Several personality theorists, who initially were loyal to Freud and committed to his system of psychoanalysis, broke away because of their opposition to certain aspects of his approach. Carl Jung and Alfred Adler were associates of Freud’s before they rebelled and offered their own views of personality. Karen Horney did not have a personal relationship with Freud but was an orthodox Freudian before seeking a different path. Henry Murray, the first American theorist we discuss, developed a view of personality that provides a unique interpretation of formal psychoanalytic concepts. The work of Erik Erikson, presented in Chapter 6, is also derived from Freudian psychoanalysis.

These neopsychoanalytic theorists differ from one another on a number of points but are grouped together here because of their shared opposition to two major points: Freud’s emphasis on instincts as the primary motivators of human behavior and his deterministic view of personality. The neopsychoanalytic theorists present a more optimistic and flattering picture of human nature. Their work shows how quickly the field of personality diversified within a decade after it formally began.
Carl Jung: Analytical Psychology

My life is a story of the self-realization of the unconscious. Everything in the unconscious seeks outward manifestation, and the personality too desires to evolve out of its unconscious conditions.

—CARL JUNG

The Life of Jung (1875–1961)
An Unhappy Childhood
Dreams and Fantasies
The Study of Medicine
The Years with Freud
A Neurotic Episode

Psychic Energy: Opposites, Equivalence, and Entropy

The Systems of Personality
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Reflections on Jung’s Theory

Chapter Summary
Review Questions
Suggested Readings
Sigmund Freud once designated Carl Jung as his spiritual heir, but Jung went on to
develop a theory of personality that differed dramatically from orthodox psycho-
analysis. Jung fashioned a new and elaborate explanation of human nature quite
unlike any other, which he called **analytical psychology**.

The first point on which Jung came to disagree with Freud was the role of sexu-
ality. Jung broadened Freud’s definition of libido by redefining it as a more general-
ized psychic energy that includes sex but is not restricted to it.

The second major area of disagreement concerns the direction of the forces that
influence personality. Whereas Freud viewed human beings as prisoners or victims
of past events, Jung argued that we are shaped by our future as well as our past. We
are affected not only by what happened to us as children, but also by what we aspire
to do in the future.

The third significant point of difference revolves around the unconscious. Rather
than minimizing the role of the unconscious, as did the other neopsychoanalytic dis-
senters we discuss, Jung placed an even greater emphasis on it than Freud did. He
probed more deeply into the unconscious and added a new dimension: the inherited
experiences of human and pre-human species. Although Freud had recognized this
phylogenetic aspect of personality (the influence of inherited primal experiences),
Jung made it the core of his system of personality. He combined ideas from history,
mythology, anthropology, and religion to form his image of human nature.

**The Life of Jung (1875–1961)**

**An Unhappy Childhood**

Jung’s difficult and unhappy childhood years were marked by black-frocked clergy-
men, deaths and funerals, neurotic parents in a failing marriage, religious doubts and
conflicts, bizarre dreams and visions, and a wooden doll for a companion. Born in
Switzerland into a family that included nine clergymen (eight uncles and his father),
Jung was introduced at an early age to religion and the classics. He was close to his
father but considered him weak and powerless. Although kind and tolerant, Jung’s
father experienced periods of moodiness and irritability and failed to be the strong
authority figure his son needed.

Jung’s mother was the more powerful parent, but her emotional instability led
her to behave erratically. She could change in an instant from cheerful and happy to
mumbling incoherently and gazing vacantly into space. As a boy, Jung came to view
his mother as being two different people inhabiting the same body. Not surprisingly,
this belief disturbed him. One biographer suggested that “the whole maternal side
of the family appeared to be tainted with insanity” (Ellenberger, 1978, p. 149).

As a result of his mother’s odd behavior, Jung became wary of women, a
suspicion that took many years to dispel. In his autobiography, he described his
mother as fat and unattractive, which may explain why he rejected Freud’s notion
that every boy has a sexual longing for his mother. Clearly, it did not reflect his
experience.

To avoid his parents and their continuing marital problems, Jung spent many
hours alone in the attic of his home, carving a doll out of wood, a figure in whom
he could confide. He had one sibling, a sister, who was born when he was 9 years old and who had little influence on his development; her arrival did nothing to ease his loneliness.

Dreams and Fantasies

Distrustful of his mother and disappointed in his father, Jung felt cut off from the external world, the world of conscious reality. As an escape, he turned inward to his unconscious, to the world of dreams, visions, and fantasies, in which he felt more secure. This choice would guide Jung for the rest of his life. Whenever he was faced with a problem, he would seek a solution through his dreams and visions.

The essence of his personality theory was shaped in a similar way. When Jung was 3 years old, he dreamed he was in a cavern. In a later dream, he saw himself digging beneath the earth’s surface, unearthing the bones of prehistoric animals. To Jung, such dreams represented the direction of his approach to the human personality. They prompted him to explore the unconscious mind, which lies beneath the surface of behavior. So strongly was he guided by these manifestations of his unconscious that he entitled his autobiography *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (1961), and he believed his approach to personality resembled a subjective, personal confession. Thus, like Freud’s work, Jung’s personality theory was intensely autobiographical. In a lecture given at the age of 50, he acknowledged the influence of his life events on his theory.

As a child, Jung deliberately avoided other children, and they avoided him. A biographer wrote: “Carl usually played alone, for parents of the village children deliberately kept them away from the odd little boy whose parents were so peculiar” (Bair, 2003, p. 22). In describing his solitary childhood, Jung wrote, “The pattern of my relationship to the world was already prefigured; today as then I am a solitary” (Jung, 1961, pp. 41–42).

Jung’s loneliness is reflected in his theory, which focuses on the inner growth of the individual rather than on relationships with other people. In contrast, Freud’s theory is concerned more with interpersonal relationships, perhaps because Freud, unlike Jung, did not have such an isolated and introverted childhood.

The Study of Medicine

Jung disliked school and resented the time he had to devote to formal studies rather than to ideas that interested him. He preferred to read on his own, particularly about religious and philosophical issues. To his delight, he was forced to miss 6 months of school because he had suffered a series of fainting spells. He returned to school but his presence was disruptive. His teachers sent him home because his classmates were more interested in “waiting for Carl to faint than in doing their lessons” (Bair, 2003, p. 31). When Jung overheard his father say, “What will become of the boy if he cannot earn his living?” his illness suddenly disappeared, and he returned to school to work more diligently than before (Jung, 1961, p. 31). Jung later wrote
that the experience taught him about neurotic behavior. He recognized that he had arranged the situation to suit himself, to keep him out of school, and that realization made him feel angry and ashamed.

Jung chose to study medicine at the University of Basel and decided, to the disappointment of his professors, to specialize in psychiatry, a field then held in low repute. He believed that psychiatry would give him the opportunity to pursue his interests in dreams, the supernatural, and the occult.

Beginning in 1900, Jung worked at a mental hospital in Zurich, under the direction of Eugen Bleuler, the psychiatrist who coined the term schizophrenia. When Jung married the second-richest heiress in all of Switzerland, he quit his job at the hospital, and spent his time riding around the countryside in his much-loved red Chrysler convertible. He also gave lectures at the University of Zurich and developed an independent clinical practice.

**The Years with Freud**

By the time he became associated with Sigmund Freud in 1907, Jung had already established a significant professional reputation. When Jung and Freud met for the first time, they were so congenial and had so much to share that they talked for 13 hours. Their friendship became a close one. “I formally adopted you as an eldest son,” Freud wrote to Jung, “and anointed you as my successor and crown prince” (Freud & Jung, 1974, p. 218). Jung considered Freud a father figure. “Let me enjoy your friendship not as one between equals,” he wrote to Freud, “but as that of father and son” (Freud & Jung, 1974, p. 122). Their relationship appeared to contain many of the elements of the Oedipus complex, with its inevitable wish of the son to destroy the father.

Also, their relationship may have been tainted, even doomed, by a sexual experience Jung had at the age of 18. A family friend, an older man who had been a father figure and confidant, made physical overtures to Jung, seeking a homosexual encounter. Repelled and disappointed, Jung broke off the relationship. Years later, when Freud, who was nearly 20 years older than Jung, attempted to designate Jung as son and heir, Jung may have felt Freud was, in a sense, forcing himself on Jung and changing the nature of their relationship. Because of Jung’s earlier encounter with the older man, he may have been similarly disappointed in Freud and unable to sustain an emotionally close relationship with him.

For a time, however, the two men were close. Jung remained in Zurich, but he met with Freud periodically, continued a voluminous correspondence, and journeyed with Freud to the United States in 1909 to lecture at Clark University. Freud was grooming Jung to take over the presidency of the International Psychoanalytic Association. Concerned that psychoanalysis would be labeled a Jewish science (as it came to be called during the Nazi era), Freud wanted a non-Jew to assume titular leadership of the movement.

Contrary to Freud’s hopes, Jung was not an uncritical disciple. Jung had his own ideas and unique view of the human personality, and when he began to express these notions, it became inevitable that they would part. They severed their relationship in 1913.
A Neurotic Episode

That same year, when Jung was 38 years old, he underwent a severe neurotic episode that lasted for 3 years. He believed he was in danger of losing contact with reality and was so distressed that he resigned his lectureship at the University of Zurich. At times he considered suicide; he “kept a revolver next to his bed in case he felt he had passed beyond the point of no return” (Noll, 1994, p. 207). Although he felt unable to continue with his scientific work, he persisted in treating his patients.

Freud had suffered a neurotic episode at approximately the same age and resolved it by analyzing his dreams, which formed a basis for his personality theory. Jung’s situation offers a remarkable parallel. Jung overcame his disturbance by confronting his unconscious through the exploration of his dreams and fantasies. Although Jung’s self-analysis was less systematic than Freud’s, his approach was similar.

Out of Jung’s confrontation with his unconscious he fashioned his approach to personality. He wrote, “The years when I was pursuing my inner images were the most important in my life—in them everything essential was decided” (Jung, 1961, p. 199). He concluded that the most crucial stage in personality development was not childhood, as Freud believed, but middle age, which was the time of Jung’s own crisis.

Like Freud, Jung established his theory on an intuitive base, which derived from his personal experiences and dreams. It was then refined along more rational and empirical lines by data provided by his patients. Nearly two-thirds of them were middle-aged and suffering from the same difficulties Jung faced.

The rest of Jung’s long life was personally and professionally fruitful, although some aspects of his behavior may be considered bizarre. He would greet the kitchen utensils every morning, saying “‘greetings to you’ to the frying pans or ‘good morning to you’ to the coffee pot” (Bair, 2003, p. 568). He also worried needlessly about money. He hid large amounts of cash inside books and then forgot the secret code he had devised to help him remember which books contained the money. He stuffed money in vases and jars and buried them in his garden and then forgot the elaborate system he had concocted to help him find them. After his death, family members recovered much of the money from his books but it is likely that the cash in his garden remains there today.

Jung and his wife adopted a cold, formal manner for dealing with their three daughters. There was limited physical contact, no hugging or kissing. “When they said hello or goodbye, they shook hands, if they touched at all” (Bair, 2003, p. 565).

Jung remained productive in research and writing for most of his 86 years. His books became popular, and his analytical psychology attracted increasing numbers of followers. His ideas spread to the English-speaking world, and particularly to the United States, primarily through the generous financial support of the Rockefellers, the McCormicks, and the Mellons, all prominent American families. A number of family members sought analysis with Jung and in return arranged for the translation and publication of his books. Otherwise, Jung’s works might have remained little known, inaccessible to all but the German-speaking community (Noll, 1997).
Log On

Personality Theories: Carl Jung

A biography of Jung, an extensive discussion of his work, a list of readings, and links to other Web sites.

C. G. Jung Institute of Boston

The Web site for the C. G. Jung Institute of Boston, Massachusetts, noting current training and educational opportunities, programs available for the public, and links to other sites including those of Jungian analysts.

For direct links to these sites, log on to the student companion site for this book at http://www.academic.cengage.com/psychology/Schultz and choose Chapter 2.

Psychic Energy: Opposites, Equivalence, and Entropy

One of the first points on which Jung disputed Freud concerned the nature of libido. Jung did not agree that libido was primarily a sexual energy; he argued instead that libido was a broad, undifferentiated life energy. Interestingly, Jung, who minimized the importance of sex in his personality theory, maintained a vigorous, anxiety-free sex life and enjoyed a number of extramarital affairs. One of these relationships endured, with his wife’s knowledge, for many years. He surrounded himself with adoring women patients and disciples who typically fell deeply in love with him. A biographer noted that this “happened with all of his female disciples sooner or later, as he often told them at the beginning of their treatment” (Noll, 1997, p. 253).

Contrast Jung’s active sex life with Freud’s troubled attitude toward sex and his cessation of sexual relations at the time he was fashioning a theory that focused on sex as the cause of neurotic behavior. “To Jung, who freely and frequently satisfied his sexual needs, sex played a minimal role in human motivation. To Freud, beset by frustrations and anxious about his thwarted desires, sex played the central role” (Schultz, 1990, p. 148).

Jung used the term libido in two ways: first, as a diffuse and general life energy, and second, from a perspective similar to Freud’s, as a narrower psychic energy that fuels the work of the personality, which he called the psyche. It is through psychic energy that psychological activities such as perceiving, thinking, feeling, and wishing are carried out.

When a person invests a great deal of psychic energy in a particular idea or feeling, that idea or feeling is said to have a high psychic value and can strongly influence the person’s life. For example, if you are highly motivated to attain power, then you will devote most of your psychic energy to seeking power.

Jung drew on ideas from physics to explain the functioning of psychic energy. He proposed three basic principles: opposites, equivalence, and entropy (Jung, 1928). The principle of opposites can be seen throughout Jung’s system. He noted...
the existence of opposites or polarities in physical energy in the universe, such as heat versus cold, height versus depth, creation versus decay. So it is with psychic energy: Every wish or feeling has its opposite. This opposition or antithesis—is the primary motivator of behavior and generator of energy. Indeed, the sharper the conflict between polarities, the greater the energy produced.

For his principle of equivalence, Jung applied to psychic events the physical principle of the conservation of energy. He stated that energy expended in bringing about some condition is not lost but rather is shifted to another part of the personality. Thus, if the psychic value in a particular area weakens or disappears, that energy is transferred elsewhere in the psyche. For example, if we lose interest in a person, a hobby, or a field of study, the psychic energy formerly invested in that area is shifted to a new one. The psychic energy used for conscious activities while we are awake is shifted to dreams when we are asleep.

The word equivalence implies that the new area to which energy has shifted must have an equal psychic value; that is, it should be equally desirable, compelling, or fascinating. Otherwise, the excess energy will flow into the unconscious. In whatever direction and manner energy flows, the principle of equivalence suggests that energy is continually redistributed within the personality.

In physics, the principle of entropy refers to the equalization of energy differences. For example, if a hot object and a cold object are placed in direct contact, heat will flow from the hotter object to the colder object until they are in equilibrium at the same temperature. In effect, an exchange of energy occurs, resulting in a kind of homeostatic balance between the objects.

Jung applied this law to psychic energy and proposed that there is a tendency toward a balance or equilibrium in the personality. If two desires or beliefs differ greatly in intensity or psychic value, energy will flow from the more strongly held to the weaker. Ideally, the personality has an equal distribution of psychic energy over all its aspects, but this ideal state is never achieved. If perfect balance or equilibrium were attained, then the personality would have no psychic energy because, as we noted earlier, the opposition principle requires conflict for psychic energy to be produced.

The Systems of Personality

In Jung’s view, the total personality, or psyche, is composed of several distinct systems or structures that can influence one another. The major systems are the ego, the personal unconscious, and the collective unconscious.

The Ego

The ego is the center of consciousness, the part of the psyche concerned with perceiving, thinking, feeling, and remembering. It is our awareness of ourselves and is responsible for carrying out the normal activities of waking life. The ego acts in a selective way, admitting into conscious awareness only a portion of the stimuli to which we are exposed.
The Attitudes: Extraversion and Introversion

Much of our conscious perception of and reaction to our environment is determined by the opposing mental attitudes of extraversion and introversion. Jung believed that psychic energy could be channeled externally, toward the outside world, or internally, toward the self. Extraverts are open, sociable, and socially assertive, oriented toward other people and the external world. Introverts are withdrawn and often shy, and they tend to focus on themselves, on their own thoughts and feelings.

According to Jung, everyone has the capacity for both attitudes, but only one becomes dominant in the personality. The dominant attitude then tends to direct the person’s behavior and consciousness. The non-dominant attitude remains influential, however, and becomes part of the personal unconscious, where it can affect behavior. For example, in certain situations an introverted person may display characteristics of extraversion, wish to be more outgoing, or be attracted to an extravert.

Psychological Functions

As Jung came to recognize that there were different kinds of extraverts and introverts, he proposed additional distinctions among people based on what he called the psychological functions. These functions refer to different and opposing ways of perceiving or apprehending both the external real world and our subjective inner world. Jung posited four functions of the psyche: sensing, intuiting, thinking, and feeling (Jung, 1927).

Sensing and intuiting are grouped together as non-rational functions; they do not use the processes of reason. These functions accept experiences and do not evaluate them. Sensing reproduces an experience through the senses the way a photograph copies an object. Intuiting does not arise directly from an external stimulus; for example, if we believe someone else is with us in a darkened room, our belief may be based on our intuition or a hunch rather than on actual sensory experience.

The second pair of opposing functions, thinking and feeling, are rational functions that involve making judgments and evaluations about our experiences. Although thinking and feeling are opposites, both are concerned with organizing and categorizing experiences. The thinking function involves a conscious judgment of whether an experience is true or false. The kind of evaluation made by the feeling function is expressed in terms of like or dislike, pleasantness or unpleasantness, stimulation or dullness.

Just as our psyche contains some of both the extraversion and introversion attitudes, so we have the capacity for all four psychological functions. Similarly, just as one attitude is dominant, so only one function is dominant. The others are submerged in the personal unconscious. Further, only one pair of functions is dominant—either the rational or the irrational—and within each pair only one function is dominant. A person cannot be ruled by both thinking and feeling or by both sensing and intuiting, because they are opposing functions.

Psychological Types

Jung proposed eight psychological types, based on the interactions of the two attitudes and four functions. (See Table 2.1.)
**Table 2.1 Jung’s psychological types**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Extraverted thinking</td>
<td>Logical, objective, dogmatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extraverted feeling</td>
<td>Emotional, sensitive, sociable; more typical of women than men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extraverted sensing</td>
<td>Outgoing, pleasure-seeking, adaptable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extraverted intuiting</td>
<td>Creative, able to motivate others and to seize opportunities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introverted thinking</td>
<td>More interested in ideas than in people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introverted feeling</td>
<td>Reserved, undemonstrative, yet capable of deep emotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introverted sensing</td>
<td>Outwardly detached, expressing themselves in aesthetic pursuits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introverted intuiting</td>
<td>Concerned with the unconscious more than everyday reality</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The *extraverted thinking type* lives strictly in accordance with society’s rules. These people tend to repress feelings and emotions, to be objective in all aspects of life, and to be dogmatic in thoughts and opinions. They may be perceived as rigid and cold. They tend to make good scientists because their focus is on learning about the external world and using logical rules to describe and understand it.

The *extraverted feeling type* tends to repress the thinking mode and to be highly emotional. These people conform to the traditional values and moral codes they have been taught. They are unusually sensitive to the opinions and expectations of others. They are emotionally responsive and make friends easily, and they tend to be sociable and effervescent. Jung believed this type was found more often among women than men.

Extraverts channel the libido externally, toward the outside world.
The extraverted sensing type focuses on pleasure and happiness and on seeking new experiences. These people are strongly oriented toward the real world and are adaptable to different kinds of people and changing situations. Not given to introspection, they tend to be outgoing, with a high capacity for enjoying life.

The extraverted intuiting type finds success in business and politics because of a keen ability to exploit opportunities. These people are attracted by new ideas and tend to be creative. They are able to inspire others to accomplish and achieve. They also tend to be changeable, moving from one idea or venture to another, and to make decisions based more on hunches than on reflection. Their decisions, however, are likely to be correct.

The introverted thinking type does not get along well with others and has difficulty communicating ideas. These people focus on thought rather than on feelings and have poor practical judgment. Intensely concerned with privacy, they prefer to deal with abstractions and theories, and they focus on understanding themselves rather than other people. Others see them as stubborn, aloof, arrogant, and inconsiderate.

The introverted feeling type represses rational thought. These people are capable of deep emotion but avoid any outward expression of it. They seem mysterious and inaccessible and tend to be quiet, modest, and childish. They have little consideration for others’ feelings and thoughts and appear withdrawn, cold, and self-assured.

The introverted sensing type appears passive, calm, and detached from the everyday world. These people look on most human activities with benevolence and amusement. They are aesthetically sensitive, expressing themselves in art or music, and tend to repress their intuition.

The introverted intuiting type focuses so intently on intuition that they have little contact with reality. These people are visionaries and daydreamers—aloof, unconcerned with practical matters, and poorly understood by others. Considered odd and eccentric, they have difficulty coping with everyday life and planning for the future.

The Personal Unconscious

The personal unconscious in Jung’s system is similar to Freud’s conception of the preconscious. It is a reservoir of material that was once conscious but has been forgotten or suppressed because it was trivial or disturbing. There is considerable two-way traffic between the ego and the personal unconscious. For example, our attention can wander readily from this printed page to a memory of something we did yesterday. All kinds of experiences are stored in the personal unconscious; it can be likened to a filing cabinet. Little mental effort is required to take something out, examine it for a while, and put it back, where it will remain until the next time we want it or are reminded of it.

Complexes

As we file more and more experiences in our personal unconscious, we begin to group them into what Jung called complexes. A complex is a core or pattern of emotions, memories, perceptions, and wishes organized around a common theme.
For example, we might say that a person has a complex about power or status, meaning that he or she is preoccupied with that theme to the point where it influences behavior. The person may try to become powerful by running for elective office, or to identify or affiliate with power by driving a motorcycle or a fast car. By directing thoughts and behavior in various ways, the complex determines how the person perceives the world.

Complexes may be conscious or unconscious. Those that are not under conscious control can intrude on and interfere with consciousness. The person with a complex is generally not aware of its influence, although other people may easily observe its effects.

Some complexes may be harmful, but others can be useful. For example, a perfection or achievement complex may lead a person to work hard at developing particular talents or skills. Jung believed that complexes originate not only from our childhood and adult experiences, but also from our ancestral experiences, the heritage of the species contained in the collective unconscious.

The Collective Unconscious

The deepest and least accessible level of the psyche, the collective unconscious is the most unusual and controversial aspect of Jung’s system. Jung believed that just as each of us accumulates and files all of our personal experiences in the personal unconscious, so does humankind collectively, as a species, store the experiences of the human and pre-human species in the collective unconscious. This heritage is passed to each new generation.

Whatever experiences are universal—that is, are repeated relatively unchanged by each generation—become part of our personality. Our primitive past becomes the basis of the human psyche, directing and influencing present behavior. To Jung, the collective unconscious was the powerful and controlling repository of ancestral experiences. Thus, Jung linked each person’s personality with the past, not only with childhood but also with the history of the species. We do not inherit these collective experiences directly. For example, we do not inherit a fear of snakes. Rather, we inherit the potential to fear snakes. We are predisposed to behave and feel the same ways people have always behaved and felt. Whether the predisposition becomes reality depends on the specific experiences each of us encounters in life.

Jung believed that certain basic experiences have characterized every generation throughout human history. People have always had a mother figure, for example, and have experienced birth and death. They have faced unknown terrors in the dark, worshipped power or some sort of godlike figure, and feared an evil being. The universality of these experiences over countless evolving generations leaves an imprint on each of us at birth and determines how we perceive and react to our world. Jung wrote, “The form of the world into which [a person] is born is already inborn in him, as a virtual image” (Jung, 1953, p. 188).

A baby is born predisposed to perceive the mother in a certain way. If the mother behaves the way mothers typically behave, in a nurturing and supportive manner, then the baby’s predisposition will correspond with its reality.
Because the collective unconscious is such an unusual concept, it is important to note the reason Jung proposed it and the kind of evidence he gathered to support it. In his reading about ancient cultures, both mythical and real, Jung discovered what he believed to be common themes and symbols that appeared in diverse parts of the world. As far as he could determine, these ideas had not been transmitted or communicated orally or in writing from one culture to another.

In addition, Jung’s patients, in their dreams and fantasies, recalled and described for him the same kinds of symbols he had discovered in ancient cultures. He could find no other explanation for these shared symbols and themes over such vast geographical and temporal distances than that they were transmitted by and carried in each person’s unconscious mind.

**Archetypes**

The ancient experiences contained in the collective unconscious are manifested by recurring themes or patterns Jung called archetypes (Jung, 1947). He also used the term primordial images. There are many such images of universal experiences, as many as there are common human experiences. By being repeated in the lives of succeeding generations, archetypes have become imprinted on our psyche and are expressed in our dreams and fantasies.

Among the archetypes Jung proposed are the hero, the mother, the child, God, death, power, and the wise old man. A few of these are developed more fully than others and influence the psyche more consistently. These major archetypes include the persona, the anima and animus, the shadow, and the self.

The word *persona* refers to a mask that an actor wears to display various roles or faces to the audience. Jung used the term with basically the same meaning. The *persona archetype* is a mask, a public face we wear to present ourselves as someone different from who we really are. The persona is necessary, Jung believed, because we are forced to play many roles in life in order to succeed in school and on the job and to get along with a variety of people.

Although the persona can be helpful, it can also be harmful if we come to believe that it reflects our true nature. Instead of merely playing a role, we may become that role. As a result, other aspects of our personality will not be allowed to develop. Jung described the process this way: The ego may come to identify with the persona rather than with the person’s true nature, resulting in a condition known as inflation of the persona. Whether the person plays a role or comes to believe that role, he or she is resorting to deception. In the first instance, the person is deceiving others; in the second instance, the person is deceiving himself or herself.

The anima and animus archetypes refer to Jung’s recognition that humans are essentially bisexual. On the biological level, each sex secretes the hormones of the other sex as well as those of its own sex. On the psychological level, each sex manifests characteristics, temperaments, and attitudes of the other sex by virtue of centuries of living together. The psyche of the woman contains masculine aspects
In the fully developed personality, a person will express behaviors considered characteristic of the opposite sex.

The anima archetype; animus archetype
Feminine aspects of the male psyche; masculine aspects of the female psyche.

Figure 2.1
The Yin-Yang symbol illustrates the complementary sides of our nature. The dark right side represents feminine aspects (the anima archetype) and the light left side represents masculine aspects (the animus archetype). The dot of the opposite color in each portion indicates the expression of the characteristics of the opposite archetype.

Jung insisted that both the anima and the animus must be expressed. A man must exhibit his feminine as well as his masculine characteristics, and a woman must express her masculine characteristics along with her feminine ones. Otherwise,
these vital aspects will remain dormant and undeveloped, leading to one-sidedness of the personality.

The most powerful archetype Jung proposed has the sinister and mysterious name of the *shadow*, which contains the basic, primitive animal instincts and therefore has the deepest roots of all the archetypes. Behaviors that society considers evil and immoral reside in the shadow, and this dark side of human nature must be tamed if people are to live in harmony. We must restrain, overcome, and defend against these primitive impulses. If we do not, society will likely punish us.

But we face a dilemma. Not only is the shadow the source of evil, it is also the source of vitality, spontaneity, creativity, and emotion. Therefore, if the shadow is totally suppressed, the psyche will be dull and lifeless. It is the ego’s function to repress the animal instincts enough so that we are considered civilized while allowing sufficient expression of the instincts to provide creativity and vigor.

If the shadow is fully suppressed, not only does the personality become flat, but the person also faces the possibility that the shadow will revolt. The animal instincts do not disappear when they are suppressed. Rather, they lie dormant, awaiting a crisis or a weakness in the ego so they can gain control. When that happens, the person becomes dominated by the unconscious.

The *self archetype* represents the unity, integration, and harmony of the total personality. To Jung, the striving toward that wholeness is the ultimate goal of life. This archetype involves bringing together and balancing all parts of the personality. We have already noted Jung’s principle of opposites and the importance of polarities to the psyche. In the self archetype, conscious and unconscious processes become assimilated so that the self, which is the center of the personality, shifts from the ego to a point of equilibrium midway between the opposing forces of the conscious and the unconscious. As a result, material from the unconscious comes to have a greater influence on the personality.

The full realization of the self lies in the future. It is a goal—something to strive for but rarely achieved. The self serves as a motivating force, pulling us from ahead rather than pushing us from behind (as our past experiences do).

The self cannot begin to emerge until the other systems of the psyche have developed. This occurs around middle age, a crucial period of transition in Jung’s system, as it was in his own life. The actualization of the self involves goals and plans for the future and an accurate perception of one’s abilities. Because development of the self is impossible without self-knowledge, it is the most difficult process we face in life and requires persistence, perceptiveness, and wisdom.

### The Development of the Personality

Jung proposed that personality is determined by what we hope to be as well as by what we have been. He criticized Freud for emphasizing only past events as shapers of personality, to the exclusion of the future. Jung believed we develop and grow regardless of age and are always moving toward a more complete level of self-realization (see Table 2.2).

Jung took a longer view of personality than Freud, who concentrated on the early years of life and foresaw little development after the age of 5. Jung did not...
positional stages of growth in as much detail as Freud but he wrote of specific periods in the overall developmental process (Jung, 1930).

Childhood to Young Adulthood

The ego begins to develop in early childhood, at first in a primitive way because the child has not yet formed a unique identity. What might be called the child’s personality is, at this stage, little more than a reflection of the personalities of his or her parents. Obviously, then, parents exert a great influence on the formation of the child’s personality. They can enhance or impede personality development by the way they behave toward the child.

Parents might try to force their own personalities on the child, desiring him or her to be an extension of them. Or they might expect their child to develop a personality different from their own as a way of seeking vicarious compensation for their deficiencies. The ego begins to form substantively only when children become able to distinguish between themselves and other people or objects in their world. In other words, consciousness forms when the child is able to say “I.”

It is not until puberty that the psyche assumes a definite form and content. This period, which Jung called our psychic birth, is marked by difficulties and the need to adapt. Childhood fantasies must end as the adolescent confronts the demands of reality. From the teenage years through young adulthood, we are concerned with preparatory activities such as completing our education, beginning a career, getting married, and starting a family. Our focus during these years is external, our conscious is dominant, and, in general, our primary conscious attitude is that of extraversion. The aim of life is to achieve our goals and establish a secure, successful place for ourselves in the world. Thus, young adulthood should be an exciting and challenging time, filled with new horizons and accomplishments.

Middle Age

Jung believed that major personality changes occur between the ages of 35 and 40. This period of middle age was a time of personal crisis for Jung and many of his patients. By then, the adaptation problems of young adulthood have been resolved. The typical 40-year-old is established in a career, a marriage, and a community. Jung asked why, when success has been achieved, so many people that age are gripped by feelings of despair and worthlessness. His patients all told him essentially the same thing: They felt empty. Adventure, excitement, and zest had disappeared. Life had lost its meaning.
Middle age is a time of transition, when one’s focus and interests change.

The more Jung analyzed this period, the more strongly he believed that such drastic personality changes were inevitable and universal. Middle age is a natural time of transition in which the personality is supposed to undergo necessary and beneficial changes. Ironically, the changes occur because middle-aged persons have been so successful in meeting life’s demands. These people had invested a great deal of energy in the preparatory activities of the first half of life, but by age 40 that preparation was finished and those challenges had been met. Although they still possess considerable energy, the energy now has nowhere to go; it has to be rechanneled into different activities and interests.

Jung noted that in the first half of life we must focus on the objective world of reality—education, career, and family. In contrast, the second half of life must be devoted to the inner, subjective world that heretofore had been neglected. The attitude of the personality must shift from extraversion to introversion. The focus on consciousness must be tempered by an awareness of the unconscious. Our interests must shift from the physical and material to the spiritual, philosophical, and intuitive. A balance among all facets of the personality must replace the previous one-sidedness of the personality (that is, the focus on consciousness).

Thus, at middle age we must begin the process of realizing or actualizing the self. If we are successful in integrating the unconscious with the conscious, we are in a position to attain a new level of positive psychological health, a condition Jung called individuation.
Individuation

Simply stated, **individuation** involves becoming an individual, fulfilling one’s capacities, and developing one’s self. The tendency toward individuation is innate and inevitable, but it will be helped or hindered by environmental forces, such as one’s educational and economic opportunities and the nature of the parent–child relationship.

To strive for individuation, middle-aged persons must abandon the behaviors and values that guided the first half of life and confront their unconscious, bringing it into conscious awareness and accepting what it tells them to do. They must listen to their dreams and follow their fantasies, exercising creative imagination through writing, painting, or some other form of expression. They must let themselves be guided, not by the rational thinking that drove them before, but by the spontaneous flow of the unconscious. Only in that way can the true self be revealed.

Jung cautioned that admitting unconscious forces into conscious awareness does not mean being dominated by them. The unconscious forces must be assimilated and balanced with the conscious. At this time of life, no single aspect of personality should dominate. An emotionally healthy middle-aged person is no longer ruled by either consciousness or unconsciousness, by a specific attitude or function, or by any of the archetypes. All are brought into harmonious balance when individuation is achieved.

Of particular importance in the midlife process of individuation is the shift in the nature of the archetypes. The first change involves dethroning the persona. Although we must continue to play various social roles if we are to function in the real world and get along with different kinds of people, we must recognize that our public personality may not represent our true nature. Further, we must come to accept the genuine self that the persona has been covering.

Next, we become aware of the destructive forces of the shadow and acknowledge the dark side of our nature with its primitive impulses, such as selfishness. We do not submit to them or allow them to dominate us but simply accept their existence. In the first half of life, we use the persona to shield this dark side from ourselves, wanting people to see only our good qualities. But in concealing the forces of the shadow from others, we conceal them from ourselves. This must change as part of the process of learning to know ourselves. A greater awareness of both the destructive and the constructive aspects of the shadow will give the personality a deeper and fuller dimension, because the shadow’s tendencies bring zest, spontaneity, and vitality to life.

Once again we see this central theme in Jung’s individuation process—that we must bring each aspect of the personality into harmony with all other aspects. Awareness of only the good side of our nature produces a one-sided development of the personality. As with other opposing components of personality, both sides of this dimension must be expressed before we can achieve individuation.

We must also come to terms with our psychological bisexuality. A man must be able to express his anima archetype or traditionally feminine traits such as tenderness and a woman must come to express her animus or traditionally masculine traits such as assertiveness. Jung believed that this recognition of the characteristics of the other sex was the most difficult step in the individuation process because it represents the greatest
change in our self-image. Accepting the emotional qualities of both sexes opens new sources of creativity and serves as the final release from parental influences.

Once the psyche’s structures are individuated and acknowledged, the next developmental stage can occur. Jung referred to this as transcendence, an innate tendency toward unity or wholeness in the personality, uniting all the opposing aspects within the psyche. Environmental factors, such as an unsatisfactory marriage or frustrating work, can inhibit the process of transcendence and prevent the full achievement of the self.

Questions About Human Nature

Jung’s image of human nature is quite different from Freud’s. Jung did not hold such a deterministic view, but he did agree that personality may be partly determined by childhood experiences and by the archetypes. However, there is ample room in Jung’s system for free will and spontaneity, the latter arising from the shadow archetype.

On the nature–nurture issue, Jung took a mixed position. The drive toward individuation and transcendence is innate, but it can be aided or thwarted by learning and experience. The ultimate and necessary goal of life is the realization of the self. Although it is rarely achieved, we are continually motivated to strive for it.

Jung disagreed with Freud on the importance of childhood experiences. Jung thought they were influential but did not completely shape our personality by age 5. We are affected more by our experiences in middle age and by our hopes and expectations for the future.

Each individual is unique, in Jung’s view, but only during the first half of life. When some progress toward individuation is made in middle age, we develop what Jung designated as a universal kind of personality in which no single aspect is dominant. Thus, uniqueness disappears, and we can no longer be described as one or another particular psychological type.

Jung presented a more positive, hopeful image of human nature than Freud did, and his optimism is apparent in his view of personality development. We are motivated to grow and develop, to improve and extend our selves. Progress does not stop in childhood, as Freud had assumed, but continues throughout life; we always have the hope of becoming better. Jung argued that the human species also continues to improve. Present generations represent a significant advance over our primitive ancestors.

Despite his basic optimism, Jung expressed concern about a danger he saw facing Western culture. He referred to this danger as a sickness of dissociation. By placing too great an emphasis on materialism, reason, and empirical science, we are in danger of failing to appreciate the forces of the unconscious. He argued that we must not abandon our trust in the archetypes that form our heritage. Thus, Jung’s hopefulness about human nature was a watchful, warning kind.

Assessment in Jung’s Theory

Jung’s techniques for assessing the functioning of the psyche drew on science and the supernatural, resulting in both an objective and a mystical approach. He investigated a variety of cultures and eras and recorded their symbols, myths, religions, and rituals.
He formed his personality theory on the basis of his patients’ fantasies and dreams (as well as his own), and his explorations of ancient languages, alchemy, and astrology. Yet the work that first brought Jung to the attention of psychologists in the United States involved empirical and physiological assessments. His techniques were an unorthodox blend of opposites, which is not surprising for a theory based on a principle of opposition.

His sessions with patients were unusual, even chaotic. His patients did not lie on a couch. “I don’t want to put the patient to bed,” he remarked. Usually, Jung and the patient sat in comfortable chairs facing each other, although sometimes Jung faced a window so he could look out at the lake near his house. Occasionally, he took patients aboard his sailboat.

One patient recalled that

[he] paced back and forth, gesturing as he talked, whether about a human problem, a dream, a personal reminiscence, an allegorical story, or a joke. Yet he could become quiet, serious, and extremely personal, sitting down almost too close for comfort and delivering a pointed interpretation of one’s miserable personal problem so its bitter truth would really sink in. (quoted in Bair, 2003, p. 379)

Sometimes Jung could be rude. When one patient appeared at the appointed time, he said, “Oh no. I can’t stand the sight of another one. Just go home and cure yourself today” (quoted in Brome, 1981, pp. 177, 185). When another patient began to talk about her mother, a topic Freud would have encouraged, Jung silenced her abruptly: “Don’t waste your time” (Bair, 2003, p. 379).

Jung believed that his patients’ fantasies were real to them and he accepted them at face value. When Marie-Louise von Franz (1915–1998), who later became a lifelong disciple, first met Jung, he told her about a patient who lived on the moon. She replied that surely Jung meant the patient acted as though she lived on the moon. Jung said no, the woman truly did live on the moon. Von Franz decided that “either [Jung] was crazy or I was” (quoted in obituary for Marie-Louise von Franz, New York Times, March 23, 1998).

Three basic techniques Jung used to evaluate personality were the word association test, symptom analysis, and dream analysis. A widely used self-report personality test, the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator, was developed to assess Jung’s psychological types.

Word Association

The word association test, in which a subject responds to a stimulus word with whatever word comes immediately to mind, has become a standard laboratory and clinical tool in psychology. In the early 1900s, Jung used the technique with a list of 100 words he believed were capable of eliciting emotions (see Table 2.3). Jung measured the time it took for a patient to respond to each word. He also measured physiological reactions to determine the emotional effects of the stimulus words.

Jung used word association to uncover complexes in his patients. A variety of factors indicated the presence of a complex; these factors include physiological responses, delays in responding, making the same response to different words, slips
Symptom Analysis

Symptom analysis focuses on the symptoms reported by the patient and is based on the person’s free associations to those symptoms. It is similar to Freud’s cathartic method. Between the patient’s associations to the symptoms and the analyst’s interpretation of them, the symptoms will often be relieved or disappear.

Table 2.3 Normal and neurotic responses to Jung’s word association test

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stimulus word</th>
<th>Normal response</th>
<th>Neurotic response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Pretty</td>
<td>Color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tree</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>Nature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>To eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamp</td>
<td>Bright</td>
<td>To burn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rich</td>
<td>Beautiful</td>
<td>Money; I don’t know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To sin</td>
<td>Much</td>
<td>This idea is totally alien to me; I do not acknowledge it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Needle</td>
<td>To prick</td>
<td>To sew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To swim</td>
<td>Healthy</td>
<td>Water</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Dream Analysis

Jung agreed with Freud that dreams are the “royal road” into the unconscious. Jung’s approach to dream analysis differed from Freud’s in that Jung was concerned with more than the causes of dreams, and he believed that dreams were more than unconscious wishes. First, dreams are prospective; that is, they help us prepare for experiences and events we anticipate will occur. Second, dreams are compensatory; they help bring about a balance between opposites in the psyche by compensating for the overdevelopment of any one psychic structure.

Instead of interpreting each dream separately, as Freud did, Jung worked with a series of dreams reported by a patient over a period of time. In that way, Jung believed he could discover recurring themes, issues, and problems that persisted in the patient’s unconscious.

Jung also used amplification to analyze dreams. In Freudian free association, the patient begins with one element in a dream and develops a chain of associations from it by reporting related memories and events. Jung focused on the original dream element and asked the patient to make repeated associations and responses to it until he detected a theme. He did not try to distinguish between manifest and latent dream content.
The Myers-Briggs Type Indicator

An assessment instrument related to Jung’s personality theory is the **Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI)**, developed in the 1920s by Katharine Cook Briggs and Isabel Briggs Myers (Briggs & Myers, 1943, 1976). Today, the MBTI is one of the most popular self-report inventories ever devised and is administered to approximately 2-1/2 million people annually. Of the leading corporations listed in the Fortune 100, 89 of them use the MBTI for employee hiring and promotion decisions. Thus, it is likely that you will be asked to take this test in order to get a job (see Table 2.4).

The test was developed in Washington, D.C. by Katharine Briggs, who doted on her teenage daughter Isabel. Katharine wrote a book-length manuscript about her remarkable daughter, calling her a genius, even “a little Shakespeare.” When Isabel went away to college, mother and daughter corresponded almost every day. And then Isabel brought home a law student, Clarence Myers. “Katharine and Isabel were bold and imaginative and intuitive. Myers was practical and logical and detail-oriented” (Gladwell, 2004, p. 45). Katharine was so shocked by the personality differences between her daughter and her future son-in-law that she embarked on an intensive program of self-study in psychology to try to understand him.

In 1923 she read Jung’s book, *Psychological Types*, and found what she was looking for, a way to categorize people and to explain the differences among them. And so, without research grant support, university affiliation, or graduate students to assist her, she developed, with Isabel’s help, a test to measure those differences.

In 1975, Isabel Briggs Myers and Mary McCaulley established the Center for Applications of Psychological Type for MBTI training and research. In 1979, the Association for Psychological Type was founded. Two journals publish research on psychological types.

**Table 2.4 Sample items from the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Which answer comes closer to telling how you usually feel or act?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. When you go somewhere for the day, would you rather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) plan what you will do and when, or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) just go?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Do you tend to have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) deep friendships with a very few people, or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) broad friendships with many different people?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. When you have a special job to do, do you like to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) organize it carefully before you start, or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) find out what is necessary as you go along?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. When something new starts to be the fashion, are you usually</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) one of the first to try it, or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) not much interested?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. When the truth would not be polite, are you more likely to tell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) a polite lie, or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) the impolite truth?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

reports on applications of the test. The MBTI is considered the most visible practical outgrowth of Jung’s work on the human personality.

**Research on Jung’s Theory**

Jung, like Freud, used the case study method, which Jung called *life-history reconstruction*. It involved an extensive recollection of a person’s past experiences in which Jung sought to identify the developmental patterns he believed led to the present neurotic condition. The criticisms of Freud’s data and research methods also apply to Jung’s work. Jung’s data did not rely on objective observation and were not gathered in a controlled and systematic fashion. Further, the situations in which they were obtained—the clinical interviews—were not amenable to duplication, verification, or quantification.

Like Freud, Jung did not keep verbatim records of his patients’ comments, nor did he attempt to verify the accuracy of their reports. Jung’s case studies involved (as did Freud’s) a small and unrepresentative sample of people, making it difficult to generalize to the population at large.

Jung’s analysis of the data was subjective and unreliable. We do not know how he analyzed his data because he never explained his procedures. It is obvious that the data were subjected to some of the most unusual interpretations of any personality theory. We noted earlier that Jung studied a variety of cultures and disciplines. It was on this basis, and that of his own dreams and fantasies, that he interpreted the information gathered from his patients.

His work has been criticized for drawing conclusions he may have slanted to fit his theory. It is also alleged that his visions, which he claimed to have experienced during his midlife confrontation with his unconscious, can be traced to material he had read (Noll, 1993, 1994).

As was the case with Freud’s propositions, many of Jung’s observations cannot be submitted to experimental test. Jung himself was indifferent to this criticism and commented that anyone who “wishes to know about the human mind will learn nothing, or almost nothing, from experimental psychology” (quoted in Ellenberger, 1970, p. 694).

**Psychological Types**

Despite Jung’s negative view of experimental psychology, researchers have been able to submit aspects of Jungian theory to experimental test, with results that uphold some of Jung’s propositions. Most of the supportive research uses the MBTI and focuses on the attitudes of introversion and extraversion. However, not all research supports the delineation of the psychological types (Cowan, 1989; DeVito, 1985; McCrae & Costa, 1989).

A study of college students found that their job interests were closely related to Jungian attitudes and psychological types (Stricker & Ross, 1962). Introverts showed strong interests in occupations that did not involve personal interaction, such as technical and scientific work. Extraverts were more interested in jobs that offered high levels of social interaction, such as sales and public relations.
Another study using the MBTI revealed that different psychological types are drawn to different professions (Hanewitz, 1978). The test was administered to a large sample of police officers, schoolteachers, and social work and dental school students. The teachers and social work students showed high levels of intuiting and feeling. Police officers and dental school students, who deal with people in a different way from teachers and social workers, scored high in extraversion and in sensing and thinking.

A study in which the MBTI was given to 130 female college students and 89 male college students found that those who scored high in intuiting were inclined toward more creative vocational interests. Those who scored high in sensing favored more conventional vocational interests (Apostal, 1991). And a study of 1,568 women admitted to the U.S. Naval Academy from 1988 to 1996 who took the MBTI found that the extraverted-sensing-thinking-judging types were the most likely to graduate. In contrast, the women most likely to drop out scored higher in feeling and perceiving (Murray & Johnson, 2001).

A 10-year research program on students at liberal arts colleges also found that those most likely to drop out before graduation scored high on the MBTI in perceiving (Barrineau, 2005).

Research on the MBTI scores of nearly 4,000 medical school students found that those who became primary care physicians had scored high in feeling and introversion. Those who became surgeons had been labeled extraverted and thinking types (Stilwell, Wallick, Thal, & Burleson, 2000). Among a sample of 97 college students who took the MBTI, extraverts scored higher than introverts in psychological well-being and general life satisfaction (Harrington & Loffredo, 2001).

Research on junior- and mid-level managers in India demonstrated that those who scored very high on the thinking function tended to be collaborative in their efforts to manage conflict. Those who scored high in feeling tended to avoid dealing with conflicts. The men in this study scored higher on thinking whereas the women scored higher on feeling (Mathew & Bhatewara, 2006). A study of managers in China, however, did not find any significant differences between men and women in scores on the MBTI (Huifang & Shuming, 2004). Other research has shown that people who score higher on intuiting and thinking tend to be more argumentative than those who score higher on sensing and feeling (Loffredo & Opt, 2006).

Jungian personality types appear to differ in cognitive or mental functioning. Researchers concluded that persons categorized as introverted thinking types have better memories for neutral or impersonal stimuli, such as numbers. Persons labeled extraverted feeling types have better memories for human stimuli with emotional overtones, such as facial expressions (Carlson & Levy, 1973). It was also found that brain wave activity, as measured by the EEG, differed for each of the psychological types, as assessed by the MBTI (Gram, Dunn, & Ellis, 2005).

Also, introverted thinking and extraverted feeling types differ in their ability to recall significant personal experiences (Carlson, 1980). When subjects were asked to recall their most vivid experiences involving such emotions as joy, anger, and shame, extraverted feeling types most often reported memories involving other people. Introverted thinking types more frequently recalled events that occurred when they were alone. In addition, extraverted feeling types recalled highly emotional
details, whereas introverted thinking types remembered more emotionally neutral and factual experiences.

Persons classified as introverts or extraverts on the MBTI were compared on the quality of their classroom discussion in undergraduate psychology courses (Car- skadon, 1978). Extraverts contributed little to the discussion, but introverts made frequent, thoughtful contributions. Students high in intuiting on the MBTI made the best classroom contributions, whereas those high in sensing made the poorest contributions.

A study of 450 college students in Singapore showed that extraverts preferred to communicate with other people in person whereas introverts preferred online contacts. Those students who scored high on sensing, perceiving, intuiting, and judging also indicated a preference for face-to-face communication (Goby, 2006).

Research on the origins of introversion and extraversion points to both genetic and environmental influences. Studies of twins provide evidence of an inherited component to the two attitudes (Wilson, 1977). Significant differences have been found among the parents of introverts and extraverts. Parents of introverts were described as rejecting and cold; parents of extraverts were more accepting and loving (Siegelman, 1988).

Finally, and perhaps not surprisingly, a study of 200 Australians and Canadians found that the core, or fundamental, feature motivating people who scored high in extraversion was the social attention their behavior brought them (Ashton, Lee, & Paunonen, 2002).

**Dreams**

In research on dreams to study the occurrence of the archetypes, subjects were asked to recall their most recent dream, their most vivid dream, and their earliest dream (Cann & Donderi, 1986). For approximately 3 weeks, they were asked to record the dreams of the previous night as soon as they awakened each morning. Subjects were also given the MBTI and another personality test.

The results showed that introverts were more likely than extraverts to recall everyday dreams, those that bore no relation to archetypes. Intuiting types recalled more archetypal dreams than did sensing types. Persons who scored high in neuroticism recalled fewer archetypal dreams than those who scored low in neuroticism.
The researchers concluded that these findings agreed with predictions made on the basis of Jung’s personality theory.

**Individuation**

An intensive investigation of men and women ages 37 to 55 who held senior executive positions found that they displayed behaviors that corroborate Jung’s concept of individuation. The study involved interviews with the executives, their colleagues, and their family members as well as observations of their behavior on the job. They were also evaluated on the TAT, the MBTI, and the Adjective Check List.

The researcher concluded that the executives “looked within [themselves] for direction and energy, questioned their inherited values, relinquished outmoded aspects of their selves, revealed new dimensions of who they are, and allowed themselves to be more playful and spontaneous” (Lyons, 2002, p. 9). The executives also took actions according to their own wishes and desires instead of simply reacting to external demands and pressures. These behavioral and emotional characteristics correspond to Jung’s description of the individuation process.

**The Midlife Crisis in Women**

We noted that the onset of middle age, around age 40, was a time of crisis for Jung and many of his patients. Jung, and others who have studied this so-called midlife crisis, initially viewed it as a phenomenon more likely to affect men than women. More recently, however, the idea that women undergo a similar crisis has been recognized. One national survey of 2,681 women in the United States found that they were in worse health than men, felt they had little or no control over their marriage, and had fewer opportunities to find employment (Barrett, 2005).

Studies of women by ethnicity and gender orientation found that lesbian women reported less emotional turmoil at midlife than did heterosexual women. Black women had more positive self-perceptions at middle age than did White women (Brown, Matthews, & Bromberger, 2005; Howell & Beth, 2004).

A survey of 88 women in their 50s, who had been studied periodically since their senior year in college, asked them to describe the most difficult period in their lives since graduation. A variety of ratings made of stability and adjustment (such as concern about impulses and potential and the search for an identity) revealed that the early 40s were the time of greatest conflict (Helson, 1992).

Other research demonstrated that many women in midlife undergo an intense period of self-evaluation, reviewing their lives and judging their relative success or failure. One study found that the midlife transition was less difficult for women who had actively pursued careers than for women who had focused solely on marriage and family. Many subjects in the latter group concluded that their marriage had been a partial or complete failure. Their regret over their choice led them to consider drastic changes. The career women felt significantly less need to make major changes at midlife (Levinson, 1996).

Research involving two samples of college-educated women confirmed these findings. Both subject groups graduated from college in the 1960s when the feminist
movement was opening many new career paths. The women were studied initially as students and later when they were in their late 30s or early 40s. The majority of the women experienced a period of life reevaluation around age 40, as Jung had predicted. Approximately two-thirds made major life changes between the ages of 37 and 43 as a direct result of their self-evaluation. When asked at age 37 if they would opt again for the same life choices they had made when younger, 34 percent in the sample from an affluent private college and 61 percent in the sample from a large state university said they would not. If they could do it all over again, these women said they would pursue educational and career opportunities instead of family goals. Another sample of women studied at midlife also showed that two-thirds of them believed they had been less successful in life than their daughters who worked outside the home (Carr, 2004).

A sense of dissatisfaction at midlife motivated many women to change, but not all were able to return to school to enhance their skills or find a job that made full use of their abilities. Those women who were able to effect satisfactory life changes by age 43 reported significantly greater feelings of general well-being than those women who were unable to make such changes. The changed group experienced an increased sense of personal identity and an enlarged view of their own capabilities. Thus, regret about their earlier choices led to positive changes in midlife (Stewart & Ostrove, 1998; Stewart & Vandewater, 1999).

Another longitudinal study followed women for 20 years after they graduated from college in the late 1950s. The results showed that the personalities of the women at midlife, based on ratings by independent judges, could be divided into three levels or prototypes: conflicted, traditional, and individuated. The lowest level, the conflicted prototype, was characterized by personal conflicts, psychological problems, poor relationships with others, anxiety, hostility, and rigidity. The women at this level were considered to be psychologically immature.

The second level, the traditional prototype, was characterized by devotion to others, feelings of guilt, an emphasis on fulfilling duties and obligations at the expense of their own self-development and self-expression, and a concern for societal standards and with receiving the approval of others. They were also described as competent adults and good citizens who focused on marriage rather than career but lacking a high degree of psychological maturity and self-understanding.

The third level, the individuated prototype, appears to correspond to Jung’s concept of individuation, the ideal outcome of the midlife personality crisis. Women at this level were described as high in autonomy, creativity, responsiveness and closeness to others, self-actualization, individual achievement orientation, empathy, tolerance, ego resilience, and intellectual and cultural sophistication (John, Pals, & Westenberg, 1998). Studies of women in the United States and in Australia confirmed that for some, middle age was a time of increasing personal growth, moving in new directions, ridding themselves of past problems, and experiencing the freedom to be themselves (Arnold, 2005; Leonard & Burns, 2006). In other words, they had reached a higher level of psychological maturity, a finding that supports Jung’s view of individuation as the supreme state of psychological health and self-development.
Reflections on Jung’s Theory

Jung’s complex and unusual approach to the human personality has had considerable impact on a broad range of disciplines, notably psychiatry, cultural history, sociology, economics, political science, philosophy, and religion. Recognized by the intellectual community at large, Jung received honorary degrees from Harvard and Oxford universities and has been acknowledged as a powerful influence on the work of many scholars.

Jung made several important and lasting contributions to psychology. The word association test became a standard projective technique and inspired the development of the Rorschach inkblot test and so-called lie-detection techniques. The concepts of psychological complexes and of introverted versus extraverted personalities are widely accepted in psychology today. The personality scales that measure introversion and extraversion are standard diagnostic and selection devices. A great deal of research is being conducted on the introversion–extraversion personality dimensions.

In the following chapters, we see evidence of Jung’s influence on the work of other theorists. Jung’s notion of individuation, or self-actualization, anticipated the work of Abraham Maslow and other personality theorists. Jung was the first to emphasize the role of the future in determining behavior, an idea adopted by Alfred Adler. Portions of Henry Murray’s theory can also be traced to Jung’s ideas. Maslow, Erik Erikson, and Raymond Cattell embraced Jung’s suggestion that middle age is a time of crucial personality change. The idea of a midlife crisis is now seen by many as a necessary stage of personality development and has been supported by considerable research.

Despite the significance of these formulations, the bulk of Jung’s theory was not received enthusiastically by psychologists. One reason concerns the difficulty of understanding Jungian concepts. Sigmund Freud, Alfred Adler, and others wrote in a clear style that allows their books to be easily read and understood. Jung did not write for the general public. Reading his work can be frustrating, so beset are his books by inconsistencies and contradictions. Jung once said, “I can formulate my thoughts only as they break out of me. It is like a geyser. Those who come after me will have to put them in order” (quoted in Jaffé, 1971, p. 8). One Jungian scholar described one of Jung’s major books as only partly intelligible. “The connection between one thought and the next is not clear and . . . there are many internal contradictions” (Noll, 1994, p. 109). This criticism can be applied to many of Jung’s writings. They are difficult to comprehend and lack internal consistency and systematization.

Jung’s embrace of the occult and the supernatural is probably the source of most of the criticism directed at his theory. Evidence from mythology and religion is not in favor in an era when reason and science are considered the most legitimate approaches to knowledge and understanding. Critics charge that Jung accepted as scientific evidence the mythical and mystical occurrences his patients reported.

Despite these problems, a surge of interest in Jung’s work began in the late 1980s and continues today. Formal training in Jungian analysis is available in New York, Chicago, Boston, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and several other major cities in the
United States and Canada. There are also Jungian training institutes in a number of European countries. The Society of Analytical Psychology, founded in 1947, publishes the Jungian *Journal of Analytical Psychology*.

**Chapter Summary**

Parts of Jung’s personality theory were influenced by his childhood experiences and his dreams and fantasies. Jung broadened Freud’s definition of libido, redefining it as a more generalized dynamic force. Jung argued that personality is shaped by the future as well as the past, and he placed greater emphasis on the unconscious. Jung used the term libido in two ways: a diffuse, generalized life energy and a narrower energy that fuels the psyche. The amount of energy invested in an idea or feeling is called a value. Psychic energy operates in accordance with the principles of opposites, equivalence, and entropy. The principle of opposites states that every aspect of the psyche has its opposite and that this opposition generates psychic energy. The principle of equivalence states that energy is never lost to the personality but is shifted from one part to another. The principle of entropy states that there is a tendency toward equilibrium in the personality.

The ego is the center of consciousness and is concerned with perceiving, thinking, feeling, and remembering. Part of our conscious perception is determined by the attitudes of introversion and extraversion, in which libido is channeled internally or externally. The psychological functions include thinking, feeling, sensing, and intuiting. Thinking and feeling are rational functions; sensing and intuiting are irrational. Only one attitude and function can be dominant. The eight psychological types are formed by combinations of the attitudes and functions.

The personal unconscious is a reservoir of material that was once conscious but has been forgotten or suppressed. Complexes, which may be conscious or unconscious, are patterns of emotions, memories, perceptions, and wishes centering on common themes. The collective unconscious is a storehouse of the experiences of humankind transmitted to each individual. Archetypes are recurring themes that express these experiences. The most powerful archetypes are the persona, anima, animus, shadow, and self.

Psychic birth occurs at puberty, when the psyche assumes a definite content. Preparatory activities mark the time from adolescence through young adulthood. In the period of middle age, when success has been achieved, the personality undergoes changes. Psychic energy must be rechanneled into the inner world of the unconscious, and the attitude must shift from extraversion to introversion. Individuation (the realization of one’s capabilities) can occur only in middle age, when people must confront the unconscious and abandon the behaviors and values that guided the first half of life. Transcendence involves the unification of the personality.

Jung’s image of human nature was more optimistic and less deterministic than Freud’s view. Jung believed that part of personality is innate, and part is learned. The ultimate life goal is individuation. Childhood experiences are important, but personality is more affected by midlife experiences and hopes for the future. Personality is unique in the first half of life but not in the second.
Jung’s methods of assessment include the investigation of symbols, myths, and rituals in ancient cultures; the word association test, used to uncover complexes; symptom analysis, in which patients free-associate to their symptoms; and dream analysis. The Myers-Briggs Type Indicator, an assessment instrument deriving from Jung’s approach, is a highly popular employee selection technique and is also used for research on Jung’s system.

Jung’s case study method, called life-history reconstruction, did not rely on objective observation, was not systematic and controlled, and was not amenable to duplication and verification.

Research has supported Jung’s ideas on attitudes, functions, and psychological types, but broader aspects of his theory have resisted attempts at scientific validation. His work has had considerable influence in several fields. Widely accepted Jungian ideas include the word association test, complexes, introversion–extraversion, self-actualization, and the midlife crisis.

**Review Questions**

1. In what ways was Jung’s personality theory influenced by his childhood experiences and his dreams and fantasies?

2. Describe the principles of opposites, equivalence, and entropy. How do they relate to the concept of psychic energy?

3. What are the three major points of difference between Jung’s theory of analytical psychology and Freud’s theory of psychoanalysis?

4. How does the principle of opposites apply to the attitudes and functions?

5. Explain how the eight psychological types derive from the attitudes and functions.

6. Explain how introverts differ from extraverts.

7. Why are thinking and feeling considered to be rational functions while sensing and intuiting are said to be non-rational functions?

8. What is the relationship between the ego and the personal unconscious?

9. How does the personal unconscious differ from the collective unconscious?

10. What is a complex? How can a complex be helpful?

11. Distinguish between the persona archetype and the self archetype.

12. What are the similarities between Jung’s concept of the shadow archetype and Freud’s concept of the id?

13. What are the anima and animus archetypes? Did Jung suggest that they must be suppressed or expressed? Why?

14. Discuss Jung’s ideas on the development of personality throughout the life span, especially the periods of adolescence and middle age.

15. What is individuation? How must our archetypes change if we are to achieve individuation?

16. How does Jung’s image of human nature differ from Freud’s?

17. What is the purpose of the word association test? What are the purposes of dreams?

18. Describe Jung’s approach to his sessions with patients. How did his typical session differ from one of Freud’s?

19. Discuss the MBTI research findings that show the occupational preferences of extraverts and introverts.

20. Describe the criticisms and the contributions of Jung’s personality theory.
**Suggested Readings**

Bair, D. (2003). *Jung: A biography*. Boston: Little, Brown. A thoroughly researched biography that assesses Jung’s complex personality and shows its impact on his theories. Notes the censorship Jung’s heirs maintain over significant amounts of his correspondence, suggesting that the definitive biography has yet to be written.


