteem, anxiety, creativity, perfectionism—the list goes on!
Factor	The currently popular "Big Five" model of personality describes these major dimensions of personality: Neuroticism, Extraversion, Openness, Agreeableness, and Conscientiousness. A test gives each person a score on each dimension.

SHOULD WE STUDY INDIVIDUALS? When researchers study personality, they have another choice to make. Should they look at many people and compare them? Researchers do this when they give a personality test to a group of people and compare the behaviors of people with various scores. For example, do students who score high on a test of conscientiousness get higher grades? Other researchers take a different approach, looking in detail at one person. They might, for example, investigate an important historical figure, studying that person's letters and speeches and political activity to understand that person.

Nomothetic and Idiographic Approaches

Most personality researchers gather data and compare many people: the nomothetic approach. Alternatively, other researchers investigate individual lives in detail, like psychobiographers: the idiographic approach.

Nomothetic approach—Personality traits and types allow us to compare one person with another: the **nomothetic** approach. Most personality research is nomothetic. Despite its scientific advantages, the nomothetic method has drawbacks. It studies many people and compares them on only a few numerical scores, which makes it difficult to understand one whole person (Carlson, 1971). Much personality research is also limited because it often investigates college students (Carlson, 1971; Sears, 1986), who are more conveniently available to researchers but who differ from the general adult population on many personality characteristics (Ward, 1993).

Idiographic approach—In contrast, the **idiographic** approach studies individuals one at a time. Strictly idiographic approaches are difficult because any description of a person (e.g., "Mary is outgoing") implies comparison with other people. Although implicit comparisons with other people are unavoidable, we call research idiographic if it focuses on the particularities of an individual case, for example, in a case study or a psychobiographical analysis. William McKinley Runyan (1988) reminds personality psychologists of Kluckhohn and Murray's (1953) classic assertion: "Every man is in certain respects (a) like all other men, (b) like some other men, (c) like no other man" (p. 53). Personality psychology can discover truths about unique individuals, as well as typical group characteristics and universal principles.

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Another Look at Literary Sayings about Personality

Look again at the literary sayings at the beginning of the chapter. Discuss them in terms of the concerns of personality theory. For example, do they relate to description, dynamics, or development? Can they be verified? Can you think of any sayings about personality in addition to those quoted at the beginning of the chapter?

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1.3: Personality Dynamics

OBJECTIVE: Describe the motivations that drive personality dynamics

The term *personality dynamics* refers to the mechanisms by which personality is expressed, often focusing on the motivations that direct behavior. Motivation provides energy and direction to behavior. If you see a person running energetically toward a door, you may ask, "Why is that person running?" What is the motivation? Theorists discuss many motives. Some theorists assume that the fundamental motivations or goals of all people are similar. Sigmund Freud suggested that sexual motivation underlies personality; Carl Rogers proposed a tendency to move toward higher levels of development. Other theorists suggest that motives or goals vary from one person to another. For example, Henry Murray (1938) listed dozens of motives that are of varying importance to different people, including achievement motivation, power motivation, and nurturance.

Personality dynamics include individuals' adaptation or adjustment to the demands of life and so have implications for psychological health. Modern personality theory considers cognitive processes as a major aspect of personality dynamics. How we think is an important determinant of our choices and adaptation. In addition, culture influences us through its opportunities and expectations.

1.3.1: Adaptation and Adjustment

Personality encompasses an individual's way of coping with the world, of adjusting to demands and opportunities in the environment—that is, **adaptation**. Many theories of personality have historical roots in the clinical treatment of patients. Observations of their symptoms, and of increasing adjustment with treatment, suggested more general ideas about personality that have been applied broadly to nonclinical populations; conversely, studies of nonclinical populations have implications for therapy.

1.3.2: Cognitive Processes

What role does thinking play? Theories vary considerably on this question. Based on clinical experience, Sigmund Freud proposed that conscious thought plays only a limited role in personality dynamics; unconscious dynamics are more important in his psychoanalytic theory. Other approaches disagree, emphasizing conscious experience and investigating various thought patterns that predict behavior and coping. The ways that we label experience and the ideas we have about ourselves have substantial effects on our personality dynamics.

1.3.3: Culture

Historically, personality theories focused on the individual, leaving culture and society in the background. This left an incomplete picture of personality and prevented theories from adequately explaining gender, ethnic, and cultural differences. Influenced by greater awareness of cultural change, researchers have increasingly considered the role of culture in personality. Individualistic cultures,

like the United States, emphasize individual differences in personality traits more than do collectivist cultures (Heine & Buchtel, 2009). There is also a difference in the personalities that are encouraged in various cultures. The individualism of U.S. culture encourages extraverted and assertive behavior that would be frowned on in more interdependent collectivist societies (Triandis, 2001). Personality traits also change from one generation to the next; for example, based on test scores, U.S. students have been increasing not only in self-esteem and extraversion but also in anxiety and neuroticism (Twenge, 2000, 2001; Twenge & Campbell, 2001). Much remains to be done to understand adequately the role of social influences on personality, but we can be sure that some of the motivations that direct people are shaped by their culture.

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Thinking About Your Own Personality Dynamics

Thinking about personality dynamics as presented in this book, how would you describe the motivations in your own personality dynamics?

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

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1.4: Personality Development

OBJECTIVE: Identify the factors that influence personality development

Over a lifetime, personality in some ways stays the same, and in other ways changes. The theories that we will examine have various ways of explaining this issue and different advice about where to look to understand the factors that affect development and change.

Influences on Personality Development

Another major issue in personality theory concerns the formation and change of personality. To what extent is personality influenced by biological factors, such as heredity? To what extent can personality change as a result of learning? How critical are the childhood years for personality development, and how much change can occur in adulthood? How do we change personality in the direction we would like, to turn high-risk children toward healthier paths of development or to teach ordinary folk to be creative or to be leaders?

Biological influences—Some children seem to be quiet or energetic or whatever from the moment of birth. Could it be that personality is genetically determined? The term **temperament** refers to consistent styles of behavior and emotional reactions that are present from infancy onward, presumably because of biological influences. As long ago as ancient Greece, philosophers and physicians believed that inborn predispositions lead one person to be melancholic and another sanguine (Kagan, 1994). Evidence supports the claim that personality is significantly influenced by heredity. With the explosion of research in genetics and neuroscience, personality researchers are identifying biological mechanisms that contribute to such aspects of personality as the tendency for some people to be outgoing and others to be shy. However, we should keep in mind that biology plays out its influence in the environment, and different environments can make quite different personalities out of the same biological potential.

Experience in childhood and adulthood—Personality develops over time. Experience, especially in childhood, influences the way each person develops toward his or her unique personality. Many of the major personality theories described in this text make statements about the development of personality. Theorists in the psychoanalytic tradition, for example, emphasize the experience of the preschool years in forming personality. Theories in the learning tradition focus primarily on change, but even some of them (e.g., Staats, 1996) propose that early learning can significantly influence the course of personality throughout life by developing essential skills on which later experience builds. In the emotional domain, early development of bonds of attachment with the parents is receiving considerable attention and is widely thought to influence relationships with people into adulthood. Although people do change, considerable evidence indicates the stability of personality over a person's lifetime (e.g., McCrae & Costa, 1984).

These are the major issues faced by all personality theories: description, dynamics, and development. It will be helpful to keep this big picture in mind, to avoid getting hopelessly lost in the many details of the theories, and to have a framework for comparing the theories (see Table 1.2).

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Reflecting on the Issues in Personality Theory

Look at your responses about the major issues in personality theory. Are there ideas that stand out to you? Are there issues that you particularly want to explore further? You may wish to preview the various chapters that we will cover in this course to see whether some theories match your ideas more than others. The formal study of personality ideally will offer you new ideas and help you think critically about those you already believe.

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Table 1.2 Major Issues Addressed by Personality Theories

At the beginning of the chapter is a preview of its theory based on several of the issues just discussed. The issues often overlap. For example, cognitive processes not only are dynamic but also can be considered descriptive, because individuals differ in them, and developmental, because they change over time. Let's begin our study of personality by considering what you believe about these issues based on your own life experience.

Issue	Examples of Approaches to These Issues
Descriptive Issues	
Individual Differences	What are the traits that distinguish people? How can these traits be measured? Should we look at what people say, or what they do, to describe how they are unique? Are people consistent?
Dynamic Issues	
Adaptation and Adjustment	How do people adapt to life's demands? How does a mentally healthy person act? What behaviors or thoughts are unhealthy?
Cognitive Processes	Do our thoughts affect our behavior? What kinds of thoughts are important for personality? Do unconscious processes influence us?
Culture	How does culture influence our functioning? Does culture affect us by its expectations for men and women? For different social classes and ethnicities?
Developmental Issues	
Biological Influences	How does biology affect personality? Is personality inherited?
Development	How should children be treated? How does childhood experience determine adult personality? Do adults change? Or has personality been determined earlier? What experiences in adulthood influence personality?

1.5: The Scientific Approach

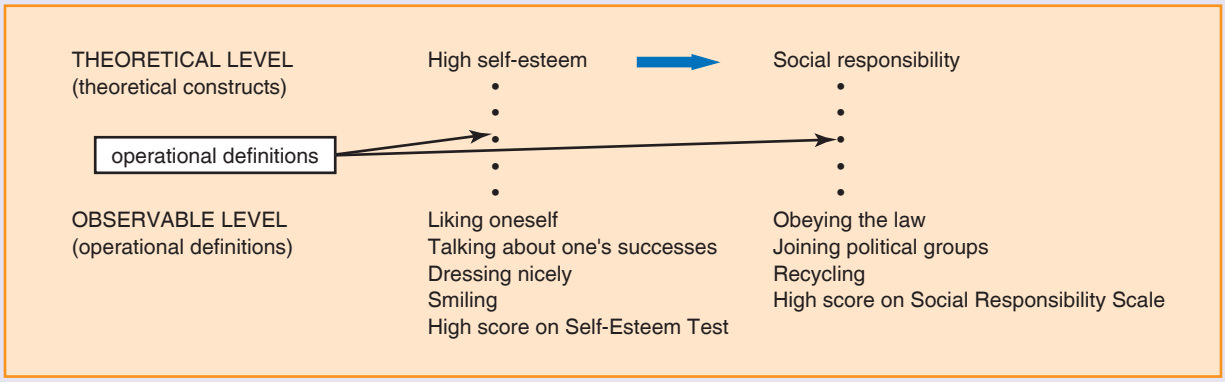
OBJECTIVE: Explain the influence of the scientific approach on personality theory research

Personality theorists, like psychology theorists more generally, test their assertions about people through the scientific method.

The **scientific method** requires systematic observations and a willingness to modify understanding based on these observations. The assumption of **determinism** is central to the scientific method. Determinism refers to the assumption that the phenomena being studied have causes and that empirical research can discover these causes (see "Levels of Abstraction").

Levels of Abstraction

In the scientific method, two different levels of abstraction are important.



In the figure above, two abstract concepts are proposed at the theoretical level: "self-esteem" and "social responsibility." The theoretical proposition "High self-esteem causes social responsibility" asserts that a cause–effect relationship exists between these two concepts.

Abstract concepts cannot be directly observed. They do, however, correspond to observable phenomena, indicated at the observable level in the figure. At the observable level, people who score high on a self-esteem test should like themselves, talk about their successes, smile, and dress nicely; the opposite behaviors will be observable among people who score low on a self-esteem test. Furthermore, the high self-esteem people should also be observed engaging in behaviors that are observable evidences of the abstract concept of social responsibility. They should obey laws, join political groups, recycle, and score high on a test of social responsibility. People who are low in self-esteem should engage in the opposite behaviors. Clear scientific language makes explicit what we observe and what abstract theoretical ideas predict and explain those observations.

1.5.1: Theory

The scientific approach is empirical and tests its statements based on observation. But it needs a guiding framework to direct its investigation. That guidance comes from theory. Theories may be explicit and stated formally, like many of the theories in personality, and like Newtonian theory in physics and evolutionary theory in biology. At other times, and less desirable for the purpose of advancing scientific knowledge, theoretical assumptions are implicit—not clearly stated and not consciously known as scientific theories, but simply part of a person's worldview (Cobern & Aikenhead, 1996). The scientific approach makes these theoretical assumptions explicit and precise, and then tests them through empirical observation.

Theoretical Constructs and Propositions

A **theory** is a conceptual tool for understanding certain specified phenomena. It includes concepts (theoretical constructs) and statements about how they are related (theoretical propositions).

Theoretical constructs—The concepts of a theory are called theoretical **constructs**. One kind of theoretical construct already mentioned is a personality trait. Traits are often considered to be the underlying units of personality. Examples of traits include shy, intelligent, and athletic. Because traits are assumed to remain constant and determine behavior, people are expected to behave consistently at different times and in different situations.

Traits, like all theoretical constructs, are not themselves directly observable. They are related to observable behaviors through **operational definitions**, statements identifying what observable phenomena are evidence of a particular trait. In the figure in the "Levels of Abstraction" feature (discussed earlier), the trait self-esteem is operationally defined to correspond to various observable behaviors: talking about successes (rather than failures), dressing nicely (rather than poorly), and scoring high on a self-esteem test (rather than scoring low). Each trait or other theoretical construct can have many different operational definitions. Because they all correspond to the same trait, we would expect these observations to be positively correlated with one another.

Theoretical propositions—A theory contains various **theoretical propositions**, which tell how the constructs are related. For example, in the figure in the "Levels of Abstraction" feature (discussed earlier), the theoretical level diagrammed presents the theoretical proposition that "self-esteem causes social responsibility." Both self-esteem and social responsibility are theoretical constructs, and as such they are abstract conceptual tools that cannot be directly observed. Theoretical propositions are also abstract statements and are not themselves directly observable (cf. Clark & Paivio, 1989).

To test a theory, predictions about observable phenomena are logically derived from the theoretical propositions. Consider the example of a classic theoretical proposition in psychology that states, "Frustration leads to aggression." When this proposition is stated in terms of observable phenomena (i.e., in terms of the constructs as operationally defined), we have a **hypothesis**, which can be tested by **empirical** observation (see Figure 1.1).

Research tests whether hypotheses are confirmed by actual empirical observations. Does the abstract theoretical world accurately predict what actually takes place in the real world? The more reliably hypotheses derived from a theory are tested and confirmed by empirical research, the more confidence we have in the theory. When observations differ from prediction, the theory is disconfirmed. If this occurs often, the theory will be revised to make it more accurate, or it may even be abandoned.

1.5.2: Criteria of a Good Theory

Theories are always somewhat tentative. Elementary students of science know this when they differentiate between theories and facts, the latter being more definite and less arguable than theories. (Such elementary students commonly have the misconception that when we become certain of our theories, they will be considered facts. This misunderstanding stems from ignorance of the difference between the theoretical level and the level of observables presented earlier in this chapter. Facts are always at the level of observables; theories never are.) Because theories are abstract, a certain amount of ambiguity can be expected, compared to the concrete details that come as factual observations. Not all theories are equally valuable, however. How can we decide whether a theory is worthwhile?

Several criteria are generally accepted for evaluating scientific theories. That is not to say that individuals always base their personal theoretical preferences on these criteria. Psychology majors, for example, report that they prefer theories that help them understand themselves (Vyse, 1990). It may take effort to apply the more impersonal criteria that we discuss next, but the effort is worthwhile.

Impersonal Criteria

These criteria guide psychology from intuitive knowledge toward a firmer scientific base.

Verifiability—The most important criterion is that a theory should be **verifiable**, that is, testable through empirical methods. Theoretical constructs must be defined with precision so it is clear what is meant by the construct. The operational definitions must be clear and reliably measurable. Operational definitions may include written tests, clinical judgments, interpersonal ratings, observations of

Figure 1.1 Hypotheses Derived From a Theoretical Proposition

Theories are abstract concepts and propositions. In order to test them, researchers must state them in terms of what can be observed, that is, in terms of hypotheses.

THEORETICAL CONSTRUCTS:	Frustration Aggression
THEORETICAL PROPOSITION:	Frustration leads to aggression.
OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS:	
Frustration	Losing a dollar in a soda machine. Failing an exam. Losing one's job.
Aggression	Kicking the soda machine. Rating the instructor as "poor." Beating one's spouse.

HYPOTHESES:

1. Subjects who lose a dollar in a soda machine (which is rigged by the experimenter) will kick the soda machine more often than a control group, which does not lose money.
2. Students who are told that they have failed an exam will rate their instructor lower than students who are told they have passed the exam
3. When unemployment rises, the number of reported spouse beatings will increase.

behavior, and other well-specified ways of making observations.

The theory must predict relationships among these measurements so clearly, in the form of hypotheses, that observations can be made to support or refute the prediction. If we specify what evidence would support a theory and what evidence would refute, or "falsify," it, we can use science to evaluate the theory. Philosopher of science Karl Popper (1962) elaborated on this criterion, and he criticized Freud's theory as "pseudoscience" because it did not meet this criterion; however, his criticism is not without its own critics (Grünbaum, 2008). **Disconfirmation** is particularly important for advancing science. It is always possible to find supportive evidence for a vaguely formulated theory. The criterion of verifiability requires that we also identify evidence that would refute the theory.

Comprehensiveness—Other things being equal, a good theory is characterized by **comprehensiveness**. That is, it explains a broad range of behavior. Most traditional personality theories are broad, comprehensive theories dealing with many phenomena: developmental processes in childhood, adaptation or mental health, self-image, social interactions with other people, biological influences, and so forth. In practice, however, if a theory attempts to explain too much, its concepts tend to become fuzzy and ill-defined so the theory cannot be tested adequately. Although comprehensiveness is a desirable characteristic in a theory, it is less important than empirical verifiability.

Applied value—A theory that has **applied value**, offering practical strategies for improving human life, has an edge over theories that are simply intellectually satisfying. For example, personality theories may suggest therapeutic interventions, guide child care, help select the best employees for a particular job, or even predict what will happen in politics, based on the leader's personality (Immelman, 1993). As in many fields, personality psychology has both basic and applied interests that are not always integrated. **Applied research** is conducted to solve practical problems. **Basic research** is conducted for the purpose of advancing theory and scientific knowledge.

Parsimony and heuristic value—Besides the three important criteria of verifiability, comprehensiveness, and applied value, theories that are parsimonious and have heuristic value are preferred. A parsimonious theory is one that does not propose an excessive number of narrow constructs or propositions if a smaller number of broad constructs could explain the phenomena under consideration.

To do so makes the theory unnecessarily complicated. However, humans are complex creatures, so a theory with too few constructs or propositions may be too simplistic to permit detailed prediction.

The ability of a theory to suggest new ideas for further theory and research is called its *heuristic value* or fertility (Howard, 1985). Scientific understanding is not static. Scientists build on the work of earlier scientists, moving toward an improved understanding. Just as artists replace rough sketches with more elaborate drawings, theories are replaced by their more polished successors.

1.5.3: Eclecticism and the Future of Personality Theory

Most personality psychologists prefer an **eclectic** approach, one that combines insights from many different theories. In the language of Thomas Kuhn (1970), no single **paradigm** serves as a theoretical model accepted by the entire field of personality. There are, instead, competing perspectives, including psychoanalysis, learning theory, trait approaches, and humanistic psychology.

Why Do Theories Coexist?

Some attempts have been made to integrate theories. For the most part, though, theories simply coexist, each developing its own theoretical and research literature. Why?

Larger divisions in psychology—First, some of this fragmentation is related to larger divisions in psychology between what have traditionally been called the "two disciplines" (Cronbach, 1957, 1975) or "two cultures" (Kimble, 1984) of psychology. One side, which Kimble labels the scientific culture, emphasizes experimentation and studies groups of people (the nomothetic approach), often with respect to narrower aspects of personality. The other side, the humanistic culture, is more interested in individuals (the idiographic approach), especially the whole person, and is willing to compromise experimental rigor and to trust intuitive understanding. The conflict between these two cultures is illustrated by Lilienfeld's (2010) indictment of trust in intuition as one factor impeding the development of psychology as a science. Gregory Kimble (1984) undoubtedly spoke for many psychologists when he expressed pessimism about the chances for achieving an integration of the two orientations (see table).

As personality theories have been proposed throughout time, some of them are more strongly influenced by the natural sciences, and others are more strongly influenced by the humanities. Notice that the nomothetic and idiographic approaches discussed earlier in this chapter are emphasized differently by these two cultures.

	Scientific Culture	Humanistic Culture
Research Setting	Laboratory	Field study and case study
Generality of Laws	Nomothetic	Idiographic
Level of Analysis	Elementism	Holism
Scholarly Values	Scientific	Humanistic
Source of Knowledge	Observation	Intuition

SOURCE: Kimble, G. A. (1984). Psychology's two cultures. *American Psychologist*, *39*, 833–839. Copyright 1984 by the American Psychological Association. Adapted by permission.

Different areas of usefulness—Second, theories may have different areas of usefulness. For example, one theory may be useful for understanding people's subjective experiences of life, another for predicting how people will behave in given situations. Some theories may help us understand the mentally ill or individuals distraught from overwhelming stress; other theories may be more useful in understanding the creative heights of those who have become highly developed. Theories developed in a middle-class North American or European context may not necessarily be valid in African or Asian cultures, nor help understand people who struggle to simply survive.

Besides the different areas of application, theories specialize in different influences on personality. Some focus on early experience, others on the impact of thought, others on biological influences, and so on. Because diverse psychological processes influence individual personality, and because influences range from the biological to the social, the field of personality may always be more comprehensive than any single theory can encompass.

1.5.4: Relationship Between Theory and Research

Research and theory building in personality ideally go hand in hand. At the level of theory, constructs and theoretical propositions are proposed. By a process of deductive reasoning, hypotheses are derived and, through research, tested.

Theory leads to research. The converse is also true: Research leads to theory (Gigerenzer, 1991). Unexplained observations lead scientists to think inductively. They then suggest new or revised theoretical constructs and propositions. Theory without adequate research becomes stagnant. Research without adequate theory can wander aimlessly.

Scientific development of theories must advance against the complication that people are, in their everyday lives, informal personality theorists. Everyday unscientific beliefs about personality are sometimes called **implicit theories of personality**. We assume that certain phenomena that we have seen are accompanied by other personality characteristics. Attractive people, for example, are often

assumed to be warm and trustworthy. Many undergraduates base sexual decisions on implicit personality theories, believing they can assess HIV status by appearance and other irrelevant factors (Williams et al., 1992).

Implicit personality theories are not necessarily incorrect. Physical attractiveness and interpersonal traits such as extraversion and agreeableness, for example, are correlated (Meier, Robinson, Carter, & Hinsz, 2010). Some researchers believe they often correspond to the formal theories that have been derived from extensive research (Sneed, McCrae, & Funder, 1998). There is no guarantee of their accuracy, though. Well-planned research studies are necessary to test, and sometimes to correct, errors emanating from implicit theories.

JOURNAL

Reflecting on the Scientific Study of Personality

The scientific method commands a great deal of respect as a way of learning the truth about the natural world. Applying it to personality is very appealing to many psychologists, while others feel it is a bit of a stretch, and that more attention should be given to the humanities—to literature, for example. Think about this dilemma and describe, from your point of view, both some advantages and some shortcomings to viewing personality from the viewpoint of science.

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

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1.6: Methods in Personality Research

OBJECTIVE: Summarize research methods used by personality theory researchers

Throughout its history, personality research has used a variety of research methods: personality scales and questionnaires, projective techniques, observer judgments, and laboratory methods. In addition, biographical analyses and case studies permit investigations of individuals, and various biological measures, such as genetic analysis, attest to the increasing attention to biological aspects of personality.

1.6.1: Personality Measurement

Measurement of personality involves operationally defining theoretical constructs by specifying how they will be assessed. The most common type of measurement is the self-report personality test, which asks many questions, often in multiple-choice format, under a standard set of instructions. It is not difficult to write personality test items; you have probably seen so-called pop psychology personality tests on the Internet. However, establishing their value is more difficult. What constitutes sound measurement?

RELIABILITY To be useful, measures must be consistent. A tape measure that stretches so that what was 45 inches the first time and becomes 47 inches the second time a rug is measured would be undependable. A scale that registers 156 pounds and then, a half a minute later, 150 pounds is unreliable and of little value in determining whether a diet is working. Similarly, personality measurement must be reliable, or it is of little value in testing hypotheses and advancing the understanding of personality.

Types of Reliability

Measurement should yield consistent scores from one time to another. Such **reliability** is determined in several ways, which we will explore here.

Test-retest—*Test-retest reliability* is determined by testing the same subjects on two occasions and calculating the extent to which the two scores agree. Do the same people who score high on the first occasion also score high the second time? They will if the test is reliable. Could it be, though, that they simply remember how they answered the first time (even if they were guessing), which is why the scores do not change?

Alternate forms—The method of *alternate forms reliability* gets around this problem by giving different versions of the questionnaire on each occasion.

Split-half—What if subjects are tested only once? In this case, researchers can estimate reliability by calculating subscores based on two halves of the questionnaire. Generally, all the odd-numbered items are added together for one score and all the even-numbered items for the other score. The correlation between these two subscores is called *split-half reliability*.

Problems of unreliability can result from several factors. Short tests are generally less reliable than longer tests. Tests combining unrelated items are less reliable than those composed of closely correlated items, or *homogeneous* items. Other factors that reduce reliability are ambiguously worded test items and uncontrolled factors in the test-taking situation that influence responses. In addition, real change can occur between the two times that the psychological characteristic is measured, although in this last case it would be better to speak of personality change rather than unreliability of measurement.

VALIDITY Reliability is important, but it is not enough. We also demand that the test actually measures what it says it is measuring. Consider these scenarios: Someone could claim to assess your intelligence by measuring the circumference of

your head, or your morality by examining your skull for bumps in particular locations, as phrenologists once did. Undoubtedly, except in very unusual cases, these would be quite reliable measures. Yet we would not accept them. Such measures might be reliable, but they are not valid.

Types of Validity

Validity is essential for accurate measures. There's more than one way to conceptualize whether or not a personality test is valid. Ideally, we want tests to predict other observations, and to truly measure what is described in a theory.

***Test validity*—Test validity** is present if a test really measures what it claims to measure. Whereas reliability can be assessed straightforwardly, determining validity is more challenging. *Predictive validity* is established if a test predicts a behavior that the researcher accepts as a criterion for the construct being measured (e.g., if a test of assertiveness predicts the number of times a person initiates conversations). In the known groups method, a test is given to different groups of people who are known to differ in what the test measures. For example, a test of mental well-being should produce higher scores among college students than among psychiatric patients (Hattie & Cooksey, 1984). Employers use a variety of tests when they are deciding which job applicant to hire, and researchers have studied these tests to determine which have the best validity as predictors of effective employee selection. They have found that tests do improve selection over simply using employment interviews (Schmidt & Hunter, 1998). However, test validity can be reduced by several factors, including respondents' intentional distortion of responses (Furnham, 1990), their misunderstanding of test items, and their lack of knowledge or insight about the material being asked.

***Construct validity*—**Predictive validity focuses primarily on the validity of a particular test. What about the validity of the theoretical construct: **construct validity**? This question goes beyond measurement. If a theoretical construct is valid, it will be possible to define it operationally in a variety of ways, and we would expect these various measures to be correlated. Furthermore, the relationships of the construct with other variables, which are predicted by theory, should be similar regardless which particular measure is used. Consider this imaginary example: If a researcher finds that a new form of therapy reduces patients' anxiety when measured by a self-report but increases their anxiety when a behavioral observation is used instead, we would doubt the construct validity of anxiety. Perhaps one or both of the measures is defective. Perhaps anxiety is not the one unified combination of behavior and experience that we thought. Until compelling evidence indicates that two measures are comparable, it is best to limit our claims of validity to each measure separately, or, to use Jerome Kagan's apt phrase, "validity is local" (1990, p. 294). However, if several research studies using a variety of measures present converging lines of evidence for the usefulness of a theoretical construct—for example, if many studies using various measurement methods find that the new therapy reduces anxiety—we can make the important and bold claim that construct validity (of anxiety) has been established (Cronbach & Meehl, 1955).

Personality tests are very popular in the world of our everyday lives, and not only in psychological clinics and research. But are they to be taken seriously? As it turns out, it all depends.

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Reflecting on Personality Assessments

Describe one or more personality assessments you have taken—for example, questionnaires online or in a magazine, personality tests for a job application or career guidance, and so on. Did you find them useful? Why or why not?

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

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MEASUREMENT TECHNIQUES Capturing personality as numbers that are reliable and valid measures is challenging. A variety of techniques have been used, and the choice among them depends at least in part on the assumptions about what constitutes personality. If we believe that people have insight into their own personality, we can ask them questions, either on written measures or perhaps in interviews. If we doubt people's awareness of their own personality, we need more indirect measures. Assuming that personality influences behavior, we can directly measure behavior.

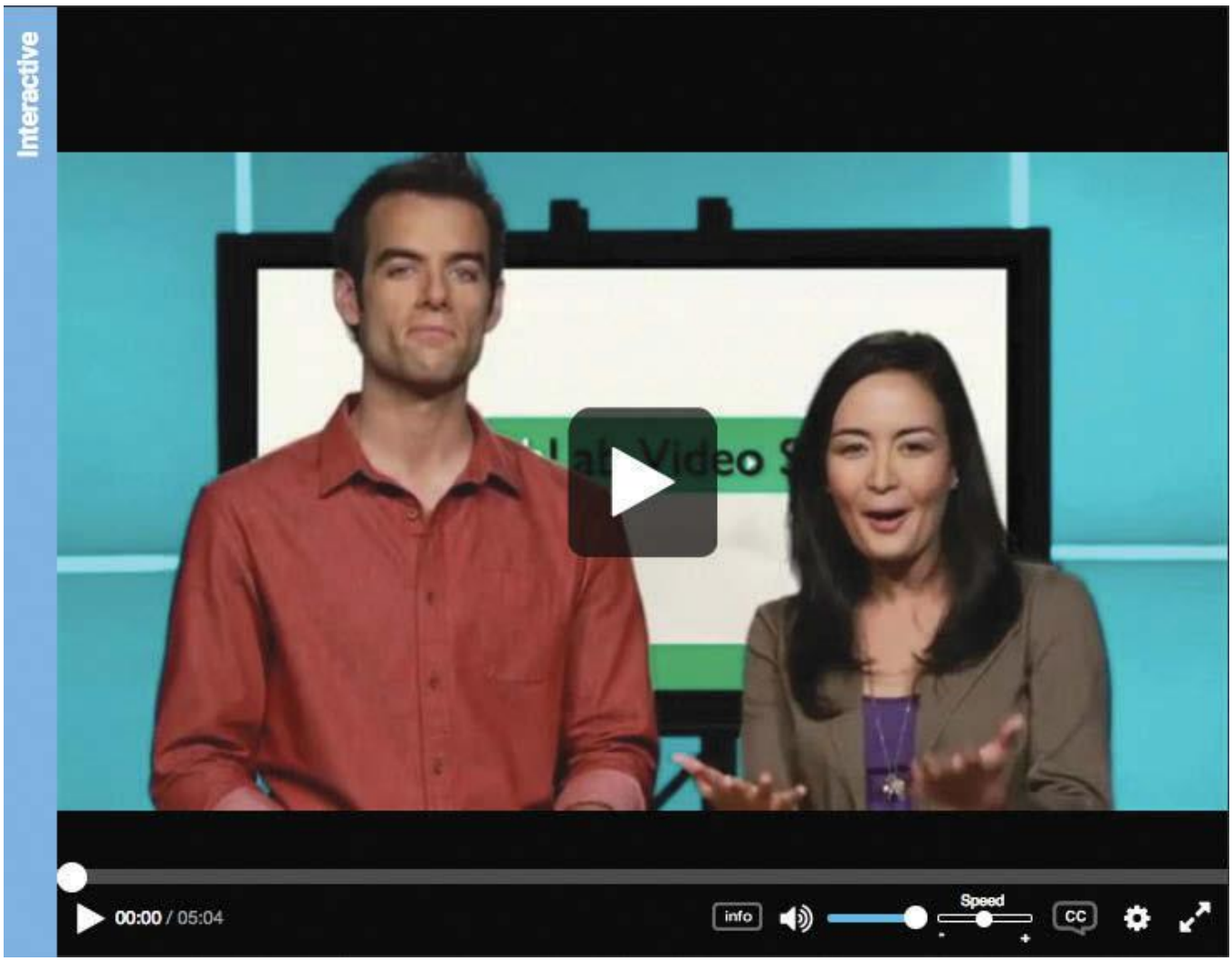
Types of Measurement Techniques

Various measurement techniques have been used in personality research. Usually, subjects are asked to provide some sorts of verbal statements that are analyzed.

Direct self-report measures*—Direct self-report measures* ask people to respond to specific questions, generally in multiple-choice format. They may be either questionnaires (that measure one trait or construct) or inventories (that measure several traits or constructs, e.g., the California Personality Inventory and the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory). Self-report measures are easy to administer and often reliable, but they have disadvantages. Subjects may not have enough self-knowledge to provide accurate information. They may intentionally give false responses, or they may be influenced by response sets, such as the tendency to agree with items regardless of content.

Watch IN THE REAL WORLD: PUTTING POPULAR PERSONALITY ASSESSMENTS TO THE TEST

Not all tests are created equal! Tests with established reliability and validity have value, but without evidence of reliability and validity, may have no value except as entertainment.



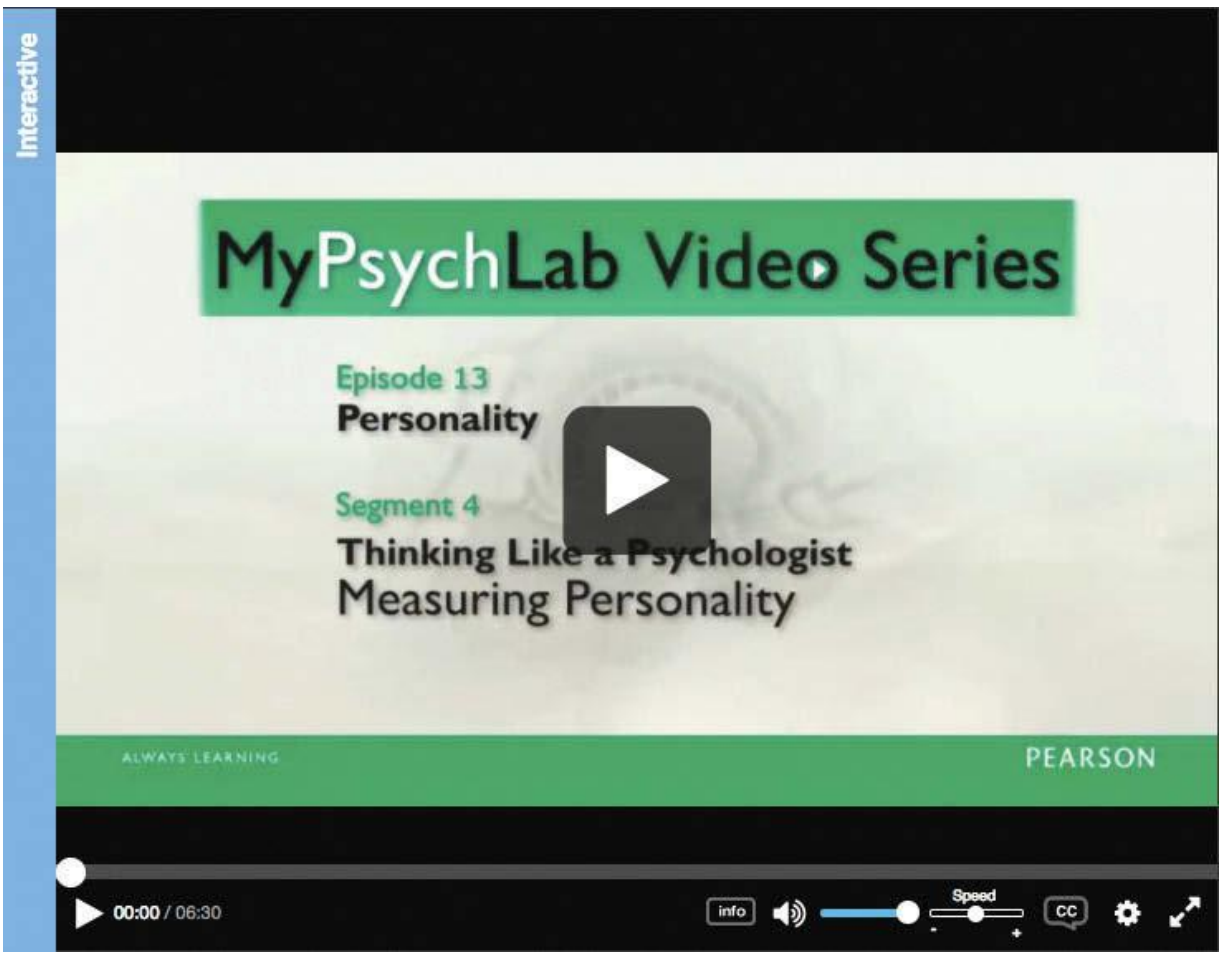
Indirect measures—Alternatively, personality can be assessed through *indirect measures*. When people talk or write without having to pick a multiple-choice answer, many of the sources of distortion are reduced. Open-ended questions (e.g., "Tell me about your experiences at college") or other materials (journals, diaries, letters, etc.) can provide data for researchers to interpret (C. P. E. Smith, 1992). Projective tests present subjects with ambiguous stimuli (such as pictures or inkblots) to which they respond. The indirect approach can avoid some of the shortcomings of verbal reports. (What sort of imaginative story would you make up about an inkblot to look well adjusted, for example? It's hard to say!) The indirect approach may reveal material of which the person is unaware, and thus it avoids intentional deception and the limitations of conscious experience.

Behavioral measures—*Behavioral measures* are sometimes included in personality research. This type of measurement helps develop an understanding of personality in its real-world context. Observers may watch people in real life or in a laboratory, or subjects can be asked to provide information about their real-life experiences. We have to keep in mind, though, that such self-reports may not always be accurate reports of experience because of forgetting, inattention, distortion, or a variety of other reasons.

Objective measures—*Objective measures* sometimes play a role in personality research, though not generally for the measurement of personality itself. Consider the research finding that a person's anxiety level is correlated with self-reported allergies. Objective allergy tests, such as analysis of serum immunoglobulin E (IgE), find no relationship with anxiety. It seems that the self-reports were not accurate (Gregory et al., 2009).

Watch THINKING LIKE A PSYCHOLOGIST: MEASURING PERSONALITY

It isn't only psychologists who are interested in personality. Everyday people, too, talk about personality and often take personality tests that they see online, or in magazines, in an attempt to understand themselves. Many of these popular measurements, though, are simply junk science, without any demonstrated validity.



Test scores are important data in personality research, but they can be misleading. Any test score may be inaccurate for a variety of reasons. Tests that are valid for adults may not be valid for children; tests that are valid for majority cultures may be biased when applied to minorities. Because the sources of error vary from one test to another, convergence across a variety of types of measures is more convincing than single method research.

1.6.2: Correlational Studies

Correlational research, which measures two or more variables to study how they are related, is common in studies of personality. Sometimes two measures are used to operationally define a single theoretical construct; in such a case, these measures should obviously be correlated. At other times, two different theoretical constructs are predicted to be correlated because theoretical propositions describe one as causing the other (e.g., "Frustration causes aggression").

What can we conclude based on this correlational research? Not much! The point is that correlational research

Example: Number of Hours of Television Watched and Children's Aggressiveness—Part 1

Causes and effects should be correlated; but there is no guarantee that when two variables are correlated, one is the cause and the other is the effect. Correlational research cannot provide strong proof of causation. Two observations can be correlated because one causes another, or because both are caused by a third variable.

A causes B	Watching television (A) causes an increase in the children's aggressive behavior (B).
B causes A	Aggressive behavior (B) by children causes their friends to avoid them after school, and, having no one to play with, they watch television (A) instead.
C causes both A and B	Third, it is possible that another variable, C, causes both A and B, leading to their correlation without either causing the other. What might such a third variable be? Perhaps having neglectful parents (C) causes children to watch more television (A) because they are not encouraged in other activities that would place more demands on their parents. Having neglectful parents (C) also means that they are not taught more mature social skills, and lacking such skills, they behave immaturely and aggressively (B).

is always ambiguous about the causes underlying the associations observed. From such a study, it is not clear that aggressiveness could be reduced by limiting television, by increasing parental attention, or by changing any of the other potential causes that could account for the relationship. Causal ambiguities can be resolved through another research strategy: experimentation.

1.6.3: Experimentation

In **true experimental research**, hypothesized cause–effect relationships are put to a direct test. An **independent variable**, which the researcher suspects is the cause, is manipulated by the researcher. An **experimental group** is exposed to the independent variable. A **control group** is not exposed to the independent variable. Everything else about the two groups is kept equal: their characteristics that they bring into the study, and the way they are treated during the research. The groups are formed by random assignment to make everything equal that they bring to the study, and care is taken to be sure that there are not extraneous uncontrolled variables that occur during the research, such as different expectancies based on knowing which group is expected to change. After the manipulation of the independent variable, the two groups are then compared to see whether they have different scores on the **dependent variable**, which is the hypothesized effect.

Example: Number of Hours of Television Watched and Children's Aggressiveness—Part 2

An experiment could be conducted for the preceding example to test whether watching a lot of television causes an increase in aggressive behavior. An experimental group would be assigned to watch a great deal of television. A control group would watch little television. Then their aggressive behavior on the playground would be observed.

At the conclusion of the experiment, the group that watched more television (the *experimental group*) is observed to behave more aggressively than the group that did not watch more television (the *control group*).

We can conclude that watching more television *causes* the children to behave more aggressively. There is no other possibility, because the experimental procedure of randomly assigning the children to either the experimental or the control group ensures that the groups are similar in all ways except the one that is manipulated by the researcher, namely, the amount of television watched.

At the conclusion of the experiment, the group that watched more television (the *experimental group*) and the group that did not watch more television (the *control group*) had similar levels of aggressive behavior.

Watching more television does not cause the children in the experimental group to behave more aggressively, since their level of aggressive behavior was no higher than the control group.

An experimental study, unlike a correlational study, allows us to draw cause–effect conclusions. If watching television (the independent variable) is the cause, there will be differences between the two groups in their level of aggression (the dependent variable). If, however, some other **variable** is the cause of aggressive behavior, the two groups will not differ in aggression, since all other variables were made equivalent between the groups by random assignment.

Logically, it is easier to imagine situations as independent variables in an experiment than personality. It is fairly easy to manipulate television viewing. In contrast, how could we manipulate aggressiveness, a personality trait, if we believe the trait of aggressiveness is the cause of aggressive behavior? Most often, this is not possible because research participants bring their personalities to the research, and all the researcher can do is measure them. Indeed, fewer personality studies use experimental methods (Revelle & Oehlberg, 2008). One strategy, however, is to change personality for an experimental group through some kind of situational manipulation or therapy program. Mischel (1985) and Bandura (1986) have conducted experimental research in which situations or training interventions are manipulated to change aspects of personality and then effects on behavior are observed. Similarly, a program of research by McClelland and Winter (1969) changed businessmen's trait of "need for achievement" through a training program and found that this change brought about changes in their business activities. Experimental techniques have occasionally been used by psychoanalytically oriented researchers who have experimentally aroused unconscious material to investigate psychodynamics (e.g., Shulman & Ferguson, 1988; Silverman, 1976, 1983). Nonetheless, experimental research in personality is conducted less often than correlational research, in which personality is measured rather than manipulated.

Constructs derived from experimental research are not necessarily interchangeable with those derived from correlational research (Brogden, 1972; West, 1986). For example, a generally anxious person (with a trait of anxiety) may not be comparable to a generally calm person who is temporarily anxious because of a crisis (with a temporary state of anxiety). We may find that anxiety doesn't show the same associations with other observations when it is measured as a person's chronic trait, as it does when it is manipulated as a temporary experimental condition. We need to be mindful of this when drawing conclusions from research.

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Reflecting on Cause–Effect Relationships in Research

As we have seen, experimental research permits us to draw cause–effect conclusions, while correlational research leaves causality ambiguous (though it does allow us to predict one variable from another). Given these considerations, what kinds of information can potentially be learned from research on the relationship between television viewing and aggression? How might such conclusions (assuming they are confirmed by appropriate research) be put to practical use?

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

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1.6.4: Studying Individuals: Case Studies and Psychobiography

When researchers study individuals instead of groups, they often describe their observations in ways that remind us of people telling their life stories. These narratives are often rich in detail and imagery, and they can convey emotional insights in ways that more statistical data cannot. A **case study** is an intensive investigation of a single individual. For example, a clinician may describe an individual client (Gedo, 1999), or an educational psychologist may describe an individual child. When the focus is on theoretical considerations, case studies are called **psychobiography**. In psychobiography, the researcher often works from archival data, such as letters, books, and interviews, rather than directly interacting with the person being described.

The analysis of individuals is occasionally prompted by practical, even political, considerations. For example, in 1943 U.S. government officials requested a psychological analysis of Adolf Hitler (Runyan, 1982), an analysis that was later published (Langer, 1972). In the early 1960s, a similar request was made for an analysis of the Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev (Mack, 1971). When a person has died and suicide is suspected, a "psychological autopsy" may be carried out to help determine whether the case was a suicide, and if so, why it occurred (Brent, 1989; Kewman & Tate, 1998; Otto, Poythress, Starr, & Darkes, 1993).

Studies of individuals using nonexperimental methods lack both the statistical advantages of large correlational studies and the advantages stemming from control of independent variables in the experimental method. Without these controls, alternate interpretations of the same material are possible (Runyan, 1981), making definitive analyses elusive. Despite the difficulties, case studies are invaluable if we are to be sure that our theoretical concepts do indeed help us understand individual personality dynamics.

William McKinley Runyan (1982) defines psychobiography as "the explicit use of formal or systematic psychology in biography" (p. 233). Much psychobiography in the past has been based on psychoanalytic theory. The founder of psychoanalysis, Sigmund Freud (1910/1957), wrote the first psychobiography: a study of Leonardo da Vinci. Ironically, Freud did not follow the standards of sound psychobiography that he set out in the same work (Elms, 1988). Psychoanalysis warns that subjective factors (transference) can be a source of error in psychobiography (Schepeler, 1990). Psychoanalytic theory has been the predominant theory guiding psychobiographical analyses ever since Freud's initial effort (e.g., Baron & Pletsch, 1985; Ciardiello, 1985; Erikson, 1958; Freud & Bullitt, 1966). It has shortcomings, however. For one thing, evidence about childhood experience, which is important in psychoanalytic formulations, is often poor (Runyan, 1982). The theory often leads to overemphasizing a particular period, the "critical period fallacy," or specific life events, "eventism" (Mack, 1971). Also, psychoanalytic theory does not call attention to historical and cultural factors that influence personality (Stone, 1981).

Other theories have also guided psychobiography. For example, Raymond Cattell's theory has been used to analyze Martin Luther and other Reformation leaders (Wright, 1985), and Henry Murray's theory has been applied to a psychobiographical study of Richard Nixon (Winter & Carlson, 1988). Researchers have developed systematic ways to analyze existing materials, such as personal documents, diaries, letters, and dream records (Alexander, 1988, 1990; Carlson, 1981, 1988; Gruber, 1989; McAdams, 1990; Ochberg, 1988; Stewart, Franz, & Layton, 1988). Computer methods for analyzing verbal materials exist, but human judges are still essential in these narrative approaches, making such research extremely labor intensive.

There are many considerations about personality theory and its testing through research. To be sure, it would be easy to get lost in theoretical and methodological debates, but the subject matter of our discipline always brings us back to people. Past and current personality theories and research both help and hinder progress toward better understanding of people. They help to the extent that they provide useful and heuristic concepts and findings. They hinder to the extent that theoretical preconceptions and interesting research findings, like implicit personality theories, may blind us to new directions. How can we remove such blinders? One suggestion, to borrow advice from the British statesman Benjamin Disraeli, is to

> Read … biography, for that is life without theory.
>
> —Benjamin Disraeli (*Contarini Fleming*, pt. i, chap. 23)

Summary: Introduction to Personality Theory

1.1 Outline the fundamental questions considered in the theories of personality

- Personality theories consider three fundamental questions: How do we describe personality? How do we explain personality dynamics? How do we understand personality development?

1.2 Characterize the ways researchers describe personality

- Personality is defined as the underlying causes within the person of individual behavior and experience.
- Three areas are addressed by personality theory: description, dynamics, and development.

- Personality can be described in terms of broad types or more numerous, and narrower, traits.
- Using statistical techniques, traits can be combined into personality factors.
- The nomothetic approach describes personality by making comparisons among people.
- Studies of single individuals use the idiographic approach.

1.3 Describe the motivations that drive personality dynamics

- Personality dynamics refers to the motivational aspect of personality. Some theorists emphasize common motivations, which influence all people, whereas others focus on individual differences.
- Personality dynamics permit adaptation to the world and may be studied in terms of adjustment or mental health.
- Cognitive processes, both conscious and unconscious, affect personality dynamics.
- Cultural differences affect personality dynamics, for example by emphasizing individualism or collectivism.

1.4 Identify the factors that influence personality development

- Personality development in childhood and adulthood is also described by the various theories, recognizing biological and social influences on development.

1.5 Explain the influence of the scientific approach on personality theory research

- The scientific approach assumes determinism and makes systematic observations to test and revise theories.
- Theoretical constructs and propositions are made testable through operational definitions and hypotheses.
- Theories are evaluated according to the criteria of verifiability, comprehensiveness, and applied value.
- Theory and research mutually influence one another.
- Personality psychologists use many paradigms for understanding personality. Many adopt an eclectic approach, whereas others seek to integrate competing theories.
- People have informal implicit theories of personality with which they try to understand others.

1.6 Summarize research methods used by personality theory researchers

- Personality measurement, which should be reliable and valid, uses various techniques, including self-report measures, projective measures, measures of life experiences, and behavioral measures.
- Research techniques include correlational research, in which associations are examined among various measures, and experimental research, in which cause–effect relationships are tested by manipulating an independent variable to examine its effect on a dependent variable.
- Two methods, case studies and psychobiography, study one individual intensively. Psychobiography, in which theory is systematically used to understand one individual, can offer suggestions for theory development.

SHARED WRITING

The Scientific Method

How important do you think it is for personality theory to be evaluated according to scientific criteria? Is the scientific method too limiting? Respond to two classmates' postings, including at least one who has expressed an opinion that differs from your own.

A minimum number of characters is required to post and earn points. After posting, your response can be viewed by your class and instructor, and you can participate in the class discussion.

Post

0 characters | 140 minimum

SHARED WRITING

Implicit Personality Theories

What implicit ideas about personality, besides those mentioned in the text, might produce bias when we think about personality? Respond to two classmates' postings, saying more than simply an agreement or disagreement.

A minimum number of characters is required to post and earn points. After posting, your response can be viewed by your class and instructor, and you can participate in the class discussion.

Post

0 characters | 140 minimum

Chapter 2
Freud's Classical Psychoanalysis

Learning Objectives

2.1 Identify the contributions Freud's theory made to understanding behavior

2.2 Explain how conscious and unconscious factors determine behavior

2.3 Differentiate Freud's structures of personality

2.4 Identify the strategies for dealing with intrapsychic personality conflict

2.5 Describe the stages of personality development proposed by Freud

2.6 Contrast psychoanalytic treatment and psychoanalysis as a scientific theory

The psychoanalytic perspective on personality is one of the most widely known outside of psychology, and it has influenced art and literature, film, and popular culture. Within psychology, it has steadfast adherents and forceful critics. The central idea of the psychoanalytic perspective is the unconscious. Simply put, this concept says that people are not aware of the most important determinants of their behavior. For Sigmund Freud, the founder of the psychoanalytic perspective, this unconscious consists of sexual and aggressive impulses that are largely unacceptable to society and to a person's consciousness. Early experience to deal with these unconscious forces is fundamental to the shaping of personality.

Freud's Theory and Adolf Hitler

Many biographers, often using psychoanalytic theory, have attempted to understand Hitler. One of these analyses, commissioned by the U.S. government during the war in an attempt to learn how to overthrow Hitler, remained secret for decades (Murray, 1943). Let us examine how Freud's theory helps us understand Hitler's personality.

Development—For Freud, childhood experience shapes personality. The conditions of physical drive satisfaction in early life determine character structure. A strong ego, capable of umpiring the forces of the unconscious, must develop gradually, protected from psychic trauma and supported by nurturant and guiding parents in areas it cannot yet master. From a Freudian perspective, the parents are credited or (more often) blamed for the child's personality. Three important stages before the age of 5 shape personality. If a child's needs are met in these early years, and if there is not traumatic experience, then healthy development occurs. The third of these stages occurs from about age 3 to 5, a critical time for the development of masculinity (in boys) and a sense of morality (superego).

Hitler's abusive father and overprotective mother failed to nurture healthy development. His mother's overprotectiveness, in part a result of the death of her other children, contributed to what Freud termed "oral fixation," an exaggerated need for oral pleasure, evidenced by Hitler's cravings for sweets, his vegetarianism, his habit of sucking his fingers, and even his energy for public speaking, which is also an oral expression—in his case, primitive and tantrum-like, providing more evidence of its childhood basis. His father was a strict disciplinarian who frequently beat his son. When Hitler was 3 years old, he thought he saw his drunk father rape his mother, a traumatic incident because of the physical aggression and a premature exposure to adult sexuality. Hitler feared and hated his father and lacked the positive role model essential for normal development of a secure masculine identity and a moral sense (superego). Besides the abuse, Hitler's father lived apart from the family for a year when Adolf was 5, further depriving him of a male role model. Murray (1943) concluded that Hitler's love for his mother and hatred for his father constituted a Freudian "Oedipus complex."

Illustrative Biography: Adolf Hitler

Watch ADOLF HITLER

Adolf Hitler was probably the most infamous tyrant of the 20th century, perhaps of all time. This charismatic dictator was responsible for the deaths of millions of Jews and others in the extermination camps of Nazi Germany during World War II. Although he died in 1945, he remains as an image of authoritarian inhumanity in our memories.

Description—Freud's theory describes people in terms of their failed or successful development through the psychosexual stages. Thus we speak of "oral characters" and "anal characters" and "phallic characters" (as explained in this chapter). Additional psychiatric labels can be applied to the seriously disturbed.

Hitler's personality is so disturbed that, although he does evidence problems at all of the first three psychosexual developmental stages, he warrants a more serious label. Psychiatrist Henry Murray (1943) described him as having all the symptoms of paranoid schizophrenia, an assessment shared by several historians (Coolidge, Davis, & Segal, 2007) who completed a diagnostic inventory based on the American Psychiatric Association's *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (*DSM*). In terms of the *DSM-IV-TR* (4th ed., text rev.; American Psychiatric Association, 2000) criteria, he can be described in terms of the paranoid, antisocial, narcissistic, and sadistic personality disorders with some elements of schizophrenia (Coolidge et al., 2007). Thus to describe Hitler is, given his severe psychopathology, to diagnose him.

Adjustment—For Freud, the ego is the source of mental health and the hope of civilization. A strong ego can control impulses (id) and follow the rules of morality without being overburdened by guilt (superego). Evidence of health comes from two main areas of life: the ability to love (including sexual expression) and to work.

As is obvious from the diagnostic labels used to describe him, Hitler did not have a healthy balance between impulses (id) and conscience (superego). His ego wasn't strong enough to contain his destructive id impulses. According to the analysis that Henry Murray (1943) delivered to the American government, Hitler was periodically energized by impulsive outbursts from his id, whereas the superego, which in a healthy person would oppose such outbursts, was repressed. In terms of love, reports of his sexual encounters with women are replete with tales of perversity (Waite, 1977). According to Murray's (1943) report, before he came to power, several sexual incidents got Hitler into trouble and warranted a police record as a sexual pervert. His perversions were described as masochistic (self-punishing) and anal, but their exact nature remained a government secret.

Murray described Hitler as impotent. Hitler buoyed up his sense of self-worth by injecting himself with extracts from bull testicles and by projecting onto women his fear of sexuality. Even the Nazi salute, a stiff raised hand, has been described as a symbolic erect penis. Once Hitler boasted to a female visitor, "I can hold my arm like that for two solid hours. I never feel tired… . I never move. My arm is like granite—rigid and unbending… . That is four times as long as Goering… . I marvel at my own power" (Waite, 1977, p. 49). He was, symbolically, claiming sexual potency.

Cognition—If a person is healthy, then the world is perceived accurately. Mild disturbances may cause forgetfulness or wishful thinking, whereas serious pathology can leave a person in a fantasy world that has little resemblance to reality.

Hitler's unrealistic perception of the Jewish people is but one aspect of his distorted thought. He exhibited other delusions (false beliefs). Once, firmly believing the lottery ticket he had purchased would win, he responded to its failure to do so with a childish tantrum. Late in the war, he suffered delusions about the movements of fantasy troops. These false beliefs are typical of psychotics. It is possible, however, that some of his later symptoms were caused by drugs prescribed by his doctor, reportedly made more powerful through tampering by spies. Interestingly, Henry Murray (1943) credited Hitler with skillful use of metaphor in his speeches. Metaphor, like art, can convey the primitive, nonlogical thoughts of the unconscious.

Culture—In Freud's theory, society restricts the individual's impulses for satisfaction of primitive drives. Learning to cope with these restrictions, by building a healthy ego, is essential to healthy development.

Hitler, however, did not learn to cope with society but rather projected his own pathology onto the external world. For Hitler, Germany, his "Motherland," symbolized his own mother (Murray, 1943), and his efforts to purify and defend her were motivated by his childhood perceptions of his family. Murray interpreted Austria as symbolic of the father, so his military actions against that country were motivated by his hatred of his father. That he continued his delusional projections for so long without being institutionalized for mental illness is evidence that his projections resonated with the German people (Murray, 1943). Hitler echoed and amplified the anti-Semitic feelings of his era, and the Jewish people became projective targets for repressed characteristics. Some biographers have argued that Hitler's own grandfather was Jewish and denial of this ancestry intensified his persecution of the Jewish people. Loewenberg (1988) suggested that Hitler was aware "the real enemy lay within" (p. 143); perhaps Hitler's projection of evil onto Jews was not entirely unconscious but rather a political strategy. Anti-Semitism was not unique to Hitler; it contributed to his popularity as a charismatic leader. Indeed, whenever the citizenry of a country feel frustrated (as the German people did because of the oppressive political conditions imposed on Germany after World War I), they are likely to elevate a leader who gives expression to their unresolved conflicts.

Biology—Freud turned to biology as the source of human motivation, providing the energy that motivates behavior. Through development, this energy is transformed from its primitive urges (oral, anal, and phallic) to simply fulfill bodily functions, and it takes forms that are expressed in mature relationships and activities. In maladjusted people, impulses remain stuck in their primitive forms. The instinctual energy can be categorized as that which affirms life and love (eros) and that which propels toward aggression and death (thanatos).

The mass murders of the Holocaust give evidence of a greater measure of death instinct than life instinct. Hitler's difficulty with sexual love confirms this interpretation. His body was also inferior (a point that would be of even greater interest to one of Freud's followers, Alfred Adler). Hitler is famous for his single testicle, which, combined with a frail and effeminate body (Murray, 1943), accentuated his conflict over masculinity. In Freud's theory, the biological urges of an infant and toddler should be transformed into adult sexual expressions, but Hitler's masochistic anal sexual perversions are evidence that he was stuck with childish drives throughout adulthood, impotent and incapable of normal adult sexual behavior (according to Murray, 1943). His rhetoric about race and the importance of a pure Aryan gene pool stands in stark contrast to his own biological shortcomings.

Final thoughts—The topic of many psychobiographical books, Hitler's personality is so disturbed that it shocks us even in the next millennium. We may analyze him from the perspective of personality theory, but the magnification of his pathology on the pages of history requires an historical understanding.

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Developmental Stages as Ways of Describing Personality

In Freud's theory—and to some extent in other stage theories of development—there is a close relationship between the earlier development of personality and the description of the adult's personality (as well as its dynamics). What do you think? Is this connection between personality in childhood and adulthood warranted, or does it overemphasize the impact of childhood experience on personality, leaving too little room perhaps for genetic inheritance and for the impact of adulthood in changing personality?

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

Submit

2.1: Overview of Freud's Theory

OBJECTIVE: Identify the contributions Freud's theory made to understanding behavior

Probably no theory of personality is as widely known or as frequently criticized as that proposed by Sigmund Freud. Freud compared his theory to those of Copernicus, who claimed that humans do not live at the center of the universe, and of Darwin, who discredited the idea that humans are a separately created species. Humanity was further humbled by Freud's (1925/1958, p. 5) assertion that reason does not rule behavior. He proposed that unconscious psychological forces powerfully affect human thought and behavior. These forces originate in childhood and continue their influence throughout life. Freud portrayed humans as driven by instincts that "in themselves are neither good nor evil" (p. 213) but have both kinds of effects, not only fueling the positive achievements of culture but also leading to war, crime, mental illness, and other human woes. Psychoanalytic theory has transformed our understanding of sex and aggression and has led people in the post-Freudian era never to quite trust their conscious experience (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1 Preview of Freud's Theory

Freud's theory has implications for the major theoretical questions presented in the following table. From a scientific point of view, this theory suffers from vague operational definitions that make it difficult to verify. However, recent research has tested some psychoanalytic propositions, as studies described in this chapter illustrate. Although the theory is in some ways comprehensive, including artistic productions and other symbolism, it is limited because of its narrow focus on early life within the family, neglecting many environmental and social influences. Its applied value focuses particularly on psychotherapy and implications for child rearing.

Theoretical Issue	Freud's Approach
Individual Differences	People differ in their ego defense mechanisms, which control expression of primitive forces in personality.
Adaptation and Adjustment	Mental health involves the ability to love and to work. Psychoanalysis provides a method for overcoming unconscious psychological conflict.
Cognitive Processes	Conscious experience often cannot be trusted because of distortions produced by unconscious defense mechanisms.
Culture	All societies deal with universal human conflicts and lead to repression of individual desires. Traditional religion is challenged as a shared defense mechanism.
Biological Influences	Psychiatric symptoms are explained in psychodynamic terms, instead of in biological terms. Biological drives, in particular sexual motivation, provide the basis of personality. Hereditary differences may influence level of sexual drive (libido) and phenomena such as homosexuality.
Development	Experience in the first 5 years is critical for personality formation. The oral, anal, and phallic (Oedipal) psychosexual conflicts are central. Adult personality changes very little.

2.1.1: Biography of Sigmund Freud

It is often said that personality theories are influenced by the personal life of the theorist. This is certainly true in the case of the father of psychoanalysis, as Freud is often called.

The Life of Sigmund Freud

A major theme in Freud's life was ambition to replace authority figures: in childhood, competing with his father for his mother's love; and in adulthood, competing in his profession for respect and status.

Early life—Sigmund Freud was born in 1856 into a Jewish family in predominantly Catholic Freiberg, Moravia (now part of the Czech Republic). By the time he was 4 years old, his family moved to Vienna, which remained his home until near his death.

Freud was one of eight children, including two older half brothers by his father's first marriage. Sigmund was the oldest and by all accounts the favorite of his mother. She expected him to be great, gave him the only oil lamp in the house, and did not permit his sister to disturb him by practicing the piano when he was studying. His father was an authority figure within the family, but according to Erich Fromm's (1959) analysis, not a particularly strong one, and one whom young Freud wished to displace.

Career in psychology—Freud studied medicine at the University of Vienna, specializing in neurology. He intended to become an academician and had published five research studies by the age of 26. Realistically, though, academic medicine did not pay well, and discrimination against Jews made it unlikely that he would achieve a high position. Thus Freud turned to private practice as a clinical neurologist, and soon married his fiancée of 4 years, Martha Bernays. The union produced five children, including a daughter, Anna, who followed in her father's footsteps as a psychoanalyst, and who wrote the classic description of Freudian defense mechanisms (A. Freud, 1936/1966).

Contributions to psychology—In his practice, Freud saw a variety of psychiatric patients, including many diagnosed as suffering from hysteria, a psychological disorder that produces physical symptoms without physical damage to the body. He developed new ways of thinking about these disorders, formulating the theory of psychoanalysis. His explorations also turned to an understanding of his own symptoms; for example, he suffered from a fear of travel and especially of flying, interpreted by one commentator (Scherr, 2001) as evidence that Freud feared women and sexuality, despite his psychoanalytic sophistication. His reputation grew beyond Vienna. He was well received in the United States, especially after his lecture series in 1909 at Clark University in Massachusetts. His theory was controversial because of its emphasis on childhood sexuality. It was also criticized as a Jewish science, dealing with psychiatric disturbances then thought to affect Jews particularly.

Undoubtedly, the anti-Semitism of his society greatly influenced both Freud and his patients (Blum, 1994). The Nazis burned the works of Freud and other Jews in 1933, and they raided his house in Vienna frequently in the years prior to World War II. Freud's health was failing at this time; he had cancer of the mouth, aggravated by his addiction to cigars. He finally fled Vienna in 1938, at the age of 82, and went to London, where he died in 1939.

2.1.2: Freud's Theory in His Time, and Ours

Before we delve into the details of Freud's theory, which strikes many modern readers as far-fetched, let's try to understand the assumptions about science in his time that shaped and constrained his thinking. First, he was trained as a medical doctor, so the search for biological causes was fundamental to his approach to mental dysfunction. Second, the broader understanding of science in his day was quite limited by modern standards. Physicists had not yet formulated understanding of the relationship between matter and energy, so Newton's assumption that matter was stable unless energy was applied to it became a metaphor for Freud's assumption that the psyche needed some kind of energy (Freud would call it "libido") to explain its dynamics. Finally, although heredity was recognized, Darwinian ideas of evolution had not been developed. So Freud's efforts to develop a scientific understanding of the psyche were based upon what we now see as an outdated metaphor from physics, a primitive understanding of the nervous system, and blindness to the possibility that some of the phenomena that he explained in terms of individual experience, such as repression, might in fact be part of our DNA. As we explore Freud's theory, let us not be too quick to judge it by modern standards.

2.1.3: Evaluating Freud's Theory

How are we to evaluate Sigmund Freud's theory from the perspective of today's understandings in psychology? On the negative side, many of his specific proposals are difficult to test using established scientific methods, or do not seem consistent with observations. But researchers have persisted, and there are now many lines of experimental and neuroscience research that provide evidence for some of Freud's ideas.

In addition, Freud's ideas have captured the imagination of many and are reflected in movies and popular culture. The big picture that he portrays is of individuals struggling with unconscious impulses that are incompatible with the demands of civilization and of maturity (Freud, 1930/1961). This is, indeed, a story that triggers the imagination. And it can be retold, recast with the details of modern neuroscientific understanding. Many social behaviors that are rather complex are best understood by including the impact of evolutionary processes. Individuals do not respond blindly to these unconscious impulses, at least not all the time. But their conscious mind is not in control fully either. Rather, unconscious impulses are modified through consciousness (cf. Baumeister, Masicampo, & Vohs, 2011).

Freud's descriptions of psychic energy and instincts are out of favor today. Nonetheless, research supports the idea that processes that are not conscious do influence behavior, although this "nonconscious" is different from Freud's model of the unconscious, as will be described later in this chapter. Modern understanding describes information processing that takes an alternative pathway and that is not well connected to consciousness, in contrast to Freud's model, which confronts a roadblock (repression) on the pathway to consciousness. Yet closer to Freud's description of the unconscious, some researchers believe that suppression and repression can be understood as neural processes too (Berlin, 2011). Experts have varying opinions about whether brain processes correspond reasonably well to the unconscious processes that Freud described. Whichever way the question ultimately is resolved, there can be no doubt that Freud's ideas have profoundly influenced personality theorizing for many decades.

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Your Evaluation of Freud's Theory

Based on this preliminary overview of Freud's theory, and whatever you may have heard of his theory before this course, what would you say are some pros and cons of his theory? (Your opinion may change as you learn more, but since there has been so much controversy throughout the years, let's start by getting a handle on our thoughts at this point.)

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

Submit

2.2: The Unconscious

OBJECTIVE: Explain how conscious and unconscious factors determine behavior

When people are asked why they did something, they usually can answer without much difficulty. Freud suggested that our explanations are often wrong. The most important determinants of behavior are not available to our conscious thought.

2.2.1: Psychic Determinism

At first, Freud looked for physical causes of psychiatric disorders. As a neurologist, he knew that damage to the brain and neurons could cause individuals to behave in strange ways, including physical symptoms, such as loss of sensation (anesthesia) or loss of motion (paralysis), and emotional symptoms, such as anxiety and depression. For

some patients, though, physical causes could not be found. Forces outside of mainstream medicine were already preparing the way for another, psychodynamic approach (Ellenberger, 1970). Popular healers treated physical and psychological disorders by the laying on of hands and by "animal magnetism." In a Paris hospital where Freud studied for 4 months, he observed Jean-Martin Charcot induce psychiatric symptoms through hypnosis. Later, Josef Breuer discovered that a patient who recalled earlier memories while in a hypnotic trance was relieved of her symptoms. Breuer and Freud (1895/1955) published the case history of this woman, known as "Anna O.," to document the importance of catharsis in therapy.

These evidences of hypnosis converted Freud from the purely physical model of psychiatric disorder to "dynamic" (psychological) psychiatry (Ellenberger, 1970). Freud became convinced that unconscious forces have the power to influence behavior, an assumption called psychic determinism. At first, Freud (1895/1966b) tried to understand how psychic factors, such as traumatic events, produce physical changes in the nervous system, and then anxiety symptoms in later life. But these proposed physical changes could not be observed, so Freud turned to less direct investigative methods through the analysis of clinical material, an accepted approach within neurology, where nerve damage is often diagnosed on the basis of behavioral symptoms such as paralysis and pain. As his theory developed, Freud turned away from neurology, which rests on a physical model of human behavior, and founded a new science, based on mental causes (Sulloway, 1979). He named this new science **psychoanalysis**.

2.2.2: Levels of Consciousness

Perhaps Freud's most significant contribution was recognition of unconscious determinants of behavior. He used the term "unconscious" in a particular way, to refer to a dynamic or motivational force within personality. In his time, this was an idea that starkly contrasted with the image of a rational humanity, whose thoughts were the determinants of behavior.

The Iceberg Metaphor: Conscious, Preconscious, and Unconscious

Some of our thoughts are easily known, and it may seem that that is all there is to our minds. Freud disagreed. He postulated three levels of consciousness and compared the mind to an iceberg floating in the water. Like an iceberg, only a small part of the mind is readily seen: the **conscious** mind. Just at the water's surface, sometimes visible and sometimes submerged, is the **preconscious** mind. Finally, most of the mind is hidden, like the bulk of an iceberg that is underwater: the **unconscious** mind. Great dangers lurk in what is not seen.

The conscious—The conscious level refers to experiences of which a person is aware, including memories and intentional actions. Consciousness functions in realistic ways, according to the rules of space and time. We identify with it.

The preconscious—Some material that is not in awareness at a particular time can be brought to awareness readily; this material is called preconscious. It includes information that is not at the moment being thought about but can be easily remembered if needed—for example, your mother's middle name. The content of the preconscious is not fundamentally different from that of consciousness. Thoughts move readily from one to the other.

The unconscious—The third level of consciousness is different. Its contents do not readily move into consciousness. The unconscious refers to mental processes of which a person is not aware. Such material remains in the unconscious because making it conscious would produce too much anxiety. This material is repressed; that is, it resists becoming conscious.

The unconscious includes forgotten traumatic memories and denied wishes. A child who has been sexually abused, for example, often represses this memory, having amnesia for the terrifying event. This protects the victim from the anxiety that would come from remembering traumatic experiences. Desires also may cause anxiety and be repressed if we are ashamed of what we wish. For example, a child may wish that a younger sibling were dead, so there would be no competition for the love of the parents. The unconscious becomes, in effect, the garbage pile of what consciousness throws away. It is emotionally upsetting and less civilized than consciousness.

A comment is in order about wording: What is the difference between "unconscious" and "nonconscious"? In this text, we use the term "unconscious" to refer to the unconscious or, literally, "unknown" (*Unbewusst*) as Freud used it: a dynamic unconscious, that is, one with forces that produce symptoms and motivation. A broader term, referring to everything of which we are unaware, is "nonconscious." For example, we might say that people breathe and walk "nonconsciously" without implying any Freudian repression. Today, neuroscientists study many such nonconscious processes, while the term "unconscious" is used when we are referring to the dynamic processes that Freud and later psychoanalysts described.

2.2.3: Effects of Unconscious Motivation

Behavior is determined by a combination of conscious and unconscious forces. These may act together smoothly so a person's actions appear comprehensible and rational, as though consciousness alone determined behavior. Alternatively, unconscious forces may interfere with conscious intentions. This conflict produces irrational thoughts and behavior.

PHYSICAL SYMPTOMS Many of Freud's patients had physical symptoms for which no organic cause could be found. Influenced by his study of hypnosis under Charcot,

Freud argued that cases of **conversion hysteria** represent the impact of unconscious forces on the body to produce physical symptoms of paralysis, mutism, deafness, blindness, tics, or other maladies that resemble physical diseases but occur in physically normal, undamaged bodies (Breuer & Freud, 1895/1955). The diagnosis is less often made in the time since Freud (Jones, 1980), and its appearance is influenced by beliefs about disease, which vary across time and culture (Fabrega, 1990).

One particularly striking example of conversion hysteria is glove anesthesia, in which a patient has no sensation of touch or pain on the hand in the area a glove would cover. Sensation on the arm above the wrist is normal. No pattern of damaged neurons could produce this disorder because nerves that serve the hand also extend to the forearm. So why does it occur? Freud argued that glove anesthesia is produced by psychological forces. A patient thinks of the hand as a unit and the arm a separate unit. A person who is very anxious about what the hand might feel or do might develop a symptom of glove anesthesia.

HYPNOSIS Most people are familiar with the idea of hypnosis from movies or stage performances, in which a person comes under the "spell" of a hypnotist and experiences or behaves according to the hypnotist's commands. Some common beliefs about hypnosis are misleading; in fact, not everyone can be hypnotized, and even under hypnosis, people are able to reject the hypnotist's suggestions. But hypnosis can be used for therapeutic benefits, and it has been the topic of serious academic research (see "Hypnosis: Applications and Controversies").

DREAMS Freud praised dreams as "the royal road to the unconscious." In waking life, conscious forces control the unacceptable forces of the unconscious. During sleep, the restraints of consciousness are relaxed, and the unconscious threatens to break into awareness. This triggers anxiety, which threatens to awaken the dreamer (see "Dreams and the Unconscious").

PSYCHOSIS, PSYCHOPATHOLOGY OF EVERYDAY LIFE, HUMOR, AND PROJECTIVE TESTS The effects of the unconscious do not remain in a separate compartment of life, to be experienced only when we are asleep and dream. They also affect our waking life, sometimes in very unfortunate ways, including serious mental disturbances, and sometimes in more amusing fashion, as in jokes and some slips of the tongue (see "Other Effects of Unconscious Motivation").

Hypnosis: Applications and Controversies

In hypnosis, an individual experiences a highly suggestible state, a trance, in which the suggestions of a hypnotist strongly influence what is experienced or recalled. The hypnotist may suggest that the subject's arm will rise in the air automatically, without the subject intending it, or that the subject will be unable to do something that is usually easy to do, like bending an arm. Suggestions can also alter perceptions, causing subjects to see things that are not there, to not see things that are there, or to not feel pain.

Therapeutic Benefits	Hypnosis provides a useful therapeutic technique to add to psychotherapy (Green, Laurence, & Lynn, 2014). Therapeutic benefits can occur from posthypnotic suggestion, in which the hypnotist suggests that a particular action or experience (sensation) will occur when the hypnotic trance ends. A hypnotist may suggest that a subject will feel a choking sensation when puffing a cigarette; after the trance is ended, the person can more easily quit smoking (Spanos, Sims, de Faye, Mondoux, & Gabora, 1992). Hypnosis is used to treat anxiety, asthma, skin diseases (psoriasis and warts), nausea, bulimia and anorexia nervosa, and other diseases (Frankel, 1987). It provides relief from headaches and other types of pain (Bowers, 1994; Kraft, 1992; Patterson, Everett, Burns, & Marvin, 1992; Primavera & Kaiser, 1992). Hypnosis can even reduce the length of hospitalization after surgery (Blankfield, 1991). Overall, research confirms that adding hypnosis to other forms of therapy improves treatment outcomes (Kirsch & Lynn, 1995; Kirsch, Montgomery, & Sapirstein, 1995).
Dissociation	Hypnosis remains a controversial phenomenon. According to Ernest Hilgard's neodissociation theory (1976, 1994), hypnosis is a state of consciousness that is dissociated from normal experience. That is, consciousness is divided into two (or more) simultaneous parts, and a barrier between them produces amnesia. As a result of this barrier, the part that acts out a hypnotic suggestion will not recall what happened when the person was in the other state of consciousness that received the suggestion from the hypnotist (Kirsch & Lynn, 1998).
Controversies	Others have questioned Hilgard's proposed separate state of consciousness (cf. Kirsch & Lynn, 1998; Orne, 1959, 1971; Stava & Jaffa, 1988), arguing that social factors such as expectation must be considered to understand hypnosis and other alleged dissociative states such as multiple personality disorder (Spanos, 1994). Hypnotized subjects often behave similarly to people who are not hypnotized but are instructed to act as though they had been, raising the possibility that hypnosis could simply be a well-played role, not a separate state of consciousness. Furthermore, brain waves and other physiological measurements are not different under hypnosis than in normal consciousness (Silverstein, 1993).
Suggestion	Many phenomena reported under hypnosis could result from a desire to comply with the requests of the hypnotist (Orne, 1959, 1971; Spanos, Burgess, Cocco, & Pinch, 1993). For example, when researchers hypnotized experimental subjects and gave them a hypnotic suggestion for deafness, the subjects judged auditory tones to be less loud than when they were not hypnotized. If they were hooked up to a bogus pipeline apparatus that purportedly served as a sort of lie detector, subjects reported the tones more accurately (Perlini, Haley, & Buczel, 1998). Research such as this clearly shows that hypnotic reports are influenced by suggestion and that hypnotized subjects bias their reports to fit what they believe is expected of them. Such bias can produce errors in hypnotically recalled memories (Kihlstrom, 1994, 1995; Lindsay & Read, 1995; Lynn, Lock, Myers, & Payne,, 1997; Nash, 1987; Steblay & Bothwell, 1994; Yapko, 1994).

Dreams and the Unconscious

Sleep is protected by disguising the unconscious into a less threatening symbolic form in a dream.

Example	Usually, a dream disguises the fulfillment of a repressed wish (Freud, 1900/1953). Consider this dream of a young man: I was on a beach with my girl and other friends. We had been swimming and were sitting on the beach. My girl was afraid that she would lose her pocketbook and kept saying that she felt certain she would lose it on the beach. (Freud, quoted in Hall, 1966, pp. 57–58) The recalled dream (here, the story of the beach and the pocketbook) is termed the **manifest content** of the dream. Dream interpretation is the process of inferring the unconscious wishes disguised in the dream. Its hidden meaning, revealed by interpreting the dream symbols, is termed the **latent content** of the dream. A pocketbook is a Freudian symbol for female genitals, so the dream symbolizes the dreamer's wish that his girlfriend would lose her virginity on the beach.
Associations	Although dreams respond to life's events, they do not do so in a clear and obvious way. To understand the meaning of dreams, it is necessary to follow the dreamer's associations to see where they lead. Freud, for example, asked an American woman who had written him a letter about a troubling dream to tell what the name "Mildred Dowl" meant. In the dream, the woman's romantic partner had sent her a cruel note saying he had married Miss Mildred Dowl, and she had (in the dream) stabbed herself in despair. As Freud said, without knowing the source of the name, only a limited interpretation of the dream was possible (Benjamin & Dixon, 1996).
Research	People whose personality tests indicate they are repressors report dreams with relatively high levels of aggression, which supports the interpretation that dreams express what is repressed in waking life (Bell & Cook, 1998). Psychoanalysts emphasize the importance of dreams as ways of dealing with emotions, such as the anxiety and guilt that may follow traumatic events (Hartmann, 1998; Hartmann, Zborowski, Rosen, & Grace, 2001). Alternatives to Freud's model of dream interpretation have been developed by Carl Jung and others (e.g., Blagrove, 1993; Hermans, 1987). One suggestion is that dreams function to promote attachment relationships, for example by promoting mother–infant relationships and sexual pair bonding (Zborowski & McNamara, 1998).
Biological Perspective	Dreams have also been investigated from a biological viewpoint. During dream sleep, there is a shift from thinking to hallucination-like experiences, which brain researchers suggest comes from a different neurotransmitter pathway in the brain (Fosse, Stickgold, & Hobson, 2001). Dreams occur when lower brain centers stimulate activity in higher cortical areas (Hobson, 1988; Hobson & McCarley, 1977; Reiser, 2001). Although some influential neuroscientists deny that dreams have any significance (Crick & Mitchison, 1986), others suggest that physical and psychological explanations can coexist. Dreams could be expressions of a more primitive, emotional-narrative mode of functioning that has only been partially displaced by the development of higher human consciousness.
Unconscious	The characteristics of dream work that Freud described (condensation, displacement, and symbolism) represent the functioning of the unconscious more generally. Freud understood not only dreams and psychosis but also aspects of everyday normal behavior as results of unconscious motivation.

Other Effects of Unconscious Motivation

Although dreams are probably the most well-known manifestation of the unconscious, there are other ways that unconscious motivation is manifested, both in everyday life and in response to testing.

Psychosis	An extreme form of mental disorder is termed a psychosis. Psychotics lose touch with reality and experience the unconscious in raw form through hallucinations, seeing and hearing things that are not actually present. The irrationality of psychotic behavior, said Freud, reflects the underlying irrationality of the unconscious.
Psychopathology of Everyday Life	Freud described the impact of the unconscious in a wide range of behaviors of normal people. He termed such phenomena, in German, *Fehlleistungen*, which could be translated, according to Strachey (S. Freud, 1933/1966a, p. 25), as "faulty acts" or "faulty functions." We generally refer to them as **Freudian slips**, or "the psychopathology of everyday life." One common Freudian slip is a misstatement, or slip of the tongue. For example, in parting from a boring party, one might say, "I'm so glad I have to leave now," intending to say, "I'm so sorry I have to leave now." The unconscious tells the truth, lacking the tact of consciousness. Other Freudian slips include errors of memory (e.g., forgetting the birthday of a disliked relative), errors of hearing, losing or misplacing objects, and errors of action. In 1935 Alfred Stieglitz wrote letters to his wife, Georgia O'Keeffe, and to his lover, Dorothy Norman, but he placed each letter into the wrong envelope so his wife received the letter intended for his lover (Lisle, 1980, p. 227). Was this merely an error, or did Stieglitz unconsciously wish to confront his wife with his other relationship? Such so-called accidents, to a Freudian, are motivated by unconscious wishes. Psychic determinism holds us strictly accountable for all our actions. An alternative cognitive explanation, however, holds that such slips result when actions become sufficiently automated that conscious control is not required, opening the possibility of feedback errors in the control of behavior (Heckhausen & Beckmann, 1990).
Humor	Freud (1916/1963b) described humor as a safe expression of repressed conflict, deriving its pleasure from the release of tension through a joke. We laugh at jokes if they express issues or conflicts that are unconsciously important but consciously unacceptable. A bigot, for example, finds racial jokes particularly amusing. Freud gave many examples of jokes in his writing. One that survives translation from the German is the following: Two Jews met in the neighborhood of the bath-house. "Have you taken a bath?" asked one of them. "What?" asked the other in return, "is there one missing?" (Freud, 1916/1963b, p. 49)

	Like a dream, the joke is terse. Both dreams and humor often use the technique of **condensation**, in which two or more images are combined to form an image that merges the meanings and impulses of both. This has been compared to metaphor, and is associated with Freud's primary process and with creativity (Modell, 2014). The humor of this joke is achieved by the double meaning of the word taken, providing a way of expressing the anti-Semitic attitude (or impulse) that Jews are thieves rather than clean. Because the anti-Semitism is indirect, the joke may be acceptable to those who would not consciously accept anti-Semitism. A research study supports the idea that humor makes prejudice acceptable, finding that sexist social interactions are more acceptable when they are presented as jokes (Ford, 2000). But hostile humor can have an adverse effect, too, by increasing aggression (Ferguson & Ford, 2008). Political cartoons, too, often illustrate condensation; for example, cartoons of Italian dictator Mussolini with his arms drawn like the tentacles of an octopus graphically depict his power grabbing (Mascha, 2008).
Projective Tests	Both clinicians and researchers seek a method for revealing unconscious material on their request so they may diagnose individuals and test psychoanalytic hypotheses. For this purpose, they have developed **projective tests**. Among the most widely used projective tests are the Rorschach inkblot method and the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT), each of which can be scored in a variety of ways (Bornstein & Masling, 2005; Butcher & Rouse, 1996). Most (nonprojective) tests ask explicit questions. For example, a test may ask, "Do you feel happy most of the time?" In contrast, a projective test presents the client or research subject with an ambiguous stimulus, such as an inkblot or a picture, and gives only minimal directions for responding. "What do you see in this inkblot?" "Tell me a story about this picture." Responses reveal unconscious material, unknown even to the respondent. A person may tell a story that describes weeping and grief, despite having claimed to be happy. Sometimes the story told to a projective stimulus almost speaks for itself. Consider a man shown a picture of a boy with a violin, whose story included this: "Up on my wall there is a picture of a boy staring at a violin. I stare at my violin too and think and dream of one day playing the violin. On the table stretched out like a dead corpse is a music book" (Pam & Rivera, 1995, p. 73). The evaluators, who had much more extensive information than this, concluded that the young man was seriously disturbed and potentially dangerous, perhaps suicidal, and recommended long-term hospitalization. Perhaps you agree; after all, not many people compare music books to corpses. Researchers have used projective tests to investigate motives for achievement, affiliation and intimacy, power, and other social motives not described by Freud, but theorized to be unconscious. These unconscious (implicit) motives are not correlated with people's consciously known (explicit) motives, and the unconscious measures are better predictors of various behaviors, including entrepreneurial business activity (McClelland, Koestner, & Weinberger, 1989; Winter, John, Stewart, Klohnen, & Duncan, 1998).

2.2.4: Origin and Nature of the Unconscious

Where does this powerful, pervasive unconscious come from? Freud asserted that it was created primarily by childhood experience, through the mechanism of **repression**. According to Freud's hedonic hypothesis, people seek pleasure and avoid pain—a simple idea that occurs in many psychological theories (Higgins, 1997). In Freud's theory, impulses for pleasure often are accompanied by painful thoughts because pleasure would violate the moral restrictions we have learned. Repression is a mechanism for removing unpleasant thoughts, including unacceptable impulses, from consciousness, thus avoiding anxiety.

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Conscious and Unconscious Determinants of Behavior

One of Freud's most important assertions is that the unconscious is far more important as a determinant of behavior than was previously thought. Do you agree? In your opinion, what are the unconscious factors that do determine behavior? Also, what conscious factors determine behavior?

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2.3: Structures of the Personality

OBJECTIVE: Differentiate Freud's structures of personality

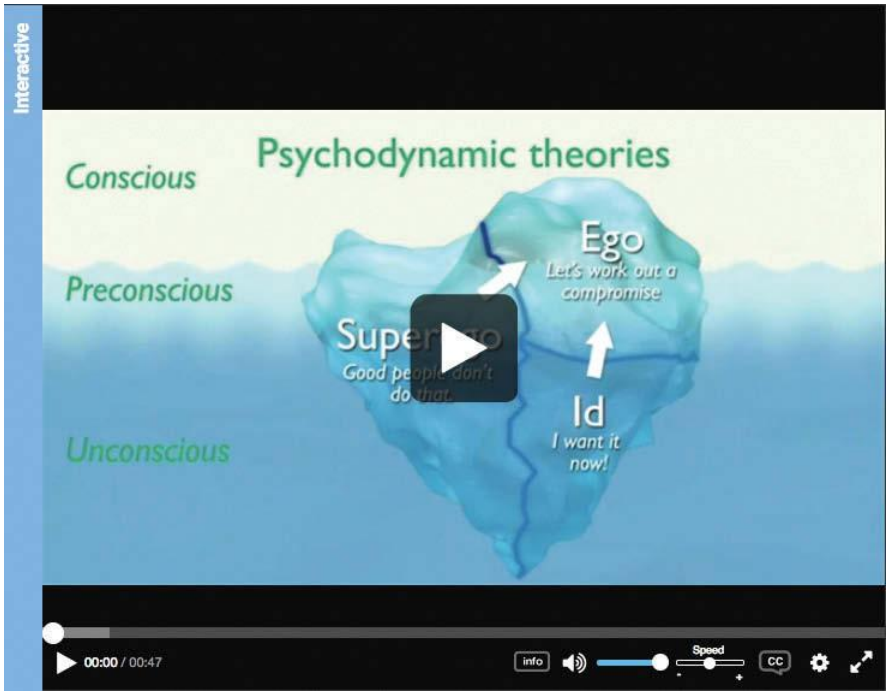
To state more clearly the tension between the unconscious, which seeks expression, and consciousness, which tries to hold back unconscious forces, Freud described three structures of personality. The **id** is the primitive and unconscious source of biological drives. The **ego** is the rational and coping part of personality, the most conscious and most mature structure (although not entirely conscious). The **superego** consists of the rules and ideals of society that have become internalized by the individual. Some of the superego is conscious, but much of it remains unconscious. Each structure serves a different function. In the metaphor of Freud's day, the ego

> is like a man on horseback, who has to hold in check the superior strength of the horse… . Often a rider, if he is not to be parted from his horse, is obliged to guide it where it wants to go; so in the same way the ego is in the habit of transforming the id's will into action as if it were its own.
>
> —(Freud, 1923/1962b, p. 15)

Like Freud's horseback rider, the ego may seem to be steering more than it truly is.

Watch PSYCHODYNAMIC PERSONALITY THEORY

This brief video introduces the id, the ego, and the superego: the three structures of personality proposed by Freud in his theory, which influenced later psychodynamic theorists.



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Thinking About Internal Conflict

Have you ever experienced internal conflict between an impulse to do or say something and a voice of conscience that says you shouldn't? This is the sort of id-versus-superego conflict that Freud proposed. How did you resolve the conflict? That's the task of the ego, according to Freud.

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2.3.1: The Id

The id contains instinctive drives and is the only structure of personality present at birth. It functions according to the **pleasure principle**. It is hedonistic and aims to satisfy its urges, which reduces tension and thus brings pleasure.

Psychic Energy and Its Types

Freud proposed that the id is the source of psychic energy, called **libido**, which is sexual. Motivation for all aspects of personality is derived from this instinctive energy, which must be transformed through socialization to energize other achievements, such as works of art, politics, education, and work. Conversely, repression ties up energy, making it unavailable for higher achievements. Psychic energy is of two kinds.

***Eros*—Eros**, the "life instinct," motivates life-maintaining behaviors and love. Sexual energy is the most obvious example of erotic energy.

***Thanatos*—Thanatos**, the "death instinct," is a destructive force directing us inevitably toward death, the ultimate release from the tension of living. It motivates all kinds of aggression, including war and suicide. Most often, Freud emphasized erotic, sexual energy and conflict over its expression. Death and conflict about it, according to some theorists, should receive more attention (Arndt, Greenberg, Solomon, Pyszczynski, & Simon, 1997; Becker, 1973).

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The Libido

Do you believe that libido is capable of influencing a person's choice of sexual objects? Or would you explain this differently than Freud?

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CHARACTERISTICS OF INSTINCTS We are familiar with the word "instinct" as applied to the automatic, not-thought-out behaviors of animals, like a mother bear's instinct to attack those who pose a threat to her cubs, or a bird's instinct to migrate when the season is right. Freud used the term "instinct" too, but in his elaboration of the concept, experience during an individual's development brings marked changes in the expression of instinctive energy.

Four Basic Aspects of Instincts

Because Freud understood all personality functioning as derived from instinctive energy, knowing the fundamental principles regulating instincts provides a basic framework for understanding personality. These can be summarized as four basic aspects of instincts: source, pressure, aim, and object.

Source—All psychic energy originates as biological processes in some part of the body. The amount of energy does not change throughout a lifetime. At first, psychic energy is directed toward biological needs. Later, it can be redirected to other investments, such as interpersonal relationships and work.

Pressure—The pressure of an instinct refers to its force or motivational quality. It corresponds to the momentary strength of the instinctual drive; it is high when the drive is not satisfied and falls when the need is met. For example, a hungry infant has a high pressure of the hunger drive; one just fed has hunger at a low pressure. When the pressure is low, the instinct may not have noticeable effects; but when the pressure is high, it may break through, interrupting other activities. A hungry baby wakes up, for example.

Aim—Instincts function according to a principle of homeostasis, or steady state, a principle borrowed from biology. Instincts aim to preserve the ideal steady state for the organism. Deviations from this state are experienced as tension. The aim of all instincts is to reduce tension, which is pleasurable. (Think of the good feeling of eating when you are hungry.) Instincts operate according to what Freud called the *pleasure principle*; they aim simply to produce pleasure by reducing tension, immediately and without regard to reality constraints. A chronic deviation from a restful homeostatic state occurs in individuals who have not found ways to reduce tension, such as neurotics.

Tension reduction occurs when the original biological instinct is directly satisfied—for example, when a hungry infant is fed or when a sexually aroused adult achieves orgasm. Some transformations of libido also allow tension reduction. An artist may experience tension reduction when a creative problem is solved. In his filmmaking, Charlie Chaplin (1964) stated,

> The solution [to a creative problem] would suddenly reveal itself, as if a layer of dust had been swept off a marble floor—there it was, the beautiful mosaic I had been looking for. *Tension was gone.*
>
> —(p. 188; emphasis added)

Object—The object of an instinct is the person or thing in the world that is desired so the instinct can be satisfied. For example, the object of the hunger drive of an infant is the mother's breast: It brings satisfaction. The object of a sexually aroused adult is a sexual partner.

What kind of partner? It is with respect to the object of an instinct that experience matters. Some sexually aroused men look for a woman just like Mother; others look for a very different kind of woman or for a man, or even for clothing or a child or any of a vast assortment of sexual objects. Women, of course, also vary widely in their choice of sexual objects. The fact that libido is capable of being directed toward so many diverse objects, not fixed biologically, is termed the "plasticity" of the instinct. This plasticity is much greater in humans than in lower animals, who seem to come with instincts prewired to very specific objects.

PRIMITIVE FUNCTIONING: PRIMARY PROCESS The id functions according to the purely instinctive **primary process**. Primary process is as blind and inflexible as the instinctive impulses that draw a moth to a candle flame, and its consequences can be as deadly. Primary process ignores time, recognizing no past and no future, only the present moment. It demands immediate gratification; it cannot wait or plan. If reality does not satisfy its urges, it may resort to hallucinatory wish fulfillment, that is, simply imagine that its needs are met. As a sexually aroused dreamer conjures up a lover, a psychotic individual might hallucinate a boat in a stormy sea. This, of course, is not adaptive in the real world.

Simple organisms in natural environments may be able to function quite well with only their biological drives (or id) operating according to the primary process. Humans, however, must adapt to a complex social environment, and the id, functioning according to primary process and blind instinct, cannot adapt or learn. It is the ego that can profit from experience.

2.3.2: The Ego

The ego resolves conflict and operates according to the **reality principle**, adapting to the constraints of the real world. The ego can delay gratification and plan. These abilities are termed **secondary process**.

Mental health requires a strong ego, one that can find acceptable ways to satisfy the id's demands, defending against anxiety while allowing the individual to thrive in the real external world. A weak ego may not adequately defend against anxiety, or it may require a person to behave in rigid ways to avoid anxiety. The ego uses defense mechanisms (discussed later in the chapter) to adapt to reality. If the ego breaks down altogether, a psychotic episode occurs.

2.3.3: The Superego

The *superego* is the internal representative of the rules and restrictions of family and society. Freud regarded it as the civilizing force that tames our savage nature (Frank, 1999). It generates guilt when we act contrary to its rules. In addition, the superego presents us with an ego ideal, which is an image of what we would like to be, our internal standards. But the superego is something of a tyrant.

Because the superego develops at a young age, it represents an immature and rigid form of morality. Our guilt is often out of touch with current reality, representing the immature understandings of a young child. Anna Freud (1935) illustrated the archaic nature of the superego with the case of a man who, as a child, stole sweets. He was taught not to do so and internalized the prohibition in his superego. As an adolescent, he blushed with guilt every time he ate sweets, even though they were no longer forbidden (p. 97). The superego failed to adapt to the adult situation.

Sigmund Freud dismissed much religion as similarly immature. For Freud, mature ethics are not achieved through the superego but rather through the ego, the only structure of personality that adapts to current reality. It may be helpful to think of the superego as an early version of the ego, developing in childhood but not continuing to mature (as the ego does), limited to a child's comprehension.

2.4: Intrapsychic Conflict

OBJECTIVE: Identify the strategies for dealing with intrapsychic personality conflict

The id, ego, and superego do not coexist peacefully. The id demands immediate satisfaction of drives, whereas the superego threatens guilt if any pleasurable satisfaction of immoral impulses is attempted. Thus there is **intrapsychic conflict**. The ego tries to repress unacceptable desires, but it does not always succeed. The ego must use more advanced strategies than simple repression in order to reconcile the conflicting demands of the id and superego while at the same time taking into account external reality with its limited opportunities for drive satisfaction.

2.4.1: Energy Hypothesis

Freud proposed that personality has only a limited amount of energy. What is used for one purpose is unavailable for other purposes, so if energy is tied up in repression, there is less energy available for dealing with current reality. The repressed materials have energy, and this energy tries to return the repressed material to consciousness. Like an ice cube that is pushed under the surface of the water, it keeps bobbing up again, requiring energy to keep it down.

Although the energy hypothesis is a metaphor from outdated 19th-century physics, it aptly describes the exhaustion that can come from unresolved psychological stress or from the ego's need to direct activities (the "executive function of the ego," in Freud's language). Muraven, Tice, and Baumeister (1998) reported that requiring experimental subjects to suppress their thoughts (about a white bear) or emotions led to impaired performance on a variety of experimental tasks (such as squeezing a handgrip and solving anagrams), as though their energy had been depleted by the effort of self-regulation. In another study, they found that experimental subjects gave up sooner when trying to solve problems if they had earlier forced themselves to eat radishes instead of chocolates—a choice that seems to have depleted their ego of energy (Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Muraven, & Tice, 1998). Emotional suppression impairs performance in laboratory tasks and in life.

2.4.2: Anxiety

Conflict causes a person to experience anxiety, which serves as a signal that something is not right and that the ego may fail in its task of adapting to reality and maintaining an integrated personality. At high levels, anxiety can be overwhelming and prevent adaptive behavior. By paying attention to what triggers anxiety, we can understand its role in personality and, from a psychoanalytic perspective, work with the unconscious to change personality dynamics so that anxiety is reduced and adaptive behavior is strengthened. A key idea is that anxiety serves as a signal of deeper work to be done; eliminating the anxiety alone—as through only medication without psychological work—is not sufficient.

Three Types of Anxiety

There are three types of anxiety, depending upon the kind of conflict that the ego is confronting. Sometimes the conflict occurs between the ego and the id (neurotic anxiety), when the id's impulses for immediate sexual gratification or immediate expression of aggression are not acceptable to the more rational ego but you fear that you haven't got the strength to hold those impulses in check. At other times, the ego is in conflict with the superego (moral anxiety), as when your overly restrictive childish superego punishes you with guilt for actions that are, from the ego's point of view, quite reasonable. For example, you might wish to take a rest after finishing a major project for work or school, but your perfectionism won't let you take a break. A third kind of anxiety comes not from internal conflict, but rather when the ego sees danger in the external world (reality anxiety), as when you realize that there is a real possibility that your wilderness vacation might end disastrously because the only path out of the wilderness has been made impassable by a mudslide.

Type of Anxiety	Anxiety Signals
Neurotic Anxiety	Signals that id impulses may break through (overcome repression) and be expressed. Example: realizing that your anger about unfair work assignments might cause you to insult your boss to his face
Moral Anxiety	Indicates fear that one's own superego will respond with guilt. Example: realizing that acting on your sexual impulses isn't totally acceptable, even to yourself
Reality Anxiety	Indicates that the external world threatens real danger. Example: realizing that a bill is due tomorrow when you don't have money to pay

2.4.3: Defense Mechanisms

Signaled by anxiety, the ego uses various strategies to resolve intrapsychic conflict. These **defense mechanisms** are adopted if direct expression of the id impulse is unacceptable to the superego or dangerous in the real world. All defense mechanisms begin with repression of unacceptable impulses, making them unconscious. However, repression ties up energy. To conserve energy, defense mechanisms disguise the unacceptable impulse, so that only partial repression is needed. By distorting the source, aim, and/or object of the impulse, they avoid the retaliation of the superego, allowing the impulse, in effect, to sneak past the censor. This reduces the energy requirements for repression, analogous to the way that letting steam out of a pressure cooker reduces the force required to hold on the lid. Furthermore, it avoids the experience of anxiety, which is an underlying issue in all defense mechanisms (Paulhus, Fridhandler, & Hayes, 1997; Turvey & Salovey, 1993).

Defense mechanisms range from primitive ones, first developed in infancy, to more mature ones, developed later (Kernberg, 1994; Vaillant, 1971, 1992, 1993). The most seriously disturbed individuals, psychotics, use the most primitive defenses: denial and distortion of reality. Other immature defenses include projection, dissociation, and acting out. Less primitive (neurotic) defenses include intellectualization and isolation, repression, reaction formation, displacement, and rationalization. Finally, suppression and sublimation, as well as altruism and humor, are the most mature defenses (Vaillant, 1994) (see "Different Types of Defense Mechanisms").

Different Types of Defense Mechanisms

People who are better adapted use more mature defenses, and when patients with various diagnoses switch from less mature to more mature defense mechanisms, their functioning improves (Cramer, 2000, 2002). The maturity of defense mechanisms is unrelated to intelligence, education, and social class (Vaillant, 2000), and mature defenses help people overcome disadvantages in these areas. In a longitudinal study, 14-year-old inner-city boys who scored low (mean of 80) on an IQ measure were, nonetheless, likely to mature into well-adapted 65-year-olds with good incomes and educated children if they had mature defenses; those with less mature defenses fared less well (Vaillant & Davis, 2000). The various kinds of defense mechanisms include **denial**, **reaction formation**, **projection**, **displacement**, **identification**, **isolation**, **rationalization**, and **intellectualization**.

Denial	Denial is a primitive defense mechanism in which an individual does not acknowledge some painful or anxiety-provoking aspect of reality or of the self. For example, a person may deny that smoking is contributing to health problems despite clear evidence. Denial is a normal defense mechanism in preschool children, but as they grow to 7, 8, and 9 years old, children turn to more mature defense mechanisms such as projection (Cramer, 1997; Cramer & Block, 1998). When denial continues to adulthood, it is maladaptive because it involves a major distortion of reality.
Reaction Formation	In reaction formation, an unacceptable impulse is repressed and its opposite is developed in exaggerated form. For example, a child who hates a younger sister may repress it and instead believe she loves the sister. The defense may be diagrammed thus: I hate sister (unconscious) → I love sister (conscious) When only love is acknowledged, but not its opposite, a psychoanalyst suspects that unconscious hatred is also present. Highly modest persons may be suspected of defending against exhibitionism. People who are raised to very strict moral codes and are not allowed to enjoy the normal pleasures of childhood sometimes turn against themselves and use reaction formation as a defense against impulses for gratification; thus they become excessively "good" and prone (by projection) to moral outrage against other people's flaws (Kaplan, 1997). The defense mechanism of reaction formation contributes to prejudice against homosexuals; that is, men who are unconsciously sexually aroused by other men defend themselves against this threatening impulse by exaggerated antigay attitudes. Researchers offer evidence of this; in a laboratory, homophobic men had erections when they watched sexually explicit erotic gay films, but nonhomophobic men did not (Adams, Wright, & Lohr, 1996).
Projection	In projection, the person's own unacceptable impulse is instead thought to belong to someone else. A woman who is tempted to shoplift but whose ethical sense (superego) will not allow her to even think of stealing may project this unacceptable impulse onto another person: I want to steal (unconscious) → That person is stealing (conscious) In experiments, people who have been misled to believe they possess an undesirable personality trait but asked not to think about it (which can be thought of as experimental repression) are likely to project their fault onto another person whom they are asked to rate on that trait (Newman, Duff, & Baumeister, 1997). In society, cultural scapegoats often become projective targets, accused of crimes and immoral acts that are really the accuser's own repressed impulses. In this way, individual intrapsychic conflict contributes to prejudice.
Displacement	The defense mechanism of displacement distorts the object of the drive. Displacement is less primitive than projection because the impulse is correctly seen as belonging to the individual; only the object is distorted. For example, a child who is angry with the father may not consciously be able to acknowledge the anger because of fear of retaliation and guilt. The aggressive impulse may be disguised by directing it toward a brother: I want to hurt Dad (unconscious) → I want to hurt my brother (conscious)

	We suspect that the feelings are related to displacement, rather than caused by the brother's actual behavior, if they are disproportionately strong compared to that which the current situation would warrant or if a person frequently has aggressive impulses in a wide variety of situations. Displacement of other emotions, such as dependency and sexuality, also occurs.
Identification	Identification is a process of borrowing or merging one's identity with that of someone else—avoiding the recognition of one's own inadequacies and wishfully adopting someone else's identity instead. It is part of normal development; boys identify with their fathers, girls with their mothers, and all of us with cultural heroes. Identification is important during the third psychosexual stage, when gender roles are an issue, and experimental research confirms that threats to gender identity (based on false information about scores on the Bem Sex-Role Inventory) increase the use of identification as coded from TAT tests (Cramer, 1998). Identification sometimes functions to overcome feelings of powerlessness. Adopting the identity of someone who has power over us, even if that power is not used for our benefit, is termed identification with the aggressor. For example, children may identify with abusive parents or hostages with their captors.
Isolation	In the defense mechanism of isolation, unpleasant thoughts are disassociated from other thinking and thus do not come to mind. In addition, emotions that would ordinarily be connected with the thoughts are gone. For example, a person who has lost a loved one through death may isolate this experience, not thinking of the loved one because of the grief it might bring.
Rationalization	The defense mechanism of rationalization involves giving plausible, but false, reasons for an action to disguise the true motives. A parent might rationalize spanking a child, saying it will teach the child to be more obedient, although the true motivation may be that the parent resents the child. Rationalization involves relatively little distortion, so it is considered a mature defense mechanism.
Intellectualization	The defense mechanism of intellectualization prevents clear, undistorted recognition of an impulse through distorted or excessive explanation. A person who overeats may give many reasons: "I need extra vitamins to deal with stress," "I always gain weight in the winter," and so on. Margaret Sanger (1938/1971) described the loss of her newly built home to fire: I was neither disappointed nor regretful… . In that instant I learned the lesson of the futility of material substances. Of what great importance were they spiritually if they could go so quickly? … I could … be happy without them. (p. 64) This defense mechanism is adaptive, although defensive in that it distorts the grief of the tragedy.

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Defense Mechanisms

Think of some situations from your own life in which you may have used one or more of these defense mechanisms. Which do you think is most popular with your lifestyle? In your opinion, which strategy do you find most useful?

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2.4.4: Sublimation and Creativity

Sublimation is the most healthy way of dealing with unacceptable impulses. It occurs when the individual finds a socially acceptable aim and object for the expression of an unacceptable impulse. This allows indirect discharge of the impulse, so its pressure is reduced. Aggressive impulses may be sublimated into athletic competitiveness, and artists transform primitive urges into works of art.

Creative individuals are particularly interesting models of sublimation, and they have been of interest to psychoanalysis since Freud's study of Leonardo da Vinci (1910/1957). Creative persons retain the ability, lost by many adults, to access the fantasy world of the id. Unlike psychotics, they do not get caught irretrievably in the id, and unlike children, they can also function with a mature ego. Creative people are capable of what psychoanalysis describes as "regression in the service of the ego" (Kris, 1952/1964). Research confirms that creative artists can shift readily between controlled thinking (an ego function) and unregulated thought (the unconscious). Psychotic individuals can access unconscious material, too, but they have difficulty returning to controlled thinking (Wild, 1965). The person with schizophrenia, in contrast to the poet, cannot use metaphor as a bridge between reality and imagination (Reinsdorf, 1993).

2.4.5: Empirical Studies of Defenses

Empirical studies of psychoanalysis are important for science, but it is challenging to design them rigorously. Consider gender identity disorders that lead people to resort to sexual reassignment surgery to correct what they perceive to be the wrong-sex body. With sexuality so central to psychoanalytic theory, and identification so clearly described in the Oedipal stage, it is no surprise that psychoanalysts interpreted such disorders in men, and the voluntary castration that beckons as a cure, to result from a boy's excessive identification with his mother, especially in the absence of a strong father to serve as a model of the male role. Research designs to test these ideas, however, are marred by inadequate controls and measurements that permit researchers' preconceptions to bias their results (Midence & Hargreaves, 1997). Scientists simply cannot randomly assign participants to an experimental or control group and then manipulate causes to test their hypotheses (see "Research on Defense Mechanisms").

Research on Defense Mechanisms

Defense mechanisms may be easy enough to observe anecdotally, but measuring and observing them and their effects in scientific research is more difficult.

Measuring Defense Mechanisms	Measuring defense mechanisms is challenging. Observing defenses in clinical case histories is extremely time consuming, and because the therapist is both the interviewer and the interpreter of the material, it is unclear that another observer would have come to the same interpretations. Nonetheless, clinical interview methods are used to monitor changes in defenses over the course of therapy (Perry & Ianni, 1998).
Projective and Self-Report Measures	Defense mechanisms can be scored from projective tests, including the TAT and the Rorschach test. Patients had healthier defense patterns, scored from the TAT, after therapy than before (Cramer & Blatt, 1990). Despite their limitations for measuring unconscious processes (Davidson & MacGregor, 1998), self-report inventories have also been developed to assess defense mechanisms (Bond, 1995; Gleser & Ihilevich, 1969). It has not been demonstrated, however, that self-report and projective tests are valid indicators of the use of defense mechanisms in everyday life. When researchers asked people to report coping in everyday life at the time when they were stressed, using a portable palm-top computer, these reports didn't correspond very well with later retrospective reports (Stone et al., 1998).
Experimental Studies	Researchers have explored defensive processes in experimental as well as correlational studies. Consider a repressive coping style: people whose bodies show physiological signs of anxiety but who score low on written self-report measures of anxiety. Repressors have fewer memories of adverse childhood events than do nonrepressors, even though more negative events happened in their childhood. Laboratory experiments suggest that they may be using emotional cues to signal repression. In one study, research subjects were directed to recall certain types of stimuli that they were shown and to forget others. Overall, they were able to do that, but most exciting for the study of defenses were differences between people. Repressors were especially able to forget stimuli that they had been told to forget when such stimuli were associated with negative emotions (Myers, Brewin, & Power, 1998). They seem able to use negative emotion as an unconscious cue.
Overall Conclusions	In an extensive review of personality and social psychological research, Baumeister and colleagues concluded that there was substantial evidence for several defense mechanisms: projection, undoing, isolation, and denial. However, very limited evidence could be found for displacement and none whatsoever for sublimation (Baumeister, Dale, & Sommer, 1998).
Cross-Cultural Research	Cross-cultural studies of defense mechanisms are relevant for testing Freud's claim that his theory describes universal aspects of personality. Although there is much to be done, a large-scale empirical study of defense mechanisms in Thailand, using self-report measures, found similar kinds of defenses to those in U.S. samples. Some, though, were used less frequently in Thailand (regressive or immature emotional behavior), and some were used more frequently (projection, reaction formation, and other indicators of a high level of control), reflecting different cultural values (Tori & Bilmes, 2002).

2.5: Personality Development

OBJECTIVE: Describe the stages of personality development proposed by Freud

One of Freud's legacies is that childhood experience potently influences adult personality. Personality development involves a series of conflicts between the individual, who wants to satisfy instinctual impulses, and the social world (especially the family), which constrains this desire. Through development, the individual finds ways to obtain as much hedonic gratification as possible, given these constraints. Consider the saying, "As the twig is bent, so grows the tree." Like a tree that has grown crooked under adverse conditions of wind and terrain, the adult human shows the permanent imprint of childhood struggles.

Freud proposed that the mucous membranes of the body could be the physical source of id impulses, the erogenous zones where libido is focused. These zones are highly responsive to sensation and can be associated with increased tension and reduction of tension, as the libido model requires. Different zones are central at different ages because of physical changes. For the adult, the erogenous zone is the genital area. In early life, other zones give more pleasure: in infancy, the mouth; in toddlerhood, the anus. Driven by maturational factors, all people develop through the same *psychosexual stages* (see Table 2.2).

The infant, under the tyranny of the pleasure principle, wants to be fed immediately whenever hungry. In reality, feeding is sometimes delayed, and ultimately the child is weaned. This is the conflict of the first psychosexual stage, the **oral stage**. In the second, or **anal stage**, the toddler enjoys controlling the bowels, retaining and expelling feces according to his or her own will, but conflict with the restrictive forces of society arises because the family demands toilet training. Conflict over drive satisfaction in the third psychosexual stage, the **phallic stage**, focuses on punishment for masturbation and the child's complex fantasy of a sexual union with the opposite-sex parent—a wish that is frustrated because it conflicts with the universal taboo of incest.

Personality development occurs as the ego finds new strategies to cope with frustrations imposed by socialization.

Table 2.2 Stages of Psychosexual Development

Freud described five stages of psychosexual development. The first three, which occur from birth to age 5, are the most important for personality development because they shape the person's unconscious dynamics, which are the foundation of personality throughout life.

Stage	Age	Conflict	Outcomes
Oral Stage	Birth to 12 months	Weaning	Optimism or pessimism Addictions to tobacco, alcohol
Anal Stage	1 to 3 years	Toilet training	Stubbornness Miserliness Orderliness or messiness
Phallic stage	3 to 5 years	Masturbation and Oedipus/Electra conflict	Gender identification Morality (superego) Vanity
Latency	5 years to puberty	(No new conflict; unresolved earlier conflicts remain)	(No new outcomes)
Genital Stage	Puberty to adulthood	(No new conflict; unresolved earlier conflicts remain)	(No new outcomes)

If socialization is too severe or too sudden, or if there is psychic trauma, the young ego cannot cope, and personality development is impaired. Such experiences produce **fixation**, in which impulses are repressed rather than outgrown. In normal development, growth of mental processes is assisted by language. But trauma stops that growth, and it may be helpful for therapists to use additional methods besides talking (e.g., symbolically reenacting traumatic experiences within the safety of the therapeutic setting) in order to heal such fixation (Rachman, Yard, & Kennedy, 2009).

2.5.1: The Five Psychosexual Stages

Freud proposed five universal stages of development. He believed that personality is largely formed by the end of the third stage, at about age 5. By then, the individual has developed strategies for expressing impulses that constitute the core of personality.

THE ORAL STAGE The oral stage of development occurs from birth to about age 1. During this stage, the erogenous zone is the mouth, and pleasurable activities center around feeding. At first, in the oral erotic phase, the infant passively receives reality, swallowing what is good or (less passively) spitting out what is distasteful. A second phase, termed "oral sadism," involves the development of a more active role, epitomized by biting.

Because the infant's needs are met without effort, he or she is said to feel omnipotent. This feeling passes in normal development but is retained in some psychoses. The feeling of infantile omnipotence normally gives way to realization that needs are satisfied through loved objects in the world, not magically. As the infant learns to associate the mother's presence with satisfaction of the hunger drive, the mother becomes a separate object, and the first differentiation of self from others occurs.

Fixation in the first psychosexual stage results in development of an **oral character** personality type, whose traits are traditionally said to include optimism, passivity, and dependency. Conflicts can produce the opposite characteristics; for example, because of reaction formation, a person fixated at the oral stage may become pessimistic instead of optimistic, leading to depression (Lewis, 1993).

What does research find? Some research fails to confirm psychoanalytic hypotheses. An early and straightforward study found no association between mothers' reports of early feeding (including age of weaning and other indicators) and projective test scores for oral imagery on the Rorschach inkblot test in their college-age sons (Thurston & Mussen, 1951). Other studies suggest that oral concerns in the most literal sense, that is, "preoccupation with food and eating," are unrelated to dependency (Bornstein, 1992, p. 17), contrary to Freud's theory (Young-Bruehl, 1990).

Not all research is so discouraging. The hypothesized relationship between oral fixation and behavior that is conforming and dependent is sometimes supported. People with oral imagery on the Rorschach test conform more to others' judgments on an Asch-type judgment task, particularly in the presence of a high-status authority figure (Masling, Weiss, & Rothschild, 1968; Tribich & Messer, 1974), and they are more likely to indicate on personality tests the need for help (O'Neill & Bornstein, 1990). They are capable of disagreeing too, though, if that will create a favorable impression to an authority figure, according to Bornstein (1997), who advocates understanding dependency in terms of relationships with other people (object relations), instead of orality (Bornstein, 1996).

THE ANAL STAGE During the second and third years, the toddler's pleasure is experienced in a different part of the body: the anus. The toddler's desire to control his or her own bowel movements conflicts with the social demand for toilet training. Pleasure is experienced at first through the newly formed ability to retain feces, the anal retentive phase, and then in the experience of willful defecation, the anal expulsive phase. Lifelong conflicts over issues of control, of holding on and letting go, may result if there is fixation at this stage. The **anal character** is characterized by three traits, orderliness, parsimony, and obstinacy, which are correlated in many empirical studies (Greenberg & Fisher, 1978). Anal fixation may be expressed by issues related to money—hoarding it or spending it—as symbolic feces (Wolfenstein, 1993). As predicted by Freud's proposal that humor expresses unconscious conflict (described earlier), experimental subjects who score high

on the anal traits (obstinacy, orderliness, and parsimony) find jokes on anal themes to be particularly funny (O'Neill, Greenberg, & Fisher, 1992).

THE PHALLIC STAGE From age 3 to 5 (or a bit later), the primary erogenous area of the body is the genital zone. Freud called this stage of development the phallic stage, reflecting his male perspective. The child's desire for sexual pleasure is expressed through masturbation, which is accompanied by important (and, to critics, incredible) fantasies. At this stage, males and females follow different developmental paths (see "Different Paths for Males and Females").

EFFECTS OF FIXATION Psychoanalytic theory says that fixation at the phallic stage results in difficulties of superego formation; gender-role identity; and sexuality, including sexual inhibition, sexual promiscuity, and homosexuality. Freud argued that homosexuality is understandable because people all have some attraction to both men and women (bisexuality), and he reassured one mother

Different Paths for Males and Females

Freud was more confident that he understood male development than female development, and is often quoted as saying, "What do women want?" His understanding of male development likely came from his analysis of himself.

Male Development: The Oedipus Conflict	According to Freud, the young boy wants to kill his father and to replace him as his mother's sexual partner. This **Oedipus conflict** is named after Sophocles' play *Oedipus Rex*, in which Oedipus unwittingly murders his father and takes his own mother as his wife. The young boy fears, however, that this desire will be found out and punished, and so he represses the incestuous desire. **Castration anxiety**, the fear that his penis will be cut off, is the motivating anxiety of the young boy at this stage. Although such castration anxiety may seem an incredible idea, threats of castration do occur. We are told that Adolf Hitler ordered artists to be castrated if they used the wrong colors for skies and meadows (Waite, 1977, p. 30). It has been suggested that some sexual problems are derived from castration anxiety. In other cultures, castration anxiety is expressed differently; for example, in Southeast Asia, the phenomenon of *koro* is the sudden anxiety that the penis (or, in females, the vulva and nipples) will recede into the body (American Psychiatric Association, 1994; Kirmayer, 1992). Freud asserted that the Oedipus complex was universal, but others argue that it reflects the father–son competition characteristic of Freud's cultural and historical time and is not universal (Wax, 2000; Winter, 1999). Incest itself, especially mother–son incest, is unusual among humans across the world, and also in animals, because it is maladaptive from an evolutionary viewpoint (Sugiyama, 2001). In a healthy resolution of the Oedipal conflict, the boy gives up his fantasy of replacing his father and instead decides to become like his father. By this identification, the boy achieves two important developments: (1) appropriate male sex typing, and (2) the internalization of conscience, called superego. Conscience is fueled by castration anxiety: The stronger the castration fear, the stronger the superego. Or as Freud (1923/1962b, p. 38) phrased it, "The superego … is the heir of the Oedipus complex."
Female Development	Girls develop differently, according to Freud, as an inevitable consequence of their physical difference. Seeing that they lack a penis, girls believe they have been castrated, interpret their clitoris as inferior to a penis, and wish for the latter (penis envy). This biological inferiority sets girls up for psychological inferiority as well, in Freud's much-criticized theory (Lax, 1995, 1997). Like boys, girls fantasize about sexual union with the opposite-sex parent. Unlike boys, girls must shift their erotic attachment from the mother (the first, pre-Oedipal love object for both sexes) to the father. This change of object is facilitated by the girl's anger toward her mother for not being powerful enough to protect her from castration. Freud (1933/1966, p. 590) listed three possible outcomes of the girl's castration complex: sexual inhibition or neurosis, a masculinity complex, or normal femininity. By masculinity complex, Freud meant that the woman strives for achievements considered in his day to be inappropriate for females, such as career advances to the exclusion of traditional feminine family commitments. Normal feminine development, according to Freud, results in accepting the role of wife and mother and developing the "normal" feminine traits of passivity and masochism. Without castration anxiety to motivate their development, girls are theoretically less psychologically developed than males, with a weaker superego. Naturally, this assertion has been rejected by those who argue that cultural factors can adequately explain the acceptance of suffering that Freud described as biologically determined masochism. It also contradicts the empirical record of sex differences: that women report more shame and guilt (interpreted as evidence of moral development), have more empathy for other people's feelings (Tangney, 1990, 1994), and score higher than males on the level of ego development (Mabry, 1993). Women's morality can be described as an ethic-of-care orientation, contrasting with the justice orientation of men (Tangney & Dearing, 2004): a different, not inferior, moral perspective.
Incest: Freud's Abandonment of the Seduction Hypothesis	Freud revised his theory over many decades. Freud first believed that actual incest was important in the histories of his female patients (the seduction hypothesis), and the father's sexual behavior with his daughter was responsible for her psychiatric problems (Freud, 1896/1962a; McGrath, 1986). In his final view, the girl's reports of a sexual relationship with her father were simply fantasy. Why did Freud change his mind? Could he have been defending himself against suspicion of sexual misbehavior in his own family or fear of rejection by his colleagues (Kupfersmid, 1992; Masson, 1984)? Orthodox Freudians accept Freud's abandonment of the seduction hypothesis as the correction of an earlier error (Gleaves & Hernandez, 1999; Lawrence, 1988; Paul, 1985; Rosenman, 1989). Throughout Freud's theory, thoughts and wishes are central and actual events are less important. Recollections of abuse, regardless of accuracy, serve as narratives that are organizing metaphors for experience. Thoughts and fantasies can be changed through therapy, and so the analysis concentrates on what the abusive memory means for the patient. Even memories that aren't historically accurate can serve a therapeutic function, helping patients to develop a narrative of their lives that enables them to move forward (Birch, 1998; Gaensbauer & Jordan, 2009).

that her son's homosexuality was not so worrisome as she seemed to think, but he theorized that a heterosexual outcome was more mature and healthy (Freud, 1905/1962c, 1920/1978; Jacobo, 2001). More recently, psychoanalysts have attempted to describe the dynamics of the Oedipus conflict in modified form to relate to gay men (Lewes, 1998; Schwartz, 1999). Professional psychoanalytic organizations have advanced the understanding of homosexual and transgender patients, and warn against assuming perversity, suggesting that such judgments may stem from defense against one's own unconscious sexual impulses (Gelé et al., 2012). Other research has implicated biological, rather than experiential, causes of sexual orientation, including prenatal hormone exposure (Meyer-Bahlburg et al., 1995) and brain structure (Le Vay, 1991).

Freud asserted that personality is largely formed during these first three psychosexual stages when the basic ego mechanisms for dealing with libidinal impulses are established. If fixation has occurred, the specific neurosis will depend on the stage at which development was impaired. The earlier the fixation, the more serious the resulting disorder.

THE LATENCY AND GENITAL STAGES Compared to his elaborate description of development in the first 5 years of life, Freud had little to say about the subsequent years. While later theories describe the impact of middle childhood and beyond in shaping personality, Freud's focus was on psychosexuality, and was not concerned with such other developments.

Middle Childhood to Puberty and Adulthood

According to Freud, little development occurs in middle childhood, because sexual energy is low. This changes with the onset of puberty, which brings a resurgence of libido and entry into the final stage of psychosexual development, the genital stage.

The latency stage—Middle childhood, the **latency stage**, is a period of relative calm for the sexual instincts, so Freud's model of libidinal tension says little about this stage. (It is, however, an important period of development according to other theories.)

The genital stage—The **genital stage** begins at puberty. In contrast to the autoerotic and fantasy sexual objects of the phallic child, the genital adult develops the capacity to experience sexual satisfaction with an opposite-sex partner. The **genital character** is Freud's ideal of full development, requiring that fixations have been avoided or resolved through psychoanalysis. Such a person has no significant pre-Oedipal conflicts; enjoys a satisfying sexuality; and cares about the satisfaction of the love partner, avoiding selfish narcissism. Sublimated psychic energy is available for work, which brings enjoyment.

A person's experiences during the childhood stages of psychosexual development influence personality for the rest of life.

REVIEW: PSYCHOSEXUAL STAGES

Freud described five stages of psychosexual development, of which the most formative occur before the age of 5 years.

Statements
Conflict between the desire for continued nursing and the experience of being weaned shapes developments during the _____ stage. **Feedback:** oral
Addiction to smoking, according to Freud's model, is influenced by psychosexual experience in the _____ stage. **Feedback:** oral
Conflict between the desire for bodily control and the family's demands for toilet training constitute the crisis of the _____ stage. **Feedback:** anal
Traits such as orderliness and stubbornness are developed in the _____ stage. **Feedback:** anal
According to Freud, boys in the _____ stage want their mother as their mate. **Feedback:** phallic
During the _____ stage, children develop their gender identity. **Feedback:** phallic
During middle childhood, when children are in Freud's _____ stage, psychosexual energy is dormant and no new psychosexual crises are experienced. **Feedback:** latency
For adults, who are in the _____ stage, no new psychosexual conflicts emerge, though unresolved childhood conflicts remain. **Feedback:** genital

2.6: Psychoanalysis

OBJECTIVE: Contrast psychoanalytic treatment and psychoanalysis as a scientific theory

The term *psychoanalysis* has two meanings. It is both a scientific theory based on discovering the unconscious contents of personality and a treatment technique.

In the healthy adult, both direct sexual satisfaction and indirect sublimation of sexual instincts occur, leading to Freud's famous criterion of mental health, *Lieben und Arbeiten*, that is, "love and work." Such an outcome is possible if there are no major fixations in development or if fixations are resolved through psychoanalytic treatment. Freud described psychoanalysis with the metaphor of archaeology. The analytic process tries to "dig up" primitive material long "buried" by repression and bring it to the surface, to consciousness, so it can be considered with the skills of the more developed ego.

2.6.1: The Process of Psychoanalytic Therapy

Freud's psychoanalytic therapy was the basis for many later "talk therapies" for the treatment of psychological problems. Some of the elements of his approach were retained in later therapies, but others were changed.

Psychoanalytic Therapy

In Freud's classic approach, the patient lies on a couch, unable to see the therapist, who sits at his or her head—thus preventing the therapist's facial expressions from conveying any information. The therapist's questions are intended to probe the content of the patient's unconscious, and thus to allow exploration of unconscious conflicts.

Childhood memories—Restoration of memory was a key throughout Freud's evolving understanding of therapy (Knafo, 2009). This makes sense, because a major assumption of the theory is that painful childhood memories are at the root of much dysfunction. The psychoanalyst uses the principle of psychic determinism to discover the unconscious ideas and conflicts of the patient that originated in the past, thus helping the patient to become free of the neurotic compulsion to repeat the past, and able to live in the present (Covington, 2001).

Free association—The basic technique of psychoanalysis is **free association**, which requires the patient "to say whatever came into his head, while ceasing to give any conscious direction to his thoughts" (Freud, 1935/1963a, p. 75). Suspension of conscious control allows the unconscious to be observed directing thoughts and memories, at least in theory, though research does not support this (Bornstein, 1993). Free association can occur in exploring the meaning of dreams, and in delving deeper into the meaning of memories of childhood experiences. In addition, some clinicians also use psychological tests to guide their diagnosis (Jaffe, 1992).

Insight and catharsis—Psychoanalytic treatment produces **insight**, that is, understanding of true motives, which are unconscious conflicts. To be therapeutic, insight must be accompanied by emotional awareness. The emergence of buried feelings from the unconscious is called **catharsis**. These feelings, including fear and grief, often accompany the recall of forgotten memories. Like the removal of infectious material when a wound is lanced, catharsis frees the unconscious of troublesome repressions.

Working through conflicts—Modern psychoanalysis recognizes that unconscious conflicts must be confronted again and again in treatment. The patient must "work through" the conflict, discovering the many circumstances that have been influenced by it and essentially reconstructing personality to replace these unconscious irrational determinants with mature motivations. Too much focus on a past traumatic memory, even in therapy, may not be the best approach. Instead, the aim should be some sort of cognitive restructuring, helping the patient to build a new life narrative that is broader than the traumatic experience and that helps the individual move in a healthy direction (Bonanno & Kaltman, 2000).

Transference—A major phenomenon in psychoanalytic treatment is **transference**. During treatment, the patient develops a relationship to the therapist based on unconscious projections from earlier life, experiencing emotions that were repressed when felt toward earlier significant others. For example, a female patient may "fall in love with" her male analyst because of transference of the love she felt for her father during childhood. Negative as well as positive emotions occur. Transference is, strangely enough, desirable, because it brings unresolved issues to the analytic process, where they can be resolved. More problematic are the analyst's unresolved issues triggering projective reactions to the patient, termed *countertransference*, which may interfere with treatment.

Psychoanalytic treatment is considerably more time-consuming and expensive than alternative modes of treatment. Is it more effective, justifying the extra cost and commitment? Evidence is mixed, favoring psychoanalysis for psychosomatic disorders (Fisher & Greenberg, 1977) but not for anxiety and phobias (Goldfried, Greenberg, & Marmar, 1990) or depression (Westen & Morrison, 2001). In fact, based on the accumulation of research on therapy effectiveness, Shedler (2010) concluded that not only is psychodynamic therapy (a term that includes later developments that build on psychoanalysis) as effective as the alternative therapies that are regarded as having proven their effectiveness, but also its benefits last longer (cf. Blomberg, Lazar, & Sandell, 2001), which makes sense if we grant that this approach aims at more fundamental personality change.

REVIEW: PSYCHOANALYTIC TREATMENT TERMINOLOGY

Psychoanalytic treatment explores the unconscious through free association and dream interpretation. Certain experiences are characteristic of this type of therapy.

Statements
A basic technique of psychoanalysis is _____, which requires the patient "to say whatever came into his head, while ceasing to give any conscious direction to his thoughts." **Feedback:** free association
Psychoanalytic treatment produces _____, that is, understanding of true motives, which are unconscious conflicts. **Feedback:** insight
The emergence of buried feelings from the unconscious is called _____. **Feedback:** catharsis
The phenomenon in which the patient develops a relationship to the therapist based on unconscious projections from earlier life, experiencing emotions that were repressed when felt toward earlier significant others during treatment, is known as _____. **Feedback:** transference
The analyst's unresolved issues triggering projective reactions to the patient is termed _____. **Feedback:** countertransference

2.6.2: The Recovered Memory Controversy

A controversial technique that was used by a small minority of therapists has now been discredited: recovered memory therapy. The idea behind this therapy was that

traumatic sexual experiences in childhood had led patients to develop a variety of symptoms (e.g., depression, promiscuity, and eating disorders) and also to repress the memory of the abuse. If memory for the traumatic event could be restored, it was thought, a therapeutic benefit would be obtained (Blume, 1995; Freyd, 1994, 1996; Whitfield, 1995).

There is no denying that childhood sexual abuse occurs and contributes to a variety of psychological problems (Cahill, Llewelyn, & Pearson, 1991; Finkelhor, Hotaling, Lewis, & Smith, 1990). Unfortunately, a few therapists jumped to a conclusion of sexual abuse with minimal evidence, even over the objections of patients, and through suggestion, therapists gradually convinced patients of a traumatic past that had not occurred in their cases. Occasional reports are so bizarre, including reports of satanic ritual abuse, cult mass murders of newborns, and childbirth in women whose physicians find no evidence of pregnancy, that they are patently absurd. Some allegedly recalled memories of abuse are, in fact, the result of suggestion by therapists to gullible clients (e.g., Bowers & Farvolden, 1996). Such suggested memories are called the "false memory syndrome."

Often there is no reliable way of knowing whether a particular client's memories are true or false or a mixture of truth and falsehood (Genoni, 1994; Lindsay & Read, 1995; Scheflin & Brown, 1996). The controversy moves to the courts, where trials pit children who claim to have been abused against their parents. The legal system, of course, requires knowledge about what behavior actually occurred, and psychoanalysis, because it is concerned instead with "subjective truth" and fantasy, is not well suited to provide the needed information (Birch, 1998). Others caution that the narrative truth, or meaning that is to be discovered, which is the focus of therapy, is not the same as historical or factual truth (Spence, 1982). In those rare cases in which recovered memories can be objectively validated, they seem to be so different from the typical therapeutically recovered memory that one clinician suggested most recovered memory tales told in therapy are not really about the past at all but rather some metaphor for events that are actually happening within therapy itself (Brenneis, 2000). The challenge for clinicians and researchers is to identify and respond to real abuse, without the errors of false memories.

2.6.3: Psychoanalysis as a Scientific Theory

Psychoanalysis is more than a therapy. It is a theory of personality. Does the personality theory fare any better than the therapy when subjected to the objective evaluation of the scientific method? Most psychologists today would say no. The main difficulty is that Freud's concepts were not described precisely enough to guide scientists toward a definitive test; that is, they fall short on the criterion of verifiability. For Freud, the psychoanalytic method of talking with an individual patient provided sufficient data to verify his theory, without worrying about potentially biased observations, and many analysts defend clinical observation as evidence, despite its difficulties.

Projective tests, such as the Rorschach inkblot test (Pichot, 1984), are commonly used to measure unconscious motivations, but they have low reliability compared to self-report questionnaires. Nonetheless, some striking results have been reported with the Rorschach method, and a variety of scoring methods based on empirical research have increased reliability and validity (Bornstein & Masling, 2005). In one study, Rorschach tests of women who had killed their abusive husbands were found to be similar to tests of combat veterans suffering from posttraumatic stress disorder (Kaser-Boyd, 1993). Rorschach tests change as psychotherapy progresses; patients' scores indicate increasing adjustment over time and greater improvement with long-term than short-term therapy (Exner & Andronikof-Sanglade, 1992; Weiner & Exner, 1991).

2.6.4: Silverman's Experiments

Scientific testing of Freud's theory is difficult because it is challenging to measure the unconscious reliably or to manipulate it as an independent variable in an experiment. An ingenious strategy, however, was developed by Lloyd Silverman to do just that: activate the unconscious to measure its effects (see "Silverman's Subliminal Psychodynamic Activation Method").

2.6.5: Nonconscious Cognition

Freud explored the unconscious from an assumption that consciousness is the usual mode of experience, and repression provides the energy to move material from consciousness to the unconscious (see "The Interpretations of Nonconscious Cognition").

Silverman's Subliminal Psychodynamic Activation Method

Lloyd Silverman (1976, 1983) conducted a series of experimental tests of the unconscious.

The Method	Calling his method "subliminal psychodynamic activation," Silverman presented stimuli with a tachistoscope, a device that allows visual stimuli to be presented very briefly (4 milliseconds). Subjects reported that they could see only brief flickers of light. Although they could not consciously identify the subliminal messages, they were influenced by them. When people with schizophrenia were exposed to a conflict-arousing stimulus, "I am losing Mommy," their psychotic symptoms increased. This response is predicted by Freud's theory because a person with schizophrenia uses hallucination, a primitive ego defense mechanism of infancy, to deal with unconscious conflicts about losing the mother, the object just developing in the oral stage.

The Effect	When Silverman's tachistoscope conveyed the unconscious message, "Mommy and I are one," psychotic symptoms were reduced, presumably because the conflict was reduced by activating a symbiotic merger with the mother in the unconscious. Silverman later tested the cue, "Mommy and I are one," in a variety of populations and reported that it had many beneficial effects in reducing phobias (Silverman, Frank, & Dachinger, 1974), reducing homosexual threat (Silverman, Kwawer, Wolitzky, & Coron, 1973) and facilitating weight loss in obese women (Silverman, Martin, Ungaro, & Mendelsohn, 1978). The desire to merge with the mother thus is relevant for other populations besides people with schizophrenia. Building on Silverman's research, others have developed ways of measuring this fundamental desire to be merged with the mother, or with a later object, by coding projective stories for the Oneness Motive (Siegel & Weinberger, 1998).
The Claim	Using different cues with other patient populations, Silverman claimed that unconscious arousal of the specific conflict identified by psychoanalytic theory to be associated with each diagnosis (e.g., oral conflict for individuals with schizophrenia and anal conflict for people with speech impediments) could produce an increase or decrease of symptoms (Silverman, Bronstein, & Mendelsohn, 1976). Among women with eating disorders, subliminal arousal of abandonment conflict led to increased eating in a bogus cracker-rating task (Patton, 1992). An appropriate stimulus ("Beating Dad is OK") was even reported to improve dart-throwing performance in college males (Silverman, Ross, Adler, & Lustig, 1978). If the stimuli were presented at longer exposures, so they could be consciously recognized, there was no effect on the symptoms; only unconscious dynamics produced changes.
The Criticism	Some researchers have not replicated Silverman's findings and have called for more stringent controls (Balay & Shevrin, 1988; Brody, 1987; Fudin, 1986, 2001; Malik, Krasney, Aldworth, & Ladd, 1996). Other critics are more positive. One systematic statistical review of research using the subliminal activation technique concluded that it is effective in reducing pathology and that replications by other researchers not associated with Silverman's laboratory also confirm the effect (Hardaway, 1990). If it is effective, it is still unclear whether the mechanism is the hypothesized unconscious return to an infantile symbiosis with the mother, before the burdens of becoming a separate self. It might instead occur because this stimulus produces a positive mood, which in turn has a variety of beneficial effects (Sohlberg, Billinghurst, & Nylén, 1998). Further complicating the issue, other researchers reported that the Silverman procedure sometimes results in suffering instead of comfort, presumably because for some individuals, increasing merger with the mother may arouse conflict (Sohlberg, Samuelberg, Sidén, & Thörn, 1998).

The Interpretations of Nonconscious Cognition

The unconscious and repression explained why emotional reactions in his patients, obvious from their behavior and physiological reactions, were not accompanied by appropriate awareness (Lang, 1994). However, cognitive approaches suggest that material may not be conscious for other reasons besides repression, including lack of attention and competing associations.

Lack of Awareness	Several researchers have investigated nonconscious cognition without the assumptions of conflict that Freud's dynamic model describes (Kihlstrom, 1985, 1987, 1990; Kihlstrom, Barnhardt, & Tataryn, 1992; Natsoulas, 1994). While we are consciously paying attention to one thing, other information may be presented that does not become conscious but is still perceived at some level. When research subjects are asked to determine whether briefly presented stimuli are members of a specific category, such as "mammal," or not, their electroencephalograph (EEG) brain scans show different activity for category members ("horse") than for stimuli that are not members of the category ("apple"), even when they fail consciously to make the correct identification; this provides evidence of semantic processing of which we are not conscious (Stenberg, Johansson, Olsson, Lindgren, & Rosen, 2000). Subliminal presentations of smiling faces can cause experimental subjects to form more positive attitudes about people (Krosnick, Betz, Jussim, & Lynn, 1992). Subliminal messages in advertising can change consumers' attitudes toward products, though not necessarily their actual purchases (Aylesworth, Goodstein, & Kalra, 1999; Trappey, 1996). Even under anesthesia, people may be influenced by auditory stimuli. One study reported that tapes of therapeutic suggestions played to patients during abdominal surgery reduced the amount of pain medication required after surgery, even though patients could not consciously recall the tapes (Caseley-Rondi, Merikle, & Bowers, 1994).
Nonconscious Determinants	Considerable neuroscientific research makes it clear that there are many determinants of behavior and emotion that are not conscious. Frith (2014) said that we believe we are the agents of our own behavior, based on learning the messages from society, and so feel responsible for our actions (as we must, if society is to function), while remaining unaware of the determinants of our behavior. In this his argument largely agrees with Freud's, but without the psychoanalytic concepts of an unconscious.
Lack of Attention	The cognitive interpretation of such nonconscious cognition does not require a sophisticated process of repression or censorship based on anxiety, such as Freud proposed. Instead of mental processes being conscious intrinsically, unless repressed to keep them unconscious, many modern theorists have proposed much the opposite: that mental processes are not conscious unless they are made to be so by some additional action (Natsoulas, 1993), such as focusing attention (Velmans, 1991). In one model, consciousness may occur when information in the nonconscious part of the brain (which is most of the brain) is represented again in a system of the brain devoted to consciousness (Olds, 1992). In this model, nonconscious suggestion is readily explained. Events that do not reach awareness can activate or strengthen neural networks that are related to certain ideas, so they are more easily activated by subsequent events and then become conscious (Greenwald, 1992), often aided by verbal representation. There is certainly a model that supports "talk" therapy.
Alternative to Freud's Energy Model	The theory of a cognitive nonconscious offers an alternative to Freud's dynamic unconscious. It does not invoke questionable assumptions of psychic energy, and it can be reconciled with cognitive research and theory. Individual differences in defenses, such as repression, can be understood without a psychic energy model. Experiments show that people who are classified as repressors because written tests indicate that they avoid threatening thoughts are particularly attentive to emotional information, both pleasant and unpleasant. When circumstances allow, they distance themselves from emotional events (Mendolia, Moore, & Tesser, 1996). Individual differences in responses to emotion can be explained as differences in emotional reactivity, perhaps caused by a genetic predisposition or learned ways of behaving.

2.6.6: Nonconscious Influences and the Brain

Freud's work began in neurology, and it became psychological because the clinical phenomena he confronted were incomprehensible with the medical knowledge of that time. Today, neurologists suggest that some of the clinical symptoms Freud observed do have a neurological basis. Consider traumatic memory loss. Neural imaging of the brain shows decreased functioning in the hippocampus, an area known to be important for memory, in people who have been exposed to combat stress and other traumas (Conway & Pleydell-Pearce, 2000).

When experimental animals are exposed to very high levels of stress, the brain responds physiologically in ways that can alter memory, producing amnesia. Rats who are stressed by a painful shock to their feet forget how to escape from a tank of water. Stress causes an increase in the hormone glucocorticoid, which interferes with neural messages in the hippocampus (de Quervain, Roozendaal, & McGaugh, 1998). These or other biochemical consequences of severe stress, especially in an immature brain, could cause amnesia for biological reasons (Bremner, Krystal, Charney, & Southwick, 1996; Bremner, Krystal, Southwick, & Charney, 1995; van der Kolk & Fisler, 1995). Perhaps, in focusing on the psychological significance of memories instead of the biological mechanisms of trauma, psychoanalysis has been incorrect.

Modern neurology has progressed considerably since Freud's time. It may be possible to understand some of the mind as Freud described it in terms of modern cognitive neuroscience (Kandel, 1999). Many lines of research provide evidence for some of Freud's proposed psychic mechanisms (such as repression and displacement) and suggest specific neural mechanisms for some of these processes (Berlin, 2011; Bornstein, Denckla, & Chung, 2013; Ceylan & Sayın, 2012); Rizzolatti, Semi, & Fabbri-Destro, 2014). Building on decades of neuroscience findings, an elaborate analysis by Solms and Panksepp (2012) proposed specific brain mechanisms for key Freudian concepts, including unconscious processes, the preconscious, resistance, the reality principle, the pleasure principle, the ego, and the id. Feelings of pleasure and pain are basic and primitive in this analysis, corresponding to Freud's emphasis on the pleasure principle and on negative feeling states that figure so prominently in neurotic conflict. But their model differs from Freud's, and from that of many current brain researchers, in arguing that consciousness itself fundamentally begins in the subcortical areas of the brain, and is emotional.

Neuroscience research today has permitted far greater understanding than Freud, in his day, tried unsuccessfully to achieve. Most likely, Freud's ideas cannot be fully reconciled with neuroscience (Frank, 2008) but will give way to a more biological, "neurodynamic" psychiatry (Hobson & Leonard, 2001; Shapiro, 2002).

Among Freud's enduring contributions is his basic idea that problems can be caused by reasons that are not conscious, although his descriptions of psychic energy and instincts are out of favor today (Frank, 2008), having been largely replaced by cognitive and neuroscience models. Rather than criticizing Freud for being wrong about many of the details of personality and its unconscious foundation, it is more sensible to credit him with suggesting areas worthy of investigation and for opening doors for those who followed—those who were intrigued by the unconscious but dissatisfied with Freud's description of it. After all, theories are not meant to last forever. If they pave the way to better theories, is that not enough?

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Psychoanalysis and Brain Science

If neuroscience comes to demonstrate a physical basis for Freud's observations, such as the impact of traumatic childhood experiences on memory and defense mechanisms, do you think psychoanalytic theory should be replaced by neuroscience or integrated with it?

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

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Summary: Freud's Classical Psychoanalysis

2.1 Identify the contributions Freud's theory made to understanding behavior

- Freud's psychoanalytic theory contributed to our awareness of the power of unconscious forces and the importance of the first 5 years of life for personality development.
- His theory describes psychological conflict and defense mechanisms to understand psychological problems in adjustment.

2.2 Explain how conscious and unconscious factors determine behavior

- Freud's psychoanalytic theory proposes that behavior is caused by psychological forces, according to the assumption of psychic determinism.
- Unconscious forces often overpower consciousness, producing symptoms of neurosis, psychosis, dreams, and mistakes in everyday life.

- Hypnosis can help understand the unconscious and can be used for therapeutic benefits.
- Dreams can be interpreted by seeking their symbolic meanings (latent content).
- The unconscious develops from repression of unacceptable thoughts.

2.3 Differentiate Freud's structures of personality

- Personality can be described in terms of three structures: id, ego, and superego.
- The id functions according to primary process and the pleasure principle, unconsciously seeking immediate satisfaction of biologically based drives, and it is the source of psychic energy (libido).
- The ego functions according to secondary process and the reality principle; it adapts to reality by using defense mechanisms to cope with intrapsychic conflict.
- The superego represents society's restrictions and produces guilt and an ego ideal.

2.4 Identify the strategies for dealing with intrapsychic personality conflict

- Intrapsychic conflict, signaled by anxiety, is dealt with by the ego through a variety of defense mechanisms, including denial, reaction formation, projection, displacement, identification, isolation, rationalization, and intellectualization.
- The most healthy resolution of conflict is through sublimation, which produces creativity.

2.5 Describe the stages of personality development proposed by Freud

- Personality develops through five psychosexual stages. The first three stages are most influential. These are the oral, anal, and phallic stages, which occur from birth to age 5.
- The latency stage provides a lull before the final, genital, stage of adulthood.
- Fixation, especially at the first three stages, impedes development and may produce symptoms treatable by psychoanalysis.

2.6 Contrast psychoanalytic treatment and psychoanalysis as a scientific theory

- The term *psychoanalysis* refers both to the scientific theory of the unconscious proposed by Freud and to the treatment technique upon which it is based.
- The basic technique of psychoanalytic therapy is free association, which permits the discovery of unconscious material.
- Other key elements of treatment are dream interpretation, examination of childhood memories, catharsis, insight, and transference.
- Memory recovery in therapy is a controversial technique that may result in false memories.
- Although many psychoanalysts share Freud's belief that the observations of psychoanalytic treatment provide sufficient evidence for the theory, others have attempted empirical verification through research, with mixed results.
- Alternative explanations of nonconscious phenomena have been offered, such as the cognitive (instead of dynamic) nonconscious.
- Some researchers are proposing brain mechanisms for the processes that Freud described.

SHARED WRITING

Conflict About Sexual and Aggressive Impulses

Freud proposed that conflict over the expression of id impulses is central to personality. Most attention has been given to sexual impulses, but the id also includes aggressive impulses in his theory. Do you think the idea that conflict over sexual expression is a major determinant of personality makes sense in our time, or have more permissive social attitudes toward sexuality made this idea obsolete? What about aggressive impulses? Respond to two classmates' postings, including at least one who has expressed an opinion that differs from your own.

A minimum number of characters is required to post and earn points. After posting, your response can be viewed by your class and instructor, and you can participate in the class discussion.

Post

0 characters | 140 minimum

SHARED WRITING

Your Reactions to the Illustrative Biography After Studying Freud's Theory

Now that we have learned more about Freud's theory, look back at the illustrative biography of Adolf Hitler at the beginning of this chapter. What do you understand more clearly about applying Freud's theory? What questions do you have? Do you think that a psychoanalytic explanation of Hitler's deeds is adequate to explain his historical impact?

Respond to two classmates' postings, including at least one who has expressed an opinion that differs from your own.

A minimum number of characters is required to post and earn points. After posting, your response can be viewed by your class and instructor, and you can participate in the class discussion.

Post

0 characters | 140 minimum

Chapter 3
Jung's Analytical Psychology

Learning Objectives

3.1 Summarize Jung's theory of personality

3.2 Describe Jung's view on the structure of personality

3.3 Explain how symbols relate to the collective unconscious

3.4 Describe the symbolic techniques associated with Jung's analytical therapy

3.5 Explain how the synchronicity principle is used to interpret meaningful coincidences

3.6 Identify the implications of psychological types in understanding personalities

Like Freud, Carl Jung proposed a theory that gives a prominent role to the unconscious. For Jung, however, the unconscious should not be replaced by consciousness, but instead has a positive role in healthy functioning when it is properly integrated into the whole personality. This respect for unconscious elements has made Jung popular in the arts and literature. In contrast to Freud, Jung viewed the libido as not primarily sexual, but rather as a broad psychic energy with spiritual dimensions that should be respected. For him, the most interesting personality developments occur in adulthood, not in childhood. He was concerned with future directions toward which personality is developing, in contrast to Freud's emphasis on the past. In his personal life, Jung allowed himself to experience the unconscious firsthand through dreams and fantasies, comparing his role to that of an explorer who was strong enough to make this dangerous voyage and come back to use his insights to help heal his psychotherapy patients, and to tell others what he found there.

Carl Jung's Theory and Martin Luther King, Jr.

Jung's theory asserts that healthy and effective functioning requires that the individual be in contact with the forces of the unconscious, often through dreams and symbols. The charismatic civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr., is a prime example of this healthy and heroic functioning.

Development—Carl Jung's theory, unlike that of Freud and other psychoanalytic and psychodynamic theorists, is little concerned with childhood. If he had focused on childhood, his theory would have addressed Martin's early memories of racially motivated insults and the anger that aroused in him (Mwita, 2004). Instead, he focused on the developments that occur in adulthood. During midlife, according to Jung, a person has the task of becoming a unique person whose unconscious qualities are now examined and revised. This is the individuation process, and it draws on the deep unconscious reservoir of personality that Jung called the "collective unconscious," as well as on a strong ego.

Although Dr. King was still young when he died, he may have been further along in the individuation process because of his spiritual background. (For Jung, psychological and spiritual development had much in common.) During the individuation process, an adult explores aspects of his personality that were neglected earlier in life, and then integrates them into a more whole personality.

Description—Jung's theory describes differences between people along three dimensions: a fundamental attitude of introversion or extraversion, and two pairs of psychological functions. The first pair of psychological functions describes ways of making decisions: thinking and feeling. Finally, the remaining psychological functions are alternative ways of getting information: through the details of the five senses (sensation) or more intuitively (intuition). All combinations of these three dimensions are possible.

King, analyzing himself, claimed to be partly introvert and partly extravert: an "ambivert," in King's words

Illustrative Biography: Martin Luther King, Jr.

Watch MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Carl Jung's theory portrays an unconscious that is shared by all humanity rather than contained solely within an individual psyche. The impact of that collective unconscious is felt through powerful archetypal symbols that can be projected onto individuals and influence history. This is one interpretation of the larger-than-life events that surrounded the life and death of an American hero, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

(Oates, 1982, p. 40), but his greater strength is introversion, his connection with his own inner life. Within the types listed by Jung, King could best be classified as an intuitive introvert. Jung (1971, p. 400) said that introverted intuitive types are often prophets (see also Maidenbaum & Thomson, 1989), and many, including King himself, applied this term to his ministry. King drew richly from this symbolic realm in his sermons. He turned prayerfully inward at critical moments—for example, when deciding whether to take a leading role in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, despite the conflicting demands of his congregation and his young family. King's most famous speech, delivered in August 1963, described his dream from the mountaintop, his vision of racial equality. King worked to make his dreams real in the world, but he described that as a future potential rather than a current reality. To be concerned with future potentialities is characteristic of intuitive types, using Jung's psychetype theory. On the third dimension of Jung's descriptive model, King may have emphasized thinking somewhat more than feeling, given his intense motivation for education, which prompted him to complete a doctorate degree, despite the early disadvantage of an inferior education in segregated schools. But the emotional richness of his speeches suggests that both of

these poles, thinking and feeling, had been already well developed.

Adjustment—The healthy person, according to Jung, has developed all four of the psychological functions (thinking and feeling, sensation and intuition). The unconscious provides wisdom and creativity, and not only the maladjustment that Freud described. Consciousness alone is not sufficient. The challenge is to find ways to tap into this unconscious without being driven to pathology in the process.

King's success in his ministry and family is evidence of health, but along the way, there were times of great trouble. He attempted suicide twice, a biographer relates (Oates, 1982, p. 36). Until a person can forge a new relationship with the unconscious, the limitations of conscious life may seem unbearable, and the unconscious too dangerous and destructive. Once past this stage, though, King drew from his unconscious and spiritual side and found ways to make its energies available not only to himself but to others. The unconscious into which he tapped, Jung would say, was not only his personal unconscious but the collective unconscious of humankind, and so his journey was to heal himself as well as to help humanity. All the psychological functions came into play. With the help of others in the civil rights movement, he paid attention to the details of the campaign as well as the vision of the future, thus using the sensation and the intuition functions. Feeling as well as thinking was clearly evident in his inspiring sermons and speeches. This ability to use all the psychological functions is a characteristic of a healthy personality in Jung's theory.

Cognition—Jung's theory values not only the logical, scientific way of thinking (drawing on the sensation function), but also, to a greater extent, the holistic way of thinking that derives from the intuitive function. He described archetypes as basic cognitive units in the unconscious, on which symbols and mythology and religious imagery are built. One archetype is that of the hero, a person whose individuation process confronts the powerful forces of the unconscious and taps into their riches without being destroyed in the process.

King's success in mobilizing and challenging the moral conscience of the nation was possible because he functioned for many as a concrete representation of the hero archetype. Throughout his ministry, King spoke to his congregation and to the world in symbols that mobilized the energies of the unconscious, including many symbols from his Christian faith. In addition, the public's own unconscious hero archetype was projected onto him, recognizing that his work resonated with something not yet named (for many but not all people) within their own psyche. Archetypes are powerful because of this shared nature, and they energize much human activity and history. Projection of the hero archetype onto King combined several components: a promise of a better life; the expectation that the hero will fight difficult battles on behalf of others; and in many myths, the tragic finale in which the hero, once crowned as king, must die. Jung recommended that people stay within the symbols and mythology of their own heritage, and King did so. He borrowed the ideas of nonviolence from Gandhi's teachings in India and South Africa, but he presented them within the framework of his own Baptist heritage.

Culture—Jung, himself an introvert, was more interested in the inner world of archetypes than in external social reality, and so he tended to regard social behavior as a consequence of inner psychological experience, rather than to think of social causes. He suggested that racial bigotry can occur when people project their own unacceptable unconscious qualities (their "shadow," in his terminology) onto cultural scapegoats, which is an argument with considerable merit. But is the solution to racism, then, to psychoanalyze the bigots? What about economic and legal reforms?

King, in contrast, actively worked in society on the front lines of the civil rights movement, and he paid dearly for that effort. Among his other speeches is a noteworthy one in 1967, when he addressed a national meeting of psychologists about their potential contributions to the civil rights movement (King, 1968). To the extent that he can be considered not just an individual but a part of the collective whole of humanity, the benefit of his prophetic leadership lives on.

Biology—In contrast to Freud's emphasis on sexuality, Jung described a more psychological and even spiritual unconscious, but one that also is inherited as part of our biological nature. He described a collective unconscious that is universal in all humans, but with some variation among genetically different groups or races. The unfortunate consequence of this proposed genetic basis for the collective unconscious was a certain blindness to racial issues, and he has been criticized for allowing his writing to be used to support racist Nazi propaganda, and was investigated by the FBI as a (falsely) accused Nazi sympathizer (Schoenl, 2014). In the case of Martin Luther King, Jr., his expressions of the collective unconscious touched people universally, across racial divisions, mobilizing whites as well as minorities to the power of his dream of racial harmony.

Final thoughts—From prophecy to assassination, King's life story reads as hauntingly archetypal. The myth of the hero, an archetypal story shared across cultures, seems to define the life and work of Martin Luther King, Jr., better than any strictly individual interpretation as he was cast into the role of a hero in the struggle against racial injustice

in the United States. The fact that he has become world famous attests to the resonance in many people to the universal archetypal energies that he represents for us. It was Jung's life work to explore the archetypes so that they could coexist with rational consciousness rather than blindly driving human experience. As long as masses of people are unconscious of the archetypal realm, we will continue to act out these various tragic scripts.

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Archetypal Symbols and History

According to Jung's theory, there are shared unconscious elements that all people experience, and these are expressed in archetypal—that is, universal and unconscious—symbols, such as that of a hero who fights evil forces to save his people. Do you think that such symbols can be projected onto individuals and can influence history?

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

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3.1: Overview of Jung's Theory

OBJECTIVE: Summarize Jung's theory of personality

Jung's theory appeals in particular to those who are attracted to the mystical and metaphorical side of human experience. His elaborate discussion of unconscious symbols informs not only stories of heroes and others in real life and in literature, but also dream interpretation and the role of myths and fairy tales in culture. Less well known is that his contributions also include scientific studies reminiscent of the esteemed psychology laboratories of Europe in the 19th century. He measured reaction times and associations with words as a way to probe unconscious conflicts. Furthermore, personality tests based on Jung's ideas have become some of the most frequently used assessments in businesses and other organizations (see Table 3.1).

3.1.1: Biography of Carl Jung

For Jung, his psychological theorizing was not separate from his personal life, but rather was a gradually unfolding story of his own self-exploration. It was an intensely personal journey into his unconscious, but one that he was certain would also be helpful to his patients and others, because all people have a shared ("collective") unconscious side (see "The Life of Carl Jung").

Table 3.1 Preview of Jung's Theory

Jung's theory has implications for the major theoretical questions presented in the following table. His theory focuses on the positive potential of the unconscious when it is integrated into the total personality, and he described individual differences that include varying tendencies to be open to the intuitive, sometimes mystical experiences that provide access to the unconscious. As his theory developed, he turned away from mainstream science, though his typology of individual differences has proved useful for research and for various applications.

Individual Differences	Individuals differ in their tendency to be introverts or extraverts, which is stable throughout life. They also differ in the extent to which they make use of four psychological functions (thinking, feeling, sensation, and intuition). Together, the fundamental attitude (introversion or extraversion) and the predominant psychological function of the individual constitute one of eight psychological types (psychetypes).
Adaptation and Adjustment	The unconscious has an important role in healthy maturity and should be explored through symbolism. Psychological health requires a balance between conscious and unconscious functioning.
Cognitive Processes	Rational thinking, intuition, and emphasis on concrete details all provide useful information and should be developed. Unconscious images influence perceptions and may distort our perception of reality, but also provide knowledge that is less available to rational thought.
Culture	Cultural myths and rituals provide ways of dealing with the unconscious. Important differences exist among cultures and should be preserved, but all cultures derive imagery from a shared collective unconscious.
Biological Influences	Mental contents (a "collective unconscious") as well as physical characteristics are inherited.
Development	Early experience was of little interest to Jung. Midlife change (individuation) involves exploration of the creative potentials of the unconscious.

The Life of Carl Jung

Carl Jung was a younger contemporary of Sigmund Freud, with whom he had a sometimes rocky relationship. His theoretical differences with Freud were profound, and his approach was far more mystical than Freud's. Jung's background in a Swiss Protestant family influenced his development.

Early life—Carl Gustav Jung was born in Switzerland in 1875, the son of a Protestant minister and perhaps the great-grandson of the renowned German poet Goethe. Jung had one sister, who was 9 years his junior. His father and several uncles were Protestant clergymen. Jung suspected, even as a child, that his father did not genuinely believe the church's teachings but was afraid to face his doubts honestly. Like many in her family, Jung's mother was emotionally unstable (Noll, 1994) and, according to Jung, psychic.

Career in psychology—As a young psychiatrist, Jung lectured at the University of Zurich, developed a word association technique for uncovering the emotional complexes of his patients, and had a private practice. He greeted Freud's controversial work on psychoanalysis enthusiastically and supported it in his own professional writing. After a period of mutually admiring correspondence, the two met at

Freud's office in Vienna. This first meeting lasted 13 hours, attesting to the breadth of their mutual interest and respect. They continued an active correspondence, which has been published (McGuire, 1974). Together they traveled to the United States in 1909 to present psychoanalysis at the G. Stanley Hall Conference at Clark University (Jung, 1910/1987). The trip, a long journey by sea, gave Jung and Freud plenty of time to discuss psychoanalysis and dreams. These discussions revealed a small crack in their relationship, which later became a huge split. Freud, to protect his authority, would not reveal personal associations to a dream he was telling Jung. These mental connections would have disclosed a sexual indiscretion, and to protect his authority, Freud chose to violate a cardinal rule of psychoanalysis by censoring his associations (Rosen, 1993).

Jung presided over a psychoanalytic association in Zurich, and Freud intended to have Jung succeed him as president of the International Psychoanalytic Association, thinking it would be advantageous to broaden psychoanalysis beyond its Jewish circle. He conveyed this intent to Jung in a letter in which he referred to Jung as a "crown prince," and Jung responded with gratitude, referring to Freud as a father figure.

Before this could be achieved, however, the personal relationship between Freud and Jung was disrupted. There were intellectual disagreements, to be sure; Jung felt that Freud overemphasized the role of sexuality in his theory and underestimated the positive potential of the unconscious. However, it was a personal conflict as well (Goldwert, 1986; Marcovitz, 1982; Stern, 1976), part of a midlife crisis in which Jung withdrew from his academic pursuits and devoted himself to introspection and exploration of two personalities within his own psyche (Rosen, 1996; Ticho, 1982).

Contributions to psychology—Jung had long been interested in mystical phenomena. His doctoral dissertation had reported experiments on his cousin, a spiritualistic "medium" (Ellenberger, 1991), one of many of Jung's relatives who experienced psychic tendencies (Las Heras, 1992). He treated patients at the prestigious Burgholzli hospital in Zurich, and also in private practice. He wrote extensively on various topics, including his scientific experiments on word association as a method of uncovering psychiatric complexes and on schizophrenia and other psychiatric disorders.

In later life, he continued subjective explorations of the unconscious, read esoteric texts on mysticism and alchemy, and built a primitive retreat at Bollingen, on Lake Zurich. He reported several personal experiences of psychic phenomena, which he understood as manifestations of a broad, transpersonal "collective unconscious." For example, Jung is said to have dreamt of Winston Churchill whenever the English politician came near Switzerland, even though Jung had no conscious awareness of his arrival (Wehr, 1987, p. 357). Understanding the collective unconscious was Jung's major life task.

3.1.2: Evaluating Jung's Theory

From a scientific viewpoint, Jung's theory contains some of the most elusive concepts to measure objectively, yet his theory of personality psychetypes has stimulated considerable empirical testing. The breadth or comprehensiveness of the theory encompasses not only individual functioning but also many cultural symbols and myths. The theory has been applied to psychotherapy and to business. Indirectly, he is credited with influencing the origination of the Alcoholics Anonymous organization, because of his treatment of an alcoholic patient who conveyed to other alcoholics Jung's advice about the helpfulness of a spiritual approach (Bluhm, 2006; Finlay, 2000).

Jung considered science an inadequate tool for knowing the psyche. He preferred the language of mythology. He rejected "rational, scientific language" in favor of "a dramatic, mythological way of thinking and speaking, because this is not only more expressive but also more exact than an abstract scientific terminology, which is wont to toy with the notion that its theoretical formulations may one fine day be resolved into algebraic equations" (Jung, 1959, p. 13). This is ironic because Jung's international fame first came from his empirical studies of word associations (Naifeh, 2001).

His antiscientific attitude places Jung outside mainstream psychology, where some dismiss Jung's work as a "pseudoscience" (McGowan, 1994, p. 12). That is, it masquerades as science, although not using the scientific methods of empirical verification to determine what is true and what is not. (Other nonscientific areas, such as literature and art, are not pseudoscience because they make no pretense about being scientific.) Jung's perspective strengthens the bridge Freud had begun between psychology and symbolic expressions in literature, art, and religion. But Freud, though he referred to the Oedipus story and other myths in his theorizing, opposed Jung's mysticism. Nonetheless, Jung's theory has attracted many followers. Jungian psychotherapy and applications of his ideas in career guidance, organizational development, and literary criticism attest to his influence.

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Predictions About Jung's Approach and Creativity

Based on what you have learned so far in this introduction to Jung's theory, what do you anticipate as the pros and cons of this approach to understanding personality? Do you think that the unconscious can be creative? If so, why does it sometimes lead to creativity and sometimes to maladjustment?

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

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