

Prior to beginning work on this discussion, read the Rammstedt, Kemper, & Borg (2013) and Rodrigues, & Rebelo (2013) articles for this week, and review Chapters 7 through 9 in your textbook.

For this discussion, you will be taking on the role of the career counselor in a university. In this role, you will facilitate the evaluation of a student based on a five-factor personality assessment, career goals questionnaire, school and work history, and an interview with the student to make recommendations on his potential career paths. Carefully review the [PSY615: Week four career counselor-based scenario](#) (Links to an external site.)Links to an external site..

In your initial post, evaluate the personality assessment instrument used in the scenario and research a peer-reviewed article in the Ashford University Library on this personality assessment. Using the required articles as well as your researched article to support your statements, describe the standard use of this personality assessment. Based on the scenario, evaluate the reliability, validity, and cultural considerations inherent to the personality assessment used and comment on the relevance of these elements within the scenario. Recommend at least one additional best- and worst-fit work situation for the student based on your evaluation of the personality assessment's accuracy. Analyze and describe some of the potential ethical issues which might arise from the use of this personality assessment in the given scenario. Provide information from your research on the use of the personality measure, and assess the value of other possible instruments that could be added to create a more complete assessment of the student in the scenario.

Career Counseling Assessment

Prepared for John Lee

April 28, 2014

Reason for Referral

John was referred to the Career Counseling Center to assist him with choosing a major area of study and potential career paths based on his knowledge, skills, abilities, and preferences. John is a first-year university student currently enrolled in general education courses.

Assessments Used

A career preferences profile will be constructed for John based on his stated interests, educational background and focus, and abilities. Potential career paths will be recommended based on the complete profile. The following individual assessments were used in the overall assessment.

- NEO-R Personality Assessment
- Career Goals Questionnaire
- School and work history
- Interview

Below is the breakdown of aspects of John's personal style based on the Big Five Assessment taken as part of the career profile. The select questions indicate his personal style on each of five global trait dimensions: Openness, Conscientiousness, Extraversion, Agreeableness, and Neuroticism/Emotional Stability. There is no "right" or "wrong" or "good" or "bad" side to these dimensions; rather, they help identify John's stylistic disposition and potential strengths. Below each global trait is an example of personal style and three related questions with some examples of traits on each of the poles.

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Openness

Openness is the level of a person's receptiveness to novel ideas, change, innovation, and new learning. On the continuum, this can be seen as preference for change on one end of the spectrum and preference for stability on the other.

Preference for Change	Answer each of the questions listed below by marking the selection that best describes your present agreement or disagreement with each statement.					Preference for Stability
You value new learning, change, and innovation and find motivation in novelty, variety, and possibilities for improvement. New tasks and new learning are stimulating and attractive to you.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	You value familiarity, predictability, and precedent, and find comfort in stability, routine, and tradition. New tasks and new learning may be uninteresting or demanding for you.
1. The idea of lifelong learning appeals to me.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
2. I find it fun to learn and develop new hobbies	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	3. I have difficulty understanding abstract ideas.

Strengths

- You enjoy new learning and are open to new experiences.
- You are creative and prefer to be in an environment that fosters ideas and innovation.

Weaknesses

- You can become bored easily in situations that are too rigid and routine.
- Your preferences do not lend themselves toward repetition and traditional ways of doing things.

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Conscientiousness

Conscientiousness is the factor related to one's reliability, dependability, trustworthiness, and the inclination to follow norms and rules.

Structured	Answer each of the questions listed below by marking the selection that best describes your present agreement or disagreement with each statement.					Flexible
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Orderly, organized, and predictable, you strive to work according to plan and obey the rules, and you expect others to do the same. Comfortable with established procedures and policies, you appreciate reliability and conscientiousness in those around you.						Spontaneous, flexible, and adaptable, you strive to get results, by unconventional means if necessary, and feel restricted by rules and regulations. Comfortable with ambiguity, you appreciate originality and nonconformity in those around you.
1. I am very dependable and reliable in everything I do						
2. I like to keep everything I own in its proper place.						
						3. It is hard for me to keep my bedroom neat and clean.

Strengths

- You are very dependable and prefer to know exactly what is expected of you.
- You are punctual and careful in how you go about your work.
- You are flexible to a degree, but prefer to have input in how changes are made in your work environment.

Weaknesses

- You do not always agree with and follow rules and regulations, particularly if you do not think them fair.
- You are comfortable with only some changes and do not like organizational chaos.

Extroversion

Extroversion is a tendency to be outgoing, social, expressive, and talkative.

Introverted Inward-oriented and reserved, you prefer one-to-one or small group meetings to larger groups. You like to concentrate on one task at a time in a quiet setting with few distractions. Interacting with others takes energy; you re-energize by spending time alone.	Answer each of the questions listed below by marking the selection that best describes your present agreement or disagreement with each statement.					Extroverted Outgoing, gregarious, and talkative, you enjoy meetings and gatherings of all kinds and conversations with many people. You like to work interactively on multiple tasks and don't mind interruptions. Being alone takes energy; you re-energize by spending time with people.
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	1. I am very outgoing and talkative.
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	2. I have a lot of energy when I am around other people.
3. I am a fairly quiet person in most group settings.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	

Strengths

- You are outgoing and easily liked by others.
- You work well in teams and are comfortable with being on several projects at once.

Weaknesses

- You may not always complete every project you start.
- You tend to perform less well when you are given independent tasks.

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Agreeableness

Agreeableness is a propensity for working well with a team and functioning cooperatively on group tasks.

Empathetic	Answer each of the questions listed below by marking the selection that best describes your present agreement or disagreement with each statement.					Tough-Minded
When appraising problems and drawing conclusions, you focus on the feelings and concerns of the people involved. Empathetic and considerate, you prefer to take account of emotions and personal sensitivities in your decisions.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	When appraising problems and drawing conclusions, you focus on the facts involved and an objective analysis of results and costs. Dispassionate and logical, you prefer to make decisions based on data and demonstrable impact on the bottom line.
1. I try to get along with other people, even if I don't like them.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
2. I try to be nice and polite in every situation.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	3. I don't let personal feelings get in the way when I have to make decisions involving money.

Strengths

- When making decisions, you tend to pay close attention to what others think and feel.
- You react to conflict by taking into account the opinions and perspectives of everyone involved.

Weaknesses

- It may be difficult for you to make difficult decisions such as terminating an employee.
- You do not always take into account facts and objectives when making decisions.

Neuroticism (Emotional Stability)

Emotionally Resilient	Emotionally Reactive															
Resilient to work pressure, you can handle high levels of job stress without becoming upset. Calm when faced with stressors and conflict, you don't internalize tensions, and you recover quickly from disappointments and setbacks.	Reactive to work pressure, you are drained by stress and conflict in your work environment. You respond strongly to stressors, readily internalize tensions, develop symptoms of strain, and recover slowly from setbacks.															
Answer each of the questions listed below by marking the selection that best describes your present agreement or disagreement with each statement. 1. I smile a lot when I am around other people. 2. I feel good about myself most of the time.	3. My mood goes up and down more than most people.															
	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>Strongly Agree</th><th>Agree</th><th>Neutral</th><th>Disagree</th><th>Strongly Disagree</th></tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Strongly Agree</td><td>Agree</td><td>Neutral</td><td>Disagree</td><td>Strongly Disagree</td></tr> <tr> <td>Strongly Disagree</td><td>Disagree</td><td>Neutral</td><td>Agree</td><td>Strongly Agree</td></tr> </tbody> </table>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree												
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree												
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree												

- You are able to handle a high degree of stress and maintain a positive outlook.
- You do not hold grudges long and are able to work well in times of conflict.

- You may internalize work pressures when they become too intense in a short period of time.
- You may not be receptive to others' emotional reactions to pressure in the workplace.

PSY615: Week Four Career Counselor-Based Scenario

Summary and Recommendations

You are very outgoing and open to new experiences. You are emotionally stable and seem to enjoy interacting with others most of the time. You seem to prefer a large degree of interaction with others and your ideal working situation is one in which you work with a team and/or directly with clients. You tend to prefer to work in an organization that values flexibility, creativity, and independence, while providing stability and support. You probably would not like to work in an environment with a high degree of turnover and organizational change. With your priorities for group interaction and customer satisfaction, it may not be ideal for you to work in organizations where you have little contact with customers and coworkers. Below are some suggestions for career paths that might best fit your preferences, as well as some that might not be ideal for you.

Best-fit Work Situations

- Customer service
- Sales
- Management
- Health care professions working directly with clients

Worst-fit Work Situations

- Accounting
- Truck driver
- Computer programmer
- Engineer

Chapter 7

Allport

Personological Trait Theory

CITE: From Book

Reference: Cloninger, S. (2013).

Theories of Personality: Understanding persons.
Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson.

Chapter Overview

- 7.1 Preview: Overview of Allport's Theory (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/ch07lev2#ch07lev2>)
- 7.2 Major Themes in Allport's Work (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/ch07lev3#ch07lev3>)
- 7.3 Allport's Definition of Personality (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/ch07lev4#ch07lev4>)
- 7.4 Personality Traits (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/ch07lev5#ch07lev5>)
- 7.5 Personality Development (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/ch07lev6#ch07lev6>)
- 7.6 Religious Orientation (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/ch07lev7#ch07lev7>)
- 7.7 Personality and Social Phenomena (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/ch07lev8#ch07lev8>)
- 7.8 Eclecticism (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/ch07lev9#ch07lev9>)
- Summary (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/ch07lev10#ch07lev10>)

ILLUSTRATIVE BIOGRAPHY

Mother Teresa

Gordon Allport was interested in the healthy functioning of a whole person and particularly interested in the implications of religious attitudes for our behavior toward other people in the world. Clearly he would have found Mother Teresa an example of the positive contributions that he thought could stem from religious motivations.

Mother Teresa, born in Skopje, Serbia, on August 26, 1910 (Spink, 1997 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference1#ch00ref1793>)), was a world-renowned Roman Catholic nun, mourned worldwide when she died in 1997 (only a few days after the death of Diana, Princess of Wales). She was acclaimed by people of many faiths for her charitable work among those she called the "poorest of the poor" in India and elsewhere. Mother Teresa established a new order, the Sisters of Charity, to serve the very poor, including lepers and others whose basic physical needs were not being met. Over time, missions were established in many countries, and her concern for the sick and dying of the world mobilized charitable acts by others. Despite her personal humility, the drive to declare her a "saint" officially has proceeded at an unusual pace.

DEVELOPMENT

Gordon Allport described personality development in terms of stages in the self-concept. Throughout life, he proposed, we move from lack of awareness of a self, to a primitive understanding that our body or physical self is who we are, and then include ever more details to this view. Our possessions (such as childhood toys) are concrete aspects of self, but as we grow to middle childhood we also "own" our intentions and goals, and by adolescence we can become reflective about a more inclusive view of self. Of course, our particular life experiences, especially in the social world, influence the content of this self-concept. We are influenced by social models, including our parents, but we come to take responsibility for our own behavior, no matter how it originated.

As a girl, Agnes Bojaxhiu (Mother Teresa's birth name) was the youngest of three children. She witnessed political upheavals in Albania that led to World War I, and her father died—possibly murdered for his political views—when Agnes was only 8. Her mother was devoutly religious in the minority Roman Catholic religion of Albania, and she modeled charity to her daughter by helping those who were even poorer than they were. The future Mother Teresa reports feeling called to the life of a nun when she was 12. At 18, with her mother's blessing, she left home and began the process of becoming a postulant and eventually a nun, learning English and traveling to India to help combat illness and poverty. She did not construe the missionary work as social work, however, but instead as a religious contemplation, in which she and the other nuns with whom she served encountered the divine and suffering Jesus through the needy persons they served. She witnessed suffering not only from poverty and illness, but also from violent conflict in Calcutta between Muslim and Hindu Indians.

DESCRIPTION

Allport emphasized the uniqueness of each person's traits as they develop ways of adjusting to the world, and he suggested that some people have such clear and cohesive styles of personality (cardinal traits) that their name conjures up a clear image of their personality. Surely that is so for Mother Teresa, world renowned for her life of charitable service toward the poor.

Allport's personological trait theory offered a less formal, more holistic version of trait theory than the more empirically focused trait models that followed. He would use the language of everyday life to describe Mother Teresa's traits: saintly, self-sacrificing, dedicated, well organized, and so on. Allport theorized religion can be used for self-serving reasons or it can inspire genuine love for others (and we would include Mother Teresa in this group). Allport envisioned traits within a model of humanistic development and integration of personality, and so he would emphasize the unifying vision of her religious commitment.

Allport's theory describes consistency of personality, because of a person's enduring traits. Throughout Mother Teresa's life we can find evidence of salient traits. Her trait of humility is evidenced in responses to public acclaim. For example, when she was awarded the much-esteemed Nobel Peace Prize in 1979, she traveled to



Mother Teresa

Norway to accept the prize but stated that the recognition was for the poor, not for herself personally. Certainly Mother Teresa was pious in subjugating selfish pleasure for service to others.

ADJUSTMENT

Allport considered a healthy person to have a consistency or unity of personality (in contrast to conflicts among various parts of personality, as described by psychoanalytic theories). He suggests that unification is based on a person's philosophy of life, which for many is a religious philosophy. He suggested additional characteristics of healthy personalities: having interests beyond themselves, interacting with others warmly, emotional security, realistic perceptions, insight, and a sense of humor.

Mother Teresa's selfless concern for others is grounded on a unifying focus defined by her religious commitment and her conviction of the importance of love. In the sick and dying, she saw the presence of the suffering Jesus of her faith, and loving them was her calling. She viewed lack of love and prayer in the family as root causes of larger social problems, including loss of world peace (Spink, 1997 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference1#ch00ref1793>), p. 132). Personality, in Allport's theory, provides a person's unique adaptation to the world, so we cannot expect that Mother Teresa's way of life is for everyone, but she has raised the world's awareness of the plight of the "poorest of the poor."

COGNITION

Besides self-concept and a realistic sense of self, already mentioned, Allport's theory includes other cognitive concepts. Social attitudes and values are often analyzed from a cognitive viewpoint. Allport developed a questionnaire to measure values on six scales: Aesthetic, Economic, Political, Religious, Social, and Theoretical.

It is clear that Mother Teresa would have scored high on the Religious scale. Despite her contributions to world social issues, she would likely have scored low on the Political scale; in fact, she avoided politics and is described by her biographer as having been uninformed about apartheid in South Africa (Spink, 1997 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference1#ch00ref1793>), p. 214).

CULTURE

A social psychologist as well as personality psychologist, Allport studied some topics of interest to the war effort (World War II), especially rumor transmission, but the best-known social applications of his theory concern racial prejudice. Allport realized that people who proclaim themselves to be religious are sometimes cruel, and so he explored various kinds of religious orientation to see whether he could untangle the "brotherhood and bigotry" that he found intertwined. The result has been an influential analysis of religious orientation and prejudice. He predicted, and found, that people are less racially prejudiced if their religion is one in which they have accepted the religious teachings to give selflessly to others ("intrinsic religious orientation"). In contrast, people who see religion as a utilitarian means to improve their condition ("extrinsic religious orientation") are often racially prejudiced. Thus intrinsic religious orientation predicts love for one's neighbor (although, as the chapter points out, there are exceptions).

Mother Teresa's orientation is clearly the more favorable intrinsic religious orientation. Sometimes missionaries can be disrespectful of others' traditions, and because of that, there were some angry protests against the first arrival of her nuns in India. However, despite her own firm commitment to Roman Catholicism, Mother Teresa tolerated the religious views of others, providing for their own religious practices to also be included in celebrations at her charitable institutions (Spink, 1997 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference1#ch00ref1793>), p. 123).

BIOLOGY

Allport taught that personality traits are physical as well as psychological, but at the time of his theorizing, he could not be more precise than that. He did suggest that an infant's first sense of self begins with the sense of the physical body, but soon cognitive and social issues rise into focus.

Mother Teresa obviously tended to the physical needs of the very poor, feeding them and caring for their wounded bodies. Most important from her point of view, though, was the love.

FINAL THOUGHTS

Allport envisioned a theory of personality that was comprehensive in scope, from the physiological to the social and even religious. In his time, he could not fill in all the details, including the physical aspect of traits. His ideas about religious orientation and prejudice, though, have inspired researchers to the present day, and we see that they help us understand Mother Teresa, who met the world as a place to act lovingly on her religious convictions, and not as a place to find converts or to punish evil others.

7.1 PREVIEW: OVERVIEW OF ALLPORT’S THEORY

Allport’s theory has implications for major theoretical questions, as presented in **Table 7.1** (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/ch07lev2#ch07tab01>). He contributed to theoretical discussions of traits and the self, and he stimulate empirical research on the relationship of religious orientation to behavior. He applied personality to social behavior and social problems, including prejudice, rumor transmission, and intergroup relations.

As an early personality theorist in an academic (as opposed to clinical) setting, Gordon Allport taught the first personality course in the United States and wrote a text fo it. He was influential in establishing the field of personality as separate from clinical and social psychology (**Barenbaum, 2000** (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref166>)). In the preface to his 1937 text, *Personality*, he wrote that the study of personality was then a new and increasingly popular area in colleges. “The result of this rising tide of interest is an insistent demand for a guide book that will *define* the new field of study—one that will articulate its objectives, formulate its standards, and test the progress made thus far” (**Allport, 1937b** (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref32>), p. vii).

Allport’s theory is called *personological*, a term that emphasizes the development of a *person*, a unified and conscious whole (cf. **Barresi, 1999** (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref171>)). This theme is important for the humanistic movement in psychology (considered later in this book). In fact, Allport was one of the early founders of a formal humanistic organization in psychology. Roy DeCarvalho (**1991a** (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref537>)) reports that Allport was the first to use the term *humanistic psychology*, and h emphasis on the whole person, the self, has continued in the humanistic movement (**Maddi & Costa, 1972** (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference1#ch00ref1203>)), although his own theoretical focus could more accurately be portrayed as eclectic (**Nicholson, 1997** (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference1#ch00ref1430>)).

Allport’s eclectic approach included contributions from various schools of psychology. Although he taught both psychoanalysis and learning theory, he viewed these approaches as limited. Psychoanalysis overemphasized the unconscious and did not pay enough attention to conscious motivation, whereas learning theory missed uniquely human qualities that cannot be understood through an animal model.

Allport conducted research as well as proposing theoretical ideas, and he hoped science would enhance psychology’s contributions to human welfare. Nonetheless, Allp warned that it was a mistake for methodology to overshadow the content of a field, though he foresaw its increasing importance. In its early years, he said, personality w better served by paying attention to common sense and to philosophy and the liberal arts. To some, Allport’s ideas are obsolete, but others defend the continuing value o his insights (e.g., **Funder, 1991** (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref744>)).

Table 7.1 Preview of Allport’s Theory

Individual Differences	Individuals differ in the traits that predominate in their personalities. Some traits are common (shared by various people); others are unique (belonging only to one person).
Adaptation and Adjustment	Psychology errs if it looks too much for illness. Allport listed several characteristics of a healthy personality.
Cognitive Processes	People’s self-statements can generally be taken at face value.
Culture	Adaptation to society is of central importance. Allport made important contributions to our understanding of prejudice, rumor, and religion.
Biological Influences	All behavior is influenced, in some part, by heredity, but the mechanisms are not specified.
Development	The proprium (ego or self) develops through stages that are outlined but not researched in detail. Adult development consists of integrating earlier developments.

Biography of Gordon Allport

Gordon Allport was born in 1897 in Montezuma, Indiana, the fourth son of a salesman who was changing careers to become a country doctor. The family moved several times, finally settling in Cleveland, Ohio, where Allport grew up in a hardworking, Protestant environment. His mother, a former schoolteacher, encouraged the education and religious interests of her sons and hoped that Gordon would become a missionary (**Nicholson, 1998** (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference1#ch00ref1432>)). Allport remained, in adulthood, a devout Episcopalian (**Pettigrew, 1999** (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference1#ch00ref1515>)).

Allport followed an older brother, Floyd, to Harvard University, where he studied psychology and social ethics. After graduation at the age of 22, Allport stopped in Vienn to visit a brother, and he requested a meeting with Sigmund Freud, motivated by “rude curiosity and youthful ambition” (**Allport, 1967** (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref46>), p. 8). In his naivete, he had not prepared an introductory statement to Freud explaining the reason for the meeting. Freud sat in silence, probably expecting that this was a therapeutic consultation. As Allport tells it,

I was not prepared for silence and had to think fast to find a suitable conversational gambit. I told him of an episode on the tram car on my way to his office. A small boy about four years of age had displayed a conspicuous dirt phobia. He kept saying to his mother, “I don’t want to sit there... don’t let that dirty man sit beside me.” To him everything was schmutz. His mother was a well-starched Hausfrau, so dominant and purposive looking that I thought the cause and effect apparent.

When I finished my story Freud fixed his kindly therapeutic eyes upon me and said, “And was that little boy you?” Flabbergasted and feeling a bit guilty, I contrived to change the subject.... Freud’s misunderstanding of my motivation was amusing.... This experience taught me that depth psychology... may plunge too deep, and that psychologists would do well to give full recognition to manifest motives before probing the unconscious. (p. 8)

Freud’s clinical intuition suggested that Allport felt “dirty.” Allport argued later that this was not a therapeutic meeting, and that the incident should be interpreted at the manifest (conscious) level of his experience, which was simply a desire to impress Freud with his powers of observation. This theme, that psychology should pay more attention to conscious self-reports, became a major element of his theory.

Allport’s graduate work continued at Harvard. His dissertation investigated personality traits, a new topic at the time, criticized by more traditional, experimentally minded psychologists. His first publication on

personality traits was jointly authored with his brother Floyd (**Allport & Allport, 1921** (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref47>)). Gordon received his doctorate at the age of 24 and did postdoctoral study in Europe, learning about Gestalt psychology and the German doctrine of types, themes reflected in his later consideration of holism and his development of a type inventory.

Allport taught at Harvard for most of his professional life, and was respected for his helpfulness to colleagues (**Winter, 1996**

(<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference1#ch00ref2040>)). He developed what he reported was probably the first personality course taught in the United States, emphasizing connections with social psychology. He rose to prominence in national circles, edited the major journal in personality and social psychology, and served as president of the American Psychological Association and of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (SPSSI). The latter organization commemorates Allport's memory by awarding an annual prize for a paper on intergroup relations. Allport was one of several U.S. psychologists who assisted intellectuals in Europe to find work in the United States so they could flee Nazi Germany. Another contribution at the time of the war was his effort to help control wartime rumors, reflected in his daily newspaper column and a later book on rumors (**Allport & Postman, 1947** (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref49>)). Gordon Allport died of lung cancer on October 9, 1967, at age 69.



Gordon Allport

7.2 MAJOR THEMES IN ALLPORT'S WORK

Allport had a major influence on the developing academic field of personality. Here are some issues identified by Allport, which personality theorists have grappled with ever since.

Personality Consistency

The concept of personality consistency across time and across situations is central to the field of personality. Allport (1937b (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref32>)) argued strongly that from infancy on, humans are consistent, even though they vary from situation to situation and across time.

Social Influence

Allport studied many social issues. He wrote a book on prejudice that has become a classic text (Allport, 1954 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref36>)), and he studied rumor transmission (Allport & Postman, 1947 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref49>)). At a time when mass communication was quaint by modern standards, he and his former student Hadley Cantril wrote a book called *The Psychology of Radio* (Cantril & Allport, 1935 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref365>) ; Pandora, 1998 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference1#ch00ref1476>)).

The Concept of Self

In an age when many other psychological approaches were reductionistic, Allport argued for the notion of self as a major focus of personality growth. The self is now a major theoretical concept in personality and social psychology, in areas as diverse as humanistic clinical psychology and cognitive social psychology.

Interaction of Personality with Social Influence

It is no surprise that a psychologist who was both a personality psychologist and a social psychologist would not think of personality and situations as either-or causes but would rather consider how they work together as joint influences. Situations influence people, but they influence individuals in different ways, as the interactionist approach to personality recognizes (Endler & Magnusson, 1976 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref620>)). In Allport's (1937b (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref32>)) words, "The same heat that melts the butter hardens the egg" (pp. 102-103). He did not, however, develop the notion of the interaction between personality and environment beyond this brief sketch, acknowledging that in his focus on personality traits, he had "neglect[ed] the variability induced by ecological, social, and situational factors" (Allport, 1966b (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref45>) , p. 9). He recognized that further theoretical advances were needed to develop this concept of interactionism (Zuroff, 1986 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference1#ch00ref2084>)).

In summary, Allport anticipated many of the themes that would concern personality psychology in the decades since his classic personality text was first published. Current approaches are more sophisticated in their analysis of empirical data, certainly. Nonetheless, the themes of consistency, social influence, the self, and the interaction of personality with the environment have remained important foci.

7.3 ALLPORT'S DEFINITION OF PERSONALITY

After a review of 49 other definitions of personality in psychology, theology, philosophy, law, sociology, and common usage, Allport (1937b (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref32>)) proposed what has become a classic definition of **personality**: (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/glossary#ch00gloss312>) "Personality is the dynamic organization within the individual of those psychophysical systems that determine his unique adjustments to the environments" (p. 48; emphasis in original). Allport's explanation of the five major concepts in his definition of personality provides a broad outline of his theory.

personality

for Gordon Allport, "the dynamic organization within the individual of those psychophysical systems that determine his unique adjustments to the environment"

Dynamic Organization

Allport (1937b (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref32>)) referred to "the dynamic organization" of the healthy personal in order "to stress active organization" (p. 48). Dynamic organization evolves as a developmental process, and a failure of integration is a mark of psychopathology.

This theme of organization, or unity, is not shared by all theories. Traditional learning theories deal, instead, with discrete behavioral units, or stimulus-response associations. Psychoanalysis tends to fragment people into conflicting parts, which Allport attributed to studying clinical populations whose symptoms are not integrate with the rest of their personality. In contrast, healthy personality becomes an organized and self-regulating whole.

Psychophysical Systems

Personality is subject to biological as well as psychological influences. **Temperament**

(<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/glossary#ch00gloss425>) refers to biologically based differences in personality, often evidenced as emotional reactivity to new or potentially frightening stimuli. Allport (1937b (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref32>)) listed inherited physique and intelligence, together with temperament, as "the three principal raw materials of personality" (p. 107), and he recognized the need for genetic research to expand understanding of personality (Evans, 1981 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref648>)).

temperament

innate emotional aspects of personality

Regarding the classic nature-nurture issue, Allport illustrated that both are involved in every aspect of personality by a mathematical equation:

$$\text{Personality} = (\text{Heredity}) \times (\text{Environment})$$

"The two causal factors are not added together; but are interrelated as multiplier and multiplicand. If either were zero there could be no personality" (Allport, 1937b (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref31>) , p. 106).

Determinative

For some theorists, personality concepts are useful predictors that summarize behavior but are not themselves real causes. Allport disagreed, using the word *determine* emphasize that personality is a cause of behavior. Allport (1937b (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref32>)) said that this term "is a natural consequence of the biophysical view. Personality is something and does something" (p. 48). Traits are real in a physical sense.

Allport's critics, noting that traits can't be observed independently of behavior, argued that using personality traits to explain behavior is a meaningless circular argument. For example, you see a man talking to a lot of people, so you infer that he is outgoing. Then, asked why he talks to a lot of people, you say it is because he is outgoing. If the same behavior that prompts inference of the trait is theorized to result from it, the trait cannot fail. Without the possibility of disconfirmation, a theoretical construct is not useful. Allport was not ignorant of the potential problem of circular reasoning. He discussed this issue in relationship to the question of whether the concept of a self necessary in psychology (Allport, 1955 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref37>) , pp. 54-55), but he did not think that the circular reasoning argument invalidated the usefulness of personality concepts.

Unique

For Allport, traits are highly individualized, or unique. He explicitly disagreed with theorists who asserted that one or a few motives, or instincts, are determinative for all people (as, e.g., Freud attributed personality to sexual motivation). Rather, people are motivated by diverse traits reflecting the differences in their learning.

Adjustments to the Environment

Allport (1937b (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref32>)) emphasized the adaptive, coping functions of personality. He was far more interested in these, which would be called ego functions by psychoanalysts, than in the internal conflicts preventing adaptation that occur in the mentally unhealthy. These adaptations are unique to each individual because of differences in heredity and environment.

7.4 PERSONALITY TRAITS

According to Allport (1931 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref30>) , 1937b (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref32>)), the primary unit of personality is the trait. Listing a person's traits provides a description of that person's personality.

Allport's Definition of Trait

Allport (1937b (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref32>)) defined a **trait** (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/glossary#ch00gloss435>) as "a generalized and focalized neuropsychic system (peculiar to the individual) with the capacity to render many stimuli functionally equivalent, and to initiate and guide consistent (equivalent) forms of adaptive and expressive behavior" (p. 295).

trait

a characteristic of a person that makes a person unique, with a unique style of adapting to stimuli in the world

In this definition, he reiterated themes from his definition of personality: the psychophysical emphasis, the uniqueness of the individual, the focus on adaptation, and the concept of the trait as a determinative entity. Traits develop over time. They may change as the individual learns new ways of adapting to the world (p. 146). They are, however, relatively stable, in contrast to *states*, which change quickly—for example, a moment of anger (state) on being cut off in traffic, in contrast with a chronic trait of hostility (cf. Chaplin, John, & Goldberg, 1988 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref414>)).

Can We All Be Described by the Same Traits?

Does everyone have different traits? Or can we all be described by the same list of traits, only in different amounts? Most researchers base their work on the second alternative, but Allport did not rule out either possibility. Based on the work of the German philosophers Windelband and Stern (Hermans, 1988 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref895>)), Allport distinguished **individual traits**, (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/glossary#ch00gloss215>) also called unique traits, which are possessed by only one person, from **common traits**, (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/glossary#ch00gloss59>) which are possessed by many people, each to a varying extent. He intended to distinguish "the study of *persons* on the one hand and the study of *person variables*, that is, variables with respect to which persons have been differentiated, on the other" (Lamiell, 1997 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref1120>) , p. 123). The distinction may appear simple at first, but its implications are enormous.

individual trait

a trait that characterizes only the one person who has it (i.e., a trait considered from the idiographic point of view)

common trait

a trait characterizing many people (i.e., a trait considered from the nomothetic point of view)

In everyday speech, we often describe people by using common traits, comparing how much of a trait each person has. For example, we may describe Walt Disney as more creative than others or Albert Einstein as more intelligent than the rest of us. The trait dimensions of creativity and intelligence, and many others, too, can be applied to all of us in common, and we can measure how much of each trait a person has.

However, in Allport's theory, the real units of personality are **unique traits** (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/glossary#ch00gloss451>) (individual traits), which exist within an individual and are psychophysical realities. Traits are adaptive entities, unique to each person. Allport (1937b (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref32>)) argued, "Strictly speaking, no two persons ever have precisely the same trait" (p. 297). According to his argument, it is not possible to describe fully differences between people by simply scoring them on a set of universally applied traits. To understand an individual fully, it would be necessary to have a list of traits specifically chosen for that person. Only an idiographic approach (unique traits) can adequately describe an individual, although Allport accepted nomothetic research (common traits) as a rough approximation for research purposes (Allport, 1940 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref33>)).

unique trait

a trait that only one person has (also called individual trait)

A reviewer of his 1937 book complained that Allport's explanation of individual traits was not clear and that the examples he used were simply extreme scores on common traits (Paterson, 1999 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference1#ch00ref1484>)). It may be impossible to be genuinely idiographic because implicit comparisons with others are always made.

Understanding individuals' behavior and functioning is a primary task of personality theory (Lamiell, 1997 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref1120>) ; Runyan, 1983 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference1#ch00ref1635>)), and this requires studying individuals, not only groups. Allport emphasized the need to individualize trait conceptions. In one study (Conrad, 1932 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref448>)), which Allport described, teachers rated students on various traits. Reliability of these ratings was not particularly high overall. However, if teachers indicated with a star which traits particularly described the child, those starred ratings had a much higher agreement (Allport, 1937b (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref32>) , p. 301). Thus the same set of traits is not useful for describing every person, but the central traits of an individual can be rated reliably. Other researchers since Allport have essentially replicated this finding (Cheek, 1982 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref417>) ; Markus, 1977 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference1#ch00ref1228>)), and Baumeister and Tice (1988 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref197>) ; Baumeister, 1991 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref190>)) offer a statistical approach for dealing with unique traits when researchers collect nomothetic data, as they usually do.

Inferring Traits

How do we know what traits a person possesses? Allport suggested several methods, beginning, sensibly enough, with the wisdom of everyday language.

INFERRING TRAITS FROM LANGUAGE: THE DICTIONARY STUDY

Gordon Allport and Henry Odbert (1936 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref48>)) conducted a study in which they listed all of the trait words in the 1925 edition of *Webster's New International Dictionary* used to describe individuals. Excluding obsolete terms, they identified 17,953 trait names, which was 4.5 percent of the total words in the dictionary. They classified these trait names into four categories:

1. Neutral Terms Designating Personal Traits (e.g., "artistic," "assertive")
2. Terms Primarily Descriptive of Temporary Moods or Activities (e.g., "alarmed," "ashamed")
3. Weighted Terms Conveying Social or Characterial Judgments of Personal Conduct, or Designating Influence on Others (e.g., "adorable," "asinine")
4. Miscellaneous: Designations of Physique, Capacities, and Developmental Conditions; Metaphorical and Doubtful Terms (e.g., "alone," "Anglican")

They suggested that the first, purely descriptive, category would be most useful to personality psychologists as a compilation of nonevaluative terms for enduring traits. Researchers have developed this method further, as we shall see in Chapter 8 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/ch08#ch08>).

INFERRING TRAITS FROM BEHAVIOR

Traits may also be inferred from behavior. People who talk a lot are judged to be outgoing; people who exercise regularly are called athletic. Behavioral inferences can be made in natural circumstances. For example, children can be observed in their everyday lives, using a time-sampling procedure (Allport, 1937b (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref32>), pp. 315-316). Or observations can be made in an experimental setting if subjects are given a diverse set of tasks.

Allport and Vernon (1933 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref52>)) studied expressive traits (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/glossary#ch00gloss154>), which are concerned with one's style of behavior—for example, how fast or slow, energetic, or graceful an action is. They found that 25 male subjects had consistent expressive traits, such as expansiveness or emphasis, that affected a variety of measures, including handwriting, walking, tapping, and reading. Few researchers have continued such research. One source of embarrassment is that Allport and Vernon provided personality sketches of people based on handwriting (graphology), which many in academic psychology banish to the realm of pseudoscience. A review of research finds that although handwriting analysis is popular in lay circles and even widely used as a part of personnel selection in European companies, it has not stood to scientific tests of validity (Greasley, 2000 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref818>)).

expressive traits

traits concerned with the style or tempo of a person's behavior

Other expressive traits may have more value, for example, as predictors of coronary heart disease. Specifically, the expressive style with which interviewees respond to a structured interview, used to assess type A behavior (a coronary risk factor), is more important than the content of responses in predicting heart disease (Friedman & Booth-Kewley, 1987 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref731>)).

INFERRING TRAITS FROM DOCUMENTS: LETTERS FROM JENNY

We can infer traits from documents or records of people's lives, including diaries, letters, and public statements that are not produced specifically for research purposes. Allport devised guidelines for analyzing such documents and in collaboration with his wife, Ada, conducted such analyses himself, the best known of which is the case of Jenny (Barenbaum, 1997 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref165>)). Allport and his wife had received 301 letters from Jenny Grove Masterson, who was the mother of his college roommate. She had turned to Gordon as a "good son," in contrast to her own disappointing child (Winter, 199 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference1#ch00ref2041>)). The letters covered a period of 11 years, beginning in 1926, until her death at the age of 70. They disclose a sad tale of a woman who found life difficult, worried about money, and complained frequently about her son's neglect. Allport and his students interpreted these letters from assorted theoretical perspectives, including various psychoanalytic approaches (Freudian, Jungian, Adlerian, and ego approaches and learning theory).

Allport's own approach, which he called *structural-dynamic*, was in essence a content analysis of the letters. Allport and his research assistants and students read Jenny's letters and listed adjectives describing the personality traits they inferred from them. Combining analyses by 36 raters, Allport (1965 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref43>), pp. 193-194) concluded that Jenny's personality could be summarized by eight traits: quarrelsome-suspicious, self-centered, independent-autonomous, dramatic-intense, aesthetic-artistic, aggressive, cynical-morbid, and sentimental.

One of Allport's students, Jeffrey Paige (1966 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference1#ch00ref1472>)), used a computer procedure called the General Inquirer to analyze Jenny's letters more quickly. Allport noted that his results were remarkably similar to the categories he had earlier derived "from common-sense interpretation" (p. 201).

Aided by computers, researchers can code material more quickly and reliably than by hand (Rosenberg, Schnurr, & Oxman, 1990 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference1#ch00ref1620>)), but even with computers, content analysis requires much more time than objective self-report questionnaires. Content analysis is a valuable method that permits analysis of existing materials from people such as political leaders, who would be unlikely to agree to fill out research questionnaires (e.g., D. G. Winter, 1993 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference1#ch00ref2038>)) Winter & Carlson, 1988 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference1#ch00ref2042>); Winter et al., 1991a (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference1#ch00ref2043>), 1991b (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference1#ch00ref2043>)), or historical figures long dead, who could not do so (e.g., Broehl & McGee, 1981 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref295>); Craik, 1988 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref474>)).

INFERRING FROM PERSONALITY MEASUREMENT: THE STUDY OF VALUES

We can also measure traits by personality tests. Allport (1937b (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref32>) , pp. 227-228) said among the most important characteristics that distinguish people from one another are their values—that is, those things toward which they strive. With colleagues he developed a scale to measure values, named (in its revised form) the Allport-Vernon-Lindzey Study of Values (Allport & Vernon, 1931 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref30>) ; Allport, Vernon, & Lindzey, 1951 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref53>)) (see Table 7.2 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/ch07lev5#ch07tab02>)).

This self-report instrument consists of 60 questions. Scores are compared with normative data to determine which values are relatively high for an individual. Allport (1966b (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref45>)) reported that college students who entered different occupations had different value scores. For example, those who entered business scored higher on economic values. Later research confirms that scores on the Study of Values taken during college were associated with occupations of male students 25 years later (Huntley & Davis, 1983 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref966>)).

Despite considerable stability, values can change over time. Baird (1990 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref110>)) reported a 20-year longitudinal study indicating that Religious scale scores declined during the 4 years of college. In another study, talented 13-year-old students took the Study of Values at that early age and again at age 33. As these youth matured, they rated Aesthetic and Economic values more highly and decreased the relative emphasis on Political and Social values (Lubinski, Schmidt, & Benbow, 1996 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference1#ch00ref1186>)). Studies such as these demonstrate both stability and change in values.

Table 7.2 The Allport-Vernon-Lindzey Study of Values

Scale	Description of Value	Typical Occupation
Social	Helping people	Social work
Theoretical	Search for truth	College professor
Economic	Pragmatic, applied	Business
Aesthetic	Artistic values	Artist
Political	Power and influence	Politics
Religious	Religion, harmony	Clergy

ALLPORT’S ATTITUDE TOWARD METHODOLOGY

Allport raised serious concerns about methodology in trait measurement. Should psychology be based on methodologically rigorous experimental-positivistic philosophy or on humanistic experiential-phenomenological philosophy (DeCarvalho, 1990a (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref533>))? Allport favored the latter. Animal research cannot, he argued (Allport, 1940 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref33>)), give complete understanding of human psychology. He distrusted complicated statistical procedures, such as factor analysis. He praised content analysis, such as he used to analyze Jenny’s letters, because it kept researchers close to the data. He preferred to ask people rather directly about their traits and to take responses at face value. He expressed dismay at the decline in reporting individual case histories (Allport, 1940 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref33>)). Although acknowledging there is a place for methodological concerns within psychology, he argued, along with other humanistic psychologists such as Abraham Maslow, that psychology should be not method centered but problem centered.

The Pervasiveness of Traits: Cardinal, Central, and Secondary Traits

Some traits have a bigger impact than others. Allport categorized traits as cardinal, central, or secondary, depending on how extensively they influence personality. The most pervasive are cardinal traits; the least pervasive are secondary traits. The usual terms we use to describe someone are at the intermediate level: central traits.

CENTRAL TRAITS

A central trait (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/glossary#ch00gloss49>) affects many behaviors. Allport’s analysis of Jenny’s letters led to the inference that she had eight central traits, as we have seen. Someone who knows you well could summarize your personality in a small number of central traits, perhaps six to ten adjectives.

central trait
one of the half dozen or so traits that best describe a particular person

Secondary traits (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/glossary#ch00gloss383>) describe ways in which a person is consistent but do not affect so much of what that person does as a central trait. Most tastes and personal preferences can be considered secondary traits: “John likes spinach”; “Sarah’s favorite color is mauve.” Of course, for some people a personal preference may be a central trait; consider Popeye’s preference for spinach. In his case, the trait is not secondary; it is at least central or perhaps even a cardinal trait.

secondary trait
a trait that influences a limited range of behaviors

A cardinal trait (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/glossary#ch00gloss44>) is so pervasive that it dominates just about everything a person does. Most people do not have such a highly pervasive single trait. When they do, the trait often makes its possessor famous, a prototype for a disposition that others may resemble to a lesser extent. Allport provided examples of traits so pervasive that they dominated all of their original possessors’ behavior. Each of the following adjectives used to describe people originated as a cardinal trait in one person: Calvinistic, chauvinistic, Christlike, Dionysian, Faustian, lesbian, Machiavellian, puckish, quixotic, and sadistic (1937b, pp. 302-303). Very few people have a cardinal trait.

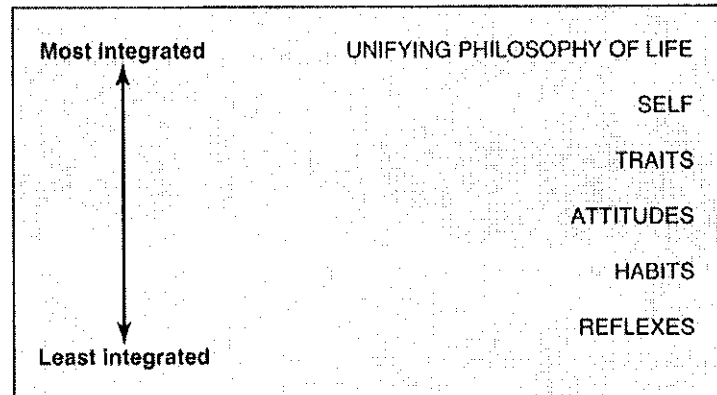
cardinal trait

a pervasive personality trait that dominates nearly everything a person does

Levels of Integration of Personality

Cardinal, central, and secondary traits are not three discrete types; they are markers on a continuum of pervasiveness (Allport, 1937b (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref32>), p. 338). The continuum extends downward, to much less pervasive influences and upward to higher-order levels of integration (see Figure 7.1 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/ch07lev5#ch07fig01>)). At the lowest level of integration are simple conditioned reflexes. These become associated over time to form habits. A higher level of integration is the notion of self or, as sociologists sometimes refer to it, a sub-identity—for example, one's sense of oneself as a sister, or as a professional. The fact that we can have multiple selves suggests that integration can occur on some higher level. At least some people have an even higher level of integration, “a thoroughly unified system of personality at the top of the pyramid” (p. 142) such as a unifying philosophy of life.

FIGURE 7.1 Levels of Integration in Personality



7.5 PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT

In his description of personality development, Allport emphasized the later, more developed, stages.

Functional Autonomy

Allport encouraged us to view the traits of an adult without being overly concerned with their developmental origins, whether those origins are adaptive strategies to satisfy needs, or identification with parents. In the adult, motivation becomes fully *contemporaneous* (Allport, 1937a (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref31>)) and its childhood origins are no longer relevant. This contrasts with the psychoanalytic approach that continues to describe a highly gullible adult, for example, as orally fixated. With maturity, earlier motives are transformed and the individual becomes more purposive, less pushed from the past (Allport, 1950b (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref35>)).

In reaction to this preoccupation with the past, Allport (1937a (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref31>), 1950b (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref35>)) proposed an alternative theoretical concept: **functional autonomy** (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/glossary#ch00gloss180>) of motivation. At some point, a motive or trait begins to function independent of its origins. For example, consider a woman who as a child really wanted to be like her mother and admired her. Allport argued that for the healthy adult, the motivation is no longer to “be like mother.” The particular interests and values that began with maternal identification have been internalized. They are, Allport would say, “functionally autonomous” from their origins. Allport (1937b (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref32>), p. 196) cited workmanship as another example of a trait that becomes functionally autonomous of its origins. Although one learns to do a job well because it brings praise or security, later the work itself is satisfying. Similarly, hobbies and artistic or intellectual interests show functional autonomy (p. 207).

functional autonomy

a trait's independence of its developmental origins

Allport (1955 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref37>)) criticized psychology for its preoccupation with the past. “People seem, are busy leading their lives into the future, whereas psychology, for the most part, is busy tracing them into the past” (p. 51).

Qualities of a Normal, Mature Adult

Allport (1937b (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref32>), 1961 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref39>)) listed several characteristics of a mature (i.e., healthy) personality.

EXTENSION OF THE SENSE OF SELF

The developed person “has a variety of autonomous interests: that is, he can lose himself in work, in contemplation, in recreation, and in loyalty to others” (Allport, 1937b (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref32>), p. 213). In explaining this capacity of a healthy adult for self-extension, Allport remarked that “the sign of cultivation in a man is his ability to talk for half a day without betraying [revealing] his occupation” (p. 218). Such an individual is not egocentric but rather is involved in goals that are “extensions of the self.”

WARM HUMAN INTERACTION

The healthy person has a capacity for warm human interaction. Social interactions are sincere and friendly rather than prescribed by rigid roles and expectations.

EMOTIONAL SECURITY (SELF-ACCEPTANCE)

Healthy individuals are emotionally secure and accept themselves, having high self-esteem.

REALISTIC PERCEPTION, SKILLS, AND ASSIGNMENTS

The healthy person realistically perceives the world. Both unrealistic optimism, such as the conviction that this lottery ticket is going to be a winner, and unrealistic pessimism, such as the expectation of failing at everything, are avoided.

SELF-OBJECTIFICATION: INSIGHT AND HUMOR

Mature individuals are capable of self-objectification, seeing themselves accurately and insightfully, often with a sense of humor.

UNIFYING PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE

Finally, the mature person has a **unifying philosophy of life** (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/glossary#ch00gloss449>) (Allport, 1937b (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref32>), p. 214). For many people this is a religious philosophy of life, but it need not be

unifying philosophy of life

an attitude or set of values, often religious, that gives coherence and meaning to life

Ravenna Helson and Paul Wink (1987 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref890>)) used Allport's criteria as a theoretical framework to examine maturity in a longitudinal study of women ages 21 to 43. Most of Allport's criteria were correlated significantly with two measures of maturity, or stressing adaptation to society (competence) and the other stressing intrapsychic development (ego level). However, some discrepancies suggest that Allport's criteria do not take into account the distress that may result from conflict between individual development and the demands of society.

Unity of Personality

Kenneth Craik (1988 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref474>)) credits Allport with envisioning personality “as that branch of psychology that takes the person as the unit of analysis, rather than selected processes (such as cognition, perception, learning, or interpersonal relations, etc.) and attempts to pull together the scientific achievements of these other branches of psychology, plus those from the biological and social sciences, to understand individuals and their fates” (pp. 196-197). In referring to the unity of personality, Allport used the Latin phrase *unitas multiplex*, (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/glossary#ch00gloss452>) the “unity of multiples.” He (1955) suggested a theoretical concept, the *proprium*, (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/glossary#ch00gloss334>) which “includes all aspects of the personality that make for unity” (p. 40). The *proprium* serves the functions that other theorists describe as belonging to the ego or the self. It is the striving part of our being that gives us our intentionality and direction.

unitas multiplex

the Latin phrase indicating that a person makes a unified whole out of many diverse aspects of personality

proprium

all aspects of a person that make for unity; a person's sense of self or ego

To some extent, of course, all of us are different in different social roles—as friend, student, worker, and so on—but we also develop consistency across these various roles (Roberts & Donahue, 1994 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference1#ch00ref1574>)). For Allport, to be healthy we must forge unity from within, because it is not guaranteed from society or from one's personal history. Integration occurs through the formation of “master-sentiments” (Allport, 1937b (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref32>) , p. 191). These may be religious or nonreligious philosophies of life that constitute a person's core consistency. Allport offered the example of Leo Tolstoy, who approached everything from his master-sentiment, the simplification of life (pp. 190-191).

For many people, such unification of personality is fostered by religious practice, which contributes to higher subjective well-being (Diener et al., 1999 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref551>)). People experience an unpleasant crisis of values when unification is threatened, but it can provide the opportunity for personal growth (Hermans & Oles, 1996 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref896>)). Research supports Allport's claim that integrated personalities are better adjusted and more effective (Behrends, 1986 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref205>) ; Donahue et al., 1993 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref571>)), but he has been criticized for not recognizing that cultural messages make it difficult for minorities to achieve unity (Gaines & Reed, 1995 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref750>)), for ambiguity about how this unification is achieved, and for not realizing that some unifying goals are not mature or healthy (Marsh & Colangelo, 1983 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference1#ch00ref1231>) ; Ryan, Rigby, & King, 1993 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference1#ch00ref1644>)).

Stages of Development

The *proprium* or self develops gradually through a lifetime. According to Allport (1937b (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref32>)), “The newborn infant *lacks* personality, for he has not yet encountered the world in which he must live, and has not developed the distinctive modes of adjustment and mastery that will later comprise his personality. He is almost altogether a creature of heredity” (p. 107), that is, temperament. On this inherited basis, personality develops through interaction with the environment.

Allport (1937b (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref32>)) suggested a list of stages of development, emphasizing the development of the self, but he warned that stages are somewhat arbitrary. “For the single person there is only *one* consecutive, uninterrupted course of life” (p. 131).

1. *Bodily Sense*. The *proprium* begins developing in infancy with the sense of the bodily self. An infant discovers, for example, that putting his or her own hand in the mouth feels quite different from mouthing a toy. This experience contributes to the development of a sense of “the bodily me.”
2. *Self-Identity*. In the second year of life, the child develops a sense of *self-identity*, a sense of his or her existence as a separate person. Children begin to recognize themselves by name.
3. *Ego-Enhancement*. From age 2 to 3, the child begins working on self-esteem. The capacity for pride through achievement starts to develop, as well as the capacity for humiliation and selfishness.
4. *Ego-Extension*. Next, perhaps beginning as early as age 3 to 4, the child begins to identify with his or her **ego-extensions**, (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/glossary#ch00gloss129>) such as personal possessions: “That is my toy.” Of course, this process continues into adulthood, especially in a consumer-oriented culture such as ours. Besides possessions, the maturing individual identifies with “loved objects, an later... [with] ideal causes and loyalties” (Allport, 1955 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref37>) , p. 45).

ego-extensions

objects or people that help define a person's identity or sense of self

5. *Self-image*. The self-image includes both evaluation of our present “abilities, status, and roles” and our aspirations for the future (Allport, 1955 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref37>) , p. 47). Children between the ages 4 and 6, Allport suggested, begin to become capable of formulating future goals and are aware of being good and bad.
6. *Rational Agent*. During the middle childhood years (age 6 to 12) the child may be thought of as a **rational copier**. (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/glossary#ch00gloss350>) The child is busy solving problems and planning ways of doing things. Allport contrasted his attention to the adaptive functions of the ego with Freud's emphasis on ego defenses.

rational copier

a stage in middle childhood in which problem-solving ability is important to one's sense of self

7. **Propriate Striving.** **Propriate striving**, (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/glossary#ch00gloss333>) which begins in adolescence, is "ego-involved" motivation that has "directedness or intentionality," to use Allport's phrasing. At this time, some defining object becomes the "cement" holding a self together, as the person becomes capable of genuine ideology and career planning.

propriate striving

effort based on a sense of selfhood or identity

8. **The Knower.** The **self as knower** (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/glossary#ch00gloss386>) develops as the adult cognitively integrates the previous aspects of the self into a unified whole. Many other theorists have also referred to a self that integrates personality, including Cattell (see **Chapter 8** (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/ch08#ch08>)), Carl Rogers (see **Chapter 14** (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/ch14#ch14>)), Abraham Maslow (see **Chapter 15** (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/ch15#ch15>)), and others not presented in this book (e.g., **Frick, 1993** (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref729>) ; **Tlaczynski, 1993** (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference1#ch00ref1886>)).

self as knower

a stage in adulthood in which a person integrates the self into a unified whole

Although Allport sketched out a description of personality development, he believed that psychology is very far from being able to predict outcomes. Ultimately, Allport (**1940** (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref33>)) asserted that a science of psychology ought to be able to predict individual outcomes more precisely and not settle for probabilities based on studies of groups.

7.6 RELIGIOUS ORIENTATION

Allport (1950a (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref34>)) criticized psychologists for ignoring the role of religion in personality. His theoretical contributions in this area continue to stimulate research. Allport distinguished two types of religious orientation, which he called intrinsic and extrinsic. People with an **extrinsic religious orientation** (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/glossary#ch00gloss159>) used religion for a selfish purpose—for example, raising their status in the community (Allport & Ross, 1967 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref46>)). They were likely to agree, on a Religious Orientation Survey, with such self-report statements as this: “One reason for my being a church member is that such membership helps to establish a person in the community.”

extrinsic religious orientation

attitude in which religion is seen as a means to a person's other goals (such as status or security)

Table 7.3 Concepts Associated with Intrinsic and Extrinsic Religiousness in Allport's Writings

Intrinsic (http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/glossary#ch00gloss231)	Extrinsic (http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/glossary#ch00gloss159)
Relates to all of life (a, b, c, d, f, g, h, i)	Compartmentalized (a, c, d, h)
Unprejudiced; tolerant (a, b, c, h, i)	Prejudiced; exclusionary (a, b, c, d, e, h)
Mature (a, d)	Immature; dependent; comfort; security (a, b, d, f, g, h, i, j)
Integrative; unifying; meaning endowed (a, c, d, f, g, h, i)	Instrumental; utilitarian; self-serving (a, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j)
Regular church attendance (e, g, h)	Irregular church attendance (c, g, h, i)
Makes for mental health (f, g)	Defense or escape mechanism (d, f, g)

Note: Letters in parentheses refer to the following references: (a) Allport (1950a (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref34>)), (b) Allport (1954 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref36>)), (c) Allport (1959 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref38>)), (d) Allport (1961 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref39>)), (e) Allport (1962 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref40>)), (f) Allport (1963 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref41>)), (g) Allport (1964 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref42>)), (h) Allport (1966a (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref44>)), (i) Allport (1966b (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref45>)), (j) Allport & Ross (1967 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref46>)).

Source: From M. J. Donahue (1985 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref572>)). Intrinsic and extrinsic religiousness: Review and meta-analysis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 48, 400-419. Copyright 1985 by the American Psychological Association. Adapted by permission.

Others held an **intrinsic religious orientation**, (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/glossary#ch00gloss232>) having presumably incorporated the religious values of loving others into their own belief system. Such people agree with self-report statements such as this: “My religious beliefs are what really lie behind my whole approach to life” (Allport & Ross, 1967 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref46>)) (see Table 7.3 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/ch07lev7#ch07tab03>)). An intrinsic religious orientation can have beneficial effects for an individual. It seems to protect against depression, at least in some studies (Genia, 1993 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref772>); Park, Cohen, & Herb, 1990 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref1480>); Park & Murgatroyd, 1998 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref1481>)).

intrinsic religious orientation

attitude in which religion is accepted for its own sake rather than as a means to an end

Building on Allport's theory, other researchers have distinguished two aspects of extrinsic orientation. One of these is socially oriented—for example, “I go to church because it helps me to make friends,” whereas the other is personally oriented—for example, “What religion offers me most is comfort in times of trouble and sorrow” (Gorsuch & McPherson, 1989 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref809>)).

Since Allport, theorists have proposed additional dimensions of religious orientation. One that is much studied is **Quest Orientation**, (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/glossary#ch00gloss346>) describing people who are searching for answers to existential-religious questions, and who question the contradictions and tragedies of life, facing existential issues personally (Batson, 1976 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref183>); Batson & Schoenrade, 1991a (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref187>), 1991b (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref188>); Batson, Schoenrade, & Ventis, 1993 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref189>)). A person with a high quest orientation is disinclined to depend on God to deal with the tragedy of a drive-by shooting of an infant who was held in the arms of her praying grandmother (Burris et al., 1996 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref322>)). For such a person, active questioning is part of religion's meaning. Another religious dimension is *immanence*, which involves “motivation to transcend boundaries [such as the boundaries among various religious groups], awareness and acceptance of experience, and emphasis on the present moment” (Burris & Tarpley, 1998 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref323>), p. 55). Religious immanence is positively associated with other religious orientations that eschew traditional orthodoxy: extrinsic religious orientation and religion as a quest (Burris et al., 1996 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref322>); Burris & Tarpley, 1998 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref323>)). Another area for expanded investigation would be to study *spirituality*, which is less focused on institutions, and more concerned with subjective experience, than religiousness (Saucier & Skrzypinska, 2006 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref1669>)).

We may also ask whether the theoretical concepts about religious orientation that have been developed in largely Christian, Western samples are valid in other cultures. There is some evidence for cross-cultural validity, though more research remains to be done. Cross-cultural examination of questionnaires generally involves examination of the factor structure of instruments to see whether items intercorrelate similarly in other cultures. In addition, researchers look to see whether the measures predict outcomes similarly in the various cultures, providing evidence of similar criterion validity. Results are mixed.

Several studies investigate Islam, and while research with Muslim samples shows some similarities to that reported with Christian samples, there are enough differences to suggest studying various religious traditions in detail before assuming universals (Khan, Watson, & Habib, 2005

(<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger:7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref1064>). Intrinsic and extrinsic religious orientations, as well as quest orientation and religious orthodoxy, have been measured among Muslim college students, as a preliminary step toward more extensive research (Ji & Ibrahim, 2007

(<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger:7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref991>). Intrinsic and Extrinsic Orientation, as well as Quest orientation, are useful measures in a sample of Muslim university students in Iran, though with the suggestion that prayer, which was tapped by the Extrinsic Orientation scale, may be particularly important in the Muslim religion (Ghorbani, Watson, & Mirhasani, 2007

(<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger:7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref776>). Religious orientation measures correlate with interest and reaction to the important *Eid-ul-Azha* holiday that culminates the pilgrimage to Mecca (the Haj) among Pakistani Muslims (Khan & Watson, 2004

(<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger:7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref1063>).

Some researchers suggest that intrinsic religious orientation, which focuses on the individual, is a particularly Protestant phenomenon, and not a cultural universal. The emphasis on individualism is a particularly Protestant viewpoint, linked historically to the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century that forged a more direct link between individual believers and their God, with a decreased role of the church as an intermediary. Among major American religions, Protestantism is more individualistic, compared to more collectivist orientations in Catholicism and Judaism (Cohen & Hill, 2007

(<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger:7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref441>). Furthermore, this assumption of individualism reflects the viewpoint of individualistic cultures and underestimates the importance of socially connected religious orientations in other traditions (Cohen et al., 2005

(<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger:7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref440>). Contrary to Allport's negative attitude toward an extrinsic religious orientation, critics suggest that in many religions other than Protestantism, extrinsic components of religion are genuine and valuable, and in those traditions intrinsic and extrinsic religious orientations are not necessarily distinct factors. Such extrinsic components include religious community, ritual, and tradition (e.g., Flere & Lavric, 2001

(<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger:7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref686>). For some American ethnic groups, including those of Asian and African heritage, acculturation to American society brings an increase in intrinsic religious orientation, further suggesting cultural differences (Ghorpade, Lackritz, & Singh, 2006 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger:7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref777>).

7.7 PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL PHENOMENA

Allport viewed humans as social beings, but his focus remained on the individual. Thus his contributions to the understanding of prejudice, religion, and rumor transmission emphasize personality rather than social causation. Personality influences how a person functions within a culture, and simply to focus on the "main effect of culture without considering these variations is insufficient (Oishi, 2004 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference1#ch00ref1459>))

Prejudice

Allport's classic book, *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954), examined such factors as in-group and out-group influences, ego defenses, cognitive processes, the role of language, stereotypes in culture, scapegoating, and learning prejudice in childhood. Allport understood prejudice from the point of view of the individual, instead of from a social historical viewpoint that emphasizes oppression of groups, such as the analysis by W. E. B. DuBois (Gaines & Reed, 1995 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref750>)). His ideas about loyalty to in-groups continue to be discussed by social psychologists (Brewer, 1999 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref288>)). Allport offered practical strategies for reducing prejudice, including equal status contact, common goals, no intergroup competition, and authority sanction, and subsequent research supports this analysis (Pettigrew, 1999 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference1#ch00ref1515>)). Allport's description of prejudice is a classic that is still applied to understand the persistence of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Kelman, 1999 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref1057>)) prejudice against the elderly (Schwartz & Simmons, 2001 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference1#ch00ref1692>)), and the positive influence of models on minority academic achievement (Marx, Brown, & Steele, 1999 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference1#ch00ref1234>)).

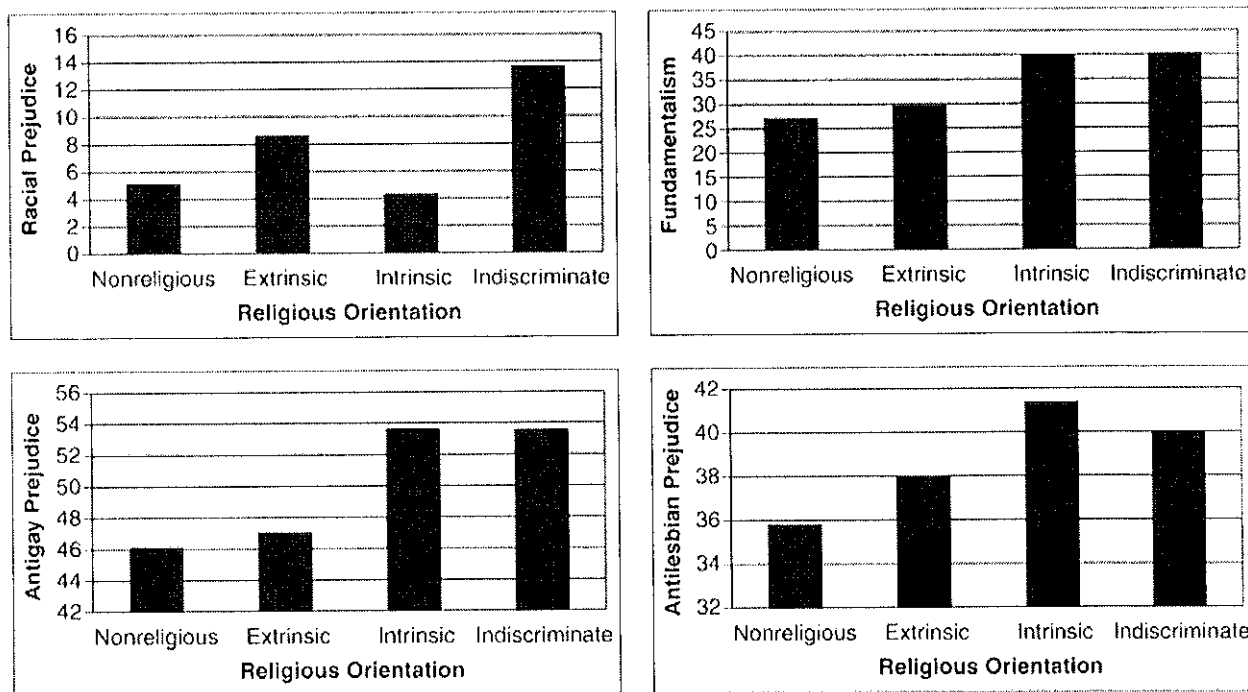
Religion and Prejudice

Allport was particularly interested in how religion relates to racial prejudice. On the one hand, because religion teaches love, it should reduce prejudice. On the other hand, research shows that people who attend church, on the average, are more prejudiced than those who do not attend. How could these contradictory trends be reconciled?

Recognizing that brotherhood and bigotry are intertwined in religion (Allport, 1966a (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref44>)), Allport tried to understand when each would prevail. He expected that people with an extrinsic religious orientation, for whom religion served more selfish purposes, would be more racially prejudiced, and that is what he found (Allport & Ross, 1967 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref46>)). Other researchers have confirmed Allport's finding that extrinsic religious orientation predicts higher racial prejudice (Donahue, 1985 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref572>)); Herek, 1987 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref893>)). Intrinsic religious orientation, however, does not consistently predict low prejudice (Donahue, 1985 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref572>)).

When we consider other forms of prejudice besides racial prejudice, Allport's positive portrait of intrinsic religious orientation becomes even more sullied. Intrinsically religious people have been found to have higher-than-average prejudice against homosexuals (Herek, 1987 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref893>)) (see Figure 7.2 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/ch07lev8#ch07fig02>)). Because this group of intrinsically religious people was more tolerant of racial minorities in his study, Herek interpreted the prejudice against homosexuals as a direct result of intolerant religious teachings about homosexuality, and later research supports this interpretation (Veenvliet, 2008 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference1#ch00ref1947>)). Batson and colleagues found that intrinsically religious undergraduates discriminated against gays, in one experiment, by being less willing to help them win money in a contest, even when the prize would be used for personal needs unrelated to sexual orientation, namely, to visit grandparents (Batson et al., 1999 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref186>)). Another study reports an association between intrinsic religious orientation and antihomosexual prejudice on implicit as well as extrinsic measures of prejudice (Tsang & Rowatt, 2007 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference1#ch00ref1912>)).

FIGURE 7.2 Religious Orientation as a Predictor of Religious Fundamentalism and Prejudice against Racial Minorities, Gays, and Lesbians



Note: Higher scores indicate more prejudice against racial minorities, higher religious fundamentalist ideology, and more prejudice against gay men and lesbian women. Prepared from data reported by Herek (1987 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref893>)).

In another experiment, however, intrinsically religious female subjects discriminated in apparently the opposite way; that is, they discriminated against those who are overtly antigay (Batson, Eidelman, & Higley, 2001 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref185>)). Studies of prejudice against homosexual persons have produced complex relationships with religious orientation, suggesting the need to measure various components of both religious orientation and prejudice (e.g., stereotyping and discriminatory behaviors) to understand the processes more accurately (Wilkinson, 2004 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference1#ch00ref2032>)).

Gender issues have also been studied. The traditional religions from which research samples are drawn have long been criticized for a patriarchal bias. One study report that it is the subtler, protective paternalistic attitudes toward women that are typical of those high in intrinsic religious orientation; although these attitudes seem more benign than hostile sexism, they are also more difficult to challenge (Burn & Busso, 2005 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref317>)). In another study, undergraduates with high intrinsic religious orientation scores were more accepting of a man's abusive behavior toward a girlfriend who rejected his marriage proposal and said she might be a lesbian than those with other religious orientations, although they did not excuse such abusive behavior when he was rejected because of religious differences (Burris & Jackson, 1999 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref321>)). In yet another study, intrinsically religious people were less likely to devalue rape victim (Joe, McGee, & Dazey, 1977 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref992>)).

The association of religious orientation with prejudice seems to depend, in part, on the target of the potential prejudice. Research casts doubt on Allport's suggestion that intrinsically religious people are wholeheartedly, unselfishly helpful to others. They are sometimes motivated by conscious impression management and unconscious self-deception (Leak & Fish, 1989 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref1142>)) and by the desire to enhance their own esteem (Batson, 1990 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref184>)).

Batson suggests that a Quest Orientation comes closer to the nonjudgmental concern for helping others that Allport was trying to convey in his concept of intrinsic religious orientation (Batson et al., 1999 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref186>)); Batson, Eidelman, & Higley, 2001 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref185>)). In addition, religious fundamentalism is sometimes associated with increased prejudice (e.g., Fulton, Gorsuch, & Maynard, 1999 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref743>)). Though Allport's ideas about the association between religious orientation and prejudice have not been fully confirmed, the research he inspired continues.

Rumor Transmission

Motivated by concerns about controlling the spread of rumors during World War II, Allport and Postman (1947 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref49>)) studied rumors in the laboratory and offered advice to the government. Their book, *The Psychology of Rumor*, illustrates the interplay between history and psychological work, beginning with classifying the rumors that circulated following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941. It is an early example of applied social psychological research, and it interweaves experimental laboratory studies of basic processes with socially relevant descriptions of real rumors and intervention strategies. With his brother Floyd Allport and others, Allport considered broader public relations issues, too; for example, their work showed that newspaper headlines with a positive image about progress in the war were an impediment to recruiting soldiers; pessimistic headlines encouraged more soldiers to enlist (Johnson & Nichols, 1998 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref997>)).

One set of concepts Allport and Postman (1947 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref49>)) investigated concerned the cognitive processes of leveling and sharpening, which cause information to change, becoming more general or more specific as rumors are repeated. In a classic study, they found that information that begins with an eyewitness and then is passed on by word of mouth can change considerably. One subject viewed a slide in which a white man holding a knife was apparently arguing with a black man in a subway car. The subject, while looking at the slide, described it to another subject, who could not see it. Based on this description, the second subject described it to a third subject, and so on, until, like the child's game of telephone, the rumor had been passed on to several subjects. In over half the replications, participants incorrectly reported that the black man held the knife at some point in the rumor transmission. This study has become a classic one supporting the idea that stereotypes lead to erroneous eyewitness reporting. Ironically, the original study is often exaggerated (Boon & Davis, 1987 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference#ch00ref254>)) and distorted (Treadway & McCloskey, 1987 (<http://content.thuzelearning.com/books/Cloninger.7923.17.1/sections/reference1#ch00ref1902>))) in making this point.

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jackdaw eclecticism
considering concepts from diverse theories, without making careful selection from and evaluation of these concepts

Summary

- Gordon Allport emphasized several major themes: personality consistency, social influence, the concept of self, and the interaction of personality with social influence in determining behavior.
- Allport defined *personality* as “the dynamic organization within the individual of those psychophysical systems that determine his unique adjustments to the environment.”
- The primary unit of personality is the *trait*.
- Traits can be studied *idiographically* (individual traits) or *nomothetically* (common traits).
- Evidence of traits comes from many sources: language, behavior, documents (such as letters), and such questionnaires as the Study of Values.
- Allport emphasized that the subject matter should take precedence over methodological issues.
- Traits vary in pervasiveness. *Cardinal traits* have extremely pervasive influences but occur in only a few people. *Central traits* have broad influences and occur in everyone. In addition, people have *secondary traits* that influence only a few behaviors.
- Traits are in the middle of a spectrum of aspects of personality, ranging from very narrow reflexes through highly integrated selves.
- As personality develops, traits become *functionally autonomous* from their developmental origins. Thus the study of personality should focus on contemporaneous issues.
- Allport listed several characteristics of a mature, healthy adult: extension of the sense of self, warm human interactions, emotional security (self-acceptance), realistic perceptions, self-objectification, and a unifying philosophy of life. The healthy personality is unified, combining various elements into a *unitas multiplex*.
- Personality development, the development of the unifying *proprium* (or self), proceeds through stages: bodily sense, self-identity, ego-enhancement, ego-extensions, self-image, rational agent, propiate striving, and the self as knower.
- Allport studied prejudice, which he said was more frequent among *extrinsically religious individuals* and less frequent among *intrinsically religious individuals*. Subsequent research has found that Allport’s predictions generally hold for racial prejudice but not for antihomosexual prejudice.
- Allport conducted applied social research on rumor transmission.
- Overall, Allport’s approach was *eclectic*.

Thinking about Allport’s Theory

1. Allport’s point of view is quite different from that of psychoanalytic theorists. What implications does this have for the issues that we should concentrate on when trying to understand an individual’s personality?
2. Do you believe it is possible to focus on one individual without comparing that person with others? That is, can we really do idiographic as well as nomothetic personality research?
3. Allport considered the relationship between personality and social psychology (e.g., in his description of prejudice). Are there other social issues or social phenomena that should also be studied in this way?
4. Do you think that expressive traits, such as the analysis of handwriting, have a place in a science of personality? What research would you suggest to explore expressive traits?
5. Allport inferred personality by analyzing Jenny’s letters. If you have access to personal letters or diaries or journals, look at them as a personality psychologist might. What inferences would you make from particular documents?
6. Propose a research hypothesis using the Allport-Vernon-Lindzey Study of Values as one measure.
7. Reflect on Allport’s description of a normal mature adult. Do you think these criteria are adequate, or would you suggest any change?
8. How do you think religion contributes to prejudice or to the reduction of prejudice in today’s world?

Study Questions

1. List and briefly describe some of the ways in which Allport influenced the study of personality.
2. How did Allport define personality? Explain the significance of this definition.
3. Discuss Allport’s concept of a trait. Explain the difference between an individual trait and a common trait.
4. What sources provide evidence about traits? Discuss, in particular, Allport’s *Letters from Jenny* and his Study of Values.
5. Explain how cardinal traits, central traits, and secondary traits differ in the pervasiveness of their influence.
6. Explain Allport’s concept of functional autonomy.
7. List and explain the characteristics of a mature healthy adult.
8. Explain the importance of the unity of personality for good adjustment, according to Allport’s theory.
9. List and explain the stages in the development of the *proprium*.

10. Explain what Allport meant by intrinsic and extrinsic religious orientation.

11. Discuss the relationship between religious orientation and prejudice.

12. Summarize Allport's advice about theoretical eclecticism.

Correcting Big Five Personality Measurements for Acquiescence: An 18-Country Cross-Cultural Study

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Abstract: For groups of persons with low or medium levels of education, Big Five personality scales typically yield scores that poorly replicate the idealized Big Five factor pattern. On the basis of representative samples of German adults, Rammstedt et al. have demonstrated that correcting each person's score for acquiescence eliminates this problem. In the present 18-country study using large samples representative of each country's adult population, we found that, in all cases, correcting for acquiescence did indeed improve the congruence of factor loadings with an idealized Big Five pattern. However, although this correction led to acceptably high correspondence levels in all countries classified as individualistic, this was not always true for non-individualistic countries. Possible reasons for this finding are discussed. Copyright © 2012 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

Key words: Big Five; cross-cultural; acquiescence; factor structure; education

Acquiescent responding has a distorting impact on the psychometric quality of questionnaire data (e.g. Rammstedt, Goldberg, & Borg, 2010; Rammstedt & Kemper, 2011; Soto, John, Gosling, & Potter, 2008). Acquiescence refers to the tendency of an individual to consistently agree to questionnaire items, regardless of the content of the items (Jackson & Messick, 1958; Javeline, 1999). Results of previous studies indicate that such 'yea-saying' appears to be more frequent among persons with lower educational levels (e.g. Ayidiya & McClendon, 1990; Narayan & Krosnick, 1996; Rammstedt & Kemper, 2011; Rammstedt et al., 2010). There are several hypotheses aiming to explain this educational difference. The most plausible explanation is that the less educated are not as used to thinking abstractly and to considering the hypothetical but are rather tied more to the concrete and immediate (Flavell, Miller, & Miller, 1993; Toomela, 2000, 2003a, 2003b). These competencies, furthermore, are assumed to be related to a person's likelihood to arrive at meaningful judgements describing himself in relatively abstract psychological terms. Hence, judgements by less educated individuals should be more affected by systematic response biases such as acquiescence (cf. Goldberg, 1963; Soto et al., 2008).

Factor solutions may be blurred by acquiescence, because individual differences in acquiescence will inflate correlations between items that measure unrelated constructs but are keyed in the same direction and will deflate correlations between items that measure the same construct but are keyed in the opposite directions. Thus, individual differences in acquiescence significantly decrease the factorial validity of questionnaires. The most established factorial

model in personality consists of the so-called Big Five factors of personality (cf. De Raad, 2000; Goldberg, 1990; John, Naumann, & Soto, 2008) aiming to describe a person's personality structure on the most global level. These global dimensions are interpreted and commonly labelled as Extraversion, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, Neuroticism, and Openness to Experience.

Recent studies (Rammstedt & Kemper, 2011; Rammstedt et al., 2010) suggest that the structure of item sets assessing the Big Five personality factors is sensitive to effects of acquiescent responding. In samples of persons with low and medium education and thus in samples more prone to acquiescence, the Big Five structure emerged only in a blurred way, whereas in samples consisting of respondents with a high level of education and thus in samples less prone to acquiescence, the Big Five replicated with textbook-like clarity. This educational effect could be substantially reduced by correcting for acquiescent response bias. When this bias was controlled for, the Big Five factor structure became much clearer, reaching good levels of congruence with idealized Big Five loading patterns both for high-educated respondents and for low-educated and medium-educated respondents.

As the effect of acquiescence blurring the Big Five factor structures has only recently been identified, the empirical evidence for its generalizability is still scarce. The two studies that have been conducted so far are both based on representative samples of German adults. Both show (i) that acquiescent responding is significantly and substantially more pronounced in low-educated and medium-educated groups than in high-educated groups; (ii) that the Big Five factor structure is blurred by acquiescence; and (iii) that statistically controlling for acquiescence clearly improves the congruence of factor structures with ideal patterns, thereby yielding solutions that have at least an acceptable good fit to the ideal Big Five structure. As

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both these studies are based on German samples, one can ask to what extent this effect can also be replicated in other cultures — in cultures more or less comparable with and in cultures that differ greatly from the German culture.

The findings described earlier are supported by other studies. Several earlier studies (Krosnick, Narayan, & Smith, 1996; McClendon, 1991; Meisenberg & Williams, 2008; Mirowsky & Ross, 1991; Winkler, Kanouse, & Ware, 1982) have suggested that acquiescent responding is related to education. Thus, as a default hypothesis, we expect the following to hold true in general:

H1: In all cultures, the average level and the variability in acquiescent responding are greater in less educated respondents than in more-educated respondents.

Our own previous studies based on German samples suggest that interindividual differences in acquiescent responding blur the Big Five factor structure in educationally heterogeneous samples. In particular, samples with lower-educated respondents seem to be affected. By subtracting each individual's mean item score from each single item score in a balanced battery of 10 Big Five items, we statistically controlled for interindividual differences in acquiescence in these samples, leading to a much clearer Big Five factor structure. The assumption that differences in acquiescence blur the Big Five factor structure is also supported by Soto *et al.* (2008) who showed that children and adolescents exhibit greater interindividual variability in acquiescence than adults and that this negatively impacts the factorial structure of their personality ratings. Controlling for acquiescence (by ipsatizing the data) improved the recovery of the intended Big Five structure. Hence, we hypothesize that

H2: Statistically controlling for acquiescence generally leads to a factor structure that is more congruent with an idealized Big Five structure.

Our own studies (Rammstedt *et al.*, 2010; Rammstedt & Kemper, 2011) suggest that the negative impact of acquiescence variability on the factor structure is more pronounced among low-educated and medium-educated respondents than among high-educated respondents. Therefore, we hypothesize that correcting for acquiescence leads to correspondingly greater improvements in factor congruence in the case of lower-educated and medium-educated respondents. As there is no apparent reason why this should hold for German samples only, we hypothesize for all countries that

H3: Samples of low-educated and medium-educated persons exhibit Big Five factor structures that are less congruent with ideal Big Five patterns than do samples of high-educated persons.

H4: Statistically controlling for acquiescence variability leads to greater improvements in the congruence of empirical and ideal factor structure for low-educated and medium-educated persons than for high-educated persons.

Recently, research on response styles in different cultures has received considerable attention (e.g. Clarke, 2001; Diamantopoulos, Reynolds, & Simintiras, 2006). However, almost all of these studies have focused on cross-cultural differences rather than on cross-cultural generalizability. There is some evidence that cultures differ in their propensity for acquiescent responding as reflected in mean-level differences (e.g. Javeline, 1999; Johnson, Kulesa, Cho, & Shavitt, 2005). This appears to be especially true for the individualism–collectivism dimension — a dimension that is sometimes also regarded as the ‘deep structure’ of cultural differences (cf. Greenfield, 1999). As a possible reason for this effect, Javeline (1999) argues that ‘yea sayers’ are more likely in ‘polite’ societies.

With reference to the quality of the emic Big Five structures, previous studies also indicate differences between individualistic and collectivistic — or non-individualistic — cultures. Not surprisingly, as the Big Five structure was originally identified in an individualistic country — the USA — replications of the Big Five in individualistic countries show greater congruence with this original solution than replications from non-individualistic cultures (cf. Church & Katigbak, 2000; Guanzon-Lapena, Church, Carlota, & Katigbak, 1998).

As educational bias in acquiescence and the effectiveness of correcting scores for acquiescence have been found in Germany, a country typically regarded as individualistic, we hypothesize as an alternative to the universal hypotheses proposed earlier that

H5: The educational bias in acquiescence, and the effectiveness of correcting scores for acquiescence, will be replicable primarily in countries with a culture similar to Germany's, that is, in individualistic cultures.

H6: The congruence of the Big Five factor structures will be greater in individualistic cultures than in non-individualistic cultures.

The present study aims to test these six hypotheses. For that purpose, data representative of the adult population of 18 countries that differ in terms of their political and economic situation and their cultural values were investigated.

METHOD

Samples and procedure

Our analyses are based on the data of Round 2005 of the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) (www.issp.org; <http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.4232/1.4350>; Haller, Jowell, & Smith, 2009). A short measure of the Big Five¹ was assessed

¹Because of the severe time limitations in large-scale surveys such as the ISSP, in which each individual's response is counted in monetary equivalents, these surveys are unable to assess full-scale personality scales containing 50 to 250 items.

in 18 of the 31 countries participating in this round. Data of these countries are analysed in the present study.

Without exception, the ISSP surveys were all based on representative samples of the countries' adult populations (age ≥ 18 years).² The sampling procedure varied across countries. In several countries, register-based samples were drawn (where possible); in other countries, a household sampling procedure was used. In the latter case, households were selected randomly on the basis of complete block lists. Similarly, respondents within the households were randomly selected from a full list of household members. Full details of the sampling procedures in the different countries are presented in the methods report of the ISSP 2005 (Scholz, Harkness, & Faass, 2008).

Sample size per country varied from $N=921$ in Japan to $N=2171$ in Taiwan. Overall, the realized sample consisted of $N=25\,509$ respondents. Details of the sample composition per country are given in Table 1.

ISSP questionnaires are administered as face-to-face interviews or in a self-completion format. Participation was voluntary and not usually financially rewarded — although some countries offered small incentives in order to enhance participation.

Measures

Education

Levels of educational attainment were assessed in all countries on the basis of the national education system. Afterwards, the ISSP researchers harmonized these national data by mapping them into six categories: 'no formal qualification' (0), 'lowest formal qualification' (1), 'above lowest qualification' (2), 'higher secondary completed' (3), 'above higher secondary level' (4), and 'university degree

completed' (5). These categories were defined with reference to the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) 1997 levels. In order to have a sufficient number of respondents in each group, we collapsed these six categories into two educational groups on the basis of the ISCED levels³: *low or medium education* ($\leq$ ISCED level 3), which comprises respondents with a level of education lower than that of university students typically investigated in personality research; and *high education* ($\geq$ ISCED level 4). Table 1 shows the distributions of the samples in the low-educated and medium-educated group and in the high-educated group. Depending on the education system, these distributions differ markedly across countries. They range from 40% low-educated and medium-educated and 60% high-educated respondents in Russia to 90% low-educated and medium-educated and 10% high-educated respondents in the Czech Republic. These differences might be due to differences in non-response bias among the countries with some countries showing greater effects for education than others. These differences might also be a consequence of the somewhat arbitrary classification into low or medium and high education, strongly reducing variance and differences among the different educational systems.

Cultural values

Country-level scores on an individualism–collectivism scale were taken from Hofstede (2001; see also Hofstede & Hofstede, 2004) for the 18 ISSP countries used in this study. Countries were classified into three groups — high ($=3$), medium ($=2$), and low ($=1$) individualistic — based on their individualism–collectivism scores. For two countries (the Dominican Republic and Latvia), no country-level scores were available. On the basis of the ratings of comparable countries, we assigned imputed individualism–collectivism scores to these two countries. As all other Caribbean countries are classified by Hofstede as having a low level of individualism, we assumed this to hold true for the Dominican Republic as well. We classified Latvia as medium individualistic because Estonia, the neighbouring Baltic country, is rated this way. On the basis of the classification by Hofstede, eight of the 18 ISSP countries were classified as high individualistic cultures, five as medium individualistic cultures, and five as low individualistic cultures (cf. Table 2).

The 10-item Big Five Inventory

The 10-item Big Five Inventory (BFI-10; Rammstedt & John, 2007) is an abbreviated version of the well-established Big Five Inventory (BFI; John, Donahue, & Kentle, 1991; see also Benet-Martínez & John, 1998; John et al., 2008; for the German version, see Lang, Lüdtke, & Asendorpf, 2001; Rammstedt, 1997), consisting of 10 of the 44 standard BFI items. It assesses the Big Five with two items per factor, one keyed in the positive and one in the negative direction.

Table 1. Sample composition for the 18 countries separately

Country	<i>N</i>	% females	Mean age	% low/medium education
USA	1518	53.4	47.1	48.9
Germany	1701	51.4	49.4	85.4
Ireland	1001	57.8	46.7	65.9
New Zealand	1309	54.0	47.9	51.9
France	1620	54.8	45.3	54.1
Denmark	1598	52.6	46.9	50.3
Switzerland	1078	53.0	49.9	73.3
Flanders	1338	50.5	46.2	70.5
Latvia	1067	59.9	45.3	76.5
Russia	1605	54.5	44.6	39.9
Czech Republic	1226	59.5	45.6	89.6
Israel	1184	51.9	46.3	56.7
Japan	921	53.8	52.7	67.4
Philippines	1200	50.0	41.8	65.7
Mexico	1401	51.6	37.2	83.3
Taiwan	2171	49.1	44.2	63.9
South Korea	1613	54.4	44.6	55.9
Dominican Republic	1958	52.2	37.9	81.9

²France had a lower age cut-off of 15 years; Japan had a lower cut-off of 16 years; and Flanders reported an upper age cut-off of 85 years.

³Previous studies by Rammstedt et al. (2010, 2011) based their analyses on three educational groups. Results in both studies indicated that the low-educated and medium-educated groups behaved quite similarly and could be clearly differentiated from the high-educated group.

Table 2. Mean and variability of the acquiescence scores and percentage of acquiescent respondents for the 18 countries (total sample and each educational group)

Country	Individualism	Acquiescence score						% of low acquiescence (<2.8)	% of high acquiescence (>3.2)
		Total		Low/medium education		High education			
		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>		
USA	3	3.32	.31	3.34	.32	3.30 [†]	.30 [§]	3.0	57.5
Germany	3	3.22	.35	3.23	.35	3.16 [†]	.35	7.5	44.3
Ireland	3	3.31	.31	3.30	.31	3.31	.32	2.0	53.1
New Zealand	3	3.29	.37	3.33	.40	3.26 [†]	.33 [§]	3.9	50.6
France	3	3.24	.45	3.29	.53	3.15 [†]	.34 [§]	7.5	39.3
Denmark	3	3.20	.39	3.24	.42	3.15 [†]	.34 [§]	9.3	39.9
Switzerland	3	3.22	.28	3.23	.29	3.19 [†]	.26	3.3	43.5
Belgium (Flanders)	3	3.15	.32	3.15	.34	3.15	.26 [§]	7.7	33.6
Latvia	2	3.17	.36	3.14	.36	3.26 [†]	.35	11.4	41.0
Russia	2	3.46	.43	3.46	.45	3.46	.43	3.9	69.7
Czech Republic	2	3.16	.38	3.15	.38	3.24 [†]	.37	13.4	39.8
Israel	2	3.52	.38	3.55	.41	3.48 [†]	.35 [§]	2.1	76.9
Japan	2	3.00	.46	3.00	.46	3.00	.47	26.1	27.0
Philippines	1	3.25	.47	3.22	.49	3.30 [†]	.41 [§]	13.3	50.0
Mexico	1	3.55	.49	3.56	.50	3.54	.47	3.4	67.2
Taiwan	1	3.15	.33	3.11	.33	3.21 [†]	.31	9.6	35.8
South Korea	1	3.15	.36	3.14	.39	3.15	.31 [§]	11.4	35.6
Dominican Republic	1	3.45	.36	3.44	.36	3.49 [†]	.36	2.8	70.1
Total mean		3.27	.38	3.27	.39	3.27	.37	7.9	48.6
Mean (individualistic countries)		3.24	.35	3.26	.37	3.23	.31	5.5	45.2
Mean (non-individualistic countries)		3.29	.40	3.28	.41	3.29	.39	9.7	51.3

Note. Imputed individualism scores are set in italics.

[†]Low and medium educated significantly higher mean acquiescent scores compared with high educated ($p < .05$).

[‡]High educated significantly higher mean acquiescent scores compared with low educated ($p < .05$).

[§]Low and medium educated significantly higher standard deviations of the acquiescent scores compared with high educated ($p < .05$).

In accordance with the response format used throughout the ISSP questionnaire, all items used 5-point Likert-type response options ranging from *fully agree* to *fully disagree*. Although this response scale differs in its orientation from the standard BFI-10 format (*fully disagree* to *fully agree*), a previous study showed that reversing the direction of the response scale does not change the quality of the ensuing responses (Rammstedt & Krebs, 2007). All 10 items were re-coded for the present analyses so that *fully disagree* was scored as 1 and *fully agree* as 5.

Analyses

Acquiescence

An acquiescence index was computed for each respondent on the basis of the 10 BFI items. The BFI-10 has two balanced keyed items for each of the Big Five factors. For example, Extraversion is assessed by the items 'I see myself as someone who is reserved' and 'I see myself as someone who is outgoing, sociable'. If an individual responds consistently to the content of the two items, the responses to these items should be symmetrical about the answer scale's middle category (coded as '3'). High acquiescence, by contrast, should result in a mean rating greater than 3 based on a response scale coded from 1 to 5, indicating that agreement to the positive item is stronger than rejection of the negative item. Low acquiescence, namely the tendency to generally disagree with items (i.e. 'nay-saying'), should result in a mean rating lower than 3. Because there are five

item pairs, we used the mean overall items as a measure of each individual's acquiescent response tendency. In order to test whether acquiescence affected all five dimensions to the same degree, we computed acquiescence scores for each dimension (as a mean across both items per dimension) and investigated the interrelations of these scores. These correlations range from .08 to .21 with an overall mean of .15.

Controlling for acquiescence

One common technique to remove variance due to response tendencies from personality questionnaires is ipsatization (Clemans, 1966; Cunningham, Cunningham, & Green, 1977; Fischer, 2004; Ostendorf, 1990; Ten Berge, 1999). Depending on the theoretical and conceptual interest of the researcher, standardization of item scores may involve adjustments using each person's means, standard deviations, or both. If researchers expect acquiescent response bias and if this bias is their primary interest, the use of means to adjust item scores is indicated (cf. Fischer, 2004). Ten Berge (1999) also proposed as an alternative approach to use linear regression to partial variance due to acquiescence. This approach differs to the subtraction of the mean in that it only affects the variables to the extent that they correlate with the mean (Ten Berge, 1999, p. 97). However, as our aim is to apply a method of controlling for acquiescence that is not sample dependent, we chose to use the established subtraction method instead. Therefore, we subtracted each respondent's mean response across all BFI-10 items from his or her score on each single item. To control for

potential method effects, we applied both the subtraction method and the regression-based approach to the total and the subsamples of one country, namely the USA. Results were highly similar across both methods.

Factor analyses

To avoid variations in results due to methodological differences, we kept our method aligned with that applied in previous studies (Rammstedt et al., 2010; 2011) and with the assumptions of the Big Five model. PCAs with a forced extraction of five factors were conducted. All factor solutions were subsequently rotated to an optimal fit with (i) the 'simple structure' criterion (using Varimax rotation) and (ii) an idealized 10-item 5-dimensional Big Five factor structure (using Procrustes rotation as advocated by McCrae, Zonderman, Costa, Bond, & Paunonen, 1996 and Allik and McCrae, 2004).

Congruence of the factor structures

The similarity of two 5-dimensional factor solutions, **X** and **Y**, can be assessed by computing the congruence coefficient *c*. To find the value of *c* which indicates a level of congruence that is significantly greater than what one can expect for random configurations **X**, Rammstedt et al. (2010) provided simulation norms. They reported that for the case studied in this paper (10 vectors, five dimensions, with **Y** the idealized Big Five pattern with +1, 0, and -1 loadings), a coefficient greater than .78 is the critical benchmark value of the random congruence. For random **X**, congruence of >.78 can be expected in less than 1% of the cases. Therefore, such similarity indices are considered statistically significant. However, these statistical norms are only weak benchmarks, because, as Lorenzo-Seva, & Ten Berge (2006) have shown, 'seasoned factor analysts' are likely to interpret **X** and **Y** as 'fairly' similar only if the congruence coefficient *c* is at least .85.

The hypothesized better matches of the empirical and the ideal factor structures are thus empirically testable using the following three criteria:

- Congruence coefficients increase after controlling for acquiescence.
- After controlling for acquiescence, congruence coefficients exceed the 99% norms for statistically significant congruence ($c > .78$).
- After controlling for acquiescence, congruence coefficients should reach or exceed the .85 criterion proposed by Lorenzo-Seva, & Ten Berge (2006) if the factor structures are to be interpreted as at least 'fairly' similar.

RESULTS

Differences in acquiescent response bias (H1)

To test H1, means and standard deviations of the acquiescence scores for each country were computed. As we assume that the tendency towards acquiescence should be generally more pronounced and more variable in low-educated and medium-educated groups than in high-educated groups, Table 2 shows

the mean acquiescence scores and their variability for each country's total sample (columns 3 and 4) and for each educational group (columns 5 and 6, and columns 7 and 8, respectively). Overall, the various countries differ in the extent and direction of the hypothesized educational effect. In seven of the 18 countries, the mean acquiescence scores of low-educated and medium-educated respondents were significantly higher than those of high-educated respondents. In six countries, the effect was not significant, and in the remaining five countries, an inverse effect was found, with high-educated respondents scoring higher on acquiescence than low-educated and medium-educated respondents. Concerning the variability of acquiescence scores, expected differences were found for eight of the 18 countries. In these countries, the standard deviations for low-educated and medium-educated groups were higher compared with those of the high-educated groups. For the remaining countries, no significant differences were observed. Notably, no effects contrary to expectations were substantial. In sum, these results do not support our hypothesis H1 for all countries. About half of the countries showed the predicted effects with regard to educational differences in mean and variability; for the other half, no such effects were found.

Factor structure of the raw scores and the scores corrected for acquiescence (H2)

According to H2, we assume that variability in the general tendency towards acquiescent responding blurs the Big Five factor structures in all countries. Controlling for acquiescence variance should universally improve the congruence of the factor structures with an ideal Big Five pattern. To test this hypothesis, we conducted two sets of factor analyses on the basis of the 10 BFI-10 variables for each of the 18 countries separately. One set was based on the raw data, and one on the data corrected for acquiescence.

In order to keep the results presented here to a reasonable size, we will as an example report detailed results for one country only, namely the USA. For all remaining countries, summarized results will be reported.

The top half of Table 3 shows the Procrustes-rotated⁴ factor-loading matrix for the 10 raw BFI-10 items for the U.S. sample. In this table, pairs of items measuring the same factor are re-ordered and listed in adjacent rows. In addition, the factors are ordered (from left to right) according to their loadings on the items. Results for the total sample are displayed on the left. The explained variance is 66%. As can be seen from the loading matrix, the Big Five factor solution is distinctly blurred and does not match the criterion of simple structure. Every item — with the exception of the two Emotional Stability items — has substantial loadings on non-corresponding factors. The ambiguity of the structure is also reflected in the factor congruence coefficients that measure the fit of the empirical factor loadings with the ideal

⁴Results based on Varimax rotation are highly similar to those of the Procrustes rotation for this and for all following factor analyses for the U.S. sample.

Table 3. Results for the USA: Procrustes-rotated factor structures of the raw and mean-corrected BFI-10 items for the total sample and for each educational group

I see myself as someone who ...	Total					Low and medium education					High education				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
Raw scores															
... is reserved	.89	.19	-.02	.04	.06	.76	-.25	.37	.06	.00	.88	.20	-.03	-.03	.04
... is outgoing, sociable	-.67	.37	-.01	.19	.21	-.72	.02	.25	.22	.12	-.74	.30	.06	.15	.17
... is generally trusting	-.16	.78	.10	-.10	.19	-.37	.20	.66	-.19	.03	-.15	.79	.10	-.08	.20
... tends to find fault with others	.03	-.30	-.38	-.28	.36	-.10	-.73	-.06	-.23	.12	-.05	-.48	-.21	-.32	.26
... does a thorough job	-.03	.47	.56	.01	.24	-.05	.31	.66	.06	.18	-.09	.42	.65	-.05	.15
... tends to be lazy	-.01	-.01	-.81	-.14	.02	-.18	-.42	-.39	-.23	.01	.01	.11	-.87	-.16	.02
... is relaxed, handles stress well	.04	.21	.00	.80	.13	-.04	-.05	.29	.74	.08	.01	.20	-.03	.81	.11
... gets nervous easily	.19	.02	-.14	-.79	-.04	.12	-.09	.00	-.80	-.07	.18	-.04	-.15	-.79	-.02
... has an active imagination	-.05	.21	-.11	.17	.75	-.17	-.37	.38	.19	.55	-.14	.22	-.08	.07	.73
... has few artistic interests	.10	.38	-.32	.01	-.65	-.05	-.28	.20	.03	-.89	-.01	.28	-.21	-.07	-.73
Factor congruence	.96	.66	.86	.94	.88	.91	.62	.61	.91	.94	.97	.77	.94	.94	.93
Scores corrected for acquiescence															
... is reserved	.91	.04	.08	.05	-.01	.89	.03	.07	.10	.02	.92	.04	.06	.02	-.02
... is outgoing, sociable	-.75	.16	.15	.22	.12	-.72	.16	.09	.25	.11	-.78	.15	.17	.20	.12
... is generally trusting	-.23	.76	.20	-.11	.13	-.27	.71	.26	-.15	.07	-.18	.77	.18	-.08	.18
... tends to find fault with others	-.11	-.80	-.01	-.28	.12	-.13	-.79	.00	-.32	.09	-.08	-.82	-.01	-.24	.14
... does a thorough job	-.10	.23	.71	.01	.14	-.04	.33	.62	.00	.16	-.13	.19	.76	.01	.11
... tends to be lazy	-.03	.02	-.87	-.17	.04	-.02	.07	-.88	-.20	.06	-.02	.01	-.87	-.15	.01
... is relaxed, handles stress well	.01	.08	.08	.84	.06	.02	.12	.08	.81	.09	-.01	.04	.07	.87	.06
... gets nervous easily	.18	-.08	-.10	-.80	-.09	.16	-.05	-.12	-.77	-.10	.18	-.13	-.09	-.81	-.06
... has an active imagination	-.13	-.07	.06	.23	.70	-.10	-.16	.10	.28	.69	-.18	.00	.05	.15	.70
... has few artistic interests	-.01	-.08	-.03	.07	-.90	.00	-.14	.00	.09	-.91	-.03	-.03	-.05	.04	-.90
Factor congruence	.95	.96	.96	.92	.96	.95	.92	.94	.89	.96	.96	.97	.97	.95	.96

Note. Loadings $\geq .35$ are set in bold.

loadings (after optimal reflections and permutations of the factors). Following the benchmarks proposed by Lorenzo-Seva, & Ten Berge (2006) congruence coefficients of .85 or higher (set in bold in Table 4) can be interpreted by 'seasoned factor analysts' as an indication that the two structures are 'fairly' similar. For the U.S. data, the congruence coefficients vary between .66 and .96 for the five factors, with a total matrix fit of .86, which just meets the benchmark value.

To test whether controlling for acquiescence variance does indeed increase the clarity of the Big Five factor structures (i.e. H2), we repeated the factor analyses for each country by using the mean-corrected scores described in the Method section.

The lower half of Table 3 shows the detailed factor analytical results based on the mean-corrected data for our example country, the USA. The explained variance is 71%. The factor-loading matrix based on the scores corrected for acquiescence reflects the Big Five with textbook-like clarity: All items load substantially and highest on their corresponding factors, and none of the secondary loadings exceed .35. The good fit of the factor structure is also reflected in the congruence coefficients, which range between .92 and .96 for the five factors, with a total matrix congruence of .95. Therefore, correcting for acquiescence yields a markedly better factor structure in the U.S. sample.

Summarized factor analytical results for all 18 countries are reported in Table 4 in the form of congruence coefficients for the full matrix — for Varimax and Procrustes rotation separately. The countries in the table are sorted in descending order according to their level of individualism. Columns 2

and 10 show the congruence scores for the raw data, and columns 6 and 14 feature the scores for the data corrected for acquiescence. As can be seen from the table, the two methods of rotation yield similar results, even though congruence scores based on Procrustes rotation are necessarily always somewhat higher than those based on Varimax rotation.

In the case of the raw score data, the factorial fit is rather poor overall, which indicates that factor structures are blurred in all countries. The various countries differ in their mean congruence. However, a congruence of .85 is reached in only two of the 18 countries — the USA (in the case of the Procrustes rotation only) and Switzerland — which indicates theoretically unacceptable factor structures in at least 16 of the 18 countries.

Whether the factorial match increases when acquiescence is controlled for is tested by the three criteria formulated in the Method section. Our first criterion is a mere increase in congruence of the mean-corrected data compared with the raw data. This criterion is fully met. In all countries, and under both methods of rotation, congruence coefficients based on the corrected data are higher than those based on the non-corrected data.

According to the second criterion, congruence coefficients based on the corrected data should meet the benchmark of $>.78$ that allows rejecting random congruence (cf. Rammstedt *et al.*, 2010) more often than the coefficients based on the uncorrected data. This was indeed the case. Based on the uncorrected data, a congruence significantly deviating from chance was reached in only six countries under

Varimax rotation and nine countries under Procrustes rotation; based on the corrected data, the criterion was satisfied in 14 of the 18 countries.

Our third criterion requires that the congruence coefficients should be even higher ($\geq .85$) before the factor structures can be interpreted as a theoretically good fit. Based on the uncorrected data, this criterion was met in only one country under Varimax and in two countries under Procrustes rotation. Based on the data corrected for acquiescence, a good fit was reached by 10 of the 18 countries using Varimax and by 13 countries using Procrustes rotation. Therefore, H2, which hypothesizes better-fitting factor structures after correcting for acquiescent response bias, is clearly supported in terms of all three criteria.

Educational differences in the factor structures (H3 and H4)

In order to test H3 — that the factor structures in the low-educated and medium-educated samples are more severely blurred than those in the high-educated samples — factor analyses based on the raw score data were repeated separately for the two educational groups. For our sample country, the USA, Procrustes-rotated factor-loading matrices of the raw data are reported in the top half of Table 3. The results clearly support our hypothesis — at least for the USA, where the Big Five emerged in an unbiased way only in the high-educated samples. In the low-educated and medium-educated samples, the factor structure is distinctly blurred. Differences in the factor structures are also reflected in the congruence coefficients of the factors. For the low-educated and medium-educated sample, these coefficients vary between .61 and .94, with a congruence of the total matrix of .80. For the high-educated sample, by contrast, congruence ranges between .77 and .97, with a total matrix fit of .91.

Summarized factor analytical results for the raw data of all 18 countries for each educational group are reported in Table 4 (columns 3 and 4, and 11 and 12). Once again, results are given in terms of the full matrix congruence coefficients based both on Varimax and on Procrustes rotation.

As hypothesized, the congruence coefficients are lower in the low-educated and medium-educated group than in the high-educated group in 16 of the 18 countries under Varimax and in 14 countries under Procrustes rotation. In the two (Varimax) and four (Procrustes) remaining countries, respectively, no differences between the educational groups were observable. Hence, the results support — at least tentatively — the assumption of a more severely blurred factor structure in the low-educated and medium-educated group compared with the high-educated group (H3).

Our hypothesis H4 assumes that statistically controlling for acquiescence variance yields better-fitting Big Five patterns for all educational levels. This increase is expected to be more pronounced for those with a low or medium level of education. To test this hypothesis, we again conducted factor analyses for each educational group on the basis of the data corrected for acquiescence. For our sample country, the USA, factor-loading matrices of the corrected data are

reported in the bottom half of Table 3. To test for the better fit of the factor structures, we again used the three criteria formulated in H4: Congruence coefficients would (i) increase; (ii) exceed .78; and (iii) exceed .85. In the case of the USA, the results clearly met these three criteria. We found a higher increase in the factorial fit for the low-educated and medium-educated samples; for both educational groups, both benchmarks were met for each factor. In addition, the factor-loading matrices reflect a clear simple structure, unambiguously interpretable in terms of the Big Five. In both educational groups, all items load substantially and highest on their corresponding factors and none of the secondary loadings exceeds .35.

Results in terms of mean congruence coefficients for all 18 countries under both Varimax and Procrustes rotation are given in Table 4. Columns 7 and 15 display the results for the low-educated and medium-educated respondents, whereas columns 8 and 16 show the results for the high-educated group. For the low-educated and medium-educated respondents in all 18 countries, we found higher congruence coefficients under both methods of rotation after controlling for acquiescence. When comparing the high educated on the basis of both raw and corrected data, this was true for 14 (Varimax) and 17 (Procrustes) of the 18 countries, respectively. The increase in congruence was slightly higher on average for the low-educated and medium-educated respondents (.15 and .11 for Varimax and Procrustes, respectively) compared with the high-educated group (.07 and .09 for Varimax and Procrustes, respectively).

For the other two criteria, the picture was even clearer: In the low-educated and medium-educated samples, based on the raw data, only three (Varimax) and six (Procrustes) countries, respectively, met the .78 criterion and only one (Switzerland) just met the .85 criterion. After controlling for acquiescence, this ratio increased to 12 (Varimax) and 14 (Procrustes) countries, respectively, for the .78 benchmark and to 10 countries for the .85 criterion. In the high-educated samples — even based on the raw data — 8 (Varimax) and 11 (Procrustes) countries, respectively, met the .78 criterion and 3 fulfilled the .85 criterion. After controlling for acquiescence, 10 (Varimax) and 14 (Procrustes) countries, respectively, exceeded .78, whereas 9 (Varimax) and 12 (Procrustes) countries, respectively, exceeded .85.

In sum, all three criteria indicate an increase in the factorial fit after controlling for variance in acquiescence, and this increase is bigger for the low-educated and medium-educated respondents than for the high-educated respondents. Therefore, results indicate (i) a clear improvement of the factor structures; and (ii) diminished educational differences when acquiescence is controlled for.

Investigating differences between countries (H5 and H6)

Finally, we set out to test whether systematic differences among the countries can be found in the sense that individualistic countries show effects similar to those found for Germany in previous studies (H5 and H6).

The hypotheses are clearly supported by the data. The educational bias in acquiescence is more pronounced in the

individualistic cultures. For six of the eight individualistic countries, we found the hypothesized effects, with low-educated and medium-educated respondents scoring significantly higher than high-educated respondents. Similarly, we found for five of the eight countries that lower-educated and medium-educated respondents show a markedly higher variability in their acquiescence scores compared with high-educated respondents. In the remaining two, respectively three countries, the educational groups did not differ significantly. In the 10 non-individualistic cultures, however, only one country (Israel) showed both the mean level and the variability effect in the intended direction. No other country showed the hypothesized mean-level effects and only two other countries the assumed variability effects.

The fit of the factor structures also vary with the country's classification on the individualism/collectivism dimension. In the individualistic countries, a very homogeneous picture emerges. Even in the case of the raw score data, the congruence of the Big Five patterns is higher for these countries than for the non-individualistic ones [on average .80 (Varimax) and .82 (Procrustes), respectively, compared with .61 and .71, respectively]. This difference remained more or less constant after controlling for acquiescence (.92 and .93, respectively, compared with .78 and .82, respectively). In all eight individualistic countries — under both methods of rotation — and in both educational groups — with the exception of Ireland for the low-educated and medium-educated respondents — congruence exceeds the criterion of .85 for an acceptable fit. In the 10 non-individualistic countries, by contrast, the results were much more heterogeneous. For some countries (Russia and Taiwan), we found good fitting results (both for the total sample and the two educational groups). For most of the countries, however, congruence did not reach the .85 criterion (for either the total sample or the two educational groups).

DISCUSSION

Previous research based on representative samples of the German adult population (Rammstedt & Kemper, 2011; Rammstedt et al., 2010) has found that interindividual differences in acquiescent responding may blur the Big Five factor structure. The aim of the present study was to investigate whether this effect is, in fact, universal and can thus be replicated in countries or cultures other than Germany. On the basis of the results of our own and other previous studies in this field, we formulated six hypotheses: We expected acquiescent responding to be more pronounced and more variable among low-educated and medium-educated respondents compared with high-educated respondents in all countries (H1). Furthermore, we hypothesized that individual differences in the tendency to acquiesce blur the Big Five factor structures and that correcting for this response bias leads to clearer Big Five factor structures in all countries (H2). As low-educated and medium-educated respondents are assumed to be more prone to acquiescent responding and within the group more variable, we hypothesized that the Big Five factor

structures of low-educated and medium-educated respondents would be relatively more blurred (H3). Moreover, we anticipated that correcting for acquiescence would yield better-fitting Big Five structures for both educational groups but that this increase would be more pronounced in the low-educated and medium-educated group (H4). On the basis of previous research indicating systematic cultural differences in the quality of Big Five solutions and in acquiescence, we expected that individualistic countries would display better-fitting factor structures overall; with regard to acquiescence, we anticipated relatively homogeneous results in the sense that the effects previously identified for Germany would be replicable in all individualistic countries (H5 and H6). We did not formulate any clear-cut hypotheses for the non-individualistic cultures. Rather, we assumed a more heterogeneous picture overall.

We tested our hypotheses on the basis of large data sets representative of the adult population of 18 countries from all over the world. The results of our analyses clearly support most of our hypotheses. We identified a general tendency towards acquiescent responding, which seems to have a biasing effect on the Big Five structures in all countries. Controlling for acquiescence markedly increased the fit of the factor structures in each of the 18 countries (H2).

The fit of the factor structures differed systematically across countries (cf. H5 and H6). As hypothesized, we found markedly higher and more homogeneous congruence coefficients for the individualistic countries, where all indices exceeded our statistical benchmark criterion, even based on the raw score analyses. Our findings are thus comparable to those reported by De Raad, Perugini, Hrebickova, and Szarota (1998), whose investigation of Big Five congruences in eight Western countries yielded coefficients between .77 and .85. However, as De Raad et al. investigated only student samples and, thus, samples comparable with our high-educated group, our findings even appear to outperform theirs.

For both individualistic and non-individualistic cultures, we found roughly the same increase in factorial fit after controlling for acquiescence variance so that, based on the corrected data, the factorial fit is also markedly higher in the individualistic countries. The match of the corrected data to the ideal Big Five factor structure in these eight countries is notable. In all countries, congruence coefficients exceeded the criterion of .85 suggested by Lorenzo-Seva, & Ten Berge (2006).

With regard to the assumed educational bias, the results are not as clear as those for the total samples. Even though we did not find a general educational bias in the sense that low-educated and medium-educated persons have a higher average level and variability in acquiescent responding (H1), we did find the predicted educational bias for all individualistic countries, as postulated by H5.

The hypothesized educational effects in the factorial fit of the Big Five structures (H3) are also supported by the data. In most countries, the Big Five patterns of the low-educated and medium-educated respondents showed a weaker fit compared with those of the high-educated respondents. Here again, we found some support for our cultural-difference hypothesis H5: On average, the educational bias based on the uncorrected

factorial structures was slightly higher in the individualistic cultures compared with the non-individualistic cultures.

Finally, the differential effectiveness of the correction for acquiescence (H4) is clearly supported by the data, with low-educated and medium-educated samples benefiting more from the correction than the samples comprising high-educated respondents. All three criteria defined a priori were met.

In sum, we found clear support for our hypotheses. A universal, culture-independent tendency towards individual differences in acquiescent responding that blurs the Big Five factor structures was identified. Therefore, our alternative hypothesis H5, which assumed such an effect primarily for the individualistic countries, can be regarded as too conservative. However, the postulated educational differences do not seem to be universally replicable. On the contrary — as postulated by H5 — they appear to vary with the country's cultural values. For the individualistic countries, we clearly found the hypothesized educational bias, whereas in the case of the non-individualistic cultures, the pictures that emerged were less clear.

It might be argued that the distorting effects found in the present study must not necessarily solely be due to acquiescence but might be due to misunderstandings of item content that could be especially pronounced in the lower educated. When looking at the raw score data structure only, this was also our first impression, namely that personality questionnaire items are only understood by the higher educated. We were happy to be able to confute this assumption by showing that controlling for acquiescence diminishes the educational bias in the factor structures and yields perfectly fitting structures for both educational groups.

Alternatively, one might argue that the better-fitting factor structures in higher educated may stem from a more pronounced tendency for social desirable responding in the higher educated. The university-educated respondents might be more likely to endorse the items in a desirable direction, at least compared with less educated respondents who might be relatively naïve about such impression management tactics. If this assumption holds, however, we should have found pronounced differences in scale means between high and low/medium-educated groups, which we did not (all effect sizes were below .3), but no differences in the mean response across all items as reflected in the acquiescence score, which we did find.

A clear limitation of the present study might be seen in the fact that only an extremely brief Big Five measure was assessed. Consequently, the question must be raised as to what extent the here-found results are generalizable across different Big Five questionnaires and therefore to Big Five assessment in general. Soto's study (Soto et al., 2008) gives first support to this notion. He was able to identify the distorting impact of acquiescence on the Big Five factor structures also based on the full-scale BFI, however contrasting children to adults. On the basis of adult samples varying in their highest education, we could show in a recent study (Rammstedt, 2012) that our here-found results can be clearly replicated also based on a

full-scale Big Five measure: Based on the raw score data, the Big Five factor pattern could hardly be replicated in the less educated groups. After controlling for acquiescence, however, we found perfectly fitting Big Five factor structures in all subsamples. Thus, it can be assumed that the here-found effects generalize also across different and more detailed Big Five questionnaires.

Our main goal was to investigate whether the distorting impact of acquiescent responding on the Big Five factor structure observed for samples representative of the German population (Rammstedt & Kemper, 2011; Rammstedt et al., 2010) generalizes across countries. Results of the present study clearly support this assumption. We found a general tendency towards acquiescent responding in all countries, a distorting impact on the Big Five factor structure, and an improvement of fit to the Big Five model after statistically controlling for acquiescence variance.

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