Personality and culture in South Africa

Valchev, V.H.

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Velichko H. Valchev

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Personality and Culture in South Africa

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Promotiecommissie

Promotor

Prof. dr. A. J. R. van de Vijver

Overige promotiecommissieleden

Prof. dr. Y. H. Poortinga

Prof. dr. A. T. Church

Prof. dr. J. R. J. Fontaine

Prof. dr. F. de Fruyt

Dr. A. Chasiotis

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Chapter 1
Introduction

Personality and culture are related. This is a statement with which most contemporary personality, cultural, and cross-cultural psychologists of different directions and persuasions would agree (Church, 2008). Although the statement may seem obvious, it has important implications. Given that personality is commonly understood as an overall structure, bearer of central and essential information about an individual (Barenbaum & Winter, 2008), the investigation of personality and culture has the potential to elucidate some of the basic ways in which people are similar and different across cultures. Knowledge on these basic similarities and differences is sought by addressing issues like the universality or culture-specificity of personality concepts, the relevance of personality traits across cultures, and the validity of cross-cultural comparisons (Church, 2008; Van de Vijver & Van Hemert, 2008). Do people's personalities in different cultures differ only in their standing on otherwise identical personality dimensions, or are there culture-specific personality dimensions? When and if culture-specific trait dimensions are identified, are these "basic" (McCrae, 2000, p. 15) or merely local manifestations of universal, biologically based dispositions? Does it make equally good sense to study trait structures in all cultures, or are traits mostly relevant in Western cultures, whereas roles, identities, and situational context are relevant in non-Western cultures? The answers given in different schools of cross-cultural personality research and theory differ so markedly that a unified account of the relations between personality and culture may seem at times impossible (Berry, Poortinga, Breugelmans, Chasiotis, & Sam, 2011; F. M. Cheung, Van de Vijver, & Leong, 2011; Church, 2008; Heine & Buchtel, 2009; Yang, 2006).

The present dissertation proposes an integrated approach aiming at a balanced representation of cultural similarities and differences. This research, conducted in the highly multicultural and multilingual context of South Africa (introduced further in this chapter), addresses four major questions. First, what are the most important personality concepts in the heterogeneous, non-Western, multicultural context of South Africa? Second, how do the main cultural groups in South Africa differ in the perceived salience of these concepts? Third, what is the role of trait and context for personality in these groups? Fourth, what are the implications of the proposed personality model in South Africa for current universal models of personality? These

four questions refer to central issues in contemporary perspectives on personality and culture, presented in the following section. The integrated approach proposed in this dissertation aims to focus attention on the most relevant areas of personality where cultural similarities and differences can be expected.

Brief History and Current Perspectives

An overview of culture and personality studies should pay tribute to the early 20th century anthropological school of culture and personality. Even though its premises and methods have been discredited, this school represents the first modern scientific approach to culture and personality and has inspired later research (Bock, 1999; LeVine, 2001). Early anthropological studies typically explored overall personality types, or characters, and their association with culture. Researchers in this tradition focused on one configuration of personality that is characteristic for a given culture (e.g., Benedict, 1934; Mead, 1928) or the most prevalent within a given culture (e.g., DuBois, 1944). Later studies deemphasized the search for a direct relationship between culture and overall personality. Some researchers (e.g., Whiting & Child, 1953) focused on the associations between environmental features, childrearing practices, and behavioral patterns. Others (e.g., Wallace, 1961) turned attention to the intracultural variability of personality types and the role of social-structural factors. An in-depth approach, employing a range of ethnographic methods, is shared by a great part of this tradition. In the decades after 1950, cultural anthropology to a large extent shifted to topics of mind and cognition (Bock, 1999).

Cross-cultural personality research was reinvigorated in the late 20th century, thanks to the increasing influence of cross-cultural and trait psychology (Barenbaum & Winter, 2008). The main difference between the old culture-and-personality school and the recent psychological studies is in the latter's stronger engagement with the measurement of individual differences. The contemporary study of personality and culture is often presented in terms of three relatively distinct approaches: indigenous, cultural, and cross-cultural psychology (Berry et al., 2011; Church, 2008, 2010; Poortinga & Van Hemert, 2001). The first two are more relativistic or emic, so the term *cultural psychology* sometimes encompasses indigenous studies; cross-cultural psychology is more universalistic or etic (Berry et al., 2011; Van de Vijver & Leung, 2001). The three approaches are summarized here and discussed in more detail in the following chapters.

In indigenous psychology, the focus is on personality concepts relevant in particular cultural contexts (Kim, Yang, & Hwang, 2006). Research is normally initiated using qualitative methods in a single culture, perusing sources like literature, mythology, and ethnographic observations, but is sometimes later transferred to a

quantitative framework and other cultures. Examples can be found in the studies of different teams in China (Yang, 2006), Mexico, and the Philippines (summarized in Church, 2010). In cultural psychology, the focus is on the social construction of the self (Heine & Buchtel, 2009; Markus & Kitayama, 1998). Self, rather than personality, is the central object of inquiry, and the relevance of personality traits is questioned (e.g., Mendoza-Denton & Mischel, 2007). Research may be inspired by ethnographic sources, but employs mostly experimental methods, typically in dyadic comparisons of cultural groups. Examples can be found in the research on self-enhancement and consistency of traits and behaviors across contexts (see Church, 2010; Heine & Buchtel, 2009). Finally, in the cross-cultural approach, the emphasis is on the generalizability and replicability of structural personality models across cultures. This approach is premised on the importance of personality dispositions and employs standardized quantitative measures for comparisons that often span a large number of cultures and languages. The primary example is the research program exploring the cross-cultural replicability of the Five-Factor Model (McCrae & Allik, 2002; for a more recent overview of this and other large cross-cultural projects, see Van de Vijver & Van Hemert, 2008).

In line with recent advances in theory and research on culture and personality (F. M. Cheung et al., 2011; Church, 2009), the research presented in this dissertation seeks to actively integrate elements of the three approaches. The aim of the broader project in which the present research is embedded, the South African Personality Inventory (SAPI),[1] is to develop a common and comprehensive indigenous personality model, and instrument for its measurement, such that the main personality concepts in the 11 official languages of South Africa are represented. This objective sets some important parameters for the integration of research approaches. First, the exploration of indigenous concepts implies an emic approach in which the concepts are studied within their cultural context. Second, because the cultural context in South Africa is heterogeneous and the study aims to develop a common model for the major cultural groups, it is necessary to transcend the monocultural approach and seek integration of emic elements across the diverse cultures. This implies a move toward emic–etic integration. Third, because personality dispositions—rather than roles, social

[1] The SAPI, an acronym for South African Personality Inventory, is a project that aims to develop an indigenous personality measure for all 11 official languages in South Africa. Participants are Byron Adams (Tilburg University, Tilburg, The Netherlands, and University of Johannesburg, Johannesburg, South Africa), Deon de Bruin (University of Johannesburg), Karina de Bruin (University of Johannesburg), Carin Hill (University of Johannesburg), Leon Jackson (North-West University, Potchefstroom, South Africa), Deon Meiring (University of Pretoria, Pretoria, South Africa, and University of Stellenbosch, Stellenbosch, South Africa), Alewyn Nel (North-West University), Ian Rothmann (North-West University), Michael Temane (North-West University), Velichko Valchev (Tilburg University), and Fons van de Vijver (Tilburg University, North-West University, and University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia).

identities, or other elements "external" to the core of personality (Saucier, 2008, p. 30)—have proven most conducive to cross-cultural comparisons, this research makes intensive use of the analysis of personality structure, similarly to the cross-cultural trait approach. Fourth, personality structure is not equated with personality traits, and the relevance of traits for personality description is critically examined in a test of the cultural and cross-cultural trait perspectives.

To extrapolate from these positions, in the present dissertation, personality is regarded as a set of characteristics with an overall underlying structure which allows individual variation. Cultural differences and similarities in the content and expression of these characteristics, in their perceived importance, and the role of context and situations are investigated. Culture is thus regarded as an external variable that has the potential to influence both the conceptualization and the expression of personality. In the chapters of this dissertation, there is a progression from more emic studies, where the role of cultural context is assumed, to more emic–etic studies where direct comparisons between cultural groups are made.

The South African Context: Cultural and Linguistic Diversity

South Africa has a remarkable cultural and linguistic diversity. There are 11 official languages, belonging to two language families: nine Bantu languages (Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho, and Tswana in the Sotho-Tswana group; Ndebele, Swati, Xhosa, and Zulu in the Nguni group; Tsonga, and Venda), spoken by 77.9% of the population, and two Germanic (Afrikaans and English), spoken as a first language by 21.5% of the population. Besides that, there are a number of recognized but not official languages, some of which are from other language groups.

The Apartheid-era distinction of four "ethnic" groups is still in use today, namely "Black" (for people of African descent), "Coloured" (mixed-race descent), "Indian" (or "Asian," for descendants of immigrants from India and South-East Asia), and "White" (European descent). The nine Bantu languages are spoken as first language by Blacks only. The two Germanic languages are spoken as first language by Coloureds (Afrikaans speakers, 8.9% of the country's population), Indians (English speakers, 2.5%), and Whites (9.6%; Statistics South Africa, 2001).

These population characteristics make South Africa a particularly interesting context for cross-cultural studies. First, there is a well-documented distinction between Blacks and Whites, whereby Blacks are considered more collectivistic and Whites more individualistic (Allik & McCrae, 2004; Eaton & Louw, 2000; Laher, 2008; Seekings, 2008). The individualism–collectivism distinction is important for investigating cultural-psychological hypotheses about the salience of traits and of specific personality concepts. Second, the position of Coloureds and Indians is less

clear. Culture-level studies have shown that individualism–collectivism is associated both with language characteristics (Kashima & Kashima, 2003) and with socioeconomic indices such as affluence and education (Georgas, Van de Vijver, & Berry, 2004). Coloureds and Indians share the dominant use of Germanic languages with the White group; however, they have had, for generations, less opportunity for education and socioeconomic development than Whites, although more than Blacks (Seekings, 2008). So, it is an interesting question to what extent Coloureds and Indians are intermediate between Blacks and Whites with respect to personality characteristics. Finally, the rich linguistic diversity could imply restrictions on the emergence of a shared personality structure across groups. The extent to which this will happen is an interesting empirical question bearing on issues of relativism versus universalism.

The Role of Language

Language is of central importance to the study of personality and culture. The main frame of reference is given by the linguistic-relativism or Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (Sapir, 1921; Whorf, 1956; in fact, Sapir was one of the notable figures in the culture-and-personality school of the early 20th century). In general terms, this hypothesis postulates that linguistic features influence thought and hence lead to cultural differences in cognitive process. The hypothesis has generated much discussion and the balance of evidence for and against it has shifted over the decades (see Berry et al., 2011). There is currently increasing convergence on moderate versions of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, and increasing emphasis on its substantiation in the social-cognitive domain (Holtgraves & Kashima, 2008). Language-related questions of personality and culture span the range from the individual to the cultural level. To name just a few of the relevant research lines: The analysis of natural language lexica has provided the basis for trait psychology (Allport & Odbert, 1936; Saucier & Goldberg, 2001); language use has been related to different aspects of personality (Pennebaker, Mehl, & Niederhoffer, 2003) and social cognition (Holtgraves & Kashima, 2008); individuals from different cultures have been found to differ in their use of linguistic categories for personality representation (Maass, Karasawa, Politi, & Suga, 2006); and language features have been related to broad cultural factors like individualism and collectivism (Kashima & Kashima, 2003).

In the present research, language also plays an important role, although it is not the central study subject. First, the psycholexical hypothesis provides the underpinning for the investigation of implicit personality structure. The psycholexical hypothesis implies that personality concepts that are deemed important in a certain culture become encoded in its language as frequently used terms (Allport & Odbert, 1936; Saucier & Goldberg, 2001). So, the areas and the extent to which cross-cultural differences in

naturally produced personality descriptions are observed will point to the areas and extent of convergence and differences in implicit personality structure. Second, the overlap of cultural with language differences can be specifically explored in distinct cultural groups sharing the same language (as in the case of Coloureds, Indians, and Whites in South Africa), which is rarely done in the classical psycholexical research. In some of the studies of the present dissertation, linguistic and cultural groupings overlap, whereas in others, they are unconfounded, and linguistic practices are assessed directly. This combination of overlapping and nonoverlapping sets of languages and cultures allows an assessment of the relations between culture, language, and personality in the culturally and linguistically diverse context of South Africa.

Personality Study in South Africa

The hypothesis of the origin of anatomically modern humans in Africa is generally accepted (Cavalli-Sforza, Menozzi, & Piazza, 1994), and recently claims have been made that the oldest evidence of behavioral modernity, as first manifestations of culture, may also be African (Henshilwood et al., 2002, 2011). One might hence guess that a lot should be known about personality and culture in this birthplace of humanity. On the contrary, and similarly to other areas of psychology, the current knowledge on personality in Africa is limited. Research has so far focused mostly on cross-cultural replicability of Western personality models (e.g., Piedmont, Bain, McCrae, & Costa, 2002; Rossier, Dahourou, & McCrae, 2005). Indigenous studies have been conducted from anthropological and psychiatric perspectives (Berry et al., 2011). These studies have suggested the importance of balance and harmony, the relation with the transcendental, communication with the ancestors, and more generally relational and traditional aspects of personality. However, these previous studies have not produced measurable personality concepts on which individuals can be compared.

Personality research in South Africa has also concentrated on the transferability of Western personality models and the properties of the instruments for their measurement (Abrahams & Mauer, 1999; Foxcroft, Paterson, Le Roux, & Herbst, 2004; Heuchert, Parker, Stumpf, & Myburgh, 2000; Laher, 2008; Meiring, Van de Vijver, Rothmann, & Barrick, 2005; Taylor & De Bruin, 2005). From a broad indigenous social-political perspective, the concept of Ubuntu has been identified as important (Kamwangamalu, 1999; Marx, 2002; Nolte-Schamm, 2006). Ubuntu refers to the interconnectedness of persons and to values like humanity, friendliness, communal spirit, and social commitment. Although the relevance of single concepts like Ubuntu and spirituality for personality in South Africa has sometimes been suggested (e.g. Laher, 2008), no research has been conducted on indigenous

personality concepts. The SAPI project, of which the present dissertation is part, is the first to launch a comprehensive empirical investigation of indigenous personality concepts in South Africa.

Outline of the Dissertation

This dissertation includes empirical studies presented in five chapters. The studies in Chapters 2 to 5 were conducted on the same large qualitative data set of the SAPI project. Chapter 6 represents the transition from qualitative structure exploration to quantitative measures for one part of the indigenous model, the social-relational concepts. Below is an outline of the main questions of this dissertation and the way they are addressed in the individual chapters.

The first question this dissertation asks is: What are the most important personality concepts in the heterogeneous, non-Western, multicultural context of South Africa? This question is primarily addressed in Chapters 2 and 3. Chapter 2 presents a study of the implicit personality structure of speakers of Swati, Xhosa, and Zulu, the three main languages of the Nguni language group. The study employs semantic clustering analysis on free personality descriptions made in the three languages and translated into English. The responses are grouped in consecutive steps into facets and clusters. The final model is presented as common to the three groups, because any sizeable differences are restricted to single facets. Besides semantic content, this study also explores the form (traits, behaviors, roles, etc.) of personality descriptions. Chapter 3 presents the development of an indigenous model applicable to the speakers of all 11 languages of South Africa. The study employs similar methods to those of Chapter 2, with the addition of eight languages. The final model is subjected to a preliminary validation test by assessing the perceived interrelations of its mid-level components.

The identification of a common personality model in Chapters 2 and 3 allows for the second main question of this dissertation to be addressed: How do the main cultural groups in South Africa differ in the perceived salience of the concepts of the common model? The study in Chapter 4 tests cross-cultural differences in the construction and salience of the components of the model presented in Chapter 3. Three groups are distinguished: Blacks, Indians, and Whites. Salience is assessed through the frequency of responses in each component of the model.

The third main question of this dissertation is: What is the role of trait and context for personality in the main cultural groups in South Africa? Cultural differences in these aspects are first identified in Chapter 2. Chapter 5 presents three studies aiming to shed more light on the use of traits and contextual information for personality description. The three studies address cross-cultural differences in (a) the

use of traits, non-trait categories, and contextual information, (b) substantiation mechanisms of these differences, and (c) their expression across personality domains. The studied groups are Blacks, Coloureds and Indians (combined), and Whites. The middle group shares with Whites the dominant use of Germanic languages, but differs from them in other cultural-historical aspects. The studies in Chapters 4 and 5 thus disentangle cultural from linguistic groupings, allowing for a more precise formulation of culture and language effects.

Finally, the fourth main question of this dissertation is: What are the implications of the proposed personality model in South Africa for existing, and typically more universality-oriented models of personality? Aspects of this question are addressed throughout the different chapters, but Chapter 6 first tests directly the most prominent component of the model—social-relational concepts—against other personality models using quantitative measures. Social-relational functioning is identified as salient in Chapters 2 to 4, and Chapter 6 zooms in on this domain. The study reported in this chapter establishes the nomological network of a quantitative measure of the social-relational concepts. The two most distal groups identified in Chapters 4 and 5, Blacks and Whites, are studied. This allows for a strict test of the equivalence of the indigenous concepts. Chapter 7 summarizes the studies of the five empirical chapters. Implications for universal personality models and the integration of distinct perspectives on personality and culture are presented, with reference to ongoing discussions on relativism and universalism in cross-cultural psychology (Berry et al., 2011; Fontaine, 2011; Van de Vijver, Chasiotis, & Breugelmans, 2011). The studies in the empirical chapters of the present dissertation (Chapters 2 to 6) have been submitted or published as journal articles and can be read separately. Because they are part of the same broad project, there is some overlap, especially in the introductory parts.

Chapter 2

Implicit Personality Conceptions of the Nguni Cultural-Linguistic Groups of South Africa*

The present study aims to explore the implicit personality conceptions of the three main cultural-linguistic groups of the larger Nguni language group in South Africa: Swati, Xhosa, and Zulu.[1] Different approaches to the concept of personality have been accommodated within the field of personality psychology. A point of agreement is that personality refers to an overall structure associated with a certain degree of consistency in behavior across time and situations (Pervin & John, 1999).

The trait conceptualization of personality has provided a useful theoretical framework for the exploration of this structure. Personality is described in terms of a number of constituting characteristics, or traits, organized along a few high-level dimensions. Studies in this tradition have identified different numbers of dimensions that are supposed to be sufficient for capturing the core of normal personality. The currently most widely accepted model of personality is the Five-Factor Model (McCrae & Costa, 1999) which represents personality in five dimensions: Neuroticism (or Emotional Stability), Extraversion, Openness (or Intellect), Agreeableness, and Conscientiousness. The lexical Big Five model (John & Srivastava, 1999) is closely related to the Five-Factor Model; the two models are in agreement as to the number and meaning of dimensions despite differences in terms of theoretical premises, methodology, and exact composition of the personality dimensions. Substantial evidence has been accumulated to support replicability of the basic five dimensions across languages and cultures (McCrae, Terracciano, & 78 Members of the Personality Profiles of Cultures Project, 2005a; Saucier & Goldberg, 2001).

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* This chapter is based on Valchev et al. (2011).

[1] The official language names are: siSwati, isiXhosa, and isiZulu, as used in the respective languages. In keeping with tradition in the English literature, the simple (root) terms (Swati, Xhosa, and Zulu) are used here; *Swazi* is used to refer to the speakers of Swati (see Hammond-Tooke, 1974, p. xiii).

The validity of the trait approach has been questioned on the grounds that traits might not offer an adequate conception of personality in some cultural contexts (Church, 2001; Triandis, 2001). Researchers in the Independent–Interdependent-self tradition (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, 1998; Triandis, 2001) have examined the way in which the notion of self is constructed in different cultures. Their analyses suggest that in collectivistic cultures, more so than in individualistic cultures, the self is perceived in terms of the person's social relations and roles rather than as a coherent structure organized along a few dimensions. The self varies across social relations and contexts, and does not show the consistency assumed by the trait perspective. The relevance of social-relational contexts and the situational basis of the sense of self has also been ascertained in the anthropological (e.g., Ewing, 1990) and social-psychological literature (Mischel & Shoda, 1995).

Culture and Personality

The study of culture and personality forms a broad scientific field that has attracted theoretical and empirical attention from different disciplines in the 20th century. Early anthropological studies often addressed overall personality types, or characters, and their association with culture (see Bock, 1999; LeVine, 2001). Researchers in this tradition typically focused on one configuration of personality that is characteristic for a given culture (e.g., Benedict, 1934; Mead, 1928) or the most prevalent within a given culture (e.g., DuBois, 1944). An in-depth approach, employing a range of ethnographic, qualitative methods, is shared by a great part of this tradition. In the decades after 1950, cultural anthropology to a large extent shifted to more particular topics of mind and cognition, whereas in psychology the engagement with the topic of personality went through a revival, thanks mainly to the developments in the trait approach. LeVine (2001) concluded his review of the history of culture and personality with the position that, even after the period of decline and disgrace in the mid 20th century, the study of culture and personality is still a valid enterprise that generates relevant questions. LeVine suggested that a successful approach to problems of culture and personality should combine, among others, ethnographic, linguistic, and psychological research.

The psychological study of culture and personality encompasses two broad streams: cross-cultural trait psychology and cultural psychology (Church, 2000; Van de Vijver & Leung, 2001). The first approach mainly deals with identifying universal personality dimensions and comparing cultures along those. The latter focuses more on the interpretation of personality within specific cultural contexts. The studies that have replicated the questionnaire-based Five-Factor Model can be considered a typical representative of the cross-cultural trait approach (e.g., McCrae et al., 2005a). In these, a model first developed in North America has been tested in other cultures using translated versions of inventories initially devised in English. The same five factors

tended to emerge in languages from different language families, spoken in 50 different cultures. The impressive evidence for the universality of personality structure has allowed researchers in the Five-Factor-Model tradition to investigate empirically long-standing questions in culture and personality such as the culture-level associations between personality and cultural values (Hofstede & McCrae, 2004) and between self-reported personality traits and national character stereotypes (Terracciano et al., 2005).

On the other hand, research in this universalist tradition has been criticized for not tapping culture-specific personality traits (Church, 2001). The universal replicability of a fixed array of personality concepts does not preclude the possibility that there may be other personality concepts especially salient in certain cultural contexts. Cultural-psychological and indigenous studies address these questions with a more emic approach. As a prominent example, the research in China by F. M. Cheung and colleagues (2001) started from a review of personality descriptions from indigenous Chinese sources (literature, proverbs, and everyday discourse terms) and identified a dimension central to personality in the Chinese context, Interpersonal Relatedness, which could not be subsumed within the Five-Factor structure and had incremental value in behavior prediction (Zhang & Bond, 1998).

Lexical Approach and Studies on Free Descriptions of Personality

The lexical hypothesis provides a framework that is relatively free from presumptions about universality or culture-specificity of personality constructs. The lexical hypothesis states that characteristics important for the understanding of human behavior become encoded in language as single terms (Goldberg, 1981). If a representative sample of frequently used personality-descriptive terms is extracted from a language's lexicon, these can be subsequently used to derive underlying personality dimensions. Informants are asked to rate themselves and/or familiar others on each of these terms (typically comprising a list of a few hundred) and dimensions are identified by factor analysis.

The lexical approach formed the basis for the establishment of the Big Five model, but systematic research started rather than stopped there. Saucier and Goldberg (2001) noted that the Big Five structure is generally replicable in the Germanic and some other European languages. Recently, the six-factor HEXACO model was proposed (Ashton & Lee, 2001, 2007) to account for findings of lexical studies in several Indo-European languages as well as Hungarian, Korean, Turkish, and Filipino. It features rotational variants of the original Big Five factors plus a new Honesty factor capturing variance from Agreeableness and Conscientiousness as well as previously unaccounted variance in the domain of fairness. However, both Saucier and Goldberg's (2001) extensive overview and the analysis of 14 trait taxonomies from 12 different languages by De Raad and colleagues (2010) indicated that only three factors—Extraversion, Agreeableness, and Conscientiousness—emerge

consistently across different languages. In summary, partly invariant, partly different dimensional solutions have been identified in lexical studies, attesting to the ability of the lexical approach to represent implicit personality traits without starting from any of the common theoretical trait models.

The lexical approach typically samples personality terms from dictionaries. A theoretically related but empirically different approach is to study free descriptions of personality derived from interviews. This approach has been applied in relatively few monocultural (e.g., D'Andrade, 1985; John, 1990) and cross-cultural (Harkness et al., 2006; Kohnstamm, Halverson, Mervielde, & Havill, 1998) studies. Several studies have identified structures similar to the Big Five; Kohnstamm and colleagues (1998) identified a number of additional facets which could be interpreted as specific to the area of child personality. Many of these studies have only analyzed trait adjectives as descriptive terms (the study by Kohnstamm et al., 1998, is a notable exception). In fact a major advantage of freely generated personality descriptions is that they provide information about the context in which the descriptors are used. To make use of this information, whole sentences and phrases should be considered. The perusal of context information makes the free-descriptions approach especially suited for the exploration of emic personality conceptions in different cultures (Mervielde, 1998); this advantage is particularly important in cultures where situational definitions of the self (definitions where the context is included, e.g., definitions of the self based on relational properties) are more salient.

Personality Study in South Africa

The dominant approach to personality assessment in South Africa has been to import Western-developed personality instruments and apply them directly to the local population. Several studies have explored the construct equivalence of these instruments in different groups, addressing the extent to which they measure psychometrically equivalent constructs in each group (Van de Vijver & Leung, 2001). The outcomes indicated weak equivalence across ethnic groups (Abrahams & Mauer, 1999; but see also Abrahams, 2002; Prinsloo & Ebersöhn, 2002). A recurring finding was that the imported assessment batteries, all of them in English, did not function well for people of African descent whose native tongue was one of South Africa's indigenous Bantu languages. Some studies have explicitly sought to replicate the Five-Factor structure in comparisons of individuals of African and European descent (in South African discourse called "Black" and "White," respectively). Heuchert, Parker, Stumpf, and Myburgh (2000) administered the NEO-PI-R to college students from both groups and found evidence for construct equivalence. I. Taylor (2000, cited in Meiring, Van de Vijver, Rothmann, & Barrick, 2005) administered the NEO-PI-R to African- and European-descent employees of a large company and failed to find the Openness factor in the African sample.

Reducing the cultural diversity of South Africa to a dichotomous distinction between individuals of African and European descent, however, is an oversimplification of the country's multicultural context. As of the end of Apartheid in 1994, there are 11 distinct official languages in South Africa (besides a number of others that are recognized but not official). Each of these is the first language of a relatively distinct cultural group. The first study to do justice to South Africa's cultural diversity on an empirical level was the one by Meiring, Van de Vijver, Rothmann, and Barrick (2005). These researchers explored the functioning of the 15FQ+, an adapted version of a questionnaire designed to measure Cattell's 16 personality factors (Tyler, 2002), in samples from all 11 language groups. Several factors were not well replicated. In addition, scales had poor reliability in all indigenous African groups. A subsequent study showed that these problems could not be remedied by adaptation of item content (Meiring, Van de Vijver, & Rothmann, 2006).

A more optimistic picture is suggested by the findings with the Basic Traits Inventory (BTI; Ramsay, Taylor, De Bruin, & Meiring, 2008; Taylor & De Bruin, 2005), developed as a culturally valid measure of the Five-Factor Model in South Africa. Items of the BTI were devised taking local context into account. The inventory had similar factor structure and reliability values across African- and European-descent samples (Taylor & De Bruin, 2005) as well as across Bantu language groups (Ramsay et al., 2008). It is important to note, however, that none of the previous studies has paid attention to indigenous personality dimensions in South Africa.

Present Study Framework

The present study forms part of a large project ultimately aiming at the development of a new personality inventory for South Africa (South African Personality Inventory, SAPI), locally derived from indigenous conceptions of personality in all 11 language groups. The present study addresses the personality structure that emerges from qualitative data in three languages: Swati, Xhosa, and Zulu. These belong to the Nguni language group within the larger group of Bantu languages. The other eight official languages of South Africa are: Afrikaans, English (both Germanic), Sotho, Northern Sotho, Tswana (in the Sotho-Tswana group), Ndebele, Tsonga, and Venda. All except Afrikaans and English are Bantu languages. Ndebele is often classified as a Nguni language (Guthrie, 1948; Wolff, 2000), but its position in this group is not undisputed (Van Warmelo, 1974) and some sources place it in the Sotho-Tswana group (Lewis, 2009). These differences in classification may in part be due to the split between northern and southern variants of the Transvaal Ndebele spoken in South Africa, of which especially the former has been heavily influenced by close contact with Northern Sotho people. Given these ambiguities in the classification of the variants of Ndebele, we decided not to include the language in our study.

Historians of Southern Africa warn against equating language with ethnic groups in historical context (Nurse, 1997; Van Warmelo, 1974). As far as contemporary analysis is concerned, however, cultural groups are clearly identifiable by language. The sociolinguistic analysis of Slabbert and Finlayson (1998), for instance, illustrated the association of language with ethnic social identity in different groups. Presently, Zulu is spoken as home language by nearly 11 million people in South Africa, thus being the most common first language. It is mostly spoken in the provinces of KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga, and Gauteng. Xhosa is spoken as home language by close to eight million people; it is dominant in the Eastern Cape and parts of the Western Cape. Swati is the home language of one million people living mainly in Mpumalanga (for all three languages: Statistics South Africa, 2001). It is also the main language of Swaziland where it is spoken by close to one million people (Lewis, 2009). Swati, Xhosa, and Zulu are to some extent mutually intelligible.

The present study explores the personality concepts of Swati, Xhosa, and Zulu speakers as they are manifested in free personality descriptions in semi-structured interviews. It was chosen to study free descriptions instead of dictionaries, firstly, because lexicography and written production in general have only a very short history in these three languages. The first written texts date from the 19th century (Doke, 1959) and proper lexicography of the Nguni languages can be assumed to be far from solid. Secondly, because the main researchers were not speakers of the studied languages, the issue of context is crucial. Free person descriptions (provided in the native languages and translated into English) provide insight into specific aspects of personality-relevant meaning of words that remain out of the focus of any existing dictionaries.

The present study is unique in exploring simultaneously three cultural groups of African descent not studied at such level of detail so far. This study is similar to the classical anthropological approaches to culture and personality in that it focuses on identifying emic cultural perspectives and employs qualitative methods. It is also dissimilar in that it involves an individual-level empirical comparative investigation with specific reference to the trait perspective and the lexical approach. The aim of the present study is to identify the main implicit personality concepts in Swati, Xhosa, and Zulu. Those will be the building blocks for the construction of an indigenously derived, culture-appropriate model of personality and, subsequently, an accompanying personality inventory for these cultural groups.

Method

Informants

For the Swati language group, 116 informants from Swaziland (69 females, 38 males, 9 missing data), aged 18 to 74 (Md_{age} = 27 years; 15 missing data) were interviewed. Seventy-nine lived in rural areas and 36 in urban areas (data for one person were missing). In Xhosa, 118 informants took part: 67 females and 51 males; age ranged from 16 to 75 (Md_{age} = 33 years); 116 persons lived in urban areas in the Eastern Cape, and data for two persons were missing. In the Zulu group, 141 participants (69 females, 72 males) were interviewed. Age ranged from 18 to 72 (Md_{age} = 33 years). Participants were rural (n = 107) and urban (n = 34) residents of KwaZulu-Natal (n = 136) and Gauteng (n = 5).

Instrument

Identical, semi-structured interviews were conducted in Swati, Xhosa, and Zulu. Participants were asked to describe ten target persons: a parent, oldest child or sibling, a grandparent, a neighbor, a person they do not like, best friend of the opposite sex, a colleague or a friend from another ethnic group, favorite teacher or a person from the village whom they liked very much, least liked teacher or a person from the village whom they strongly disliked, and best same-sex friend; six informants in Xhosa and 78 in Zulu also provided self-descriptions. The choice of target persons was based on the consideration that the informants should have experience with and be able to relate to these persons, avoiding the danger that they would speak in abstract terms about persons they do not know. They were asked to provide a number of characteristics for each target person. Four prompting questions were used: "Please describe the following people to me by telling me what kind of person he or she is or was," "Can you describe typical aspects of this person?", "Can you describe behaviors or habits that are characteristic of this person?", and "How would you describe this person to someone who does not know him/her?"

Procedure

Interviews were conducted by persons belonging to the respective language groups (one interviewer for Swati, two for Xhosa, and five for Zulu) who were specially trained for this research. Data were collected in the informants' own environment (respectively at home, school or work). Participation was voluntary; interviewers were paid for their work.

The interviews were tape-recorded. All interviews were transcribed and translated from the transcriptions into English by the interviewers. English was chosen as the common language of the project because it has the largest lexicon of personality-descriptive terms, and because no member of the research team speaks all

Bantu languages. The interviewers were instructed to render the intended meaning of the personality descriptions in the translation, while staying close to the structure of the original utterances. The quality of the translations was checked by independent multilingual language experts who were also cultural experts on the respective language groups. Workshops and frequent interaction with the interviewers as well as the language and cultural experts were used to ensure linguistic and cultural accuracy of the translations. Responses were entered in Excel data files: the original and the corresponding English translation per response. In entering the data, each separate characteristic referring to a given target person, or group of characteristics presented together as a single unit (e.g., in a phrase or sentence) was treated as a single response. Organized in this way, there were 4,892 responses in Swati, 5,153 in Xhosa, and 6,460 in Zulu.

The data were cleaned, leaving out idiosyncratic responses such as names or references to objective life circumstances (e.g., "He works in Johannesburg," "He is married"), physical characteristics irrelevant for personality (e.g., "Tall," "Has a dark complexion"), and broad evaluative terms with no further specific meaning for personality (e.g., "Good," "Bad"). We retained more specific evaluative terms like "Kind" and "Evil-hearted". This selection of responses to include in the analysis is in line with the principles applied in most lexical studies (Ashton & Lee, 2005). The analysis was based on the English translation, but substantial use was made of the responses in the original languages, as illustrated later.

The outcomes of all analysis stages (outlined in the next section) were continually discussed within the research group. To enhance interrater consistency, several researchers worked in tandem on the categorization of responses. Discrepancies were discussed and categories lined up so as to ensure consistent assignment of content and labeling. The initial outcomes were presented to language and cultural experts on the three Nguni language communities at a specially organized workshop. The experts provided feedback on the accuracy and meaningfulness of the categorization of original responses. This feedback was taken into account in subsequent analyses.

Analysis Outline

The analysis spanned three stages: labeling, categorization, and clustering (see Peabody, 1987, for a description of a related procedure). In the initial stage, qualitative personality labels were assigned to all responses, and responses with the same label were grouped together. For instance, the Zulu responses "Is loving," "He loves people," "My grandmother loves us, her grandchildren," and "We are fond of each other" were assigned the label *loving*. Synonyms and antonyms were grouped together. We used inferential terms (like *aggressive*) to represent responses that featured concrete verbs (like *beating* or *fighting*). Making this inferential step allowed us to establish

commonality of meaning across the three languages and to reduce non-informative variation in very specific references (usually behavioral descriptions; cf. Harkness et al., 2006, on decisions about reducing non-informative cultural variability in rare descriptive terms).

Phrases that referred at the same time to more than one characteristic were assigned one label per characteristic. For example, "He is a short-tempered person yet who likes people" was labeled both as *short-tempered* and *loving* (after an indication by language experts that the distinction between *liking* and *loving people* is not lexically marked in these languages). Similarly, responses that could be interpreted in more than one way were assigned multiple labels after their ambiguous meaning had been confirmed by a Nguni language expert. For instance, "When jokes were cracked, he would keep quiet" could point to either lack of sense of humor or general quietness and was thus included in both the *humorous* and *quiet* groups of responses.

The second stage of analysis (categorization) lined up the labeled groups of responses within and between languages and condensed them further. The categories were structured in such a way as to ensure homogeneity within each language and consistency across the three languages. The number of responses in each category was recorded per language. Groups with a low number of responses (generally below four) were included in larger categories when the content allowed it or were disregarded.

Extensive reference was made to the pattern of co-occurrence of responses in the original languages, which in several cases suggested interpretations quite different from the one based solely on the English translation. For example, in Swati, the phrase that had been translated as *secretive* (*unesifuba*) appeared in contexts where the intended meaning was *able to keep other people's secrets*: "He is secretive, you can tell him your secret," "One who is not secretive, tells about people's issues without being sent to do so." Consequently, these responses were categorized as *discreet*. This categorization stage of the analysis resulted in a total of 173 homogeneous categories of personality-descriptive terms, which we refer to as facets (see Table 2.1). There were 139 facets common to at least two of the three Nguni languages, and 34 appeared in one language only.

Finally, in the clustering stage we proceeded with combining these low-level facets into middle-level clusters representing personality constructs. This analysis is in line with the suggestion of Saucier and Goldberg (2001) to pay specific attention to middle-level constructs, which, as the authors note, "carry most of the load in everyday personality description" (p. 872). Clusters were formed with a view to combining intracluster homogeneity with intercluster heterogeneity. Semantically related facets were put in the same cluster. Language and cultural experts were consulted and asked for feedback at several stages and again at the end of the process.

Table 2.1 *Examples of facets identified in Swati, Xhosa, and Zulu*

	Original Responses		
Facet	Swati	Xhosa	Zulu
Advising	Gives advice when you are in trouble	Always willing to give advice	She likes giving some advice
55/58/151	Likes to give advice about life	Gave me good advice	She has a good advice
Aggressive	Likes to fight	Aggressive	A person who likes fighting
92/41/151	One who beats up people	Likes to fight	He beats people all the time
Caring	Cares about people	Caring	Cares about everyone
169/273/66	She is caring	Like a parent	Caring person
Cheerful	Likes laughing	Always laughing	She likes to laugh
27/86/82	Is always in high spirits	Funny and fun to be with	She was always happy
Evil-Hearted	Is evil-hearted and wishes others bad luck		An evil-hearted person
128/-/31	Practices witchcraft hence is evil hearted		He is a witch, he does bad things in other people's households
Friendly	Is friendly and approachable	Always friendly	She was friendly, always smiling
79/67/14	Is friendly to everyone	Friendly to everyone	She welcomes you with friendliness
Guiding	Gave guidance on how to behave	Always guiding us	She showed the way to children
36/17/42	One who gives guidance about life	Guides children when wrong	She shows you the way when you have done wrong
Humble	He is humble and does not regard himself as superior	A humble person	Very approachable and humble
28/27/32	He is humble and always welcoming	Is down to earth	She is down to earth and approachable
Influential		Influenced into liking Biology	He made me hate accounting
-/7/12		Can make people love his subject	The way she was teaching us, he made me love Afrikaans
Inquisitive	Is inquisitive of affairs that do not concern her	Interested in other people's things that do not concern them	Very inquisitive, always asking questions
33/32/22	One who likes to pry into others' affairs	Puts her nose into other people's businesses	Likes other people's business

Note. The numbers under each facet indicate frequency of responses in Swati, Xhosa, and Zulu, respectively.

The previous two analysis stages condensed responses by putting together synonyms and antonyms and closely related references. In contrast, the clustering stage put together facets each of which had its own, distinct content and which were not straight synonyms. The analysis was based on the semantic content of the original responses in their own contexts, whereby the facet labels only had reference functions.

The process of semantic clustering was guided by two principles: combining facets with a least common denominator of responses (with as few theoretical presumptions as possible) and accounting for the patterns of co-occurrence of original responses. As an example of the first, more general principle, the Approachability cluster was formed by putting together facets (Approachable, Arrogant, Friendly, Stubborn, etc.) which all had to do with the quality of a person to be approachable and open to others and others' opinions versus to put oneself above others. To give an example of the second principle within the same cluster, the Friendly responses could be interpreted in different ways given the breadth of the concept. The regular occurrence of responses like: "Is friendly and approachable. You can ask him any question," "Is friendly and speaks to everyone" (Swati), and "Friendly to everyone" (Xhosa) gave strong indications that this facet could best be included in the Approachability cluster. As another example of the second principle, combining responses related to positive emotions and to activity in the Positive Emotions/Enthusiasm cluster was supported by the occurrence of responses like the Zulu "I am hyperactive, I always laugh, and I don't frown." On the other hand, placing the responses of Positive Emotions/Enthusiasm together with those in the Sociability cluster into a broader Extraversion cluster would imply a link between positive emotions and extraversion, which is open for debate. In lack of concrete evidence for this link in the present data, Positive Emotions/Enthusiasm and Sociability were thus held apart, although they can be expected to be related in an overarching Extraversion dimension.

The clustering analysis identified 26 clusters consisting of between two and ten facets each (except for the larger Miscellaneous cluster). Each cluster was based on facets found in at least two languages; the clusters cover largely identical content for all three languages. The single-language facets (added at the end of the process) all fell within the already formed clusters and did not alter but complemented their content. The frequency of responses in each facet and the number of distinct facets constituting a cluster were taken as indication of the salience of the respective personality-descriptive terms (cf. Mervielde, 1998; Peabody, 1987; Saucier & Goldberg, 2001).

Results

Responses

The bulk of responses in all three languages referred to behaviors and characteristics in fairly specific contexts and a relatively small proportion of the responses involved abstract personality terms such as traits. Informants tended to qualify the person descriptions they gave in three ways (examples can be found in Box 2.1). Firstly, they provided particular examples of behaviors instead of identifying an underlying trait. Instead of calling a person *respectful*, they pointed out that the person *doesn't greet* (the occurrence of responses "respectful, greets" allowed the interpretation of greeting behavior as indication of respectfulness). Instead of referring to the general trait of *caring*, they listed many specific and distinct instances of caring behavior.

Secondly, informants qualified traits by situation, employing constructions such as: "[the target person] is [trait] especially when/with [situation]" and "[the target person] is [trait] but [in certain situations] is [opposite of the trait]." Statements like: "Outspoken especially when someone is wrong" (from a Xhosa speaker) and "Is a vicious person especially when you do not do as you had promised" (from a Swati speaker) seemed to imply that in the perception of informants the person displays a particular trait only in a particular situation. Responses like: "Is reserved on certain occasions" (from a Swati speaker) explicitly denied the cross-situational consistency of the indicated trait.

Thirdly, traits were expressed in terms of, or qualified by, social relations and roles. Social roles (e.g., a parent, a father) were often presented as quasi-personal characteristics. Specific relational contexts seemed to define the meaning of traits, for instance in "She is humble to her husband" (Xhosa) and "She had a sense of humor toward her grandchildren" (Zulu). Finally, whereas participants were asked to describe single target persons, there were many responses including both the speaker and the target person. Person descriptions were thus often phrased in the first person plural as in "We love football" and "We help each other."

To quantify these observations, we used data from an independent ongoing study on the characteristics of personality descriptions in South Africa in the framework of the broader project that the present study is embedded in, the South African Personality Inventory (SAPI), in which all 11 official language groups are included. We compared the personality descriptions of our Nguni samples with those of a combined sample of native speakers of the two Germanic languages in South Africa, Afrikaans (n = 70) and English (n = 119), in which the same interviews were held. Nguni speakers used fewer traits (proportion in Nguni-speaking group = .39, proportion in Germanic-languages-speaking group = .62; Pearson $\chi^2[1, n = 28{,}414] = 1460.30$, $\varphi = .23$), more behaviors, preferences and perceptions (Nguni = .53, Germanic = .28; Pearson $\chi^2(1, n = 28{,}414) = 1850.43$, $\varphi = .26$) and more qualified

Box 2.1 Representative personality descriptions referring to particular behaviors, or qualified by situational or relational constraints

Particular Behaviors

- Cares about the dead (S, Caring; also *for his home, father when needy, livestock*, etc.)
- He is mean and would not even give you food when you just had a conflict (S, Generous, Mean/Vicious)
- People who owe me, don't want to pay back my money (Z, Reliable)
- Doesn't greet (X, Respectful)
- She would pay last respect to the neighbours' funerals and she participated in their ceremonies (Z, Respectful)
- Tells you when he is not going to do something (X, Straightforward)
- You have to present her work or get punishment (X, Strict)
- If you bring a complaint he doesn't respond but chases you away (Z, Stubborn)
- A neighbour who can watch over your home when you are not around (S, Trustworthy)

Situational Qualifiers

- One who is generous especially when you ask (S, Generous; also *when you are hungry; when you come to her place; with food; with money*, etc.)
- Dedicated and hardworking when it comes to home chores (S, Hardworking)
- Is reserved but easily angered when provoked (S, Reserved, Even-Tempered)
- Is reserved on certain occasions (S, Reserved)
- He used to be serious when teaching (Z, Serious)
- I like laughing to jokes but I am serious about life (Z, Serious)
- Outspoken especially when someone is wrong (X, Straightforward)
- She is usually quiet, but if you engage her in a conversation she becomes talkative (Z, Talkative)
- Becomes temperamental when you misbehave in class (S, Temperamental)
- Gets vicious if you provoke him (S, Vicious)
- Is a vicious person especially when you do not do as you had promised (S, Vicious)

Relational Qualifiers

- Is generous to people who are poor (S, Generous; also *to the neighbours, at home*, etc.)
- We help each other (multiple instances in all three languages; also with *advise, look after, respect, trust, understand*, etc.)
- Like a parent (X, Caring)
- She is honest to me and so am I to her (Z, Honest)
- Is humble to her husband (X, Humble)
- She had a sense of humour towards her grandchildren (Z, Humorous)
- He hates disputes with people, especially neighbours (Z, Peaceful)
- We love football (X, Recreational)
- My father doesn't behave like a father (Z, Responsible)
- She is a free person, but towards those she doesn't know she is shy (Z, Shy)
- Although she is troublesome, we enjoy that because she is our grandmother (Z, Troublesome)
- One who is trustworthy to neighbours and to the community (S, Trustworthy)

Note. The text within the parentheses indicates the language in which the response occurred (by initial letter), the facet in which it was included, and related examples.

descriptions in general (Nguni = .33, Germanic = .19; Pearson $\chi^2(1, n = 28{,}414) = 681.42$, $\varphi = .16$) than speakers of the two Germanic languages. All differences were significant ($p < .001$); effect sizes ranged from small to medium. It can be concluded that the qualified nature of the responses was an important characteristic in the Nguni group that was found to a lesser extent in the groups speaking Germanic languages.

Clusters

The clusters, with the facets they include and the frequency of responses in each of these facets per language, are presented in alphabetical order in Table 2.2. To present a coherent picture of the 26 clusters as personality concepts in a unified model, we examined their relations against the backdrop of the Big Five personality dimensions (with the possible inclusion of Honesty). We are not using the Big Five as a template for our data but as a frame of reference because those five dimensions are commonly seen as the lingua franca of personality (De Raad, Perugini, Hrebícková, & Szarota, 1998). The relations among the 26 clusters based on the semantic clustering analysis are presented in Figure 2.1. Each cluster is represented in the figure as a solid-line box; more strongly related clusters are depicted closer to each other. The dash-line boxes enclose clusters whose semantic proximity is the strongest in terms of the original responses. The bigger, dotted-line figures represent the space of possible personality dimensions.

The whole upper third of Figure 2.1 is occupied by clusters that could be interpreted as variations on an Agreeableness theme. The three upper-left corner clusters identified a rich spectrum of altruism, empathy, humanity, social commitment, and beneficence. Care-giving and shepherding were the common themes of these three clusters. The Guidance cluster included responses referring to the quality of being a good guide, encouraging and promoting others' development. A person with these characteristics teaches well—not only in school matters, but as a teacher in life, and will offer advice in times of need (e.g., "One who gives guidance about life," "Gives advice when you are in trouble" [Swati]). The Altruistic Helping responses referred to being there for other people, providing help and protection, and being generous toward people in need (e.g., "She always gives you what you need," "Always helpful in many things when I have problems" [Zulu]). As was the case with all clusters—either on the level of responses or facets—Altruistic Helping was co-defined by concepts on the negative pole, here envy and selfishness. Empathetic Humanity referred to compassion and consideration of other people's needs (e.g., "Feels for others" [Xhosa] and the negative formulation, "He doesn't consider what may upset another person" [Zulu]). The concept could have an interpersonal or broader societal expression. The responses of the Loving facet, for instance, referred both to interpersonal love and to loving all people. There was also a specific concept of being attentive to community needs

Table 2.2 *Clusters of personality-descriptive terms and constituting facets (in alphabetical order)*

Achievement Orientation	Altruistic Helping	Anxiety/Bravery	Approachability	Authoritarianism	Communication Frankness	Conflict-Seeking
• Achievement-Oriented 53/56/95 • Assertive -/6/9 • Determined 8/20/- • Enterprising -/28/16 • Hard-Working 367/99/89 • Perseverant -/13/14 • Competitive X4	• Generous 301/192/51 • Helpful 178/242/115 • Jealous 97/28/38 • Problem-Solving 10/9/25 • Protective -/10/5 • Selfish 19/35/24 • Supportive 12/153/11	• Courageous 36/8/2 • Fearful 13/5/7 • Anxious X7	• Approachable 25/68/12 • Arrogant 45/26/27 • Friendly 79/67/14 • Humble 28/27/32 • Proud 16/10/14 • Stubborn 30/33/12 • Undermining 53/9/2 • Flexible X14 • Patronizing X4 • Pretentious X5	• Authoritarian 4/43/13 • Critical -/24/15 • Demanding -/5/12 • Disciplinarian 73/75/79 • Strict 6/57/20	• Articulative -/25/19 • Emotional Sharing 8/26/37 • Open to Others and Self -/37/17 • Outspoken 3/15/5 • Secretive -/16/6 • Straightforward 7/33/-	• Argumentative 9/9/5 • Intimidating 21/6/6 • Irritating -/6/12 • Peaceful 14/60/30 • Provocative 32/3/- • Troublesome 29/22/70 • Instigator S6

Conscientiousness	Dependability/ Deceit	Egalitarianism	Emotional Stability	Empathetic Humanity	Guidance	Harmony Maintenance
• Competent 5/30/53 • Concrete Work 34/34/50 • Conscientious -/26/4 • Dedicated 82/26/14 • Future-Oriented 9/3/7 • Organized -/11/9 • Punctual 3/12/13 • Tidy 457/37/27 • Careless S12 • Talented Z6	• Discreet 33/29/- • Honest 6/28/24 • Loyal -/5/8 • Pretending -/11/9 • Trustworthy 91/56/44 • Truthful 100/32/71 • Promiscuous S113	• Discriminative 48/69/32 • Fair 6/12/-	• Emotional 13/8/6 • Even-Tempered 15/19/31 • Patient 16/13/38 • Sensitive 2/19/10 • Short-Tempered 66/23/89 • Temperamental 72/-/8 • Predictable S3 • Emotional Stability Z12	• Attentive 14/44/24 • Caring 169/273/66 • Community-Involved 12/11/28 • Compassionate 102/48/32 • Considerate 25/18/19 • Loving 90/209/256 • Respectful 373/88/81 • Ubuntu -/20/6 • Welcoming 32/7/- • Accommodating X15	• Advising 55/58/151 • Didactic/Good Teacher 32/83/45 • Encouraging 25/82/40 • Guiding 36/17/42 • Influential -/7/12 • Promoting -/15/6 • Role Model 7/17/12 • Empowering X6 • Uplifting Z7	• Constructive -/20/5 • Cooperative -/10/3 • Forgiving 21/11/17 • Relationship Harmony 28/11/93 • Well-Mannered 57/73/50 • Peacemaker X7 • Soothing to Repair Relationships X6 • Tolerant X10

Table 2.2 *(Cont.)*

Intellect	Likeability	Malevolence	Materialism	Miscellaneous	Miscellaneous (cont.)	Morality
• Intelligent 33/26/31 • Knowledgeable 9/11/3 • Observant 8/7/24 • Understanding 3/35/11 • Socially Intelligent Z3	• Entertaining 5/8/- • Kind 219/237/96 • Likeable -/18/16 • Story-Teller 6/8/13 • Indulgent X7	• Abusive 10/33/46 • Aggressive 92/41/151 • Cruel -/49/30 • Denigrating 14/23/22 • Evil-Hearted 128/-/31 • Verbally Aggressive 80/29/91 • Vicious S53	• Appreciative 8/10/47 • Fashionable 43/26/54 • Materialistic 3/15/8	• Absent-Minded -/3/11 • Home-Oriented -/25/22 • Liking Men 13/2/21 • Liking Women 33/9/34 • Recreational 42/110/234 • Relaxed -/18/53	• Religiosity 226/117/124 • Respectable 6/-/9 • Substance Use 152/58/159 • Polygamist S3 • Staring S5 • Political X5 • Popular X3 • Resourceful X6 • Specific Interests Z7	• Delinquent 205/17/65 • Moral-Conscious 25/60/73

Openness	Positive Emotions/ Enthusiasm	Privacy Trespass	Self-Regulation	Self-Strength	Sociability
• Creative -/13/16 • Eager to Learn 53/27/36 • Open-Minded -/6/14 • Traditional 28/20/67 • Travelling 17/-/7 • Dreamer X10 • Progressive Z10	• Active 12/28/- • Cheerful 27/86/82 • Humorous 33/43/65 • Playful 22/5/32 • Serious -/5/4 • Optimistic X6 • Pleasure-Seeking X16	• Gossiping 127/31/58 • Inquisitive 33/32/22	• Mature 2/20/8 • Naughty 8/7/20 • Obedient 14/2/7 • Responsible 15/43/27 • Wandering 9/-/14 • Greedy S11 • Unruly S5 • Disciplined Z6	• Attention-Seeking 5/8/4 • Independent 6/30/19 • Needy 8/6/6 • Self-Confident -/8/12 • Self-Respectful 50/30/38 • Suspicious/Trusting -/8/9	• Communicative -/20/18 • Introvert 17/15/- • Reserved 34/32/- • Shy 76/14/8 • Sociable 51/166/150 • Talkative 93/113/126 • Noisy X5

Note. The numbers next to each facet indicate frequency of responses in Swati, Xhosa, and Zulu, respectively. Facets found only in one language are marked by initial letter of the language.

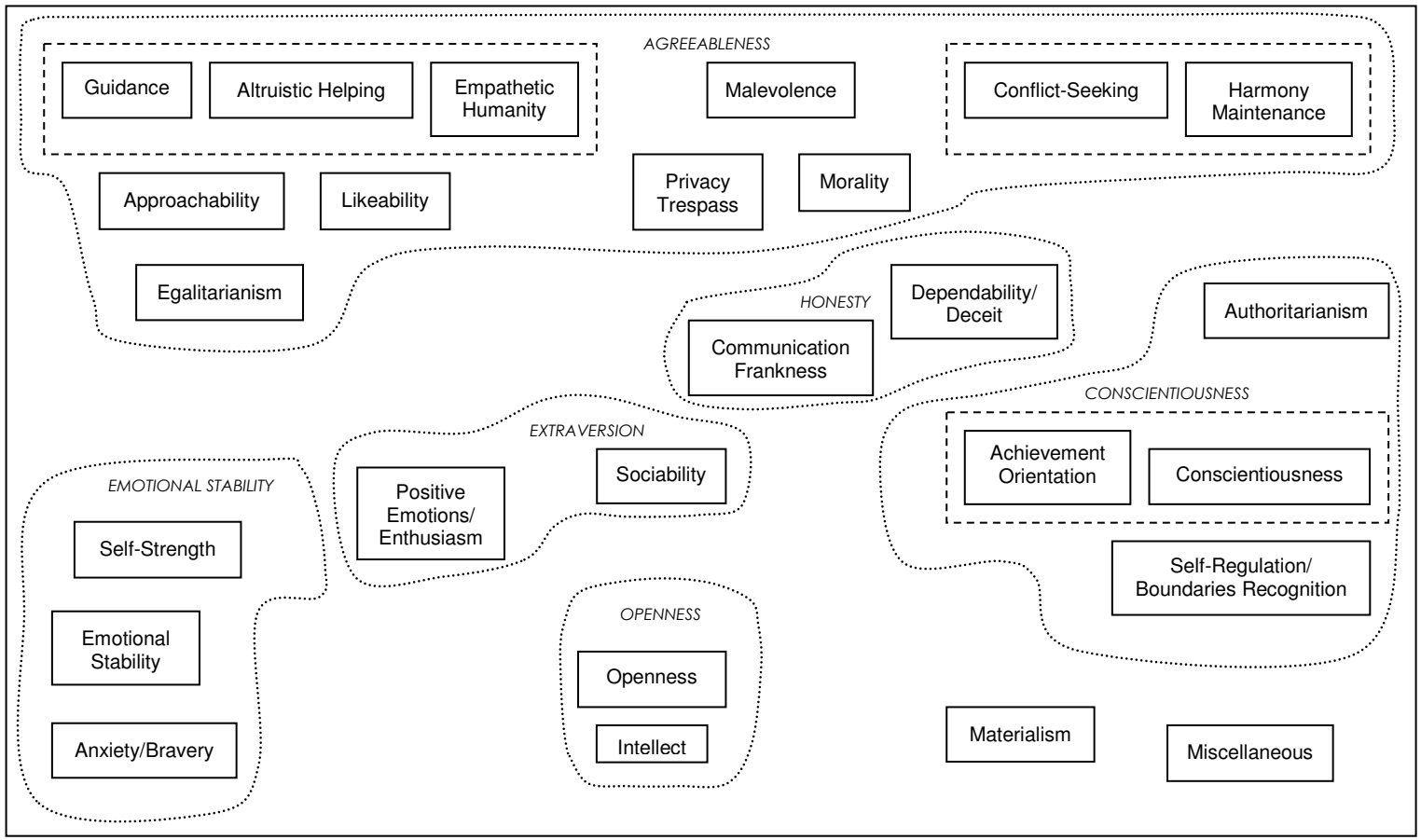

Figure 2.1 Schematic representation of the semantic interrelations of the 26 clusters of personality-descriptive terms

(e.g., "Sympathetic and cares for people in their community" [Swati], "Is so helpful when something goes wrong in the community" [Xhosa]).

The three immediately lower clusters in Figure 2.1 referred to different aspects of social relations. Approachability represented the quality of being open to others' opinions (vs. stubborn) and not placing oneself above others. The Likeability cluster represented the characteristics of liking to entertain and please others and being a pleasant person to be with. The Egalitarianism responses referred to treating people equally, in a broad social context as well as in family relations.

The two upper-right clusters in Figure 2.1 represented characteristics associated with interpersonal and social harmony. Relationship harmony was the common theme here. Responses included references to living peacefully with others (e.g., "Likes to live well with people" [Swati]), maintaining good relations (e.g., "Unable to keep good relations" [Xhosa]) and acting to restore and maintain relationship harmony (e.g. by apologizing and forgiving).

The three clusters in the middle of the upper part of Figure 2.1 also focused on questions of social functioning. Malevolence included responses about being intentionally hurtful, physically and verbally, enjoying aggression, and being ill-willed. The Morality responses referred to behaving against the norms and laws (e.g., by stealing or murdering), versus being principled and abstaining from condemnable acts. Privacy Trespass referred to the tendency of a person to transgress interpersonal boundaries (e.g., by gossiping).

The right-hand, middle-high clusters in Figure 2.1 defined a Conscientiousness dimension. The core was formed by Achievement Orientation and Conscientiousness, which involved conscientiousness in the traditional sense of diligence. Achievement Orientation referred to goal-oriented behaviors and qualities of determination and persistence. Conscientiousness included characteristics such as competence and dedication to one's work, task orientation, dutifulness, planning and caring for one's future, neatness, and orderliness. Self-Regulation/Boundaries Recognition included responses referring to the person's ability to recognize and function within the given restrictions of reality, for instance by acting according to one's age and social role, regulating one's wishes and urges, and, in the case of a child, obeying a parent. The references to obedience had exclusively positive connotations: Obedience was pictured as the desirable quality of fitting well within reality constraints, as successful socialization rather than lack of assertiveness (e.g., "She likes an obedient child whom she will encourage to continue with the behavior" [Swati]). There was also a group of responses indicating failure to adhere to external constraints and exhibiting maladaptive, non-fitting behaviors like teaching drunk, driving without a driving license, and spending too much time on the street without giving a notice. The Authoritarianism cluster referred to the tendency of controlling others forcibly, with a strong emphasis on strictness and

imposing order. An overly strict father would be a prototype of this cluster. Authoritarianism could be attracted to the negative pole of the Agreeableness dimension.

The lower-left corner clusters in Figure 2.1 could form an Emotional Stability dimension, with even-temperedness as its central defining theme. Most responses of the Emotional Stability cluster dealt with the question how easily a person can be brought to certain emotional states, notably anger, and with the proclivity to experience such emotional states. The Self-Strength responses concerned ego-functioning and the extent to which a person is independent, self-confident, and has a positive sense of one's self, or needs the attention and help of others to function (e.g., "Short-tempered, always crying for attention" [Zulu]). The Anxiety/Bravery cluster was formed by a relatively small number of responses referring to fear and bravery.

Around the center of the space of Figure 2.1 there are two clusters that could define an Extraversion dimension. Sociability referred to the proclivity of a person to seek and enjoy other people's company and communication. Positive Emotions/Enthusiasm combined responses referring to general activity, liveliness, and sense of humor (see the Analysis Outline section for an example of an utterance and the rationale for forming this cluster).

The Openness/Intellect domain was relatively narrowly represented as its two defining clusters referred to fairly specific aspects of intellect. The Open-Minded facet of the Openness cluster, for example, was based exclusively on responses about interest in other indigenous African languages and cultures. Similarly, the responses in the Creative facet referred specifically to creating traditional art. It is noteworthy that many responses of the Intellect cluster placed an emphasis on practical manifestations of intelligence. "Clever" was used mainly with positive connotations, for example, "She is not shy, she is clever and is able to get help when a need arises" (Swati). Two of the facets of this cluster, Observant and Understanding, made specific references to interpersonal aspects of intelligence (e.g., "She could easily see when you had a problem" [Zulu], "Was kind and used to understand the learners' problems" [Swati]). Even the responses forming the Knowledgeable facet in many cases referred not to the mere possession of knowledge, but to sharing it with others, for example, "Knowledgeable, but doesn't share knowledge" (Xhosa) and "He isn't selfish with knowledge" (Zulu).

An Honesty dimension would include the clusters of Dependability/Deceit (where an important aspect was the ability to keep other people's secrets; see examples in the Analysis Outline section about the "discreet" responses), Communication Frankness, and possibly some of the upper-row, Agreeableness-related concepts in Figure 2.1, notably Morality.

Finally, the position of the Materialism and Miscellaneous clusters was hard to define. Materialism included responses about a person's appreciation of material goods and money. Only few of these responses had a negative undertone. Many responses featured the phrase: "likes *nice* things," which (in the first person) was also often provided in self-descriptions. The nature of the "nice things" was specified in more concrete references like: "He likes nice things like sweets, yoghurt" (Zulu) and "Loves good things and dressing well" (Xhosa). The Miscellaneous cluster, in turn, accommodated facets that did not seem to represent basic personality dimensions. The responses in some facets (e.g. Liking Men/Women) were hard to interpret in personality terms. Others featured vague terms out of context, such as Free-Spirited or the Resourceful responses which could be referring to material or psychological resourcefulness. Finally, some facets referred to very narrow areas of personality functioning, like substance use, or very specific characteristics, like staring.

Discussion

The aim of the present study was to explore the basic concepts of personality in Swati, Xhosa, and Zulu as expressed in freely generated personality descriptions. The study identified 26 clusters of personality-descriptive terms common to the three languages. The overall pattern of responses pointed to an elaborate conception of the person in his or her context of social relations.

Person in Situation in Social Context

On the level of individual responses, personality characteristics were often expressed in terms of concrete behaviors, and were qualified by situational and relational constraints. Compared to the items in the International Personality Item Pool (http://ipip.ori.org/ipip/), which is used widely nowadays, our database is rich in qualified responses, as illustrated in Box 2.1. The preponderance of references to specific behaviors in the responses may be a consequence of different factors. Firstly, these references may have been triggered by the interview prompt asking informants to describe characteristic behaviors of the target person (even though the other prompts referred to more general descriptions) or this could be a general method effect. Mervielde (1998) noted that free personality descriptions are often phrased in concrete behavioral terms. Eliminating responses with concrete behaviors, however, would have severely impoverished our data and possibly "cut out" important cultural aspects. Besides, this method effect does not readily explain the multiple instances of situational and relational trait qualifications. Secondly, in comparison to English and Afrikaans, the Nguni languages seem to have fewer words for traits, although we are not aware of any formal comparison of the lexicon

size regarding traits. Finally, the implicit views of Nguni speakers on the power of traits to explain everyday behavior may be relevant. Church (2000, 2009) refers to the tendency among individuals from collectivistic cultures to deemphasize internal factors in the explanation of behavior as the lower "traitedness" of behavior in collectivistic cultures.

We acknowledge that an interpretation of human behavior in a dichotomous framework of individualism–collectivism may lead to oversimplifications (see, e.g., Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002; Spiro, 1993). Moreover, populations in South Africa, especially in urban settings, are currently in transition from more collectivistic to more individualistic values. Nevertheless, the rather limited traitedness of the personality descriptions made by Nguni speakers is a noteworthy finding which may be related to the features of collectivistic cultures posited in this framework. The idea of personality characteristics bound to situation and relational contexts is at odds with the Western conception of traits with its emphasis on cross-situational consistency. Our findings are in accordance with studies that have pointed to the importance of situational and relational aspects for the conception of self and personality (Ewing, 1990; Markus & Kitayama, 1998; Triandis, 2001; see also Church, 2000, 2009).

On the more global level of the clusters of personality-descriptive terms, a similar general observation can be made. In their overall pattern, the clusters present a detailed picture of the person functioning in his or her social environment rather than the person out of context. The 26 clusters can generally be related to the six-dimensional space defined by Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, Emotional Stability, Extraversion, Openness, and Honesty. We found that the clusters in the Agreeableness sector strongly overshadow the rest in density (number of facets and responses) and level of elaboration. In all three Nguni groups, the details of empathetic, altruistic, prosocial versus antisocial behavior, interpersonal and social harmony seem to merit a central place in the conception of personality.

Ashton and Lee (2001) suggested that two broad aspects of behavior are governed by corresponding groups of personality dimensions: prosocial versus antisocial tendencies (Agreeableness, Honesty, and Emotional Stability) and engagement with endeavor in different areas (Extraversion, Conscientiousness, and Openness). Also looking at higher-order constructs but with a different empirical approach, Digman (1997) identified two higher-order factors accounting for the variance of the Five-Factor Model: a "socialization" factor (encompassing Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, and Emotional Stability), and a "personal growth" factor (encompassing Extraversion and Openness). In our data, clusters relating to prosocial versus antisocial tendencies and to successful socialization are larger in number, more elaborated, and based on larger arrays of responses.

It is remarkable that even the dimension that can be expected to be the least "social"—Openness/Intellect (typically expressing idea-related endeavor, Ashton & Lee, 2001, and aspects of personal growth, Digman, 1997)—is expressed in social-relational terms among Nguni speakers. For the Nguni, one is not just intelligent but rather socially intelligent and clever in practical situations; one is not merely knowledgeable but shares knowledge; a person is not open-minded in a general sense but in the sense of being open to learn about "other cultures" or "our language." These outcomes are in accordance with the literature on indigenous concepts of intelligence in Africa in which social and relational aspects are more pronounced than in Western conceptualizations (e.g., Serpell, 1993).

A reassuring outcome of the present study is the finding that personality can be conceptualized in essentially the same terms in Swati, Xhosa, and Zulu. The clusters share common content across the three languages, and the single-language facets are predominantly small and could be attributed to translation and sample specifics. Several clusters in the spectrum of interpersonal and social relations seem to point to concepts that are not well represented in Western models. Guidance stands out the most; the ability of an individual to be a good role model, to enhance others' advancement through life by providing advice, encouragement, and inspiration is an important personality characteristic in all three Nguni groups. The concept does not seem to be tapped by personality measures currently in use.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

The free-descriptions approach employed in the present study allowed the identification of the most salient personality concepts in the three Nguni cultures and offers insight into their content. The main limitation of this approach as seen from a quantitative perspective is that the frequencies of responses in the separate facets can only be interpreted in relative terms. The emergence, for example, of a high-frequency Tidy facet in Swati does not imply high levels of tidiness of the Swazi as compared to the other groups. It only indicates facet salience, but generalizations about actual differences in tidiness between the cultural groups are not warranted.

The reliance on English translations is another limitation. The extent to which the obtained personality-descriptive terms reflect variance of implicit traits in Swati, Xhosa, and Zulu—and not in English—remains unknown. What can be ascertained, however, is that the clustering of these terms represents the core elements of the personality descriptions made in the three Nguni languages. The English lexicon is larger than those of the other languages spoken in South Africa; hence, the danger of leaving out substantial details in working with translations can be considered limited. Even though a larger lexicon does not necessarily mean that the semantics are comparable in the critical areas, by considering utterances in their context and

their patterns of co-occurrence we have minimized possible misinterpretations of the relations between personality concepts.

It is an important finding of the present research that in the Nguni group, personality is dominantly described in terms of the person's functioning in social and situational context. In fact, this limited "traitedness" might be a factor contributing to the poor reliability coefficients of personality measures found in the native groups of South Africa (e.g., Meiring et al., 2005). Future research in these cultures should gain from incorporating context elements in personality assessment. The benefits of contextualized assessment have been demonstrated by Schwartz and colleagues (2001). These authors developed a questionnaire format (the Portrait Value Questionnaire) presenting abstract values in concrete, contextualized terms and demonstrated that this format is particularly well suited for populations where the understanding of abstract terms may be problematic (their validation samples included low-educated participants in South Africa as well as adolescent girls in Uganda). The limitations stemming from abstract questionnaire item formulations, as well as the general limitations of US-developed and standardized questionnaires to uncover emic concepts in other cultures, are acknowledged by authors in the Five-Factor-Model line of research (McCrae et al., 2005a). Our study suggests that personality testing in South Africa may improve substantially if questionnaire items are framed in concrete and contextualized terms, and advances the development of personality testing in South Africa by identifying some of the most salient indigenous concepts.

Conclusion

The present research identified 26 clusters that constitute the main components, or "building blocks," of personality in Swati, Xhosa, and Zulu. The content of these clusters indicates a strong emphasis on harmonious functioning in social environment, virtues of empathy and benevolence, and generally successful socialization. The exploration of indigenous personality concepts demonstrated in this study provides an example of a path to be followed toward the advancement of cross-cultural personality research based on ecologically valid stimuli.

Chapter 3

Exploring the Personality Structure in the 11 Languages of South Africa*

Personality inventories are mostly developed from existing, usually Western personality models. Even if it is assumed that personality structure is universal, there may be cross-cultural variations in the expression of this structure, which have implications for assessment (Berry, Poortinga, Breugelmans, Chasiotis, & Sam, 2011). We present the outcomes of a mixed-method study that explores personality structure in South Africa, which in the end will be employed to develop a new personality inventory (the South African Personality Inventory, SAPI). We first provide a brief introduction to current etic and emic approaches to the study of personality structure, followed by a description of the comparative lexical approach (a version of which is adopted in the present study).

Approaches to the Study of Personality Structure

Different approaches have been employed in the exploration of personality structure and the comparison of personality structures across cultures. The etic approach, usually employing inventories, focuses on the cross-cultural universality of traits, whereas the emic (indigenous) approach investigates traits in a particular culture, thereby maximizing the suitability of the instrument in the target cultural context (Church, 2001). It is a strength of the etic approach that it helps to identify commonalities in personality across cultures, and a weakness that the focus on commonalities may lead to an underrepresentation of culturally unique aspects. The strengths and weaknesses of the emic approach are just the opposite. Therefore, the two approaches are complementary. The cross-cultural comparison of lexical studies has been suggested as a way of combining etic and emic approaches (F. M. Cheung, Van de Vijver, & Leong, 2011; Lee & Ashton, 2008; Saucier, 2009; Saucier & Goldberg, 2001).

A typical representative of the etic approach is the body of research that has found support for the Five-Factor Model (FFM), describing personality along the dimensions of Extraversion, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, Neuroticism, and

* This chapter is based on Nel et al. (in press).

Openness to Experience, across a large number of cultures (e.g., McCrae et al., 2005a). In this tradition, a model developed in the United States has been replicated using structured personality inventories in Western and non-Western regions, where many different languages from various language families are spoken (McCrae & Allik, 2002; McCrae et al., 2005a). Several studies have indicated problems with the cross-cultural replicability of the Openness dimension; yet, the exact role of culture is not clear because no cultural factor has been identified that could explain when a good (or bad) replication of Openness could be expected (Church, 2008).

On the other hand, studies in the emic approach set out to explore the indigenous personality structure in a given culture. F. M. Cheung and colleagues (F. M. Cheung et al., 2001; S. F. Cheung, Cheung, Howard, & Lim, 2006) studied personality conceptions in China, starting with assembling everyday-life person descriptions from Chinese literature, proverbs, and interviews. The qualitative findings of this exploration served as input for an indigenous Chinese questionnaire, the Chinese Personality Assessment Inventory (CPAI, and subsequently CPAI-2). The factor-analytic structure observed with this questionnaire had a fair correspondence with the FFM; however, Openness was found to be weakly represented, and a new concept, labeled Interpersonal Relatedness, was identified, which could not be subsumed under the FFM. This new factor involves relational aspects of personality, such as maintaining harmony, avoiding conflict, being flexible to situations, and saving face (F. M. Cheung et al., 2001), but also thrift and traditionalism (S. F. Cheung et al., 2006). Interestingly, subsequent research with the CPAI replicated the Interpersonal Relatedness dimension with other Asian (S. F. Cheung et al., 2006), Chinese- and even European-American samples (Lin & Church, 2004). This suggests that F. M. Cheung and colleagues' research, starting from an indigenous perspective, has identified a personality construct which is recognizable beyond the specific context of Chinese culture, although its salience in other cultures may be different. Using a similar approach, Katigbak, Church, and colleagues (e.g., Katigbak, Church, Guanzon-Lapeña, Carlota, & Del Pilar, 2002) conducted a series of studies of indigenous Filipino personality structure. The dimensions they identified were largely similar to the FFM and culture-specific elements were found mostly in items of Broad-Mindedness (Openness).

Lexical Models across Cultures

The psycholexical method is widely employed in personality research. It is based on the assumption that salient individual differences in psychological functioning are embedded or encoded in language (Allport & Odbert, 1936; Saucier & Goldberg, 2001). Individual differences that are seen as more prominent are more likely to have been converted to single words to help describe people. To study the implicit personality conceptions, personality-descriptive terms are sampled from dictionaries

and research participants are asked to rate themselves or a familiar other on each term contained in a list. These ratings are subsequently factor-analyzed. Most lexical studies report support for the Big Five structure of personality constructs, closely corresponding to the FFM (Saucier & Goldberg, 2001). An extensive overview by De Raad and colleagues (2010), however, suggested that Extraversion, Agreeableness, and Conscientiousness are the only factors that fully replicate across languages.

Lexical studies typically employ single person-descriptive terms extracted from lexica. An alternative approach is to conduct interviews and analyze the generated descriptions which usually involve whole phrases in context. Saucier and Goldberg (2001) indicated that the implicit structure of personality descriptions in phrases or sentences is closely related to that based on single words like nouns or adjectives. Analysis of free descriptions derived from interviews has been applied in studies of adult personality (e.g., John, 1990) and parents' perceptions of child personality (Harkness et al., 2006; Kohnstamm, Halverson, Mervielde, & Havill, 1998). The contextual information found in free descriptions in interviews makes them well suited for the exploration of indigenous personality conceptions in different cultures (Mervielde, 1998), which may be especially relevant if a language uses relatively few abstract trait terms.

To summarize, despite the substantial evidence for universality of the Big Five model of personality traits coming from studies with structured inventories (e.g., McCrae & Allik, 2002; McCrae et al., 2005a), lexical studies conducted in different languages have found less support for universality (e.g., De Raad et al., 2010). In addition, indigenous studies, notably by F. M. Cheung and colleagues (2001), have pointed out that the Big Five model may not be complete, especially with respect to social aspects of personality. It is evident that indigenous studies in non-Western countries have the potential to detect important personality concepts not well represented by the Big Five or other Western models. The theoretical debate about the universality of personality dimensions is thus ongoing, and the consensus on the universality of the Big Five model appears to be weaker than a few decades ago (Church, 2008; De Raad et al., 2010). While the most convincing evidence for culture-specific dimensions or additions to the Big Five from a cross-cultural perspective comes from indigenous studies in China (Church, 2008), it is important to note that little systematic research has been done on indigenous personality conceptions in Africa.

Personality Study in the South African Context

The general practice in personality research and assessment in South Africa has been to adopt or adapt tests developed abroad for use in South Africa (Foxcroft, Paterson, Le Roux, & Herbst, 2004). Most of these tests did not take into account the political, social, and economical history of South Africa, and this had a major impact on psychological assessment for all South Africans. Several studies have found that these

personality inventories showed weak structural equivalence across ethnic groups and often a low reliability in indigenous African groups (e.g., Abrahams & Mauer, 1999; Meiring, Van de Vijver, Rothmann, & Barrick, 2005). These psychometric problems could to some extent be attributable to language problems for populations whose native tongue is one of South Africa's indigenous languages; however, item adaptation has not proven a viable way to solve such problems (Meiring, Van de Vijver, & Rothmann, 2006).

Taylor and De Bruin (2005) set out to develop a culturally valid measure of the FFM in South Africa, taking local context into account. They found similar factor structures and reliabilities of the five factors of their Basic Traits Inventory across Black and White groups (Taylor & De Bruin, 2005) and across different indigenous African language groups (Ramsay, Taylor, De Bruin, & Meiring, 2008). This work suggests that personality inventories based on trait models such as the FFM can yield comparable scores across cultural groups in South Africa.

Indigenous concept of Ubuntu. There have been several studies of indigenous African conceptions of personality (for an overview, see Berry et al., 2011). Although never worked out in great detail, these models emphasize the relatedness of persons in groups. An important concept that captures this relatedness is Ubuntu, which is a traditional, everyday notion in South Africa, especially salient among Black South Africans. Relational aspects and the social foundation of a person are core in Ubuntu, as reflected in the Bantu wisdom "A person is only a person through others". Ubuntu is associated with social relatedness, peace and harmony in a collective- and community-based environment, with respect for others, tolerance, compassion and sensitivity toward the elderly, the handicapped and the less privileged; with being obedient toward adults, parents, seniors, and authority; having courtesy and loyalty, and being warm, welcoming, generous, honest, and trustworthy (Nolte-Schamm, 2006). These elements help in building and maintaining relationships and are related to the values of collectivism (e.g., Hofstede, 1980). The notion of Ubuntu is also often quoted as meaning or implying that a person perceives him- or herself through the perception of others. There are as yet no studies to substantiate (or refute) the claim that Ubuntu is an indigenous South African personality construct. Even without such validity data, the concept of Ubuntu is relevant for our study, because it demonstrates the importance of social and relational aspects of personality in South Africa.

The Present Study

The exploration of the South African personality structure described in the present study forms part of a bigger project, aimed at creating an indigenous South African Personality Inventory (SAPI) to overcome current problems facing personality measurement in South Africa. An important aim of the larger project is the development of a culturally informed and psychometrically sound instrument to deal

with the rich ethnic and language distribution of the South African population. There are 11 official languages in South Africa, which belong to two unrelated language families: two Germanic (Afrikaans and English, spoken as a first language by 21.5% of the country's population) and nine Bantu languages (Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho, Tswana, Ndebele, Swati, Xhosa, Zulu, Tsonga, and Venda, spoken by 77.9% of the population; Statistics South Africa, 2001). Each language is spoken as a first language by a relatively distinct cultural group. Germanic language speakers may belong to one of three different social-ethnic groups of the Apartheid classification still in use today ("White," 9.6%, "Coloured," 8.9%, or "Asian/Indian," 2.5% of the total population), whereas all Bantu language speakers are native African ("Black"); English is commonly spoken and understood by people in all groups.

The present study explores the implicit personality structure as reflected in the language of speakers of all 11 official languages in South Africa. Our research relates to the theoretical framework of the lexical approach. However, we also deviate from it by using interviews instead of dictionary surveys as means of data generation. There are three reasons for this. Firstly, dictionaries of a sufficient quality for our purposes are not available in all official South African languages. Secondly, some languages do not have many personality-descriptive terms, which would have led to a potential underrepresentation of relevant concepts. Thirdly, there are few psychologists available in various language groups who could conduct a lexical study. Therefore, we adopted the free-descriptions approach and conducted interviews in which participants were asked to describe in their native language themselves and particular people they knew well. Although the lexical approach and our approach have the same goals (i.e., to identify salient personality descriptors used in a language) and will probably yield similar results, both have their own strength. The main strength of the lexical approach is its exhaustiveness: a list of personality descriptors based on a dictionary search finds all relevant terms. The main strength of our approach is ecological validity: words and expressions found in free descriptions are actually used in that particular language.

We report two studies. In the first study we employ a conceptual analysis of the semantic clustering of personality-descriptive terms from interviews in all 11 languages. The individual responses obtained in the interviews are combined in a hierarchical clustering process by analyzing their semantic relations. The second study attempts to replicate parts of the clustering process using quantitative methods.

Study 1

Method

Participants. Interviews were conducted with participants (N = 1,216) from all 11 language groups. A combination of quota and convenience sampling was used. The distribution of participants was done in such a manner that variation was obtained in gender, urban/rural residence, education, and age. Because speakers of some language groups live mainly in rural areas, no urban participants were recruited from these groups; sample characteristics are presented in Table 3.1.

Instrument. Participants were asked to describe themselves and nine other persons they can be assumed to know well: their best friend of the same sex, their best friend of the opposite sex, a parent, their eldest child or sibling, a grandparent, a colleague or friend from another ethnic group, a person who is the total opposite of the participant, a teacher they liked (if schooled, otherwise a person from the village whom they liked), and a teacher they disliked (if schooled, otherwise a person from the village whom they disliked). In some of the interviews, instead of self-descriptions and descriptions of a person opposite to oneself, descriptions of a neighbor and of a disliked person were obtained. The following four prompting questions were used: "Please describe the following people to me by telling me what kind of person he or she is/was;" "Can you describe typical aspects of this person?"; "Can you describe the behavior or habits that are characteristic of this person?"; and "How would you describe this person to someone who does not know him/her?". All participants were asked these questions and there was no limit on the number of characteristic descriptions provided per person.

Procedure. Field workers who were native speakers of the target language were recruited and trained to collect data for each of the language groups. The interviews were conducted in the native language of the participants, tape recorded, transcribed, and translated into English by the fieldworkers. Transcriptions were entered in Excel worksheets. Language experts checked the accuracy of the translations and made corrections where necessary. There were between 2,300 (Southern Sotho) and 7,300 (English) responses per language group; the total number of responses was 53,139.

Analysis outline. In a preparatory stage of the analysis, physical descriptions (e.g., "He has a dark complexion"), purely evaluative terms (e.g., "He is not good"), and ambiguous terms (e.g., "She is unlike other girls") were excluded. This resulted in the retention of 49,818 responses for the analysis; this number includes doubly counted composite responses that were categorized in more than one category (e.g., the response "Cheerful and sociable" was counted once in each of the respective categories, *cheerful* and *sociable*).

Table 3.1 *Sample characteristics per language*

	Language Group										
	Germanic		Sotho-Tswana (Bantu)			Nguni (Bantu)				Other Bantu	
Characteristic	Afrikaans (*n* = 70)	English (*n* = 119)	N Sotho (*n* = 120)	S Sotho (*n* = 62)	Tswana (*n* = 122)	Ndebele (*n* = 107)	Swati (*n* = 116)	Xhosa (*n* = 118)	Zulu (*n* = 141)	Tsonga (*n* = 120)	Venda (*n* = 121)
Gender											
Male	25	44	60	20	58	46	38	51	72	33	68
Female	45	75	60	42	64	61	69	67	69	44	52
Ethnic group											
Black			120	62	122	107	116	118	141	120	121
Coloured	26										
Indian		58									
White	44	61									
Age group (years)											
16-25	30	43	39	31	43	17	42	30	46		33
26-35	17	37	21	8	20	42	26	36	34		48
36-45	8	13	30	20	54	28	22	36	49		31
46-76	10	16	30	3	5	19	11	16	11		6
Mean age	30.8	32.2	35.4	29.6	32	36.2	30.9	34.6	32.5		31.8
(*SD*)	(12.3)	(13.2)	(13.5)	(9.2)	(9.3)	(12.2)	(11.9)	(11.9)	(9.9)		(8.5)
Environment											
Urban	55	119	53	56	113	101	36	116	34		
Rural	15		67	6	9		79		107	120	120

Note. N Sotho = Northern Sotho; S Sotho = Southern Sotho. Ndebele has a disputed status and may also be classified as Sotho-Tswana.

The analysis spanned three stages: labeling, categorizing, and semantic clustering (for a more detailed description of the analysis employed on a subset of the data, see Valchev et al., 2011). The general aim was to reduce the number of statements and categories in an inductive analysis, based on the semantic similarity and patterns of co-occurrence of responses, with as few theoretical presumptions as possible. English language dictionaries and personality literature were consulted in all stages. In the labeling stage, we provided common labels for responses with related but not verbatim identical content (e.g., "He loves going out with friends" and "He was outgoing" were labeled as *outgoing*). With this initial grouping of responses we met two aims: (1) reducing the number of responses to a more manageable number for further analysis; (2) making labels of personality-descriptive terms consistent across the language groups. This stage resulted in over 900 personality-descriptive labels.

In the categorization stage, the responses were categorized in personality facets. We put together synonyms (e.g., *outgoing* and *socializing* in the Sociable facet) and antonyms (e.g., *quiet* and *talkative* in the Talkative facet). This further condensation resulted in a total number of 188 personality facets across languages that represent personality descriptions at a low-to-medium level of abstraction. Out of the 188 facets, 79 were extracted in all 11 languages, 71 in seven to ten languages, 28 in three to six languages, and ten in one or two languages.

In the semantic clustering stage, we first grouped the personality facets into more abstract subclusters. The 188 facets were grouped into 37 subclusters based on shared content and patterns of co-occurrence of the responses (e.g., the Helpful, Supportive, and Community Involvement facets were assigned to the Active Support subcluster). The analysis aimed to maximize the homogeneity of personality descriptions within each subcluster and their heterogeneity across clusters. Finally, the subclusters were further grouped by means of a conceptual analysis into nine broad clusters at a level of abstraction similar to that of the Big Five model. The clusters include two to six subclusters each, and the subclusters include two to 12 facets each. The clusters, subclusters, facets, and examples of constituting responses are presented (alphabetically) in Table 3.2.

Quality control. There are no generally agreed upon procedures for comparative qualitative studies on such a large scale. Therefore, we designed our own checks and procedures to assess the validity of our inferences. The process of labeling, categorization, and clustering was conducted mainly by the principal author, but closely monitored and extensively discussed with the other authors and members of the SAPI project. Personality-descriptive terms were discussed in frequent group meetings with the collaborators of this project in order to ensure adequacy and consistency of the analysis. Several workshops were conducted at different stages of the analysis, in which cultural and linguistic experts on the studied cultural groups provided feedback on the adequacy of the categorization and the ensuing personality

facets. The feedback from these workshops was taken into account in the further modification of the conceptual clustering. Individual discussions were held with cultural and personality experts on the final outcomes of the semantic clustering analysis, which allowed some final refinements to the model to be made.

Results

In the following paragraphs, the nine clusters are presented in alphabetical order, with a brief description of their content (see Table 3.2 for a full overview and examples of characteristic responses). The Conscientiousness cluster represented an orientation toward achieving things; having passion, determination, and perseverance in the goals one sets to oneself; being precise and thorough, tidy, punctual, careful and well-organized, and caring about order; and the ability to behave according to expectations. On the negative pole, this cluster included the characteristics of being forgetful and reckless.

Emotional Stability referred to the emotional balance of a person, the disposition to bravery and courage, the quality of being independent, confiding in one's own abilities and having a positive view of oneself, and the ability to control one's emotions and their expression, as well as to handle challenging life situations. On the negative pole, the cluster included the tendency to be dissatisfied and complain, and proneness to depressive moods and stress.

The Extraversion cluster accounted for characteristics such as the tendency to control others forcefully, being open to share or communicate with other people, being energetic and upbeat and seeing the positive side of life, and the tendency to associate with others and enjoy having people around oneself.

Facilitating represented the ability to guide others through life by giving advice, teaching about right and wrong, and providing personal example as a role model, and the ability to motivate and encourage others so they realize their potential.

Integrity referred to the quality of being honest, loyal, and reliable; having principles and adhering to basic social norms of accepted behavior; and the inclination to accept and treat all people equally, rather than discriminate and favor some people over others.

Intellect represented the quality of being creative and talented, the capacity to attain insight in things in general and one's self in particular; having knowledge and sharing it with others; the ability to do things well, and the ability to understand others and social situations and to react adequately.

Openness represented the quality of being receptive of different ideas and appreciating progress, being eager to learn new things or skills, the fondness of material possessions, and the inclination toward traveling, seeing and experiencing new things.

Table 3.2 *Clusters, subclusters, facets of personality-descriptive terms, and example responses*

Cluster	Subcluster	Facet	Example Response (Language)
Conscientiousness	Achievement Orientation	Career-Oriented (6/27)	She prioritizes—a career before serious relationship (English)
		Competitive (8/23)	Likes to compete and compare herself with other people (Xhosa)
		Dutiful (1/4)	Dutiful (Afrikaans)
		Hard-Working (11/1369)	Hard-worker (Venda)
		Performance-Oriented (7/27)	He likes to achieve everything by himself (N Sotho)
		Timeous (1/9)	Timeous (Afrikaans)
	Dedication	Dedicated (9/276)	Dedicated to his work (Tswana)
		Determined (11/192)	He is determined in everything he does (S Sotho)
		Future-Oriented (11/145)	One who thinks about his future (Swati)
		Passionate (8/88)	He does his work wholeheartedly (Tsonga)
		Perseverant (10/261)	She perseveres (Zulu)
		Purposeful (5/64)	Goal-directed (English)
	Orderliness	Consistent (3/38)	Consistent (Afrikaans)
		Follow-up (2/4)	She likes to make follow-ups on things (Ndebele)
		Meticulous (9/92)	Doesn't have room for mistakes (Venda)
		Organized (11/155)	He is a good planner (Tsonga)
		Punctual (11/100)	She is always late for her class (N Sotho)
		Tidy (10/708)	Is always clean and tidy (Swati)
		Thorough (3/21)	Very thorough (English)
	Self-Discipline	Deliberating (9/36)	He does things without thinking first (S Sotho)
		Disciplined (9/64)	He doesn't have self-discipline (Tswana)
		Naughty (11/81)	He is very naughty and doesn't listen (Zulu)
		Obedient (10/110)	Obeys his parents (Venda)
		Rebellious (8/45)	Rebel, dislikes any rules (Afrikaans)
		Serious (8/38)	Serious when time calls for you to be serious (English)
	Thoughtlessness	Absent-Minded (6/34)	Is forgetful (Xhosa)
		Reckless (9/46)	He is careless (Swati)

Table 3.2 *(Cont.)*

Cluster	Subcluster	Facet	Example Response (Language)
Emotional Stability	Balance	Balancing Life (2/13)	Balanced person (English)
		Even-Tempered (11/242)	Quite calm, not rattled easily (English)
		Mature (11/114)	He behaves like a young boy (Tsonga)
		Short-Tempered (11/660)	She gets angry easily (Ndebele)
	Courage	Courageous (10/126)	Is brave and is able to kill a snake alone (Swati)
		Fearful (11/180)	She gets easily scared (Tswana)
	Ego Strength	Attention-Seeking (10/63)	Craves attention (Afrikaans)
		Demanding (10/110)	Difficult to please (Xhosa)
		Needy (10/74)	He is always needy and expects others to sympathise with him (Tsonga)
		Self-Confident (10/165)	Believed in himself (Zulu)
		Self-Respectful (11/195)	Who has self-respect (Venda)
	Emotional Control	Coping (3/8)	Copes very well (English)
		Obsessive-Compulsive (1/4)	Obsessive behaviour like tea in the morning then the pills (English)
		Patient (11/547)	He does not get impatient with you when you talk to him, he would listen to you attentively before answering you (N Sotho)
		Temperamental (11/264)	One minute she is happy, the next minute she is angry (N Sotho)
	Emotional Sensitivity	Emotional (10/107)	Cries a lot (Tswana)
		Exaggerate (6/16)	Overreacted (English)
		Sensitive (11/179)	Easily gets hurt (Xhosa)
	Neuroticism	Complaining (9/47)	Real moaner. Moans about everything (Afrikaans)
		Content (6/26)	She never gets satisfied (N Sotho)
		Depressive (3/14)	Depressed (Afrikaans)
		Neurotic (1/3)	Neurotic (English)
		Tense (4/10)	Gets stressed out over small things (Xhosa)
Extraversion	Dominance	Assertive (11/238)	Stand for her viewpoint (Venda)
		Authoritarian (11/350)	He wanted things to be done his way (S Sotho)
		Disciplining (11/488)	She liked to instil discipline (Tsonga)
		Strict (11/478)	Strict and bossy (Tswana)

Table 3.2 *(Cont.)*

Cluster	Subcluster	Facet	Example Response (Language)
	Expressiveness	Captivating (11/199)	People just got drawn to her (English)
		Emotional Sharing (11/345)	If something has upset him, he tells me (Zulu)
		Noisy (9/109)	A noisy person (S Sotho)
		Outspoken (8/61)	Outspoken, especially when someone is wrong (Xhosa)
		Secretive (9/145)	He did not want to talk about his past or future (Tsonga)
		Straightforward (11/152)	He is a straight-forward and straight talking person (N Sotho)
	Positive Emotionality	Cheerful (11/810)	Always in a jovial mood, is never in a bad mood (Swati)
		Humorous (11/704)	He is full of jokes (Ndebele)
		Optimistic (9/87)	Very positive (Venda)
		Playful (10/134)	A playful person (Tswana)
		Pleasure-Seeking (8/68)	Likes to have fun (Xhosa)
		Vivacious (10/175)	Energetic (Afrikaans)
	Sociability	Communicative (11/146)	I love communicating with people (S Sotho)
		Extravert/Introvert (8/246)	She is an introvert (Swati)
		Reserved (8/138)	He is reserved (Zulu)
		Shy (11/190)	Shy, but if you get to know me, you would understand me (English)
		Sociable (11/1508)	He enjoys being with people (N Sotho)
		Spontaneous (2/67)	Spontaneous (Afrikaans)
		Story-Teller (11/115)	She likes to tell about the times when she was still a girl (Zulu)
		Talkative (11/1239)	I like chatting with people (Tsonga)
Facilitating	Encouraging Others	Aspirations for Others (10/146)	Wishes for everyone to succeed (Xhosa)
		Encouraging (11/694)	Likes to encourage and motivate people (Swati)
		Thought-Provoking (1/3)	Comes up with ideas, solutions and suggestions that make you realize things (English)
		Uplifting (8/56)	Brings out the lighter side in me (English)
	Guidance	Advising (11/885)	Gives advice about life (Venda)
		Didactic (10/351)	He taught me so many things (Ndebele)
		Guiding (10/199)	She is able to guide others (Tsonga)
		Influential (6/68)	A person that inspires (Tswana)

Table 3.2 *(Cont.)*

Cluster	Subcluster	Facet	Example Response (Language)
		Leading (8/66)	He is a leader at school and in the community as well (N Sotho)
		Respectable (6/49)	She is respected by people in the village (S Sotho)
		Role Model (11/195)	He is a role model to me (Zulu)
Integrity	Fairness	Discriminative (11/544)	Discriminates, does not buy clothes for everybody (Swati)
		Fair (10/140)	Fair, not prejudiced (Afrikaans)
	Integrity	Honest (11/420)	Honest (Xhosa)
		Integrity (3/17)	Sound values and integrity (English)
		Loyal (5/110)	Loyal—to duties and as friend (English)
		Morally Conscious (9/459)	He does not like people to do bad things (N Sotho)
		Pretending (11/160)	A person who pretends to like you whereas he does not (Zulu)
		Responsible (11/403)	He is responsible (Tswana)
		Trustworthy (11/1058)	Reliable and trustworthy (Venda)
		Truthful (11/589)	She likes telling the truth (Ndebele)
Intellect	Aesthetics	Artistic (4/18)	Artistic and creative with lots of interests (Afrikaans)
		Concrete Work (10/265)	He loved handiwork (Tsonga)
		Creative (9/76)	Creative, makes furniture (English)
		Musical (5/15)	She is a good singer (Swati)
		Talented (8/21)	He has many talents (Tswana)
	Reasoning	Intelligent (10/443)	Is able to see where the problem lies (Xhosa)
		Knowledgeable (11/105)	He understands or knows history well, and wild animals (Ndebele)
		Logical (7/47)	Rational and logical (English)
		Self-Insight (5/12)	He understands himself (S Sotho)
	Skillfulness	Articulative (11/206)	He taught history nicely and explained beautifully (Zulu)
		Competent (10/104)	He does his work well (Tswana)
		Enterprising (11/139)	It is a person who owns and runs his shop very well (Zulu)
		Useless (3/5)	He is useless (Tsonga)
	Social Intellect	Perceptive (9/116)	She could easily see when you had a problem (Zulu)
		Socially Intelligent (6/20)	Knows how to deal with people (Xhosa)
		Understanding (10/463)	He understands my traditions (Venda)

Table 3.2 *(Cont.)*

Cluster	Subcluster	Facet	Example Response (Language)
Openness	Broad-Mindedness	Dreamer (4/13)	Dreamer (Xhosa)
		Independent (11/312)	I am an independent-minded person (S Sotho)
		Individualistic (3/25)	Individualistic (Afrikaans)
		Open-Minded (10/127)	He is interested in other languages as well (N Sotho)
		Prim and Proper (1/3)	Prim and proper (English)
		Progressive (9/148)	Conservative (Afrikaans)
		Religious (11/1381)	I'm a religious person (Tsonga)
		Traditional (11/469)	Liked traditional things (Swati)
		Visionary (3/6)	Visionary (Xhosa)
	Epistemic Curiosity	Academically Oriented (11/240)	She likes to be educated (Ndebele)
		Eager to Learn (11/209)	Likes to learn about other people's culture (Venda)
		Inquisitive (11/153)	A person that likes to know the answers of life (Tswana)
	Materialism	Fashion-Conscious (11/293)	Is always well-dressed in current fashion (Swati)
		Materialistic (11/86)	Likes money (Zulu)
	Openness to Experience	Adventurous (4/36)	Adventurous (English)
		Like to Travel (8/70)	She likes travelling (S Sotho)
Relationship Harmony	Approachability	Accommodating (5/26)	Addressed us in English so we could understand (Xhosa)
		Approachable (11/311)	She is approachable, I could speak to her about anything (S Sotho)
		Arrogant (11/339)	He thinks he is better than all the other people (N Sotho)
		Flexible (7/112)	Flexible to situation (Tswana)
		Humble (11/247)	She is a humble and down to earth person (Ndebele)
		Open for Others (8/65)	Accepts people for who and what they are (English)
		Proud (11/126)	Is proud and thinks of herself better than others (Swati)
		Stubborn (11/320)	Was stubborn, did not listen to anybody (Tswana)
		Tolerant (7/34)	Tolerant (Afrikaans)
		Welcoming (10/107)	Welcoming—to everyone (Venda)
	Conflict-Seeking	Argumentative (10/105)	Likes to quarrel (Xhosa)
		Provoking (5/59)	Provocative and calls people names (Swati)
		Troublesome (11/337)	Creates tension for nothing (Zulu)

Table 3.2 *(Cont.)*

Cluster	Subcluster	Facet	Example Response (Language)
	Interpersonal Relatedness	Appeasing (9/37)	If she made you angry, she will come to your house and apologise (N Sotho)
		Constructive (6/37)	Shares constructive ideas (Xhosa)
		Cooperative (8/116)	Works well with others (Tswana)
		Forgiving (10/159)	She holds no grudges (Tsonga)
		Good Relations with Another (10/529)	Maintains a good relation with others (Venda)
		Peaceful (11/458)	He likes peace amongst people (N Sotho)
		Peacekeeping (10/174)	He likes to bring peace where there is misunderstanding (Ndebele)
		Well-Mannered (11/648)	Doesn't ask nicely (Afrikaans)
	Meddlesomeness	Gossiping (11/545)	A person who spreads rumours about other people (S Sotho)
		Interfering (11/121)	Likes to interfere in other people's business (English)
Soft-Heartedness	Active Support	Community Involvement (11/143)	There is one person who is always looking after the community (Zulu)
		Heedful (11/426)	She listens when you talk to her (S Sotho)
		Helpful (11/1561)	Is helpful when you are in need (Swati)
		Protective (9/46)	Protective (Xhosa)
		Solving Problems of Others (11/159)	If I have a problem, she knows how to solve it (Ndebele)
		Supportive (11/618)	I like to give people my support (Tswana)
	Amiability	Friendly (11/740)	She is a friendly person (Tsonga)
		Irritating (7/93)	He is annoying and irritating (S Sotho)
		Kind (11/1288)	Kind (Venda)
		Likeable (10/183)	He is loved by everyone (S Sotho)
		Pleasant (9/201)	He was a nice person to live with (Zulu)
		Stern (7/24)	Always serious, not smiling (Xhosa)
	Egoism	Generous (11/1180)	One who is generous and gives food when asked (Swati)
		Greedy (8/29)	Greedy (Afrikaans)
		Jealous (11/306)	A person who is jealous of other people's possessions (Zulu)
		Self-Centered (9/71)	All revolves around her, she thinks (English)
		Selfish (11/390)	Wants everything for himself (Xhosa)
	Empathy	Agreeing (7/19)	Agreeable (Tswana)
		Caring (11/1689)	Cares about other people (English)

Table 3.2 *(Cont.)*

Cluster	Subcluster	Facet	Example Response (Language)
		Compassionate (11/443)	She feels pity for you when you are in trouble (N Sotho)
		Considerate (8/174)	Considers others' feelings (Afrikaans)
		Humane (6/52)	He is good-natured and shows humanity (Swati)
		Loving (11/2903)	Loving and caring—concerned about my life (Venda)
		Respectful (11/1120)	He respects other people (Tsonga)
		Satisfying Others (3/10)	Makes people happy all the time (Xhosa)
	Gratefulness	Appreciative (10/116)	She doesn't appreciate the good of other people (Ndebele)
		Grateful (11/59)	He is not thankful for what people do for him (N Sotho)
	Hostility	Abusive (11/293)	Abusive—physically and emotionally (English)
		Aggressive (11/601)	He is aggressive and likes fighting (Tswana)
		Critical (10/159)	He likes criticising others (Tsonga)
		Cruel (11/475)	He is a cruel person (S Sotho)
		Delinquent (11/543)	Mugged people (Xhosa)
		Denigrating (10/326)	Likes to belittle others (Venda)
		Distrustful (9/95)	He mistrusts people (English)
		Exploiting (10/79)	Uses other people (Afrikaans)
		Intimidating (11/65)	People were afraid of him (N Sotho)
		Verbally Aggressive (11/461)	Swears at his parents (Zulu)
		Wrathful (1/11)	Is wrathful and scolds especially when you have disappointed her (Swati)

Note. N Sotho = Northern Sotho; S Sotho = Southern Sotho. The numbers in brackets in the Facet column indicate the number of languages where the facet appears and the number of responses represented under that facet.

Relationship Harmony encompassed characteristics such as being approachable and accessible for others (vs. placing oneself above others), being constructive in one's relationships, and actively maintaining them by being forgiving, peaceful, and cooperative. On the negative pole, the cluster included the characteristics of being disruptive, causing (and enjoying) conflicts, and provoking others, as well as interfering in others' lives by gossiping or meddling.

Soft-Heartedness represented the quality of being pleasant and kind, being concerned with the welfare of others, having appreciation of life and gratitude to others, having compassion, considering other people's needs and feelings and caring for them, and the quality of being generous and actively involved with the well-being of one's peers and broader community. Subclusters from the negative pole were egoism and hostility.

Relationship Harmony and Soft-Heartedness were related; yet, the two clusters had a different focus. Relationship Harmony referred more to behaviors aimed at maintaining good relationships with others, whereas Soft-Heartedness dealt more with nurturing and personal characteristics conducive for establishing or maintaining good relationships, and focused less on the relationship itself.

Discussion

The aim of the present study was to explore the indigenous personality concepts of speakers of the 11 official languages in South Africa. The 49,818 personality-descriptive responses from the semistructured interviews were condensed in successive steps to 188 facets, 37 subclusters, and nine broad clusters. The nine-cluster conceptual model displays both similarities and differences with the dominant personality models such as the Big Five. The Extraversion, Soft-Heartedness, Conscientiousness, Emotional Stability, Intellect, and Openness clusters broadly correspond to the respective Big Five concepts. Soft-Heartedness covers Agreeableness-related concepts, while our Intellect and Openness clusters may be two components of Openness in the FFM, where both labels for the factor have been used (De Raad & Van Heck, 1994). It is notable that the Soft-Heartedness cluster, with six subclusters and 39 facets, has the largest array of personality concepts.

The remaining three clusters (Integrity, Relationship Harmony, and Facilitating), on the other hand, seem to be less strongly related to the Big Five model. Integrity has some similarity with the Honesty factor of the HEXACO model (Ashton & Lee, 2001); however, our cluster has a greater emphasis on issues of fairness and discrimination. Relationship Harmony seems somewhat related to the Interpersonal Relatedness construct of the CPAI or CPAI-2 (F. M. Cheung et al., 2001; S. F. Cheung et al., 2006). At the same time, it includes elements that are traditionally subsumed under Agreeableness (e.g., the Approachable and Tolerant facets) and does not include elements of face-saving, thrift, and traditionalism, which are characteristic

of the Interpersonal Relatedness factor. Finally, the Facilitating cluster is not covered in any of the Western models of personality. It is instructive to consider the distinction of this cluster from the Dominance subcluster (under Extraversion). Dominance stands for being assertive and forceful, even using intimidation or dictatorial tactics to acquire the compliance of others. Facilitating, on the other hand, refers to the beneficial influence of a person on others; a person with this characteristic is well respected and seen as a role model and a positive example for the community.

Soft-Heartedness and the three more culture-specific constructs (Integrity, Relationship Harmony, and Facilitating) all refer to aspects of social-relational functioning of a person. In this respect, they can be considered as elaborations and extensions of aspects that are represented by Agreeableness in the Big Five model (see, e.g., Graziano & Eisenberg, 1997). The richness and density of representations of social and relational aspects in the South African implicit personality conceptions are an important finding of this study.

Elements of Ubuntu (Nolte-Schamm, 2006) can also be recognized in clusters of the Agreeableness domain, especially Relationship Harmony and Soft-Heartedness. These characteristics were recognizable in more than one cluster and, importantly, they were recognizable in all languages. This indicates that Ubuntu concepts may function as a fairly broad underlying frame of reference that spans different personality clusters and cultural-linguistic groups in South Africa.

Study 2

The process of condensing 49,818 responses to nine clusters was done in several steps and accompanied by extensive consultation. Still, an Achilles heel of this approach is its unknown validity. Leaving the realm of qualitative methods, we wanted to address the validity of a part of this process. We turned to a quantitative exploration of the higher-level grouping of the 37 subclusters. We aimed to estimate to what extent a grouping similar to the nine-cluster conceptual model would emerge when lay people, who did not know our final clustering, rated the relations among the 37 subclusters. We were primarily interested in the replication of the model in South Africa, where it had originated; however, we also employed a small-scale study in the Netherlands, which could serve as a frame of reference to indicate possible cultural influences on the perceived relations between the personality concepts.

Method

Participants. In South Africa, questionnaires were administered to 204 students at the University of Johannesburg majoring in the social sciences. Participants' age

ranged from 18 to 50 years (M = 21.57, SD = 4.69); 157 were females, 42 males, and five persons did not indicate their gender. Forty-one persons self-identified as White, 138 as Black, 14 as Coloured, and five as Asian or Indian; six persons failed to answer the ethnicity question. The sample included first-language speakers of Afrikaans (n = 2), English (n = 20), Northern Sotho (n = 21), Southern Sotho (n = 13), Tswana (n = 17), Ndebele (n = 4), Swati (n = 12), Xhosa (n = 12), Zulu (n = 20), Tsonga (n = 12), Venda (n = 6), other European (n = 3) and African (n = 3) languages; data on first language were missing for 59 persons. The students were not informed about the results of the conceptual cluster analysis reported before.

In the Netherlands, questionnaires were administered to 95 social science students at Tilburg University (77 females, 17 males, one unidentified) aged 18 to 32 years (M = 20.56, SD = 2.81). Participants were of Dutch (n = 80), Turkish (n = 3), other European (n = 4), African (n = 1), and South American (n = 1) origin; the ethnic origin of six persons was not specified.

Instrument. The questionnaire was devised in English. It comprised a list of 666 pairs of personality characteristics: the 37 subcluster labels were crossed, yielding 666 (= 37 x 36 / 2) pairs.[1] Brief descriptions of all characteristics, based on the content of the subclusters as it emerged from the semantic analysis (similar to the descriptions provided in the Results section of Study 1), were provided and participants were instructed to familiarize themselves with them. For each pair, participants were asked to rate the extent to which the two characteristics are related to each other. Participants were instructed to rate the characteristics as related if they indicated either similar (e.g., "love" and "devotion") or opposite things (e.g., "love" and "hatred"), but as unrelated if they indicated things that have nothing or hardly anything to do with each other (e.g., "love" and "smartness"). Relatedness was rated on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (*not at all related*) to 5 (*very strongly related*). The questionnaire and the descriptions of the personality characteristics were translated into Dutch for the study in the Netherlands using a committee approach. Completion of the questionnaire took 1 hr on average.

Results

We calculated the average scores for each item (characteristics pair) across respondents. These scores were imputed in a symmetric matrix of proximities

[1] Study 2 was conducted at a point before two final refinements had been made to the conceptual model presented in Study 1. As a result, there were two differences in the subclusters employed in Study 2: there was no Balance subcluster (its facets being included under other subclusters), and there was a Politeness subcluster (including the Prim-and-Proper and Well-Mannered facets). These differences between the versions of the conceptual model are minimal and do not substantially restrict their comparability.

between the individual characteristics (37 subclusters). This matrix was subjected to a hierarchical cluster analysis using the average-between-group-linkage method.

The outcomes for the South African data (see Figure 3.1) suggested that on the highest level there was a distinction between positive and negative characteristics. The positive characteristics seemed to be further divided into person-centered and relationships-centered clusters. (A related interpretation would be in terms of agentic vs. communal characteristics, Bakan, 1966. What went against it was the fact that the Extraversion components, which usually are agentic features, seemed to reside under the communion/relationship-centered grouping.) On a lower, more specific level, the following configurations emerged (see dotted line in the figure). A Conscientiousness cluster emerged nearly identical to the conceptual model, except for the Thoughtlessness element which went to the negative valence supercluster. The same was true for the Openness cluster with the respective exception of Materialism. Two of the four Intellect characteristics came out in one cluster; differently from expectations, Reasoning formed a cluster with Fairness, and Social Intellect went to the cluster of relations and social functioning. Four of the five Emotional Stability characteristics formed two clusters which were separate yet close to each other; Neuroticism went to the negative valence supercluster.

The broad cluster of relations and social functioning accommodated elements of proper Agreeableness (Amiability, Politeness, and Positive Emotionality), caring and guiding (Active Support, Encouraging Others, Empathy, and Guidance), social-relational orientation (Sociability, Social Intellect, Approachability, and Interpersonal Relatedness), and Integrity (Fairness, Reasoning, and Integrity). These elements broadly represented the concepts of Extraversion, Soft-Heartedness, Integrity, Relationship Harmony, and Facilitating from the conceptual model. The structure of the conceptual model was not replicated exactly, but there were some marked correspondences; for instance, the concepts of Empathy and Active Support, Guidance and Encouraging Others seemed to be related as expected in the context of the Soft-Heartedness and Facilitating clusters (whereby the two clusters might in turn have a strong relation).

Finally, the negative valence supercluster accommodated all negative elements from different conceptual clusters. It is worth noting that even within this supercluster, groupings conformed to the expectations from the conceptual model: Conflict and Meddlesomeness, on the one hand, and Egoism and Hostility, on the other hand, represented the negative poles of Relationship Harmony and Soft-Heartedness, respectively.

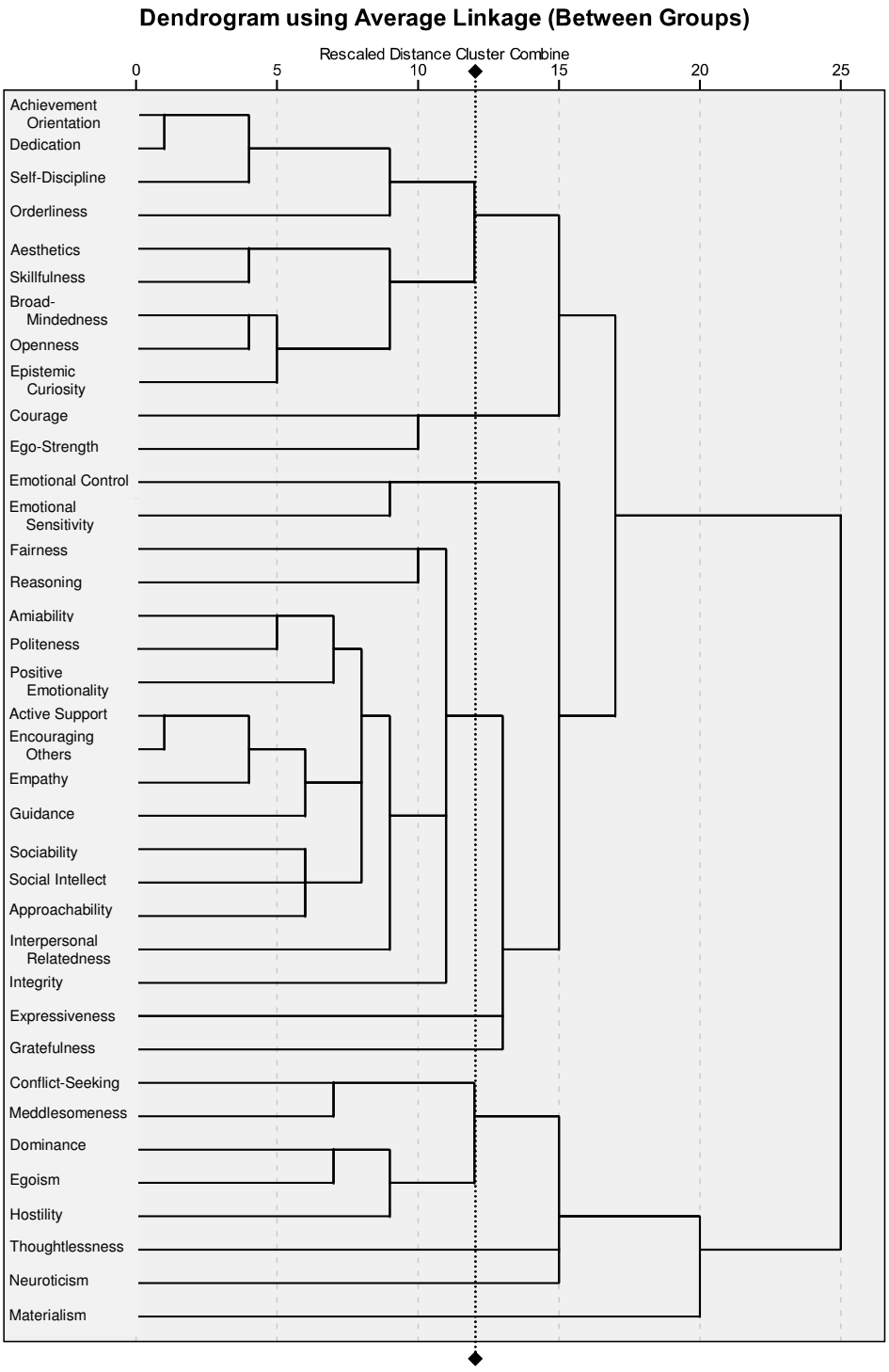

Figure 3.1 Dendrogram of hierarchical cluster analysis on South African data

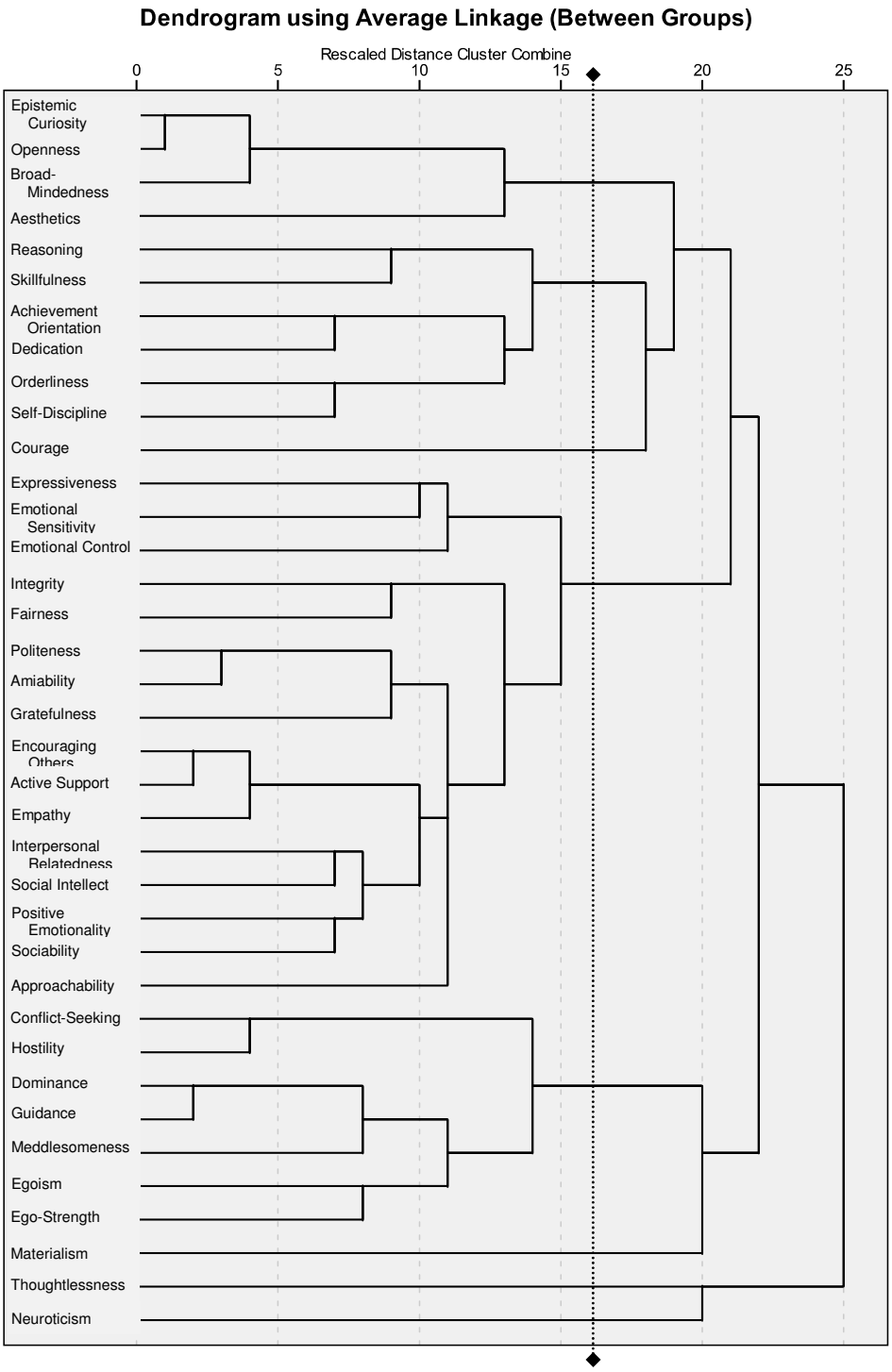

Figure 3.2 Dendrogram of hierarchical cluster analysis on Dutch data

The outcomes of the Dutch data (Figure 3.2) were fairly similar to the South African data. Conscientiousness, Openness, and, to a lesser extent, Intellect and Emotional Stability were clearly distinguishable as stand-alone clusters. Most negative concepts tended to group together and there was a large cluster accommodating social-relational concepts. Differently from the South African data, Facilitating failed to emerge as a grouping within the social-relational cluster and there was a weaker relation between the two negative aspects of Relationship Harmony (Conflict-Seeking and Meddlesomeness); on the other hand, Integrity emerged as a distinguishable grouping within the social-relational cluster and so did two elements of Extraversion (Positive Emotionality and Sociability).

Discussion

The outcomes of the hierarchical cluster analysis are to some extent close to the structure of the conceptual model that was derived in the qualitative analysis. Conscientiousness, Openness, Intellect, Emotional Stability, and Facilitating are easily recognizable as clusters. Extraversion, Soft-Heartedness, Integrity, and Relationship Harmony are less clearly distinguished within the broad cluster of relations and social functioning.

The overall division in negative and positive characteristics, which accounts for many of the discrepancies between the hierarchical cluster analysis and the conceptual model, is in agreement with findings from the lexical literature (Saucier & Goldberg, 2001). Whereas in the perceptions of lay people the differentiation of positive from negative characteristics is apparently the most important grouping factor, our conceptual analysis of the qualitative data has focused on the content of and relations among the subclusters, independent of their valence.

The second source of discrepancies refers to the emergence of one global cluster of relations and social functioning, where the fine distinctions between the concepts do not appear to be clearly drawn in the perceptions of lay people. Extraversion, Soft-Heartedness, Integrity, Relationship Harmony, and Facilitating are to some extent intertwined. Nonetheless, several of their elements clearly group together as expected. This broad social cluster also attracts Social Intellect, indicating that in the perceptions of participants, this concept is primarily important for its social, rather than intellectual, functions. The failure to replicate the finer distinctions in the interpersonal domain may to some extent be attributable to the relatively high demands of the similarity judgment task, involving 666 pair-wise comparisons.

The Dutch data as a whole demonstrate important similarities with both the South African data and the conceptual model. In addition, we found some differences between the Dutch and South African data that seem informative on the cultural meaning of the derived personality constructs. Facilitating is more readily recognized as a personality concept in South Africa than in the Netherlands; in this sense it may

indeed represent an indigenous personality concept. In a similar manner but in the opposite direction, the relation between the constituting elements of Extraversion (Positive Emotionality and Sociability) and Integrity (Integrity and Fairness) seems to be more salient in the conceptions of Dutch people than South Africans. The latter observation may imply that to some extent our conceptual model has inadvertently been influenced somewhat by our own Western (theoretical) perspectives on personality.

In conclusion, quantitative data on the perceived relations between the 37 mid-level subclusters provide general support for the adequacy of the qualitative clustering of the first study, although several of the conceptual clusters in the domain of relations and social functioning did not replicate in detail. This incomplete overlap of the findings of the two studies points to the necessity to validate the structure in a more elaborate way by administering items derived from the clusters to representative samples of various ethnic groups in South Africa. This study will clarify whether the two related clusters in the social domain, Relationship Harmony and Soft-Heartedness, are distinct as observed in the first study or are more likely to merge in a social supercluster as found in the second study.

General Discussion

We set out to explore the implicit personality structure in South Africa's 11 official languages. Rather than starting from existing personality models, we employed an indigenous approach, in which the implicit personality structure is derived from everyday conceptions of personality. In the first study, we obtained personality descriptions by means of semistructured interviews in samples of speakers of each of the 11 languages. In consecutive steps of semantic clustering and conceptual analysis of these personality descriptions, we formed nine broad clusters of personality concepts. In the second study, we employed a quantitative analysis of the mid-level components of these clusters in two independent samples. This analysis provided general support for the model, although some elements were not replicated in detail.

The nine-cluster model displays a certain correspondence with established models of personality like the Big Five and HEXACO. Our findings do not contradict claims of universality of personality dimensions of these models (see, e.g., Church, 2008). At the same time, our model differs from these established models in two ways. Firstly, the Agreeableness-like cluster, Soft-Heartedness, is considerably larger than the rest. This finding has some relation to findings in the lexical studies, where the general tendency is for Extraversion and Agreeableness to be the largest factors (De Raad et al., 2010; John, Naumann, & Soto, 2008; Saucier & Goldberg, 2001). In our study, however, the concepts related to Agreeableness and social-relational functioning

(represented, besides Soft-Heartedness, also in Relationship Harmony, Integrity, and Facilitating) outnumber the rest, including Extraversion, in an impressive manner. It is also worth noting that Extraversion is a relatively narrow cluster in our data as compared to most lexical studies, in which aspects of confidence and boldness are often more salient (Peabody & De Raad, 2002). Secondly, three of the clusters are relatively foreign to the Big Five model. Integrity and Relationship Harmony are reminiscent of the HEXACO model's Honesty (Ashton & Lee, 2001; Lee & Ashton, 2008) and the CPAI's Interpersonal Relatedness (F. M. Cheung et al., 2001), respectively; yet, the clusters have somewhat different connotations in our data. Our Integrity cluster has a correspondence to the first two personality facets of the Honesty-Humility factor, sincerity and fairness, but not to the other two, greed-avoidance and modesty. Additionally, Integrity includes facets associated with equal treatment (vs. discrimination), which is not well represented in the HEXACO model. The CPAI's Interpersonal Relatedness, in turn, consists of several components: harmony, *ren qing* (relationship orientation), flexibility, and face (F. M. Cheung et al., 2001); thrift and traditionalism have later been added (S. F. Cheung et al., 2006). The components of intra- and interpersonal harmony, active efforts to maintain harmony, and flexibility to situations seem related to our Relationship Harmony cluster. Face-saving motives, thrift, and tradition are less salient in Relationship Harmony.

Finally, Facilitating, referring to the qualities of an individual as a good guide in life and example to others, seems to be a fairly unique concept that is not represented in any personality model (although see De Raad, 1999). It could be argued that the Facilitating cluster was relatively salient in our data because we asked informants to describe persons who often serve a facilitating role in the socialization process, such as teachers. However, many responses that were coded as belonging to the Facilitating cluster were found in the descriptions of persons who are not typically associated with this role, such as siblings and friends.

Both aspects in which our model differs from the Big Five—the overrepresentation of relational, Agreeableness-like concepts and the identification of concepts not well represented in the Big Five—point in the same direction. The attributes of an individual's social-relational functioning seem to warrant a central place in the personality conceptions of South Africans, to such an extent that the Big-Five conceptual space has to be expanded to accommodate these attributes. It is noteworthy that the strongest claims for expansion of the Big Five, coming from China (Church, 2008; F. M. Cheung et al., 2001), also refer to social-relational factors. The collectivistic values of a culture (Hofstede, 1980) can be expected to be associated with an emphasis on relational aspects of personality, although indigenous research in other collectivistic cultures such as Mexico (Ortiz et al., 2007) and the Philippines (Katigbak et al., 2002) has found less support for culture-specific dimensions beyond the Big Five. Interestingly, other research involving student samples from Mexico and

the Philippines (Del Prado et al., 2007) has also failed to confirm hypotheses derived from the individualism–collectivism theoretical framework for these two cultures, leaving the possibility open that these cultures, or especially student samples there, may be somewhat atypical with respect to characteristics of collectivism and interdependence. It remains to be established in direct comparisons of measures based on the present model and Chinese inventories to what extent there is an overlap in their conceptual space in different samples.

An important characteristic of our indigenously derived model of personality conceptions in South Africa is that it represents data from all 11 major cultural-linguistic groups of the country. The model incorporates both common facets found across all or most of the groups (which is true for the majority of the facets) and facets found in only a few or single groups. In this way, the model accounts comprehensively for the implicit structure of personality in all groups, rather than favoring some groups over others. In other words, the conceptual model presented in this study suggests a derived-etic structure (Berry, 1989), which is the case when a psychological phenomenon is shown to be invariant across cultural groups, using culture-specific methods. The structure accommodates the core elements of personality deemed important in the different cultural-linguistic groups of South Africa. The extent to which groups differ in their perceptions of the specific composition of these core elements (e.g., what makes up Intellect?) should be addressed in a future study. The anticipated influence of the notion of Ubuntu was evident across different clusters in the social-relational domain and in all cultural-linguistic groups. The model developed in this study thus forms a strong basis for the development of an instrument for the culturally appropriate assessment of personality in South Africa.

Our study has implications for the emic–etic debate. After decades of often ideological debates between proponents of both types of studies, psychological research is now more receptive of rapprochement. Emic and etic studies can and should inform each other about more universal and more culture-specific models of personality (F. M. Cheung et al., 2011). Thus, on the one hand, our clustering of emic terms was partly informed by current, typically etic models in personality such as the FFM and HEXACO model. On the other hand, clusters that are found in South Africa (notably Relationship Harmony and Soft-Heartedness) may have at least some applicability in other cultural contexts. So, emic approaches may inform etic approaches as to how their models could be expanded. The final goal of the combination of emic and etic approaches is not a classification of purely universal and purely culture-specific aspects of personality but a better appreciation of which aspects are shared across which types of cultures. The combination of emic and etic studies can help to overcome the dichotomous view of personality traits as either culture-specific or universal and give way to a more gradual view of levels of universality and cultural specificity of traits.

Chapter 4

Similarities and Differences in Implicit Personality Concepts across Ethnocultural Groups in South Africa*

Cross-cultural research on personality is traditionally conducted either from an etic (universalistic) or an emic (culture-specific) perspective (F. M. Cheung, Van de Vijver, & Leong, 2011; Church, 2008). In more recent studies, there is a tendency to seek an integration of the two perspectives in an emic–etic framework that recognizes indigenous as well as universal components of personality (F. M. Cheung et al., 2011). The present study investigates a recently developed indigenous model of personality for South Africa (Nel et al., in press) in an emic–etic framework. This model has been developed from an indigenous perspective to represent the implicit personality concepts of all major cultural groups in South Africa. The salience of the specific elements of this model for different groups has not been addressed so far, although group differences can be expected both as a function of broad factors like individualism–collectivism (Triandis, 1995), autonomy–embeddedness, and egalitarianism–hierarchy values (Schwartz, 2006), and of more specific factors like cultural differences in definitions of intelligence (Serpell, 1993). This study explores the similarities and differences in the salience and composition of implicit personality concepts across three ethnocultural groups in South Africa: Blacks, Indians, and Whites. We first provide a brief overview of the emic–etic approaches to personality. We then sketch the background of personality study in South Africa and describe in detail the indigenous model under investigation.

Emic–Etic Approaches to Personality

Etic studies of personality are primarily concerned with the cross-cultural replicability of culturally universal personality models (Church, 2001, 2008). These studies typically employ questionnaires measuring a model developed in a Western context such as the Big Five or Five-Factor Model (FFM) in an array of cultures and, when replicability is

* This chapter is based on Valchev et al. (in press).

adequately established, compare mean levels of the personality traits under that model across cultures. A typical example of this approach can be found in the studies by McCrae and colleagues who have provided impressive evidence for the replicability of the FFM (e.g., Allik & McCrae, 2004; McCrae & Allik, 2002; McCrae, Terracciano, & 79 Members of the Personality Profiles of Cultures Project, 2005b).

Emic studies, on the other hand, direct their attention to the identification of personality concepts that are especially relevant in specific cultural contexts although they may not be represented in universal models. These studies often start with an exploration of implicit personality concepts using qualitative methods and the study of lexica and later develop questionnaires to represent the implicit model (Church, 2008). Examples of this approach can be found in the studies of Church and colleagues in Mexico (Ortiz et al., 2007) and the Philippines (Katigbak, Church, Guanzon-Lapeña, Carlota, & Del Pilar, 2002) and F. M. Cheung and colleagues in China (F. M. Cheung et al., 2001). While the former two studies have largely confirmed the Big Five from an emic perspective, F. M. Cheung and colleagues' research has identified a dimension especially relevant in China and which could not be subsumed under the Big Five, namely Interpersonal Relatedness (F. M. Cheung et al., 2001).

Recently, efforts have been made toward a more integrated, emic–etic approach where culture-specific and universal models are viewed as complementary (F. M. Cheung et al., 2011). One way of achieving such integration can be found in lexical studies, where models are derived separately per language and their factor structures are subsequently tested for structural equivalence (Saucier & Goldberg, 2001). Lexical studies have been used both to identify dimensions beyond the Big Five (e.g., Lee & Ashton, 2008) and to identify the most replicable personality dimensions (De Raad et al., 2010). A limitation of this approach is that there is only partial overlap in the stimuli that can be compared across languages (De Raad et al., 2010). A different approach is to develop questionnaires that measure indigenous personality concepts in a given culture and use them for comparisons with other cultures. For example, the indigenous model first identified in China by F. M. Cheung and colleagues (2001) was later replicated in Chinese American and European American participants (Lin & Church, 2004), indicating that the concept of interpersonal relatedness, although more relevant in a Chinese context, is also recognized in other contexts. The broad project that the present study is placed in—the South African Personality Inventory (SAPI) project—is another example of the emic–etic approach. Starting from free descriptions of personality, this project has developed a common indigenous personality model that represents the main personality concepts in the 11 official languages of South Africa (Nel et al., in press). The present study starts from this common model and investigates differences in the salience of its components across three ethnocultural groups of South Africa.

Personality Study in South Africa

South Africa is a multicultural society. The Apartheid-era distinction of four "ethnic" groups is still in use, namely "Black" (for people of African descent), "Coloured" (mixed-race descent), "Indian" (or Asian, for descendants of immigrants from India and South-East Asia), and "White" (European descent). There are 11 official languages: two Germanic languages (Afrikaans and English, spoken as a first language by Coloureds, Indians, and Whites, constituting 21.5% of the country's population) and nine Bantu languages (Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho, Tswana, Ndebele, Swati, Xhosa, Zulu, Tsonga, and Venda, spoken as a first language by Blacks, 77.9% of the population; Statistics South Africa, 2001).

This rich cultural diversity has not been adequately represented in personality research in South Africa. The imposed-etic tradition, based on tests imported from English-speaking countries, notably the US and the UK, has a strong presence. Such tests have hardly been adapted to the local context (Foxcroft, Paterson, Le Roux, & Herbst, 2004) and have often been found to have poor psychometric properties in the indigenous African groups (e.g., Meiring, Van de Vijver, Rothmann, & Barrick, 2005). In one of the few studies of local test development, Taylor and De Bruin (2005) developed an instrument specifically designed to measure the FFM taking local context into account. These authors found comparable factor structures and reliability values across cultural groups in South Africa, suggesting that the FFM is replicable across these groups when assessed with culturally valid stimuli. None of these studies, however, has investigated indigenous personality concepts beyond Western models.

In the first indigenous personality study for South Africa, we derived implicit personality concepts from interviews conducted with participants from the country's 11 official languages (Nel et al., in press). The descriptions made in these interviews were categorized based on their semantic proximity and co-occurrence patterns into concepts at different levels of abstraction, from narrower to broader traits: 188 facets, 37 subclusters, and nine clusters. The nine clusters were: Conscientiousness, Emotional Stability, Extraversion, Facilitating, Integrity, Intellect, Openness, Relationship Harmony, and Soft-Heartedness. The clusters had a good correspondence to the Big Five, with a few differences. Intellect and Openness were split in two because of their distinct content (cf. De Raad & Van Heck, 1994). Integrity was similar to the HEXACO model's Honesty (Ashton & Lee, 2001), although Integrity placed more emphasis on fairness and discrimination. Relationship Harmony and Soft-Heartedness were similar to Agreeableness but included more concepts than are typically found under the Agreeableness label. Finally, Facilitating, referring to the qualities of being a good guide in life and having beneficial influence on others, is not well represented in Western models. The model suggested an emphasis on concepts dealing with the quality of interpersonal relations; the model was largely supported in a quantitative study involving similarity ratings of the 37

subclusters, although several social-relational concepts did not replicate in detail (Nel et al, in press). It is important to note that the model was developed to represent the implicit concepts of all 11 languages: The nine clusters and 37 subclusters were based on personality descriptions occurring in all languages; 150 out of the 188 facets occurred in at least seven languages, and there were only 10 facets occurring in one or two languages. This allows us to make comparisons of the salience of the model's components across different groups.

Personality Differences across Ethnocultural Groups

Overarching framework. The present study explores how groups in South Africa differ with respect to the salience of the components of the indigenous personality model (Nel et al., in press). In a study on the use of traits (vs. non-trait descriptions) across groups we found that speakers of the 11 languages could be meaningfully grouped into three ethnocultural groups: Blacks, Coloureds and Indians, and Whites (Valchev, Van de Vijver, Nel, et al., 2012). Predictions from the individualism–collectivism framework (Triandis, 1995) were confirmed: Blacks made the least use of traits and the most use of behaviors, preferences, and perceptions for personality description; the opposite was true for Whites, whereas Coloureds and Indians had an intermediate pattern. In the present study we examine the use of the categories of the indigenous model by Blacks, Indians, and Whites.[1] The three groups can be taken to lie on a continuum from more collectivistic (Blacks) through intermediate (Indians) to more individualistic (Whites) and can be expected to differ in a similar way along Schwartz's (2006) autonomy–embeddedness and egalitarianism–hierarchy value continuums. This ordering of South Africa's major ethnocultural groups is in line with previous research; in particular, the distinction between the Black and White groups is well documented in various domains (Allik & McCrae, 2004; Eaton & Louw, 2000; Laher, 2008; Seekings, 2008).

The present study investigates cross-cultural differences in personality concepts using free personality descriptions. The strength of this method is that it provides more direct evidence on the salience of specific personality concepts than standardized questionnaires, because it employs the frequency with which these concepts are mentioned. Previous studies on spontaneous self-descriptions have failed to find cross-cultural differences in the references to the Big Five categories predicted from an individualism–collectivism perspective (Ip & Bond, 1995; Watkins & Gerong, 1997). A likely explanation is that each of the Big Five dimensions subsumes both agentic and communal elements, which may differ in salience in different groups (Del Prado et al., 2007; Sedikides, Gaertner, & Toguchi, 2003; Wiggins & Trapnell, 1996).

[1] In addition to the data reported in the present chapter, the larger SAPI project contained data from 26 Coloureds. Because of the small sample size, we excluded Coloureds from the present study.

Indeed, associations between personality traits and individual-level values have been most successfully demonstrated when examining facets rather than broad factors of the FFM (e.g., Roccas, Sagiv, Schwartz, & Knafo, 2002). Another possible explanation is the use of an etic model: Meaningful cross-cultural differences may be more likely to be revealed when the groups are compared using indigenously-derived models (e.g., F. M. Cheung et al., 2001; Lin & Church, 2004). Finally, the theoretical links between some broad personality factors and broad value dimensions may be hard to establish (e.g., Roccas et al., 2002, on Neuroticism). When lower-level traits are concerned, predictions from more specific theoretical models may be more informative. For example, cultural differences can be expected in the domain of Intellect and Openness, where literature suggests less structural equivalence across cultural groups than in the other personality dimensions (Church, 2008) and increased emphasis on specific aspects of intelligence in African cultures (Serpell, 1993). In the present study, we investigate cross-cultural differences in the salience of South Africa's indigenous personality model, going from the broad level of nine clusters to the narrow level of 188 facets. This study combines emic and etic aspects. It is emic in its employment of indigenous concepts, derived from semistructured qualitative techniques and not based on already existing models. The study is also etic in that these indigenous concepts were derived across different ethnocultural groups in South Africa and define shared categories which can be used for cultural comparisons. The expected patterns are described in the following paragraphs.

Hypotheses and their background. We employ a distinction between primarily agentic or personal-growth clusters (Conscientiousness, Extraversion, Intellect, and Openness), communal or social-relational clusters (Facilitating, Relationship Harmony, and Soft-Heartedness), and clusters that are harder to assign to one of the two categories (Emotional Stability and Integrity). Previous studies have demonstrated cross-cultural differences in the use of agentic and communal self-concept attributes. For example, Sedikides and colleagues (2003) found that Americans and participants with independent self-construals self-enhanced more on agentic attributes, whereas Japanese and participants with interdependent self-construals self-enhanced more on communal attributes. Accordingly, we expect that the personal-growth clusters are used more frequently by the more individualistic White group and less frequently by the more collectivistic Black group, with Indians in the middle. The opposite pattern is expected for the social-relational clusters, and we do not specify hypotheses about the salience of the two more ambivalent clusters. Differences can also be expected in the extent to which the lower-level components of the clusters are used by the different groups.

Our distinction of personal-growth and social-relational clusters is in agreement with empirical (Digman, 1997) and conceptual (Ashton & Lee, 2001) categorizations of the major personality dimensions as well as with studies on the associations of

these dimensions with values (McCrae et al., 2005b; Roccas et al., 2002) and self-perception biases (Paulhus & John, 1998; Paulhus & Trapnell, 2008). The categorization is more straightforward for some of the clusters than others, as elaborated below.

Personal-growth clusters. There is general agreement over the classification of Extraversion, Intellect, and Openness as primarily agentic or person-focused personality concepts (e.g., Digman, 1997; Ashton & Lee, 2001). These concepts have been found to be associated with individualism (McCrae et al., 2005b), values of personal growth (Roccas et al., 2002), and agentic self-presentation biases (Paulhus & John, 1998). We expect all facets of these clusters to be used more frequently in the White group and less frequently in the Black group, with Indians in the middle, with one exception in the Intellect cluster. Intellect includes, besides conventional intellect facets, also practical and social intelligence which has been suggested as particularly salient in native African groups (Serpell, 1993; Valchev et al., 2011). We expect that these facets are used more frequently by Blacks and less frequently by Whites, with Indians in the middle, while the reverse is expected for all other facets of Intellect.

Conscientiousness combines concepts that could be characterized as rather agentic with others that are rather communal. Employing a distinction between ambition and dutifulness elements of Conscientiousness, Paulhus and John (1998) found that ambition was more strongly associated with agency biases and dutifulness with communion biases in self-perception. Roccas and colleagues (2002) demonstrated a similar contrast in the associations of proactive and inhibitive aspects of Conscientiousness with achievement and conformity values, respectively. In our indigenous model, Conscientiousness is mostly defined by achievement and diligence elements (Nel et al., in press; Valchev et al., 2011) and we hence expect the cluster to be more salient in Whites' descriptions than in Blacks'. On the level of facets, achievement-related facets are expected to be used more frequently by Whites and less frequently by Blacks, with Indians in between. The opposite pattern is expected for facets about preserving order and tradition.

Social-relational clusters. Relationship Harmony, Soft-Heartedness, and Facilitating (interpreted as variations of the Agreeableness domain) are considered primarily communal or relationship-focused, in accordance with existing literature on the higher-order categorization of Agreeableness (Ashton & Lee, 2001; Digman, 1997) and its associations with communal self-presentation biases (Paulhus & John, 1998) and values of conformity and benevolence (Roccas et al., 2002). Possibly the only finding in an opposite direction is that of McCrae and colleagues (2005b) who found a positive association of country-level Agreeableness with individualism. These authors discussed this pattern as contrary to predictions and acknowledged that their data provide "more evidence for the construct validity of aggregate O[penness] than of aggregate A[greeableness]" (McCrae et al., 2005b, p. 423). Given the content of

Relationship Harmony, Soft-Heartedness, and Facilitating, dealing with the quality of social relations, we expect these clusters and their facets to be more salient in the Black group and less salient in the White group, with Indians in the middle.

Emotional Stability and Integrity. We do not formulate a hypothesis for Emotional Stability at cluster level. Emotional Stability has not been found to have systematic relations with culture-level values except uncertainty avoidance (McCrae et al., 2005b) and is relatively neutral with respect to agentic–communal self-presentation biases (Paulhus & Trapnell, 2008). However, Emotional Stability contains different components for which opposite predictions can be made. A distinction has been made, using various terms, between internalizing and externalizing elements, differentiating between inward and outward direction of negative affect (DeYoung, Quilty, & Peterson, 2007; Roccas et al., 2002; Saucier & Goldberg, 2001). We expect that the internalizing elements, more strongly associated with autonomous functioning, are more salient in the more individualistic White group, whereas the externalizing elements, more strongly associated with social functioning, are more salient in the more collectivistic Black group, with Indians in between.

Integrity has some relation to the Honesty factor of Ashton and Lee's (2001) HEXACO model (accounting for terms between the Big Five's Agreeableness and Conscientiousness axes), but also includes elements of fairness and discrimination. Integrity concepts could be expected to be salient, although possibly with different connotations, in cultures high either on autonomy and egalitarianism, or on embeddedness and hierarchy. For example, in a multidimensional scaling analysis of the Rokeach values by Vauclair, Hanke, Fischer, and Fontaine (2011, Figure 2), honesty was located close to the center of the multidimensional space defined by Schwartz's (2006) value dimensions. The intermediate character of the Integrity elements does not allow a clear prediction of cross-cultural differences in the salience of this cluster and its facets.

Method

The data for the current study were derived using semistructured interviews in a project aiming at exploring the indigenous concepts of personality in South Africa. The methods of data collection and analysis are described in detail in two previous publications (Nel et al., in press; Valchev et al., 2011).

Participants

Interviews were conducted with 1,190 participants from the 11 language groups in their own language. A combination of quota and convenience sampling was used, obtaining variation in gender, urban/rural residence, education, and age. The sample

included 1,027 Blacks (528 females; M_{Age} = 33.08 years, SD = 11.12), 58 Indians (39 females; M_{Age} = 30.11 years, SD = 10.26), and 105 Whites (44 Afrikaans and 61 English speakers; 67 females; M_{Age} = 32.21 years, SD = 14.40).

Instrument and Procedure

Participants were asked to describe themselves and nine other persons they knew well: their best friend of the same sex, their best friend of the opposite sex, a parent, their eldest child or sibling, a grandparent, a colleague or friend from another ethnic group, a person who is the total opposite of the participant, a teacher they liked (if schooled, otherwise a person from the village whom they liked), and a teacher they disliked (if schooled, otherwise a person from the village whom they disliked). In part of the interviews (47 Whites, 27 Indians, and 580 Blacks), no self-descriptions and descriptions of a person opposite to oneself were obtained; descriptions of a neighbor and a disliked person were obtained instead. The following four prompts were used: "Please describe the following people to me by telling me what kind of person he or she is/was;" "Can you describe typical aspects of this person?"; "Can you describe the behavior or habits that are characteristic of this person?"; and "How would you describe this person to someone who does not know him/her?". All participants were asked these questions and there was no limit to the number of descriptions provided per person.

Data were collected by specially trained interviewers who were native speakers of the target language. The interviews were tape-recorded, transcribed, and translated into English by the interviewers. Language experts checked the accuracy of the translations and made corrections where necessary.

Analysis and Quality Control

In a preliminary stage, the purely evaluative terms, physical characteristics, life fact statements, and ambiguous terms were excluded. The total number of responses retained for the analysis was 47,598. Composite responses like "cheerful and sociable" were split and included separately in their respective categories. In the three main stages of the analysis, the responses were (a) labeled, providing common terms for trait descriptions and longer behavior descriptions (e.g. "He loves going out with friends" and "He was outgoing" were labeled as *outgoing*), (b) categorized into 188 facets combining synonyms and antonyms (e.g., *outgoing* and *socializing* in the Sociable facet), and (c) clustered, based on shared semantic content and patterns of co-occurrence, into 37 subclusters and nine clusters (e.g., the Communicative, Extravert/Introvert, Reserved, Shy, Sociable, Spontaneous, Story-Teller, and Talkative facets were included in the Sociability subcluster of the Extraversion cluster). Examples of utterances in the 188 facets can be found in Table 4.2.

Each response was uniquely assigned to one of the 188 facets, implying respective assignment to one of the 37 subclusters and nine clusters. The responses were coded primarily by the second author, with frequent consultations and discussions within the research team. A second rater coded a random set of 200 responses assigning them to facets; an inter-rater agreement of 86% was achieved. The cultural adequacy of the coding was ensured in several workshops with cultural experts on the studied cultures who provided feedback on the different levels of categorization. An independent personality expert was consulted in the final stages of the analysis, leading to final refinements of the model. The semantic interrelations between the 37 subclusters were examined in an independent study where we asked participants to rate how strongly each of the subclusters is related to all other subclusters. The outcomes suggested a similar structure to the nine clusters, although some of the social-relational clusters did not replicate in detail (Nel et al., in press).

We analyzed the data using loglinear analysis on the frequency of responses categorized in facets, subclusters, and clusters (on loglinear analysis, or multiway frequency analysis, see Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). Loglinear analysis assesses associations between categorical variables, where combinations of independent variables form cells in a table and the frequency in each cell is the dependent variable. A model with main effects only, or main effects and lower-order interactions only, is tested against a model with (higher-order) interactions. A significant goodness-of-fit statistic (likelihood ratio, LR, with a χ^2 distribution) indicates significant difference between these two models and, hence, a significant effect of the (higher-order) interactions. The specific sources of discrepancies can be identified using the standardized residuals; expressed as z scores, they indicate how much the observed frequency of a cell deviates from the one predicted by the tested model; absolute values above 2 are considered salient by common standards (Agresti, 2007).

Results

We tested the loglinear model with main effects of cluster and ethnocultural group.[2] The model fit was poor, $LR(16, n = 47{,}598) = 831.19$, $p < .001$, indicating a significant interaction. The proportions of responses per cluster and ethnocultural group are displayed in Table 4.1. The standardized residuals suggested that Conscientiousness, Emotional Stability, Extraversion, Integrity, and Intellect were underrepresented in the Black group (*SR*s between -0.84 and -6.42) and overrepresented in the White group (*SR*s between 2.73 and 10.91). Facilitating, Openness, Relationship Harmony, and

[2] In a separate set of analyses, Coloureds were included together with Indians as an intermediate group. The outcomes of all analyses were very similar to the ones reported in the present study.

Table 4.1 *Proportions (*P*), standard errors (*SE*), and standardized residuals (*SR*) of personality clusters per ethnocultural group*

	Ethnocultural Group								
	Black			Indian			White		
Cluster	*P*	*SE*	*SR*	*P*	*SE*	*SR*	*P*	*SE*	*SR*
Conscientiousness	.09	.002	-0.84	.08	.006	-0.96	.10	.006	**2.73**
Emotional Stability	.05	.002	**-6.42**	.09	.008	**6.43**	.09	.005	**10.91**
Extraversion	.15	.003	**-4.99**	.18	.010	**3.72**	.20	.009	**9.41**
Facilitating	.06	.002	**5.08**	.05	.005	-0.87	.02	.002	**-11.71**
Integrity	.08	.002	-1.09	.07	.007	-1.84	.09	.007	**4.00**
Intellect	.04	.001	**-4.58**	.07	.007	**7.41**	.06	.005	**5.72**
Openness	.07	.002	**3.62**	.05	.006	**-2.56**	.04	.006	**-6.92**
Relationship Harmony	.11	.002	**3.93**	.08	.006	**-3.80**	.08	.004	**-6.77**
Soft-Heartedness	.36	.004	**2.92**	.32	.014	**-2.99**	.31	.012	**-4.90**

Note. Standardized residuals with an absolute value above 2 appear in bold typeface.

Soft-Heartedness, on the other hand, were overrepresented in the Black group (*SR*s between 2.92 and 5.08) and underrepresented in the White group (*SR*s between -4.90 and -11.71). The Indian group showed an intermediate pattern, although it had an extreme, low rather than intermediate, position in Conscientiousness (*SR* = -0.96) and Integrity (*SR* = -1.84) and high position in Intellect (*SR* = 7.41). The results were in line with expectations: The personal-growth clusters were more salient in Whites and the social-relational in Blacks. Openness clearly deviated from the prediction because it had the opposite pattern. Emotional Stability and Integrity, for which we did not specify expectations, were more salient in Whites than in Blacks.

To get an overall estimate of the extent to which the three groups differed in their use of the components of each cluster, we correlated the proportions of responses in facets per cluster (displayed in separate panels per cluster in Table 4.2) for pairs of groups. The average correlation was .66 for Blacks and Indians, .48 for Blacks and Whites, and .78 for Indians and Whites, with a grand average correlation of .64. These findings indicated that there was considerable agreement between the groups in the use of facets per cluster, but there were also noticeable differences, most pronounced between Blacks with Whites. This underscored the need to examine the differences in an analysis of the use of specific facets per cluster.

For each cluster separately, we tested the loglinear model with main effects of facets (and, separately, subclusters) and ethnocultural group. The fit tests of the loglinear models for all facets and subclusters were significant at $p < .001$, except for the models for the subclusters of Facilitating ($p < .01$) and Integrity (*ns*), indicating significant interactions. The proportions and standardized residuals can be found in Table 4.2. Given the large number of observed effects, it was deemed most instructive to examine the facets that displayed the opposite pattern of that predicted (or

observed, in the case of Emotional Stability and Integrity, whose interaction with culture had not been predicted) for their overall cluster. In other words, the analysis focused on the facets overrepresented in the Black group and underrepresented in the White group for the personal-growth clusters (as well as Emotional Stability and Integrity), and on those underrepresented in the Black group and overrepresented in the White group for the social-relational clusters. There were 48 such facets in total, presented in the following paragraphs.

Personal-Growth Clusters

In the personal-growth clusters, the following 18 facets were overrepresented in Blacks (*SR*s between 1.05 and 5.23) and underrepresented in Whites (*SR*s between -2.16 and -7.68) with Indians generally in between (*SR*s between -5.35 and 1.38; see Table 4.2): Hard-Working, Tidy, and Obedient (in Conscientiousness), Disciplining, Emotional Sharing, Secretive, Cheerful, Playful, Sociable, Story-Teller, and Talkative (in Extraversion), Concrete Work, Competent, Enterprising, and Understanding (in Intellect), and Religious, Traditional, and Eager to Learn (in Openness).

Several patterns could be distinguished in these findings. First, across clusters, facets associated with preservation of traditional order (like Obedient and Traditional) were particularly salient among Blacks. This pattern was in line with our expectation for Conscientiousness facets, but affected Openness too. Second, some facets that have to do with personal development (like Hard-Working and Eager to Learn) were also pronounced in the Black group, possibly pointing to an increased salience of present-day opportunities for individual socio-economic advancement. Third, in Extraversion, facets defining qualitative and quantitative aspects of communication (like Emotional Sharing and Talkative) seemed to be most salient for Blacks, and relatively more so than facets of positive affect and enthusiasm. Fourth, we found the expected distinction between conventional concepts of intelligence and openness (like Knowledgeable and Inquisitive), which were more salient for Whites, and concepts involving practical and social aspects of intelligence (like Competent and Understanding, the latter used almost exclusively in interpersonal sense), which were more salient for Blacks. Finally, across the clusters, facets that represent concrete manifestations of underlying traits were more salient for Blacks than facets with closely related but more abstract meaning (e.g., Hard-Working vs. Performance-Oriented, Talkative vs. Communicative, Concrete Work vs. Creative, and Like to Travel vs. Adventurous).

Table 4.2 *Proportions (*P*) and standardized residuals (*SR*) of subclusters and facets per ethnocultural group with example descriptions*

Subclusters and Facets	Blacks		Indians		Whites		Example Descriptions
	P	*SR*	*P*	*SR*	*P*	*SR*	
Conscientiousness							
ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION	.40	***3.26***	.25	***-3.01***	.23	***-5.42***	
Career-Oriented	.00	-0.80	.02	**3.96**	.00	-0.83	She prioritizes—a career before serious relationship (English, W)
Competitive	.00	-0.67	.00	-0.30	.01	1.73	Likes to compete and compare herself with other people (Xhosa)
Dutiful		-1.53		-0.45	.00	**3.80**	Dutiful (Afrikaans)
Hard-Working	.38	***3.94***	.23	***-3.30***	.18	***-6.79***	Hard-worker (Venda)
Performance-Oriented	.00	-1.33	.00	-0.61	.02	**3.45**	He likes to achieve everything by himself (N Sotho)
Timeous		**-2.50**		-0.73	.01	**6.20**	Timeous (Afrikaans)
DEDICATION	.21	**-4.57**	.35	**3.16**	.42	**8.32**	
Dedicated	.06	-1.25	.06	-0.70	.10	**3.32**	Dedicated to his work (Tswana)
Determined	.04	-0.67	.05	0.34	.05	1.31	He is determined in everything he does (S Sotho)
Future-Oriented	.03	-1.33	.03	0.05	.05	**3.00**	One who thinks about his future (Swati)
Passionate	.03	0.58	.03	0.04	.02	-1.36	He does his work wholeheartedly (Tsonga)
Perseverant	.05	**-4.40**	.17	**5.99**	.14	**6.01**	She perseveres (Zulu)
Purposeful	.00	**-4.35**	.02	0.63	.06	**9.51**	Goal-directed (English, W)
ORDERLINESS	.27	0.74	.28	0.39	.22	-1.94	
Consistent	.00	**-4.88**	.02	1.40	.05	**10.19**	Consistent (Afrikaans)
Follow-up	.00	0.49		-0.52		-0.78	She likes to make follow-ups on things (Ndebele)
Meticulous	.03	-1.97	.09	**4.19**	.05	1.68	Doesn't have room for mistakes (Venda)
Organized	.03	**-2.10**	.07	**2.52**	.06	**3.09**	He is a good planner (Tsonga)
Punctual	.02	-0.48	.03	1.30	.02	0.22	She is always late for her class (N Sotho)
Tidy	.18	***4.70***	.05	***-4.54***	.03	***-7.68***	Is always clean and tidy (Swati)
Thorough	.00	-1.89	.03	**5.25**	.01	0.79	Very thorough (English, I, W)
SELF-DISCIPLINE	.10	0.24	.09	-0.26	.09	-0.36	
Deliberating	.01	-1.54	.01	-0.28	.02	**3.69**	He does things without thinking first (S Sotho)
Disciplined	.01	-1.45	.01	-0.03	.03	**3.33**	He doesn't have self-discipline (Tswana)
Naughty	.02	0.17	.03	1.51	.01	-1.39	He is very naughty and doesn't listen (Zulu)

Table 4.2 *(Cont.)*

Subclusters and Facets	Blacks		Indians		Whites		Example Descriptions
	P	*SR*	*P*	*SR*	*P*	*SR*	
Obedient	.05	***3.05***		***-3.40***	.00	***-4.67***	Obeys his parents (Venda)
Rebellious	.01	-1.05	.00	-0.65	.02	**2.82**	Rebel, dislikes any rules (Afrikaans)
Serious	.01	-1.66	.04	**5.05**	.01	0.40	Serious when time calls for you to be serious (English, I)
THOUGHTLESSNESS	.02	-0.73	.03	0.66	.03	1.23	
Absent-Minded	.01	-1.97	.02	**2.14**	.02	**3.05**	Is forgetful (Xhosa)
Reckless	.02	0.55	.01	-0.77	.01	-0.73	He is careless (Swati)
Emotional Stability							
BALANCE	.39	***3.99***	.23	***-3.16***	.22	***-5.01***	
Balancing Life	.00	**-2.18**	.01	1.58	.01	**2.83**	Balanced person (English, W)
Even-Tempered	.08	-0.72	.09	0.65	.09	0.85	Quite calm, not rattled easily (English, W)
Mature	.03	-1.01	.05	2.00	.03	0.42	He behaves like a young boy (Tsonga)
Short-Tempered	.29	***6.01***	.08	***-5.23***	.08	***-7.21***	She gets angry easily (Ndebele)
COURAGE	.10	-0.37	.17	**3.61**	.08	-1.87	
Courageous	.06	***2.99***	.02	***-2.27***	.01	***-3.82***	Is brave and is able to kill a snake alone (Swati)
Fearful	.04	**-3.01**	.16	**6.66**	.07	0.78	She gets easily scared (Tswana)
EGO STRENGTH	.17	-1.19	.15	-1.28	.24	**3.05**	
Attention-Seeking	.01	-1.40	.01	-0.63	.03	**2.98**	Craves attention (Afrikaans)
Demanding	.01	**-2.56**	.02	0.65	.04	**4.18**	Difficult to please (Xhosa)
Needy	.03	0.68	.02	-0.93	.02	-0.58	He is always needy and expects others to sympathise with him (Tsonga)
Self-Confident	.03	**-4.68**	.06	0.71	.12	**7.98**	Believed in himself (Zulu)
Self-Respectful	.09	***3.71***	.04	***-2.13***	.01	***-5.23***	Takes good care of herself (Venda)
EMOTIONAL CONTROL	.25	0.53	.23	-0.75	.24	-0.44	
Coping	.00	-1.74	.01	1.50	.01	**2.10**	Copes very well (English, I)
Obsessive-Compulsive		-1.66	.01	**2.46**	.00	1.27	Obsessive behaviour like tea in the morning then the pills (English, W)
Patient	.15	-0.24	.13	-1.18	.17	1.26	She is a patient person (N Sotho)
Temperamental	.10	*1.67*	.09	*-0.25*	.06	***-2.85***	One minute she is happy, the next minute she is angry (N Sotho)

Table 4.2 *(Cont.)*

Subclusters and Facets	Blacks		Indians		Whites		Example Descriptions
	P	*SR*	*P*	*SR*	*P*	*SR*	
EMOTIONAL SENSITIVITY	.06	**-5.32**	.17	**4.60**	.17	**6.40**	
Emotional	.02	-0.54	.03	0.61	.03	0.56	Cries a lot (Tswana)
Exaggerate	.00	-1.83	.00	-0.85	.02	**3.92**	Overreacted (English, W)
Sensitive	.03	**-5.59**	.14	**5.61**	.12	**6.18**	Easily gets hurt (Xhosa)
NEUROTICISM	.03	-1.84	.04	0.97	.05	**2.66**	
Complaining	.02	-0.12	.01	-0.60	.02	0.64	Real moaner. Moans about everything (Afrikaans)
Content	.01	-0.86	.03	**3.50**	.00	-0.90	She never gets satisfied (N Sotho)
Depressive	.00	**-2.24**	.00	-0.03	.01	**4.09**	Depressed (Afrikaans)
Neurotic		-1.44		-0.56	.00	**3.00**	Neurotic (English, W)
Tense	.00	-1.28		-0.85	.01	**2.92**	Gets stressed out over small things (Xhosa)
Extraversion							
DOMINANCE	.19	*1.15*	.18	*-0.47*	.16	***-2.05***	
Assertive	.02	**-2.94**	.06	**5.38**	.03	**2.35**	Stand for her viewpoint (Venda)
Authoritarian	.04	-1.51	.05	0.55	.06	**2.74**	He wanted things to be done his way (S Sotho)
Disciplining	.07	***4.35***	.03	***-3.31***	.01	***-6.70***	She liked to instil discipline (Tsonga)
Strict	.06	0.78	.05	-1.40	.05	-0.64	Strict and bossy (Tswana)
Captivating	.12	-1.37	.16	**2.12**	.14	1.37	People just got drawn to her (English, W)
EXPRESSIVENESS	.01	**-7.23**	.07	**6.90**	.07	**10.15**	
Emotional Sharing	.05	***3.72***	.02	***-3.33***	.01	***-5.37***	If something has upset him, he tells me (Zulu)
Noisy	.01	-0.47	.02	0.47	.02	0.65	A noisy person (S Sotho)
Outspoken	.01	-1.91	.02	**4.50**	.01	0.84	Outspoken, especially when someone is wrong (Xhosa)
Secretive	.02	***2.33***	.00	***-2.33***	.00	***-3.19***	He did not want to talk about his past or future (Tsonga)
Straightforward	.02	-1.44	.03	1.57	.03	1.89	He is a straightforward and straight talking person (N Sotho)
POSITIVE EMOTIONALITY	.24	**-2.33**	.31	**2.84**	.29	**2.85**	
Cheerful	.10	*1.92*	.11	*1.38*	.05	***-4.91***	Always in a jovial mood, is never in a bad mood (Swati)
Humorous	.09	**-2.62**	.10	0.16	.14	**5.29**	He is full of jokes (Ndebele)
Optimistic	.00	**-4.67**	.04	**6.90**	.03	**4.86**	Very positive (Venda)

Table 4.2 *(Cont.)*

Subclusters and Facets	Blacks		Indians		Whites		Example Descriptions
	P	*SR*	*P*	*SR*	*P*	*SR*	
Playful	.02	***2.07***	.00	***-2.36***	.01	***-2.64***	A playful person (Tswana)
Pleasure-Seeking	.01	-1.29	.02	**3.69**	.01	0.12	Likes to have fun (Xhosa)
Vivacious	.02	**-3.86**	.03	1.11	.06	**7.19**	Energetic (Afrikaans)
SOCIABILITY	.45	1.79	.35	**-3.03**	.40	-1.60	
Communicative	.02	-0.25	.01	-0.64	.02	0.95	I love communicating with people (S Sotho)
Extravert/Introvert	.01	**-6.37**	.04	2.00	.09	**11.77**	She is an introvert (Swati)
Reserved	.02	-0.76	.03	1.37	.02	0.63	He is reserved (Zulu)
Shy	.03	1.19	.02	-1.12	.02	-1.69	Shy, but if you get to know me, you would understand me (English, I)
Sociable	.16	*1.05*	.16	*0.00*	.13	***-2.16***	He enjoys being with people (N Sotho)
Spontaneous		**-6.62**	.01	0.50	.04	**13.30**	Spontaneous (Afrikaans)
Story-Teller	.02	***2.54***	.01	*-1.45*	.00	***-4.24***	She likes to tell about the times when she was still a girl (Zulu)
Talkative	.18	***5.23***	.07	***-5.35***	.08	***-7.10***	I like chatting with people (Tsonga)
Facilitating							
ENCOURAGING OTHERS	.36	0.90	.26	**-2.02**	.27	-1.44	
Aspirations for Others	.07	1.06	.02	**-2.32**	.02	-1.75	Wishes for everyone to succeed (Xhosa)
Encouraging	.28	1.09	.20	-1.64	.15	**-2.67**	Likes to encourage and motivate people (Swati)
Thought-Provoking		*-1.63*		*-0.45*	.02	***7.33***	Comes up with ideas (…) that make you realize things (English, W)
Uplifting	.02	*-1.56*	.04	*1.58*	.08	***4.72***	Brings out the lighter side in me (English, I)
GUIDANCE	.64	-0.66	.74	1.48	.73	1.05	
Advising	.33	1.98	.17	**-3.20**	.08	**-4.61**	Gives advice about life (Venda)
Didactic	.13	-1.02	.27	**4.45**	.11	-0.86	He taught me so many things (Ndebele)
Guiding	.09	0.76	.06	-1.20	.04	-1.81	She is able to guide others (Tsonga)
Influential	.01	***-3.00***	.05	***2.14***	.15	***10.10***	A person that inspires (Tswana)
Leading	.02	*-1.66*	.02	*0.17*	.11	***6.74***	He is a leader at school and in the community as well (N Sotho)
Respectable	.02	***-2.33***	.06	***2.76***	.11	***6.56***	She is respected by people in the village (S Sotho)
Role Model	.04	*-1.86*	.11	***3.87***	.11	***3.33***	He is a role model to me (Zulu)

Table 4.2 *(Cont.)*

Subclusters and Facets	Blacks		Indians		Whites		Example Descriptions
	P	*SR*	*P*	*SR*	*P*	*SR*	
Integrity							
FAIRNESS	.16	0.54	.14	-0.80	.15	-0.68	
Discriminative	.14	***3.45***	.06	***-2.76***	.04	***-5.89***	Discriminates, does not buy clothes for everybody (Swati)
Fair	.02	**-5.05**	.08	**3.29**	.11	**9.10**	Fair, not prejudiced (Afrikaans)
INTEGRITY	.84	-0.23	.86	0.35	.85	0.30	
Honest	.07	**-6.78**	.20	**4.16**	.27	**12.38**	Honest (Xhosa)
Integrity	.00	**-2.87**	.03	**5.70**	.01	**2.74**	Sound values and integrity (English, W)
Loyal	.01	**-5.53**	.07	**3.33**	.11	**10.15**	Loyal—to duties and as friend (English, I)
Morally Conscious	.15	*1.60*	.13	*-0.10*	.08	***-3.48***	He does not like people to do bad things (N Sotho)
Pretending	.05	0.85	.02	-1.93	.04	-0.67	A person who pretends to like you whereas he does not (Zulu)
Responsible	.12	***2.28***	.05	***-2.31***	.06	***-3.59***	He never abandoned me (Zulu)
Trustworthy	.26	0.59	.30	1.37	.21	**-2.18**	Reliable and trustworthy (Venda)
Truthful	.19	***3.46***	.06	***-3.76***	.07	***-5.28***	She likes telling the truth (Ndebele)
Intellect							
AESTHETICS	.16	***2.33***	.08	***-2.41***	.09	***-2.69***	
Artistic	.00	**-2.30**	.02	**2.61**	.02	**2.48**	Artistic and creative with lots of interests (Afrikaans)
Concrete Work	.11	***4.08***	.01	***-3.79***	.01	***-5.07***	He loved handiwork (Tsonga)
Creative	.03	-1.14	.04	0.54	.05	1.84	Creative, makes furniture (English, I)
Musical	.01	0.80		-1.12	.00	-0.69	She is a good singer (Swati)
Talented	.01	0.76	.00	-0.85	.01	-0.84	He has many talents (Tswana)
REASONING	.20	**-6.19**	.43	**4.19**	.53	**8.94**	
Intelligent	.15	**-4.61**	.27	**2.31**	.37	**7.30**	Is able to see where the problem lies (Xhosa)
Knowledgeable	.04	**-2.58**	.08	**2.18**	.09	**3.37**	He understands or knows history well, and wild animals (Ndebele)
Logical	.01	**-4.21**	.07	**4.43**	.07	**4.83**	Rational and logical (English, I)
Self-Insight	.01	0.52	.00	-0.31	.00	-0.79	He understands himself (S Sotho)
SKILLFULNESS	.33	***3.02***	.21	***-2.33***	.18	***-4.14***	
Articulative	.09	0.53	.08	-0.47	.08	-0.68	He taught history nicely and explained beautifully (Zulu)

Table 4.2 *(Cont.)*

Subclusters and Facets	Blacks		Indians		Whites		Example Descriptions
	P	*SR*	*P*	*SR*	*P*	*SR*	
Competent	.19	***2.63***	.13	*-1.58*	.08	***-3.96***	He does his work well (Tswana)
Enterprising	.04	***2.12***	.00	***-2.52***	.01	***-2.21***	It is a person who owns and runs his shop very well (Zulu)
Useless	.00	0.35		-0.34		-0.42	He is useless (Tsonga)
SOCIAL INTELLECT	.31	*1.53*	.28	*-0.17*	.21	***-2.89***	
Perceptive	.03	-1.08	.04	-0.19	.06	**2.29**	She could easily see when you had a problem (Zulu)
Socially Intelligent	.01	-1.07	.02	0.45	.02	1.77	Knows how to deal with people (Xhosa)
Understanding	.27	***2.37***	.23	*-0.22*	.13	***-4.53***	He understands my traditions (Venda)
Openness							
BROAD-MINDEDNESS	.71	0.38	.77	1.01	.61	-1.98	
Dreamer	.00	0.12		-0.73	.00	0.22	Dreamer (Xhosa)
Independent	.05	**-2.30**	.07	0.64	.16	**6.58**	I am an independent-minded person (S Sotho)
Individualistic	.00	**-3.40**	.06	**8.50**	.03	**3.60**	Individualistic (Afrikaans)
Open-Minded	.03	**-3.38**	.15	**6.77**	.11	**4.95**	He is interested in other languages as well (N Sotho)
Prim and Proper		**-2.06**	.01	1.29	.01	**5.33**	Prim and proper (English, I, W)
Progressive	.02	**-3.81**	.15	**7.52**	.11	**5.66**	Conservative (Afrikaans)
Religious	.45	***2.91***	.27	***-2.98***	.16	***-6.57***	I'm a religious person (Tsonga)
Traditional	.15	***2.25***	.07	***-2.52***	.03	***-4.91***	Liked traditional things (Swati)
Visionary	.01	-0.09		-1.03	.01	1.11	Visionary (Xhosa)
EPISTEMIC CURIOSITY	.16	0.13	.11	-1.62	.18	0.91	
Academically Oriented	.05	-0.15	.04	-0.52	.06	0.89	She likes to be educated (Ndebele)
Eager to Learn	.07	*1.59*	.03	***-2.00***	.01	***-3.28***	Likes to learn about other people's culture (Venda)
Inquisitive	.04	-1.51	.04	-0.08	.11	**4.73**	A person that likes to know the answers of life (Tswana)
MATERIALISM	.10	0.25	.08	-0.88	.10	-0.05	
Fashion-Conscious	.08	0.60	.05	-1.12	.06	-0.94	Is always well-dressed in current fashion (Swati)
Materialistic	.02	-0.55	.03	0.18	.04	1.54	Likes money (Zulu)
OPENNESS TO EXPERIENCE	.02	**-2.48**	.04	0.42	.11	**7.34**	
Adventurous		**-5.22**	.02	1.53	.10	**14.91**	Adventurous (English, I, W)

Table 4.2 *(Cont.)*

Subclusters and Facets	Blacks		Indians		Whites		Example Descriptions
	P	*SR*	*P*	*SR*	*P*	*SR*	
Like to Travel	.02	0.55	.02	-0.54	.01	-1.27	She likes travelling (S Sotho)
Relationship Harmony							
APPROACHABILITY	.32	***-5.19***	.62	***7.11***	.63	***9.72***	
Accommodating	.01	0.01	.00	-0.40	.01	0.26	Addressed us in English so we could understand (Xhosa)
Approachable	.06	***-4.93***	.22	***8.33***	.18	***8.05***	She is approachable, I could speak to her about anything (S Sotho)
Arrogant	.07	***-2.63***	.14	***3.90***	.14	***4.72***	He thinks he is better than all the other people (N Sotho)
Flexible	.01	***-3.55***	.06	***4.64***	.06	***6.83***	Flexible to situation (Tswana)
Humble	.05	0.13	.05	0.32	.04	-0.62	She is a humble and down to earth person (Ndebele)
Open for Others	.02	-0.65	.02	0.64	.02	1.39	Accepts people for who and what they are (English, W)
Proud	.03	0.35	.05	**2.20**	.01	**-2.67**	Is proud and thinks of herself better than others (Swati)
Stubborn	.06	***-2.08***	.05	*-1.24*	.16	***7.01***	Was stubborn, did not listen to anybody (Tswana)
Tolerant	.01	-1.43	.02	**3.63**	.01	1.43	Tolerant (Afrikaans)
Welcoming	.02	0.99	.01	-1.31	.01	-1.90	Welcoming—to everyone (Venda)
CONFLICT-SEEKING	.08	0.40	.07	-0.66	.07	-0.68	
Argumentative	.02	0.93	.00	-1.82	.01	-1.32	Likes to quarrel (Xhosa)
Provoking	.01	1.12		-1.77	.00	-1.91	Provocative and calls people names (Swati)
Troublesome	.05	-0.55	.07	1.07	.06	0.80	Creates tension for nothing (Zulu)
INTERPERSONAL RELATEDNESS	.44	**2.91**	.28	**-3.62**	.25	**-5.74**	
Appeasing	.01	0.41		-1.37	.01	-0.15	If she made you angry she will come to your house and apologise (N Sotho)
Constructive	.01	0.89	.00	-0.82		-1.97	Shares constructive ideas (Xhosa)
Cooperative	.03	1.19		**-2.64**	.01	-1.47	Works well with others (Tswana)
Forgiving	.03	0.32	.04	0.66	.02	-1.44	She holds no grudges (Tsonga)
Good Relations with Another	.12	**2.35**	.05	**-3.12**	.04	**-4.48**	Maintains a good relation with others (Venda)
Peaceful	.10	**2.02**	.02	**-3.88**	.05	**-2.95**	He likes peace amongst people (N Sotho)
Peacekeeping	.02	-1.21	.05	**3.23**	.03	1.07	He likes to bring peace where there is misunderstanding (Ndebele)
Well-Mannered	.13	0.90	.12	-0.38	.09	**-2.35**	Doesn't ask nicely (Afrikaans)

Table 4.2 *(Cont.)*

Subclusters and Facets	Blacks		Indians		Whites		Example Descriptions
	P	*SR*	*P*	*SR*	*P*	*SR*	
MEDDLESOMENESS	.15	**3.13**	.03	**-4.87**	.04	**-5.44**	
Gossiping	.13	**3.25**	.01	**-4.82**	.02	**-5.81**	A person who spreads rumours about other people (S Sotho)
Interfering	.03	0.48	.01	-1.22	.02	-0.48	Likes to interfere in other people's business (English, W)
Soft-Heartedness							
ACTIVE SUPPORT	.14	***-2.80***	.22	***5.44***	.18	***3.26***	
Community Involvement	.00	0.95	.00	-0.64	.00	-1.99	There is one person who is always looking after the community (Zulu)
Heedful	.01	***-2.11***	.03	***2.59***	.03	***3.59***	She listens when you talk to her (S Sotho)
Helpful	.09	-0.98	.12	**2.60**	.10	0.63	Is helpful when you are in need (Swati)
Protective	.00	*-1.74*	.00	*1.36*	.01	***3.52***	Protective (Xhosa)
Solving Problems of Others	.01	1.49	.00	**-2.24**	.00	**-2.22**	If I have a problem, she knows how to solve it (Ndebele)
Supportive	.03	***-3.48***	.07	***6.58***	.05	***4.19***	I like to give people my support (Tswana)
AMIABILITY	.12	***-7.43***	.21	***5.21***	.28	***15.47***	
Friendly	.03	***-8.34***	.06	***2.56***	.13	***19.78***	She is a friendly person (Tsonga)
Irritating	.00	-1.53	.01	**3.26**	.01	1.58	He is annoying and irritating (S Sotho)
Kind	.07	-1.42	.10	**2.37**	.09	1.95	Kind (Venda)
Likeable	.01	***-3.41***	.02	***3.54***	.02	***6.24***	He is loved by everyone (S Sotho)
Pleasant	.01	***-2.49***	.02	*1.99*	.02	***5.01***	He was a nice person to live with (Zulu)
Stern	.00	*-1.13*	.00	*0.58*	.00	***2.51***	Always serious, not smiling (Xhosa)
EGOISM	.13	1.08	.12	-0.77	.11	**-2.23**	
Generous	.08	1.98	.06	**-2.27**	.06	**-3.46**	One who is generous and gives food when asked (Swati)
Greedy	.00	0.08		-1.38	.00	0.80	Greedy (Afrikaans)
Jealous	.02	**2.56**	.01	**-2.62**	.01	**-4.72**	A person who is jealous of other people's possessions (Zulu)
Self-Centered	.00	***-2.34***	.00	*0.17*	.01	***5.96***	All revolves around her, she thinks (English, I)
Selfish	.02	***-2.55***	.05	***5.18***	.03	***2.81***	Wants everything for himself (Xhosa)
EMPATHY	.40	**3.17**	.31	**-3.66**	.31	**-5.53**	
Agreeing	.00	-0.63	.00	1.03	.00	0.88	Agreeable (Tswana)
Caring	.10	-1.43	.13	**2.73**	.11	1.72	Cares about other people (English, W)

Table 4.2 *(Cont.)*

Subclusters and Facets	Blacks		Indians		Whites		Example Descriptions
	P	*SR*	*P*	*SR*	*P*	*SR*	
Compassionate	.03	**3.16**	.01	**-3.07**	.01	**-5.93**	She feels pity for you when you are in trouble (N Sotho)
Considerate	.01	***-3.75***	.02	***3.58***	.03	***7.12***	Considers others' feelings (Afrikaans)
Humane	.00	0.95		-1.77	.00	-1.16	He is good-natured and shows humanity (Swati)
Loving	.18	**2.37**	.13	**-3.21**	.14	**-3.80**	Loving and caring—concerned about my life (Venda)
Respectful	.08	**4.92**	.02	**-6.42**	.02	**-8.06**	He respects other people (Tsonga)
Satisfying Others	.00	0.14	.00	1.58		-1.51	Makes people happy all the time (Xhosa)
GRATEFULNESS	.01	0.51	.01	1.42	.01	**-2.36**	
Appreciative	.01	1.33	.01	-0.28	.00	**-3.26**	She doesn't appreciate the good of other people (Ndebele)
Grateful	.00	-1.09	.01	**2.98**	.00	0.63	He is not thankful for what people do for him (N Sotho)
HOSTILITY	.19	**3.70**	.13	**-4.12**	.12	**-6.58**	
Abusive	.02	**2.29**	.01	**-2.57**	.00	**-4.05**	Abusive—physically and emotionally (English, W)
Aggressive	.04	**3.40**	.01	**-3.91**	.01	**-5.96**	He is aggressive and likes fighting (Tswana)
Critical	.01	***-2.76***	.01	*0.82*	.02	***6.58***	He likes criticising others (Tsonga)
Cruel	.03	**2.13**	.01	**-3.33**	.02	**-3.09**	He is a cruel person (S Sotho)
Delinquent	.03	**3.28**	.00	**-4.44**	.01	**-5.25**	Mugged people (Xhosa)
Denigrating	.02	-0.61	.04	**3.51**	.02	-0.99	Likes to belittle others (Venda)
Distrustful	.00	***-2.95***	.01	***2.11***	.02	***6.11***	He mistrusts people (English, W)
Exploiting	.00	0.04	.01	0.43	.00	-0.42	Uses other people (Afrikaans)
Intimidating	.00	-1.16	.01	**3.38**	.00	0.53	People were afraid of him (N Sotho)
Verbally Aggressive	.03	**2.14**	.02	**-2.07**	.01	**-4.03**	Swears at his parents (Zulu)
Wrathful	.00	0.68		-0.85		-1.15	Is wrathful and scolds, especially when you have disappointed her (Swati)

Note. N Sotho = Northern Sotho; S Sotho = Southern Sotho. For the responses of English speakers, ethnic group (Indian or White) is indicated by initial letter. Subclusters are presented in small caps and facets are presented alphabetically per subcluster. The analyses were done separately for subclusters and facets per cluster. Standardized residuals with an absolute value above 2 appear in bold typeface. Standardized residuals of subclusters and facets with a pattern opposite to that predicted for their cluster (or opposite to the observed pattern, for Emotional Stability and Integrity) are italicized. The examples are adapted from Nel et al.'s (in press) Table 2.

Social-Relational Clusters

The following 22 facets were underrepresented in Blacks in the social-relational clusters: Thought-Provoking, Uplifting, Influential, Leading, Respectable, and Role Model (in Facilitating), Approachable, Arrogant, Flexible, and Stubborn (in Relationship Harmony), and Heedful, Protective, Supportive, Friendly, Likeable, Pleasant, Stern, Self-Centered, Selfish, Considerate, Critical, and Distrustful (in Soft-Heartedness). All listed facets were underrepresented in Blacks (*SR*s between -1.13 and -8.34) and overrepresented in Whites (*SR*s between 2.51 and 19.78). Indians generally were between the two groups with *SR*s between -1.24 and 8.33, although they had the highest representation in four of these facets (see Table 4.2).

The following patterns were distinguished. First, in the Facilitating cluster, the facets focusing more on the qualities of the individual as a guide (like Leading and Respectable) were more prominent in Whites, whereas facets referring to the beneficial aspects of guidance for others (like Encouraging and Advising) were more prominent in Blacks. Second, the facets of Relationship Harmony and Soft-Heartedness that were most overrepresented in Whites as well as Indians were often among the classic Big-Five Agreeableness elements (like Approachable, Flexible, Friendly, Considerate, and Distrustful). The facets that were more salient for Blacks were found in the Empathy subcluster (where the Respectful facet suggested the salience of relationship norms in a hierarchical relationship context), in the relatively more culture-specific subclusters (Interpersonal Relatedness, Meddlesomeness, and Gratefulness), and in the domain of disruptive behaviors (notably in the Hostility subcluster; see Table 4.2). The overall pattern suggested an increased salience of preservation of relationship norms for Blacks.

Emotional Stability and Integrity

Both the Emotional Stability and the Integrity cluster were underrepresented in Blacks and overrepresented in Whites, and it is hence interesting to examine the facets that displayed a pattern in the opposite direction. In Emotional Stability, the Short-Tempered, Courageous, Self-Respectful, and Temperamental facets were overrepresented in Blacks (*SR*s between 1.67 and 6.01) and underrepresented in Whites (*SR*s between -2.85 and -7.21), with intermediate results in Indians (*SR*s between -0.25 and -5.23; see Table 4.2). The results indicated the expected distinction between internalizing and externalizing elements of Emotional Stability. The internalizing elements (most facets of this cluster, especially those under the Emotional Sensitivity and Neuroticism subclusters) were more prominent in Whites, and the externalizing elements (Short-Tempered and Temperamental) in Blacks. The Courageous and Self-Respectful facets were an interesting exception as they were especially salient in the Black group.

In Integrity, the Discriminative, Morally Conscious, Responsible, and Truthful facets were overrepresented in Blacks (*SR*s between 1.60 and 3.46) and underrepresented in Whites (*SR*s between -3.48 and -5.89), with Indians displaying an intermediate pattern (*SR*s between -0.10 and -3.76; see Table 4.2). The Discriminative facet arguably pointed to the increased salience of social discrimination in the groups most affected by it. The other three facets appeared to indicate the salience of diverse moral norms, often expressed in terms of concrete, norm-breaching behaviors (such as acts of irresponsibility). The facets overrepresented in Blacks referred to fairly concrete behaviors, whereas the facets overrepresented in Whites (such as Honest and Loyal) referred to more abstract concepts.

Discussion

The present study, employing an emic–etic approach, investigated cross-cultural differences in the salience of the components of an indigenous model of personality in three ethnocultural groups in South Africa: Blacks, Indians, and Whites. We found a moderate overall agreement on the components of the model across groups, but also substantial differences in the use both of broad personality clusters and of their specific components.

Broad Cluster Preferences

On the level of clusters, we made a distinction between those focusing more on personal growth (Conscientiousness, Extraversion, Intellect, and Openness) and those focusing more on the quality of social-relational functioning (Facilitating, Relationship Harmony, and Soft-Heartedness). Consistent with predictions from the individualism–collectivism framework, participants from the more collectivistic Black group made the fewest references to the personal-growth clusters, and participants from the more individualistic White group the most, with Indians generally in the middle; the reverse was true for the social-relational clusters. This finding is in line with research showing that agentic self-concepts (more strongly represented in personal-growth clusters) are more salient in individualistic cultures and communal self-concepts (more strongly represented in social-relational clusters) in collectivistic cultures (Del Prado et al., 2007; Sedikides et al., 2003). Our study suggests that cultural differences in the salience of agency and communion concepts affect not only self-concepts, but also personality.

A notable exception to this pattern was the Openness cluster, which was overrepresented in Blacks and underrepresented in Whites. Inspection of the lower-level components of Openness identified two somewhat atypical facets that appeared to be causing this effect: Religious and Traditional. Research has suggested that

different aspects of religion are associated with Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, and Openness (Saroglou, 2010), and our conceptual categorization, based on content analysis and not yet supported by quantitative data, may have overemphasized aspects of spirituality. Similarly, a case could be made for the Traditional facet as related to low Openness or to high Conscientiousness (e.g., Roccas et al., 2002). In an additional analysis we moved the Religious and Traditional facets to Conscientiousness and re-ran the loglinear analysis on clusters. Openness now displayed the expected pattern of overrepresentation in Whites (SR = 2.65) and underrepresentation in Blacks (SR = -1.73); the pattern was reversed for Conscientiousness (SR_{Whites} = -4.03, SR_{Blacks} = 2.77). In conclusion, after the removal of the two more ambivalent facets, Openness also confirmed the expectations for personal-growth clusters.

Emotional Stability and Integrity, although not predicted, were found to be overrepresented in Whites' descriptions and underrepresented in Blacks. It could be argued that the two clusters address attention primarily to intrapsychic characteristics and are hence person-focused, but that would only be true for some of their facets. Emotional Stability is one of the personality factors that have had less than perfect replication in psycholexical studies, and it has been suggested that its importance may have been overemphasized in (Western) personality psychology (De Raad et al., 2010). Integrity, in turn, is a recently introduced personality construct and its theoretical and empirical links to personal values across groups still need to be established. At present, it seems fair to conclude that the two broad clusters represent concepts that are more salient in Whites than in Blacks.

Common Patterns of Differences in Cluster Construction

On the lower level of facets, there were several patterns that affected cross-cultural differences in a similar way across clusters. First, agentic or personal-growth facets within the clusters tended to be used more often by Whites and less often by Blacks, with Indians in between, with a reversed pattern for communal or social-relational facets. In other words, the agentic–communal distinction was present also within some clusters, in line with theory (Wiggins & Trapnell, 1996). This was most obvious in Conscientiousness (with facets of achievement vs. order and tradition), Emotional Stability (internalizing vs. externalizing facets), Facilitating (facets focusing on the individual as a guide vs. the beneficial effects of guidance), and Intellect (facets of general vs. social intelligence). Second, there was a general tendency for Blacks to favor facets representing concrete manifestations of personality traits, like in the contrast of concrete aspects of communication versus general communicativeness and extraversion. This pattern was most systematic in the personal-growth clusters and in Integrity. This finding parallels the observation that the three groups differed in a similar way in their use of traits and contextual information: Blacks made the most use of behaviors and contextualizing information, whereas Whites used traits more and

contextualization less, with Indians (and Coloureds) in the middle (Valchev, Van de Vijver, Nel, et al., 2012). Finally, especially Blacks' personality descriptions often employed characteristics that seem to point to the importance of social norms of behavior. These were social norms in diverse domains, spread across personality clusters: tradition preservation, work and development (with facets in Conscientiousness and Openness), norms of communication in particular, often hierarchical contexts (like frank communication, obedience, and respectfulness, with facets in Extraversion, Conscientiousness, Relationship Harmony, and Soft-Heartedness), and moral norms (in Integrity, although this domain as a whole was more salient for Whites). Norms are societal prescriptions for appropriate behavior and their place in a personality model could be questioned. However, the relevance of norms for personality concepts has been demonstrated in previous indigenous personality research, for example in the case of face-saving and other relational norms in the Chinese context (F. M. Cheung et al., 2001). Our study suggests that social-relational norms, but also norms of tradition, progress, and moral integrity are an important source of variation in personality concepts in South Africa.

Cross-cultural differences in personality concepts often amount to a lack of replication of Openness and additions to the Agreeableness domain in collectivistic cultures (Church, 2008). A similar pattern applies to our findings, with some qualifications. Rather than failing to observe an Intellect/Openness domain in our more collectivistic Black sample, we found that the broad concepts were present but more often defined in terms of practical and social intelligence and particular interests and activities (cf. Valchev et al., 2011). The replicability of Openness in an African context may thus increase when culture-specific trait manifestations or, in terms of the five-factor theory, characteristic adaptations (McCrae & Allik, 2002) are taken into account.

The Agreeableness domain, in turn, deserves a careful look. Although our social-relational clusters were found, as expected, to be more salient in the more collectivistic Black group, there was a substantial core of facets which were more salient in the relatively more individualistic White and Indian groups. We interpreted these facets as closer to the core of Agreeableness as it is known in Western models, involving themes of approachability, amiability, and trust. Apart from empathy (which is also a classic element of Agreeableness), the facets overrepresented in Blacks' descriptions involved more specific concepts whose relevance for interpersonal relations and social harmony was fairly explicit, like guiding others in a beneficial way, maintaining interpersonal relations, gossiping, and generally disruptive behaviors. The finding that members of the more individualistic groups were attentive to aspects of the quality of interpersonal behaviors is not surprising. For example, Durgel, Leyendecker, Yagmurlu, and Harwood (2009) found that German mothers placed a higher value than Turkish immigrant mothers on their children's developing close warm

relationships. In fact, the individualism–collectivism framework implies that in individualistic cultures it is more important to be able to establish good relationships with foreigners, whereas in collectivistic cultures, the emphasis is more on preserving relationships with ingroup members (Triandis, 1995). Our study suggests that there may hence be a core of social-relational personality concepts which are especially salient in individualistic cultures. This may explain the counterintuitive, at first glance, positive association between culture-level Agreeableness and individualism (McCrae et al., 2005b). It appears that there is room for expansion of the social-relational domain with concepts beyond this Agreeableness core, which are more salient in collectivistic cultures. Future research should examine the relations between these different groups of social-relational personality concepts in a quantitative framework.

It should be noted that although we treated the Indian group conceptually as intermediate between the other two groups, Indians were closer to Blacks in some cases and to Whites in others, and were the extreme, low or high group on a number of facets. The facets where the Indian group was extreme were a minority and did not appear to add up to a common pattern. Some of these unexpected findings could be an artifact of the small sample size of this group (although the findings were similar after the inclusion of the Coloured group, not reported here; see Footnote 2 on p. 73). Nonetheless, this observation should alert us to the fact that the alignment of groups on a single continuum like individualism–collectivism enforces some oversimplification, and that when looking beyond common patterns like agency–communion and abstractness–concreteness, differences in the salience of personality concepts can also be expected as a result of more specific cultural factors.

Conclusions

What are the implications of our findings for the indigenous personality model in South Africa? Given the extensive cross-cultural differences, should this model be treated as a single model or should different models be used for different groups? The strength of the emic–etic approach lies in its ability to allow the representation of both common and specific elements in a unified framework (F. M. Cheung et al., 2011). The clusters and subclusters of the South African personality model were based on responses from all 11 languages, and 150 facets were observed in at least seven languages (Nel et al., 2011); the average correlation of .64 across groups in the proportions of facets used per cluster suggested that there is at least a moderate agreement on the meaning of the clusters. There is thus a fair basis to consider the nine-cluster model as common for the three ethnocultural groups. Still, given this common basis, there were systematic differences in the salience of the model's components across groups, both on the broad cluster level and the narrow facet level. Ethnocultural groups in South Africa differ in their preferences for agentic versus communal descriptions, abstract versus specific content, social norms, and

relatively culture-specific manifestations of underlying traits. Future studies should establish to what extent the more salient concepts have better predictive validity in different groups.

In conclusion, our study has implications both for personality assessment and for personality theory. With respect to assessment, general factors like the level of abstractness of personality characteristics can affect cross-cultural comparisons (cf. Valchev, Van de Vijver, Nel, et al., 2012). When abstractness is a concern, as may often be the case in comparisons between more collectivistic and more individualistic cultures, questionnaire items with specific trait manifestations should be preferred as they have been found to favor structure replicability in more collectivistic groups while not hampering it in more individualistic groups (e.g., Schmitt, Allik, McCrae, Benet-Martínez, et al., 2007; Schwartz et al., 2001).

With respect to personality theory, our findings suggest that in the implicit personality concepts manifested in free descriptions, there is a noticeable agreement between cultural groups on a common set of concepts similar to the Big Five, but also noticeable differences in the emphasis on different components of this set. The expansion of the Big Five space implicates social-relational concepts and diverse social norms. Our study suggests that when the ecological validity of group comparisons is taken seriously, these additional aspects can and should be incorporated in a common model.

Chapter 5

The Use of Traits and Contextual Information in Free Personality Descriptions across Ethnocultural Groups in South Africa*

The present study investigates differences between ethnocultural groups in South Africa in the use of traits and contextual information for personality descriptions. The concept of traits as abstract personality characteristics, enduring over time and consistent across situations, is central to personality psychology (John, Naumann, & Soto, 2008). In the field of cross-cultural personality studies, different perspectives have been taken on the importance of traits for understanding personality. On the one hand, culture-comparative work assumes the importance and applicability of traits across cultures (e.g., McCrae & Allik, 2002; McCrae, Terracciano, & 78 Members of the Personality Profiles of Cultures Project, 2005a). On the other hand, researchers in more relativistic traditions support the view that traits are more relevant and salient in individualistic cultures, whereas concrete, context-specific descriptions are more salient in collectivistic cultures (e.g., Shweder & Bourne, 1984; Triandis, 2001). These perspectives are referred to as trait and cultural psychology, respectively. Their implications and empirical support have been studied systematically in a series of publications by Church and colleagues (Church, 2000, 2009, 2010; Church, Anderson-Harumi, et al., 2008; Church, Katigbak, et al., 2008; Church et al., 2003; Del Prado et al., 2007). In short, there are mixed findings supporting aspects of both perspectives, with a preponderance of support for the trait perspective, especially among non-Asian populations (Del Prado et al., 2007; for reviews of the topic, see also Benet-Martínez & Oishi, 2008; Church, 2009, 2010; Heine & Buchtel, 2009; Triandis & Suh, 2002). The present study aims to contribute to this literature by (a) extending it to the largely understudied African context while employing a more graded than the usual dichotomous approach to individualism–collectivism; (b) addressing the role of language and social distance for cross-cultural differences; and (c) investigating the

* This chapter is based on Valchev, Van de Vijver, Nel, et al. (2012).

interplay of these differences with domains of personality, to identify the domains with the most pronounced differences.

We report three studies: In Study 1, we test for overall cross-cultural differences in the use of traits and other categories of personality description and in contextualization. In Study 2, we address mechanisms of substantiation of differences in trait use by examining the role of language and social distance from the described person. In Study 3, we turn to a little studied aspect of cross-cultural differences in personality descriptions: We investigate traits and contextualization across personality domains defined both in broad terms like agency and communion, and in more specific terms of personality clusters. In the remainder of the introduction, we delineate the theoretical framework relevant for the questions of each of these studies. We conclude the introduction with a section on the cultural characteristics of subpopulations in South Africa.

Traits and Contextualization across Cultures

The different views on traits across cultures can be represented using the contraposition of the trait and cultural psychology perspectives. The development of universal personality models like the Big Five (John et al., 2008) is based on the assumption of the trait perspective that traits have a central meaning for the conceptions of personality across cultures. This assumption allows researchers in the psycholexical approach to study selections of traits by sampling trait terms from a language's lexicon (Allport & Odbert, 1936; Saucier & Goldberg, 2001). The existence of trait terms in all languages has been taken to support the validity of trait-based personality models (Del Prado et al., 2007; Saucier & Goldberg, 2001). On the other hand, there is a substantial body of literature in cultural psychology pointing to cross-cultural differences in the use of traits for describing and conceptualizing personality. The cultural psychology perspective is closely associated with the individualism–collectivism theoretical framework. People in collectivistic cultures, as opposed to those in individualistic cultures, tend to describe personality and behavior less in abstract trait terms and more in terms of specific behaviors embedded in specific contexts, and in terms of social roles and identities (Markus & Kitayama, 1998). Such differences have been documented most widely for self-descriptions using open-ended measures like the Twenty Statements Test (TST) where participants are asked to complete the sentence "I am…" up to 20 times (e.g., Cousins, 1989; Rhee, Uleman, Lee, & Roman, 1995), but also using other methods and target persons (Del Prado et al., 2007). There is also a line of research that has demonstrated cross-cultural differences in causal attributions, where people in collectivistic cultures, as opposed to those in individualistic cultures, tend to attribute behaviors more strongly to situational rather than dispositional (that is, trait) factors (Choi, Nisbett, & Norenzayan, 1999). Cross-cultural differences in trait use have implications varying

from implicit personality conceptions, through trait beliefs and causal attributions, to actual temporal and cross-situational behavior consistency and predictability from traits (Church, 2000, 2009). Our study focuses on the first of these topics, personality conceptions.

Cross-cultural differences in contextualization can be placed in the same framework as differences in trait use: People in collectivistic cultures are more sensitive than those in individualistic cultures to relational and situational contexts (Church, 2000; Markus & Kitayama, 1998; Nisbett, Peng, Choi, & Norenzayan, 2001). Two main aspects of the interplay of personality and context can be distinguished. The first aspect refers to the question: How does context influence self-concepts and behavior across cultures? There is evidence that self-concepts as well as particular perceptions and behaviors vary with context more widely in collectivistic than in individualistic cultures (Cousins, 1989; Kanagawa, Cross, & Markus, 2001; Oishi, Diener, Scollon, & Biswas-Diener, 2004). The second aspect refers to the question: What is the perceived role of context for implicit personality conceptions? This is the aspect addressed in the present study. In most approaches to this question, traits and context are treated as opposites: Person conceptions can be more "traited" (stable, consistent) or more "contextualized" (situationally defined; Church, 2009; Heine & Buchtel, 2009). In some recent approaches, however, trait use and contextualization are treated as theoretically and empirically distinct concepts (Kashima, 2001; Kashima, Kashima, Kim, & Gelfand, 2006). Contextualized references involve relations, situations, or other kinds of context to describe personality, which can be used both for traits and behaviors. For example, "she is kind" is a context-free trait description and "she is kind to her neighbors" is a relationally qualified trait description, as it describes a target of the kindness; "she helps" is a context-free behavior description and "she helps her neighbors" is a relationally qualified behavior description. Similarly, "she is kind when you do not discuss money" is a situationally qualified trait description and "she helps when you are sick" is a situationally qualified behavior description. The present study independently assesses the use of both traits and context for implicit personality conceptions across groups.

Del Prado and colleagues (2007) noted that, despite the generality of cultural psychology's claims on cross-cultural differences, most support has come from comparisons of European and East Asian (mostly student) populations, whereas studies of other groups presumably differing on the individualism–collectivism dimension have failed to provide such support. This has led researchers to speculate that cross-cultural differences in trait use could be attributable to Asian dialecticism rather than individualism–collectivism (Del Prado et al., 2007; Kashima et al., 2006); yet, this speculation has received moderate support (Church, 2009). Very little research on personality and trait use has been conducted in Africa and with non-student or illiterate populations (Church, 2010; Del Prado et al., 2007; Van de Vijver

& Leung, 2001). Africans have been found to endorse collectivistic aspects of the self more strongly than people of European descent (Ma & Schoeneman, 1997; Watkins et al., 1998). The present study aims to enrich this literature by investigating personality concepts in community samples from different cultural groups in South Africa.

In Study 1, we address two questions: (a) to what extent there are differences, predicted from the cultural psychology perspective, in the use of traits and contextualizing information in personality descriptions in the main ethnocultural groups of South Africa, and (b) which specific non-trait and contextualization categories are used.

Language, Social Distance, and Trait Use

Cross-cultural differences in trait use have been interpreted as resulting from different conceptions of the self or of the person in general (Kashima, 2001). In the self-concept interpretation (Markus & Kitayama, 1998; Triandis, 2001), individuals in different cultures develop different concepts of the self—focusing more on internal attributes or on interpersonal and situational information—and subsequently transfer this perception to persons in general. In the broader person-concept interpretation (Shweder & Bourne, 1984), individuals develop different personality conceptions that do not distinguish between self- and other-concepts. There is evidence that self-perceptions differ from perceptions of others, whereby social distance plays a role and distant others are perceived in more global terms than close others and the self (Liberman, Trope, & Stephan, 2007; Pronin, 2008). These different theoretical perspectives would lead to different predictions on the use of traits for self- and other-descriptions across cultures. Some authors have sought to sidestep this division by focusing on common cognitive mechanisms. Based on the linguistic category model (Semin & Fiedler, 1991), Kashima and colleagues (2006) created an objectification index by subtracting the proportion of verbs from the proportion of adjectives and noun phrases used in descriptions and found that the variation in this index reduced variation in trait use to statistical non-significance. This was true not only for self- and other-descriptions, but also for descriptions of groups and relationships, leading the authors to conclude that differences in trait use are linked to linguistic practices. We examine the effects of linguistic practices and social distance from the described person on trait use in Study 2.

Traits and Contextualization across Personality Domains

Some studies have considered how self-descriptions differ across cultures in terms of agentic versus communal elements (Del Prado et al., 2007) or the Big Five model (Watkins & Gerong, 1997). It has been found that agentic self-descriptions, referring to personal effectiveness, are used more frequently by people from individualistic cultures, and communal self-descriptions, referring to social connection and harmony,

by people from collectivistic cultures (Del Prado et al., 2007; see also Bakan, 1966; Sedikides, Gaertner, & Vevea, 2005). So, from a cross-cultural perspective, differences not only in the use of traits, but also in the semantic content of personality descriptions are interesting. However, the intersection of the two research areas has blind spots. Are traits used equally often for different personality domains, and does that differ across cultures? To our knowledge, there are no empirical data in the literature to answer this question, although it has important implications. From the perspective of research on trait use, an interaction between culture, trait use, and personality dimensions would identify more clearly the areas where the trait or cultural psychology approach is better applicable. From the perspective of research on personality structure, the investigation of this interaction would identify the personality dimensions that are more likely to be affected by different questionnaire item formulations (using abstract terms vs. concrete behaviors) across cultures.

A promising approach to tackle the interaction of trait use, personality domain, and culture can be derived from work on the psycholexical hypothesis; this hypothesis states that the most salient personality characteristics become encoded in language as single, abstract terms, which are also used more frequently (Saucier & Goldberg, 2001). Communal characteristics are more important in collectivist cultures and hence traits may be used more often to express them. On the other hand, communal characteristics may tend to be expressed more often with behaviors rather than traits because behaviors are better suited to describe relations (De Raad, 1999). It can hence be expected that, after taking into account the main effect of cross-cultural differences in agentic and communal descriptions and trait use, people in more collectivistic groups use relatively more traits for communal descriptions, and those in more individualistic groups use relatively more traits for agentic descriptions.

The interplay of personality and context has also recently attracted interest (e.g., Donnellan, Lucas, & Fleeson, 2009; Funder, 2008; Mischel & Shoda, 1995), with some moves to incorporate culture in this interplay (e.g., Church, Katigbak, & Del Prado, 2010; Matsumoto, Yoo, Fontaine, & 56 Members of the Multinational Study of Cultural Display Rules, 2009; Mendoza-Denton & Mischel, 2007; Oishi et al., 2004). Still, there is no unified account of the role of context for personality across cultures (e.g., the role of context for the way certain personality dimensions are expressed). There is evidence that the effect of adding contextual information on interjudge agreement differs across personality dimensions (De Raad, Sullot, & Barelds, 2008). However, it is less clear to what extent spontaneous personality descriptions along these dimensions show contextualization, and whether this usage differs across cultures. This is an important question, because it refers to the perceived situatedness of personality functioning in different domains. It also has a bearing on the relation between trait and context: If trait use and contextualization are opposites, their patterns should mirror each other across personality dimensions. No such mirror

patterns would be expected if trait use and contextualization are relatively distinct. We address cross-cultural differences in trait use and contextualization across personality domains in Study 3.

The South African Context

South Africa has a remarkable cultural diversity. There are 11 official languages, belonging to two language families: nine Bantu languages (Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho, and Tswana in the Sotho-Tswana group; Ndebele, Swati, Xhosa, and Zulu in the Nguni group; Tsonga, and Venda), spoken by 77.9% of the population, and two Germanic (Afrikaans and English), spoken as a first language by 21.5% of the population. The Apartheid-era distinction of four "ethnic" groups is still in use today, namely "Black" (for people of African descent), "Coloured" (mixed-race descent), "Indian" (or "Asian," for descendants of immigrants from India and South-East Asia), and "White" (European descent). The nine Bantu languages are spoken as first language by people of African descent only. The two Germanic languages are spoken as first language by Whites (9.6% of the country's population), Coloureds (Afrikaans speakers, 8.9%), and Indians (English speakers, 2.5%; Statistics South Africa, 2001).

Even though research is sometimes conducted at the level of the four ethnic groups (Duckitt, Callaghan, & Wagner, 2005) and recent studies have sought to account for the linguistic diversity of South Africa (Meiring, Van de Vijver, Rothmann, & Barrick, 2005; Nel et al., in press), studies have most often compared Blacks and Whites. There is evidence for differences between the two groups, which points to Blacks being more collectivistic and Whites more individualistic (Allik & McCrae, 2004; Eaton & Louw, 2000; Watkins et al., 1998). A more differentiated approach may be needed: Whereas Whites are more individualistic and Blacks more collectivistic, Coloureds and Indians in South Africa may occupy an intermediate position. This expectation is based on culture-level studies, which have shown that individualism–collectivism is associated both with language characteristics (Kashima & Kashima, 2003) and with socioeconomic indices, such as affluence and education (Georgas, Van de Vijver, & Berry, 2004). Coloureds and Indians share the dominant use of Germanic languages with the White group; however, they have had, for generations, less opportunity for education and socioeconomic development than Whites but more than Blacks (Seekings, 2008). There are no clear theoretical reasons or empirical data that suggest specific differences between Coloureds and Indians on the studied concepts, despite their different cultural background. It is thus expected that Coloureds and Indians have an intermediate position between Whites and Blacks with respect to individualism–collectivism and we expect this position to be displayed in the characteristics of their personality descriptions. We refer to the three groups as ethnocultural in recognition of the classification complexity.

Study 1

In the first study, we investigate differences in the categories and contextualization of personality descriptions in the three ethnocultural groups. We test the following two hypotheses, derived from the cultural psychology perspective:

Hypothesis 1: Blacks use the smallest proportion of trait descriptions, and Whites the largest, with Coloureds and Indians taking an intermediate position.

Hypothesis 2: Blacks use the largest proportion of contextualizing information in their personality descriptions, and Whites the smallest, with Coloureds and Indians taking an intermediate position.

With respect to trait use, we also examine the specific categories that make up the non-trait responses to get a better understanding of what other categories are used across groups. With respect to contextualization, we examine to what extent there are cross-cultural differences in the types of contextualization (relational, temporal–situational, life domain, or composite) used more often.

Method

The data for the present study are part of a large project aiming at the investigation of implicit personality conceptions in South Africa and the development of a new, indigenously-derived inventory, the South African Personality Inventory (SAPI; see Nel et al., in press; Valchev et al., 2011, in press). All three studies reported here were performed on different parts of the same database.

Participants. Interviews were conducted with 1,216 participants from the 11 language groups in their first language. A combination of quota and convenience sampling was used, obtaining variation in gender, urban/rural residence, education, and age. The sample included 1,027 Blacks (528 females, 53 missing data on gender; M_{Age} = 33.08 years, SD = 11.12), 84 Coloureds and Indians (26 Afrikaans and 58 English speakers; 53 females; M_{Age} = 30.99 years, SD = 10.90), and 105 Whites (44 Afrikaans 61 English speakers; 67 females; M_{Age} = 32.21 years, SD = 14.40).

Instrument and procedure. Participants were asked to describe themselves and nine other persons they knew well: their best friend of the same sex, best friend of the opposite sex, a parent, their eldest child or sibling, a grandparent, a colleague or friend from another ethnic group, a person who is the total opposite of the participant, a teacher they liked (if schooled, otherwise a person from the village whom they liked), and a teacher they disliked (if schooled, otherwise a person from the village whom they disliked). In part of the interviews (580 Blacks, 49 Coloureds and Indians, and 47 Whites), no self-descriptions and descriptions of a person opposite to oneself were obtained; descriptions of a neighbor and a disliked person were obtained instead. The following four prompting questions were used: "Please describe the following people to me by telling me what kind of person he or she is/was;" "Can you describe typical

aspects of this person?"; "Can you describe the behavior or habits that are characteristic of this person?"; and "How would you describe this person to someone who does not know him/her?". All participants were asked these questions and there was no limit to the number of descriptions provided per person. There were a total of 53,069 responses.

Data were collected by specially trained interviewers who were native speakers of the target language. The interviews were tape-recorded, transcribed, and translated into English by the interviewers. Language experts checked the accuracy of the translations and made corrections where necessary (Nel et al., in press). The English translation was used in all analyses.

Coding. We based our coding scheme on work done with the TST (see, e.g., Rhee et al., 1995), adapting it to the present data where personality descriptions were specifically requested (e.g., we merged physical descriptions with other peripheral information). The coding scheme, with examples of each category, is presented in Table 5.1. Each response was coded for two independent features: category of personality description and contextualization. For the first feature, we distinguished between several categories of descriptions like traits and behaviors; for the second feature, we distinguished between absence and presence of several kinds of contextualizing information. All responses were coded by the first author. A second rater was trained and a total interrater agreement (reflecting agreement on description categories and contextualization) of 85% was obtained for a random set of 200 responses.

Analysis. We analyzed the raw frequencies of all description categories using loglinear analysis. This approach is different from the established tradition in the studies on trait use, where proportions of trait responses are treated as a continuous variable. Our approach allows us to account for the properties of variables involving frequencies (Agresti, 2007), to accommodate more than one description categories in a unified analysis, and to avoid ipsatization issues when proportions are used. An example of ipsatization would be within-subject standardization of frequencies, so that all participants obtain the same standard number of responses; this is known to affect the results of multivariate analyses and has a debated validity (Hicks, 1970). We used loglinear analysis for all main analyses of the present study to investigate the associations between our categorical variables. In the following, we briefly introduce loglinear analysis (see also Agresti, 2007, and Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007).

In loglinear analysis, combinations of independent variables form cells in a table and the frequency in each cell is the dependent variable. The analysis tests a model with main effects only, or main effects and lower-order interactions only against a model with (higher-order) interactions. A significant goodness-of-fit statistic (likelihood ratio, LR, with a χ^2 distribution) indicates a poor fit of the tested model, pointing to a significant effect of the (higher-order) interactions. The specific sources

Table 5.1 *Coding scheme for categories of personality description and contextualization*

Category	Examples
Description content	
Trait	cheerful, helpful
Reified trait (virtue)	(has) sense of humor, respect
Behavior	makes jokes, cares
Preferences & perceptions	likes, wants, willing to, believes/thinks, hopes, expects
Competency	knows, understands, is able to
Emotional state	(is, gets) afraid, irritated
Role	(like) a father to me
Role-fitting	(not) a good father
Relational state	always there, on good terms, close to me
Social identity	Christian, Zulu
Supernatural belief	believes in ancestors
Other-referring	people respect him, we do things together
Similarities & opposites	we are similar, is like me
Peripheral to personality[a]	divorced, tall, taxi driver, lives in Soweto
Others, uncodable[a]	she is the reason I left school, friends are no good
Description contextualization	
Domain	helps with house chores
Temporal & situational	when, if, sometimes, on certain occasions
General relational	with, to (people, others)
Specific relational	with, to (her husband)
Composite	respectful to people when they come to work

[a]These two categories were used in order to account for all responses, but were not included in the analyses. The grand total number of responses before the exclusion of the responses in these categories was 62,837.

of discrepancies can be identified using the standardized residuals: Expressed as z scores, they indicate how much the observed frequency of a cell deviates from the one predicted by the tested model. Standardized residuals with absolute values above 2 are considered salient by common standards (Agresti, 2007). In the present study, we always test the model with the highest-order interactions short of the saturated model.

Results

To address cross-cultural differences in trait use, we first tested the fit of the model with main effects of category of personality description and ethnocultural group [1] as

[1] In preliminary analyses we examined the language subgroups within the Black group, Coloureds, and Indians separately. The proportions of traits were the following: Sotho-Tswana (.36), Nguni (.36), Tsonga and Venda (.36), Coloureds (.51), Indians (.55), in contrast to Whites (.69); the proportions of contextualized responses were: Sotho-Tswana (.36), Nguni (.33), Tsonga and Venda (.32), Coloureds (.24), Indians (.23), in contrast to Whites (.15). The proximity of the values between the Black groups as well as between Coloureds and Indians justified merging the groups into Blacks and Coloureds and Indians, respectively.

predictors. The model's fit was poor, LR(24, n = 53,069) = 3901.11, p < .001, indicating a significant interaction. The proportions of each category of personality description per ethnocultural group are displayed in the upper panel of Table 5.2. The standardized residuals for the trait category suggested that traits were underrepresented in the Black group (SR = -17.22) and overrepresented in the White (SR = 31.62) and the Coloured and Indian group (SR = 12.72). Given the similarity of the trait and reified trait categories, we merged these and constructed a binary trait variable (trait vs. non-trait) which we used in subsequent analyses. On this binary variable, the proportion of traits out of all personality descriptions was .36 for Blacks, .54 for Coloureds and Indians, and .69 for Whites.[2] We tested the model with main effects of the binary variable and ethnocultural group. This model also had a poor fit, LR(2, n = 53,069) = 2754.36, p < .001, and the standardized residuals were large and in the expected direction: SR_{Black} = -18.01, $SR_{Col/Ind}$ = 12.91, and SR_{White} = 33.40, indicating an underrepresentation of traits in the Black group and overrepresentation in the Coloured and Indian and especially in the White group. Hypothesis 1 was thus confirmed.

We further examined the use of all description categories. The findings suggested both similarities and differences between the three groups; the following points are particularly worth noting. First, the same categories—traits, behaviors, and preferences and perceptions—accounted for most responses in all three groups (over .86) as well as for the largest differences between groups (largest standardized residuals). Blacks tended to use relatively more behaviors (e.g., "he tells the truth") and preferences and perceptions (e.g., "he doesn't like lies"), and Whites more traits (e.g., "trustworthy"), with Coloureds and Indians displaying an intermediate pattern (see Table 5.2). Second and related, categories presumed important in the framework of individualism–collectivism, such as social roles and identities, had small relative frequencies in all three groups (around .01) so that interpretations of any differences on these were deemed to have little meaning.[3]

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[2] There were group differences in the average number of descriptions per participant: 40 in Blacks, 62 in Coloureds and Indians, and 63 in Whites. To test for the effects of these differences, we removed the last 36% of each target person's descriptions in the Coloured and Indian and the White group (leaving at least one description per target person), bringing the average number to 40 per participant for these two groups, and re-ran the main analyses of all three studies. The total proportion of traits went up by .02 (to .56) for Coloureds and Indians and by .03 (to .72) for Whites, and that of context-free descriptions, by .02 for both groups (to .78 and .87, respectively). All major effects discussed in this chapter were essentially unchanged. We report the results from the complete data set to use all the available information.

[3] There were cross-cultural differences in the category of peripheral to personality descriptions, which was excluded from all analyses of this study: The category had a proportion of .03 in Whites as well as Coloureds and Indians, and .07 in Blacks when all categories were included. However, this category accommodates heterogeneous elements like physical descriptions, occupation, and other biographical information, so it cannot be considered as a systematic addition to the categories of social roles and identities.

Table 5.2 *Proportions (*P*), standard errors (*SE*), and standardized residuals (*SR*) of categories of personality description and contextualization per ethnocultural group*

	Ethnocultural Group								
	Black			Coloured & Indian			White		
Category	*P*	*SE*	*SR*	*P*	*SE*	*SR*	*P*	*SE*	*SR*
Description content									
Trait	.34	.005	-17.22	.50	.020	12.72	.64	.022	31.62
Reified trait (virtue)	.02	.001	-5.33	.03	.004	2.38	.05	.003	11.17
Behavior	.29	.004	7.13	.25	.014	-1.74	.16	.013	-16.23
Preferences & perceptions	.26	.005	18.19	.08	.006	-21.08	.07	.006	-26.58
Competency	.02	.001	-1.47	.02	.003	2.34	.02	.003	1.59
Emotional state	.01	.001	-0.49	.02	.002	2.81	.01	.002	-1.28
Role	.01	.000	-0.45	.01	.002	2.47	.00	.001	-1.07
Role-fitting	.01	.000	-1.13	.01	.001	2.36	.01	.001	0.71
Relational state	.01	.001	-0.68	.01	.002	3.82	.01	.001	-1.71
Social identity	.01	.001	3.20	.00	.001	-4.17	.00	.001	-4.28
Supernatural belief	.00	.000	2.88	.00	.001	-2.99	.00	.000	-4.50
Other-referring	.03	.002	-1.90	.05	.005	7.35	.03	.004	-1.79
Similarities & opposites	.00	.000	-2.13	.01	.001	2.98	.01	.001	2.67
Description contextualization									
Context-free	.66	.004	-8.02	.76	.011	5.75	.85	.013	14.87
Domain	.02	.001	-0.14	.03	.003	2.82	.02	.002	-2.16
Temporal & situational	.04	.001	3.93	.03	.004	-2.65	.02	.003	-7.43
General relational	.10	.002	7.01	.05	.005	-8.83	.05	.005	-9.61
Specific relational	.14	.003	8.08	.10	.008	-3.46	.05	.005	-17.06
Composite	.04	.002	5.56	.02	.003	-4.49	.01	.002	-9.87

Finally, the position of the Coloured and Indian group deserves a closer look. The proportion of behavior descriptions in this group (.25) was somewhat closer to Blacks (.29) than to Whites (.16), whereas the proportion of preferences and perceptions (.08) was closer to Whites (.07) than to Blacks (.26; see Table 5.2). This intermediate pattern underscores their treatment as a separate group.

To examine contextualization, we tested a model with main effects of contextualization category (including context-free) and ethnocultural group. The model had a poor fit, LR(10, n = 53,069) = 1288.47, $p < .001$, indicating a significant interaction. The proportions of each contextualization category and the standardized residuals are presented in the lower panel of Table 5.2. In all three groups, the majority of descriptions were context-free (e.g., "helps a lot," "helpful"); yet, there were cross-cultural differences. Blacks employed the largest proportion of contextualization (.34) and Whites the smallest (.15), with Coloured and Indians in the middle (.24; the standardized residuals for the context-free category were -8.02, 14.87, and 5.75, respectively). Hypothesis 2 was thus confirmed.

It could be argued that differences in contextualization are a by-product of differences in trait use: The greater use of contextualizing information could possibly

be accounted for by the greater use of behavioral and other non-trait descriptions. This argument was tested using the same model with main effects of contextualization category and ethnocultural group, this time including only trait descriptions. The model had a poor fit, LR(10, n = 22,277) = 145.62, $p < .001$, indicating a significant interaction. The standardized residuals had the same pattern as those for all descriptions, although seven of them (three each in the Black and in the Coloured and Indian group and one in the White group) were small and had an absolute value below 2. In sum, cross-cultural differences in contextualization were present even when considering only trait descriptions, indicating that cross-cultural differences in contextualization of personality descriptions cannot be accounted for by differences in trait use.

There were also cross-cultural differences with respect to the categories of contextualization. The two relational categories, general and specific, accounted for the largest proportions of qualified responses overall but were overrepresented in Blacks and underrepresented in the other two groups (see Table 5.2). It is interesting to note that these two categories showed somewhat different patterns across groups. Whereas the specific category (responses like "helpful to the poor") was used more often than the general category ("helpful to others") in the descriptions by Blacks (proportions of .14 and .10, respectively) and Coloureds and Indians (.10 and .05, respectively), they were used equally frequently by Whites (.05 for both categories; see Table 5.2 for the standardized residuals). These results suggest that Blacks as well as Coloureds and Indians have a stronger tendency than Whites to qualify personality descriptions by referring to specific, rather than general, relational contexts.

Discussion

We found support for the cultural psychology hypothesis regarding the use of trait descriptions across groups: Although all three groups use traits to describe persons, Blacks do this the least, and Whites the most, with Coloureds and Indians in the middle (Hypothesis 1). The difference is relative and traits were used at least to some extent in all groups; yet, the size of the difference is substantial.

Classical accounts of differences in trait use emphasize the importance of social groups and relations for self-concepts in collectivistic cultures. This importance of social orientation can be expressed in references to social roles and identities as well as in references to different self-concepts across different social roles (Cousins, 1989; Markus & Kitayama, 1998; Triandis, 2001). In the present study, we found no support for social roles and identities as a strong alternative to traits. Personality descriptions in all three groups referred to social roles and group memberships only infrequently, providing more weight to traits, behaviors, and preferences and perceptions. So, responses like "I'm a Ndebele" and "he is a parent" were much less common than responses like "I respect everybody," "he likes to shout," and "he is generous." All

these descriptions refer to individual characteristics; the Black participants, representing a collectivistic group, did not deemphasize individual characteristics in their descriptions. This finding is in line with the theory of the motivational primacy of the individual self (Gaertner, Sedikides, Vevea, & Iuzzini, 2002; cf. Del Prado et al., 2007).

Regarding contextualization, we also found the expected overall differences in line with the cultural psychology perspective: Blacks had the largest proportion of contextualized responses and Whites the smallest, with Coloureds and Indians in the middle (Hypothesis 2). These differences were not entirely attributable to the use of trait or non-trait descriptions, underscoring the distinction between contextualization and trait use. Differences in contextualization were smaller than in trait use. The largest differences in contextualization were observed in the relational and composite categories: Blacks and, to a lesser extent, Coloureds and Indians qualified their personality descriptions more often in terms of relations (e.g., "he is respectful to the elderly") than Whites did (e.g., "respectful"). This leads back to the question of the meaning of social relations for personality concepts. It appears that the importance of social-relational aspects of personality in more collectivistic groups may not be expressed in different categories of personality description such as social roles and identities, but rather in their different semantic content (e.g., more references to traits and behaviors involving interpersonal relations and social functioning; cf. Valchev et al., in press) and the increased contextualization of personality descriptions in terms of relations.

The present findings could to some extent be attributable to the fact that the interviews specifically requested personality descriptions rather than using the TST format of completing the "I am…" sentence (cf. Del Prado et al., 2007, for other method effects in studies on trait use). However, some studies using the TST have also failed to find the expected cross-cultural differences in references to social roles and identities (e.g., Kanagawa et al., 2001; Rhee et al., 1995). It seems fair to conclude that the importance of social-relational aspects of personality in more collectivistic groups can be expected to be most obvious in the content and the contextualization of personality descriptions rather than in references to specific social-relational categories like roles and identities.

In summary, in Study 1 we found similarities in the total set of categories used most often for personality description across the three groups, but also substantial differences between the groups in the relative use of these categories. We address ways in which the differences in trait use are substantiated and expressed in the following study.

Study 2

In Study 2, we aim to gain insight into mechanisms of the observed cross-cultural differences in trait use. First, we investigate the role of linguistic practices for differences in trait use. In Study 1, we found that Coloureds and Indians differed in trait use from Whites in a way predicted by the individualism–collectivism framework despite speaking the same Germanic languages as home language. On the other hand, previous studies have shown that cross-cultural differences in trait use are paralleled by differences in the use of abstract versus concrete linguistic categories (Maass, Karasawa, Politi, & Suga, 2006) and can indeed be statistically accounted for by such linguistic practices (Kashima et al., 2006). We hence formulated the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 3: The use of abstract language accounts statistically for cross-cultural differences in trait use.

Second, we examine how trait use varies across levels of social distance between the participant and the target person. Do people use more (or fewer) traits to describe themselves, close others, or distant others, and does this tendency vary across ethnocultural groups? Depending on the theoretical framework, three different predictions are possible. First, construal-level theory (Liberman et al., 2007) suggests a general tendency to construe more abstract, trait-like representations for distant others and more concrete representations for the self and close others. Taking into account cross-cultural research on causal attribution (Choi et al., 1999), we would expect that this general tendency is most strongly present in the individualistic White group, and less so, or not present at all, in the collectivistic Black group. Second, several theories view cross-cultural differences in trait use as stemming from different self-concepts (Markus & Kitayama, 1998; Triandis, 2001). In light of evidence that close others are perceived in ways more similar to self-concepts than distant others (Pronin, 2008), we can hypothesize that cross-cultural differences are most pronounced in self-descriptions and in the opposite direction of that suggested by construal-level and attribution theories. So, contrary to the construal-level hypothesis, we would expect the highest proportions of traits for self-descriptions of Whites and lowest proportions for Blacks (with Coloureds and Indians in between), and less pronounced cross-cultural differences for more distant target persons. Third, if cross-cultural differences reflect different concepts of the person in general (Shweder & Bourne, 1984), we would expect approximately equally large differences for self- and other-descriptions. We test which of these competing hypotheses is supported by our data.

Method

Linguistic abstraction. Differently from the previous study, in this study we analyzed complex responses representing meaning units (cf. Rhee et al., 1995) rather

than the individual elements of personality description such as traits and behaviors. Each response in this analysis could thus contain one or more traits, behaviors, or other personality description categories, as long as they conveyed some unified meaning (e.g., "strong personality, takes a viewpoint and sticks with it"). A student counted the nouns, adjectives, and verbs contained in each response; as with the other analyses, the English translation of the original responses was used. A total interrater agreement of 94% for all linguistic categories was obtained by two raters on a random set of 100 responses. We constructed a linguistic abstraction index similar to the one proposed by Kashima and colleagues (2006) by subtracting the proportion of verbs per response from the proportion of adjectives and nouns per response. We employed nouns rather than noun phrases as was done by Kashima and colleagues, because we were interested in the contribution of individual linguistic categories. We subsequently conducted separate analyses of the occurrence of each linguistic category per response. The presence or absence of trait descriptions in the responses was the dependent variable, and the linguistic categories were used as predictors alongside ethnocultural group. The distinction between trait descriptions and linguistic categories is important for the analysis. Traits could be expressed with adjectives (e.g., "diligent") but also with nouns (e.g., "hard-worker"), and each description, whether containing a trait or not, could contain a combination of linguistic categories.

Given the substantial amount of time and effort required for the additional linguistic coding, we restricted the linguistic analysis to only four languages, representative of the major groups within South Africa's 11 official languages: English (of the Germanic group), Tswana (of the Sotho-Tswana group), Xhosa (of the Nguni group), and Tsonga (which, together with Venda, does not belong to a specific subgroup). The sample consisted of 360 Blacks, 58 Indians, and 61 Whites; no Coloureds were included in this analysis.

Social distance. We grouped the described target persons in four groups varying in social distance: self, family (parent, child or sibling, and grandparent), close others (best friend of both sexes and neighbor), and distant others (colleague, least, and most liked teacher). We performed this analysis on the complete data set of all 11 languages, including all Black groups, Coloureds and Indians, and Whites.[4]

[4] We assigned the descriptions of a disliked person and a person opposite to the participant to one of the social distance categories if the content of the descriptions indicated unambiguously that they referred to one of the targets in these categories (family member, neighbor, etc.). For some of the descriptions, the target was not evident from the interview transcriptions. The total number of descriptions employed in this analysis (46,658) is hence smaller than the grand total (53,069).

Results

Linguistic abstraction. We first tested the model with the main effects of culture and the variable for presence or absence of traits in the response for the four languages. The model had a poor fit, LR(2, n = 19,224) = 1184.84, $p < .001$, indicating a significant interaction. The standardized residuals for traits were large and in the expected direction: SR_{Black} = -14.26, SR_{Indian} = 11.14, and SR_{White} = 18.22, indicating underrepresentation of traits in Blacks and overrepresentation in the other two groups. Next, we tested the same model with the linguistic abstraction index included as a covariate. The goodness-of-fit test was still significant, although its value fell substantially: LR(1, n = 19,224) = 9.17, $p < .01$. All standardized residuals (absolute values) fell below 2: SR_{Black} = 0.14, SR_{Indian} = -1.47, and SR_{White} = 1.16. Hypothesis 3 was thus confirmed: The use of abstract language accounted statistically for most variance in trait use, even though the effect of culture did not disappear completely.

To estimate the contribution of each linguistic category, we tested separate models for the association of traits (present or absent in the response) with adjectives, nouns, and verbs (present or absent in the response), subsequently adding the interaction with ethnocultural group. The model for each of the three linguistic categories was significant at $p < .001$, with LR(2, n = 19,224) values of 10,573.52 for adjectives, 2,134.55 for nouns, and 8,858.15 for verbs. Adjectives (SR = 50.15) were overrepresented, whereas nouns (SR = -21.94) and verbs (SR = -36.28) were underrepresented in trait responses; the effects were the strongest for adjectives and the weakest for nouns. When ethnocultural group was added to the equation, only the model for nouns was still significant at $p < .001$, LR(2, n = 19,224) = 24.56 (adjectives: LR[2, n = 19,224] = 7.62, $p < .05$; verbs: LR[2, n = 19,224] = 2.16, *ns*). The results suggested that there was an interaction of noun use with ethnocultural group in trait descriptions: Blacks used slightly more nouns in trait descriptions (e.g., "a dreamer" or "a helpful person," as opposed to "helpful") than the other two groups, although the differences were small: SR_{Black} = 1.52, SR_{Indian} = -1.88, and SR_{White} = -1.01. In general, the associations of the linguistic categories with trait use were similar across ethnic groups: Greater use of adjectives and lesser use of verbs were associated with more traited descriptions in each group.

Social distance. We tested a model with main effects and two-way associations of the binary trait variable, ethnocultural group, and social distance. The model had a poor fit, LR(6, n = 46,658) = 204.53, $p < .001$, indicating a significant higher-order interaction. The proportions of traits per ethnocultural group and target person are presented in Table 5.3. The use of traits differed depending on social distance from the target person, and this in turn differed across cultural groups. Trait use decreased with increasing social distance in the White and the Coloured and Indian group, whereas in the Black group it was the lowest for self-descriptions and the highest for the middle categories, with overall smaller amplitudes than in the former two groups.

Table 5.3 *Proportions (*P*), standard errors (*SE*), and standardized residuals (*SR*) of traits per target person and ethnocultural group*

	Ethnocultural Group								
	Black			Coloured & Indian			White		
Target Person	*P*	*SE*	*SR*	*P*	*SE*	*SR*	*P*	*SE*	*SR*
Self	.28	.012	-5.08	.68	.043	4.07	.88	.024	5.22
Family	.38	.006	-0.46	.56	.021	0.62	.70	.022	0.36
Close others	.38	.007	1.24	.52	.026	-1.43	.67	.026	-1.13
Distant others	.33	.006	1.66	.46	.024	-1.34	.60	.025	-1.94

Table 5.4 *Mean proportions of clusters used for personality description per target person and ethnocultural group (*SD *in parentheses)*

	Ethnocultural Group		
Target Person	Black	Coloured & Indian	White
Self	.34 (.17)	.45 (.18)	.43 (.18)
Family	.55 (.16)	.67 (.19)	.65 (.16)
Close others	.48 (.18)	.58 (.20)	.60 (.18)
Distant others	.49 (.19)	.63 (.17)	.59 (.18)

The differences in trait use across the three groups were the largest for self-descriptions: Blacks' self-descriptions employed traits at a proportion of .28, those of Whites .88, and Coloureds and Indians were closer to Whites with .68 trait use (for the standardized residuals, see Table 5.3). The group differences for the other target persons were smaller, although still substantial. In summary, groups differed most in their self-descriptions, providing support for the self-concept hypothesis over the person-concept and the construal-level hypothesis. The use of traits was affected by social distance more strongly in Whites and in Coloureds and Indians than in Blacks.

Discussion

In this study, we found support for Hypothesis 3: Linguistic practices—the tendency of using relatively more adjectives and fewer verbs—can account statistically for cross-cultural differences in trait use (Kashima et al., 2006). This underscores our findings from Study 1 that the position of ethnocultural groups in South Africa on the individualism–collectivism dimension is not solely determined by the language spoken as first language. The present findings point to the relevance of the way language is used. We concur with Kashima and colleagues (2006), who argued that linguistic practices do not "explain away" cross-cultural differences in trait use, but provide a mechanism for the substantiation of such differences. Our results suggest a specification of this argument. We found that linguistic categories (adjectives, nouns, and verbs) contribute differentially to the overall abstraction of person descriptions.

Adjectives have the strongest contribution, and nouns the weakest and with more noticeable, although small differences across groups. The combination of the relative absence of ethnocultural differences in the mechanisms (use of the three linguistic categories) and the ethnocultural differences in the extent to which these categories are used provides an important insight in the implicit theories of the traitedness of behavior (Church et al., 2003; Peng, Ames, & Knowles, 2001). Traitedness finds its expression in the same way in different ethnocultural groups, but these groups differ considerably in their view on how important traitedness is for personality.

We further found that distance from the described person affects the use of traits for personality descriptions differently across cultural groups. The largest group differences were concentrated in self-descriptions, where the most traits were used by Whites, Coloureds and Indians, and the fewest by Blacks. This finding is in line with expectations defined in terms of differences in self-concepts (Markus & Kitayama, 1998; Triandis, 2001) rather than more general person concepts (Shweder & Bourne, 1984) or construal level (Liberman et al., 2007) and attribution tendencies (Choi et al., 1999). On the other hand, it is somewhat counterintuitive that the descriptions of Whites (and, similarly, Coloureds and Indians) were the most affected by social distance. This seems to imply that people in the more individualistic groups are more sensitive to social context, contrary to fundamental premises and findings of the individualism–collectivism framework (Markus & Kitayama, 1998; Triandis, 2001; Triandis & Suh, 2002). The interaction between social distance and culture was large and none of the approaches considered may be able to fully account for the large differences. Therefore, we examine two additional interpretations.

One interpretation is that the differences in self- and other-descriptions reflect differences in content: Whites (and, to a lesser extent, Coloureds and Indians) might have more elaborated self-concepts in terms of personality dispositions and behavior tendencies than Blacks. If that were the case, we could expect that the three groups differ in a similar way in the diversity of personality concepts they use to describe different target persons. To test this, we made an index for the proportion out of nine personality clusters that participants used to describe each target person (see the method section of Study 3 for the description of clusters). The proportions are displayed in Table 5.4. The self-descriptions in all three groups employed the lowest proportion of clusters; however, if one corrects for the fact that the other-descriptions cover on average three persons per level of social distance, all other-descriptions could be considered to include smaller proportions of clusters, across all groups. So, the differences in proportions of clusters used for self- and other-description did not follow the same pattern across ethnocultural groups as the differences in the use of traits for self- and other-descriptions (cf. Tables 5.3 and 5.4). In conclusion, the interpretation that the group differences in the use of traits reflect group differences in level of elaboration of personality (self- and other-) concepts does not seem to be supported.

An alternative interpretation is that individuals in the three ethnocultural groups express their knowledge of persons differently. The availability of abstract terms in the repertoire of the speaker is crucial to facilitate the expression of better person knowledge in more abstract terms. This availability, in turn, could be associated with education and exposure to abstract terms in general, or abstract personality terms in particular. Unfortunately, we did not have data on education level in all groups, which precluded its inclusion as a covariate in our main analyses. Nonetheless, we used the available data to test for the role of education. We had data on education for 393 participants, all in the Black group, from four languages (Northern Sotho, Ndebele, Xhosa, and Tsonga). There were 12 participants with no education, 124 with high school, 175 with further professional education, and 82 with high education. We conducted a loglinear analysis testing the model with main effects of trait use and education. The model had a poor fit, LR(3, n = 16,144) = 96.54, p < .001, indicating a significant interaction. Although the three lower-education cells did not display monotonously increasing proportions of traits (.35, .30, and .31, with *SR*s = 0.46, -3.63, and -2.45, respectively), the high-education cell had the highest proportion of traits, as expected (.40, *SR* = 6.95). This analysis suggested that having high education is linked with greater use of traits, in line with the interpretation that the more traited personality descriptions reflect a preferred mode of expression, facilitated by education. Similar effects of education level have been reported by Ma and Schoeneman (1997) for Kenyan participants. It should be noted that the proportion of traits of the highly educated Black participants in the present study (.40) was closer to the proportions of Black participants with lower education (.30 to .35) than to those of Coloureds and Indians (.54) and Whites (.69). So, even though individual education had an effect on trait use, it was not a strong determinant. Future studies should address the effects of education across ethnocultural groups.

In summary, in Study 2 we found that both linguistic practices and distance from the target person play a role in cross-cultural differences in trait use. In combination with Study 1, our findings provide more support for an interpretation of these differences as differences in expression rather than in elaboration of personality concepts. The interplay with more specific personality concepts is the topic of the final study.

Study 3

The third study examines the use of traits and contextualization at a more detailed level: We address differences in the use of traits and contextualization across personality domains. In the first part of this study, we examine the relationship between trait use and the content of personality descriptions (partly on all data and

partly in the four languages of the linguistic-abstraction analysis of Study 2, viz., English, Tsonga, Tswana, and Xhosa). Based on previous research on the content of self-descriptions in the individualism–collectivism framework (Del Prado et al., 2007; Sedikides et al., 2005), we expect people in more collectivistic groups to use more communal and fewer agentic traits than people in more individualistic groups. Integrating this perspective with the psycholexical hypothesis (Saucier & Goldberg, 2001), we expect relatively greater use of traits for the more salient characteristics in each group, that is, for communal characteristics in the more collectivistic groups, and agentic characteristics in the more individualistic groups. We test the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 4: Blacks use the smallest proportion of agentic traits and Whites the largest, with Indians in between; the reverse is true for communal traits.

Hypothesis 5: Blacks use relatively more traits (vs. non-traits) for the communal category and Whites relatively fewer, with Indians in between; the reversed pattern is expected for the agentic category.

There is no established theoretical framework that could specify the relation between trait use and more specific personality concepts like the Big Five or the nine personality clusters identified in South Africa (Nel et al., in press). Even though both agentic and communal elements could be envisaged in all dimensions, their relative frequency will probably vary across dimensions (Del Prado et al., 2007; DeYoung, Quilty, & Peterson, 2007; Roccas, Sagiv, Schwartz, & Knafo, 2002). Therefore, we refrain from specifying any hypotheses when we examine differences in the use of traits for different personality clusters across ethnocultural groups.

In the second part of Study 3, we examine cross-cultural differences in the contextualization of different personality domains. We address two questions: First, which personality domains are more contextualized, and do these domains differ across cultures? And second, do these differences mirror the differences in trait use? The answer to the first question will shed light on the perceived situatedness of personality functioning across domains, and the answer to the second question will provide evidence on the relation between trait use and contextualization.

Method

For the agentic–communal distinction, we derived data from the same four languages as for the linguistic-abstraction analysis of Study 2 (English, Tsonga, Tswana, and Xhosa). A student coded responses (traits as well as non-traits) as agentic (e.g., "determined," "strong-willed," "I like working with my hands"), communal (e.g., "kind," "loving," "he understands my problems"), or neutral (e.g., "quiet," "she used to steal"). Interrater agreement of 80% was achieved by two raters on 100 random responses. We used only the descriptions coded as either agentic or communal in the analysis.

The data on the personality clusters came from an independent study on all 11 languages in which we had categorized the original responses in iterative steps into 188 facets, 37 subclusters, and nine broad clusters of personality (Nel et al., in press).[5] The nine clusters are: Conscientiousness (with descriptions like "dedicated to his work"), Emotional Stability (e.g., "cries a lot"), Extraversion (e.g., "I love communicating with people"), Facilitating (e.g., "gives advice about life"), Integrity (e.g., "honest with her parents"), Intellect (e.g., "a person that doesn't use his common sense"), Openness (e.g., "adventurous"), Relationship Harmony (e.g., "likes to quarrel"), and Soft-Heartedness (e.g., "she is a friendly person"). The clusters have a broad correspondence to the Big Five factors, with Openness split into Intellect and Openness, and the Agreeableness domain being represented in Soft-Heartedness, Relationship Harmony, Facilitating, and Integrity (Nel et al., in press).

Results

Trait use across personality domains. To test Hypothesis 4, we tested a model with main effects of the binary agentic–communal variable (including only trait responses) and ethnocultural group. The model had a poor fit, LR(2, n = 7,440) = 102.92, p < .001, indicating significant interaction. The standardized residuals showed the expected direction, indicating an underrepresentation of agentic traits in the Black group (.37, SE = .01; SR = -5.16) and an overrepresentation in the White (.50, SE = .02; SR = 4.59) and the Indian group (.48, SE = .02; SR = 3.40), and the reverse pattern for communal traits (SR_{Black} = 4.14, SR_{White} = -4.55, and SR_{Indian} = -1.80). Hypothesis 4 was thus confirmed.

To test Hypothesis 5, we examined a model with main effects and two-way associations of the binary agentic–communal variable (including both traits and non-traits), the binary variable for trait use, and ethnocultural group. The model had a poor fit, LR(2, n = 17,988) = 65.80, p < .001, indicating a significant higher-order interaction. The proportions and standardized residuals are displayed in the upper panel of Table 5.5. The proportions of traits were overall higher for the agentic descriptions. After taking into account the main effects and two-way associations, traits were underrepresented in the agentic descriptions of Blacks and overrepresented in those of Indians and Whites, and the reverse was true for communal descriptions (see Table 5.5). In summary, Blacks not only tended to use communal traits more often, but also tended to express communal characteristics more often with traits than would be predicted by the main effects of trait use and agentic-versus-communal preferences, confirming Hypothesis 5.

[5] Because not all descriptions could be unambiguously assigned to one of the nine clusters, the total number of descriptions employed in this analysis (49,190) is smaller than the grand total (53,069).

Table 5.5 *Proportions (*P*), standard errors (*SE*), and standardized residuals (*SR*) of traits per personality domain and ethnocultural group*

	Ethnocultural Group								
	Black			Coloured & Indian			White		
Personality Domain	*P*	*SE*	*SR*	*P*	*SE*	*SR*	*P*	*SE*	*SR*
Agentic vs. communal									
Agentic	.38	.012	-2.93	.66	.021	2.54	.72	.021	1.79
Communal	.32	.009	2.39	.45	.025	-2.25	.54	.027	-1.67
Personality cluster									
Conscientiousness	.55	.011	0.47	.67	.030	-0.58	.79	.026	-0.43
Emotional Stability	.56	.014	2.01	.59	.033	-2.24	.75	.024	-1.26
Extraversion	.38	.008	-0.21	.57	.024	1.04	.67	.024	-0.48
Facilitating	.11	.008	-0.19	.23	.031	0.85	.29	.045	-0.50
Integrity	.43	.011	-1.69	.65	.035	0.98	.82	.027	2.23
Intellect	.34	.014	0.20	.54	.037	1.06	.59	.033	-1.13
Openness	.07	.007	-8.13	.53	.037	9.86	.63	.043	7.87
Relationship Harmony	.37	.009	0.80	.49	.036	-0.88	.63	.037	-0.98
Soft-Heartedness	.42	.007	1.41	.54	.025	-2.37	.70	.026	-0.89

Note. The data for the agentic–communal categories were derived in four languages: English, Tsonga, Tswana, and Xhosa. The Coloured group is not represented in this analysis.

The next analysis addressed the patterning of responses across personality clusters. We tested a model with main effects and two-way associations of the binary variable for trait use, personality cluster, and ethnocultural group. The model had a poor fit, LR(16, n = 49,190) = 379.61, $p < .001$, indicating a significant higher-order interaction. The proportions of traits per personality cluster and ethnocultural group and the standardized residuals of the model are displayed in the lower panel of Table 5.5. The personality cluster that stood out was Openness: Traits were heavily underrepresented for this cluster in Blacks (*SR* = -8.13) while they were overrepresented in Coloureds and Indians (*SR* = 9.86) and Whites (*SR* = 7.87). A much smaller overrepresentation of traits was found for Emotional Stability in Blacks and an underrepresentation in the other two groups (see Table 5.5).

Contextualization across personality domains. To examine the use of contextualization across personality domains, we ran the same two analyses as with trait use, this time with the binary variable of contextualization (absent or present). We first tested a model with main effects and two-way associations of the binary contextualization variable, agentic–communal, and ethnocultural group. The model had a poor fit, LR(2, n = 17,988) = 75.13, $p < .001$, indicating a significant higher-order interaction. The proportions and standardized residuals are presented in the upper panel of Table 5.6. The large interaction effects were concentrated in the agentic category, where Blacks used fewer context references (*SR* = -4.04), whereas

Table 5.6 *Proportions (*P*), standard errors (*SE*), and standardized residuals (*SR*) of contextualized descriptions per personality domain and ethnocultural group*

	Ethnocultural Group								
	Black			Coloured & Indian			White		
Personality Domain	*P*	*SE*	*SR*	*P*	*SE*	*SR*	*P*	*SE*	*SR*
Agentic vs. communal									
Agentic	.07	.005	-4.04	.11	.013	6.21	.07	.009	3.37
Communal	.50	.009	1.23	.36	.018	-1.97	.31	.018	-1.10
Personality cluster									
Conscientiousness	.20	.009	0.16	.14	.019	0.37	.07	.013	-0.95
Emotional Stability	.21	.011	-1.29	.19	.025	2.15	.11	.016	1.42
Extraversion	.29	.007	0.59	.17	.015	-1.37	.12	.013	-0.38
Facilitating	.66	.013	0.47	.48	.037	-1.05	.35	.045	-0.80
Integrity	.27	.009	0.45	.16	.028	-0.71	.10	.017	-0.86
Intellect	.21	.011	-2.07	.20	.025	2.12	.16	.022	3.97
Openness	.11	.007	-2.06	.16	.024	4.49	.11	.018	4.81
Relationship Harmony	.36	.009	-0.18	.23	.023	-1.02	.20	.024	1.98
Soft-Heartedness	.46	.006	0.68	.33	.017	-0.30	.21	.018	-2.16

Note. The data for the agentic–communal categories were derived in four languages: English, Tsonga, Tswana, and Xhosa. The Coloured group is not represented in this analysis.

both Indians (*SR* = 6.21) and Whites (*SR* = 3.37) used more context references than predicted by the main-effects model. For the communal category, the effects were in the opposite direction although smaller.

Finally, we tested a model with main effects and two-way associations of the binary contextualization variable, personality cluster, and ethnocultural group. The model had a poor fit, LR(16, n = 49,190) = 98.48, $p < .001$, indicating a significant higher-order interaction. The proportions and standardized residuals are presented in the lower panel of Table 5.6. Across groups, the clusters that have to do more with the quality of social functioning (Facilitating, Relationship Harmony, and Soft-Heartedness) were more contextualized than those with a more person-centered focus (Conscientiousness, Intellect, and Openness). The cross-cultural differences were most systematic for Intellect and Openness, where contextual information was underrepresented in Blacks and overrepresented in the other two groups. A similar pattern was observed for Emotional Stability with much smaller effects (see Table 5.6).

Discussion

In this study we sought to expand the mainstream literature on trait use by addressing the effects of culture on the use of traits and contextualizing information across personality domains. We started with an examination of agency–communion, which are broad constructs that have been suggested to capture substantial cross-cultural differences in personality descriptions (Del Prado et al., 2007; Sedikides et al., 2005).

Consistent with the literature, we found that Blacks used more communal traits than Whites (Hypothesis 4); Indians were closer to Whites in this analysis.

Moreover, in confirmation of Hypothesis 5, we found that Blacks, as compared to the other two groups, used a relatively large proportion of traits in communal descriptions. A similar observation was made in the analysis of clusters, where traits in the two clusters presumably most relevant to the quality of social functioning, Relationship Harmony and Soft-Heartedness, were slightly overrepresented in Blacks and underrepresented in the other two groups. The relatively greater use of traits for communal descriptions by members of the more collectivistic groups is in line with the psycholexical interpretation of trait terms as expressing the personality concepts deemed most important among speakers of a given language (Saucier & Goldberg, 2001).

On the level of personality clusters, we found few systematic differences in trait use. The most obviously affected cluster was Openness, where Blacks used fewer traits than predicted by the main effects and two-way associations of trait use, cluster, and ethnocultural group. This finding comes against the backdrop of well documented problems with the replicability of the Openness factor, especially in collectivistic cultures (e.g., McCrae & Allik, 2002). Perhaps these problems are to some extent attributable to a lack of abstract terms for Openness in some cultures, rather than lack of the concept itself. For instance, Openness replicated better in Africa in the study of Schmitt, Allik, McCrae, Benet-Martínez, and colleagues (2007), which utilized whole phrases as opposed to previous studies that had used single abstract terms. Indeed, an inspection of the semantic content of the Openness cluster in our data suggested that about one-third of its facets consisted of single terms which were mostly represented in the two Germanic languages: Adventurous, Dreamer, Individualistic, Investigating (later merged with Inquisitive), and Prim and Proper. This underscores the interpretation that single trait terms referring to Openness are more readily available and used in individualistic than in collectivistic cultures.

Furthermore, we were interested in the question, which personality concepts are perceived to be most in need of situational specification across cultures (De Raad et al., 2008). Communal characteristics and the clusters that have to do more with the quality of interpersonal relations (Facilitating, Relationship Harmony, and Soft-Heartedness) were more contextualized than those with a more person-centered focus (Conscientiousness, Intellect, and Openness).[6] This distinction appeared most clearly

[6] It could be argued that the increased contextualization of the social-relational concepts was due specifically to relational contextualization. To test this, we repeated the analyses of contextualization across personality domains, this time treating relationally contextualized responses as context-free. The overall results were similar to those with the complete contextualization measure, with smaller effects. Contextualized responses were still overrepresented in the communal category and in Facilitating, but that was no longer the case for Relationship Harmony and Soft-Heartedness. In summary, relational contextualization accounted for a part but not all of the association of contextualization with personality domains.

in the Black group, although the interactions of ethnocultural group with contextualization across personality domain were the largest for the agentic descriptions, Intellect, and Openness.

We also examined to what extent cross-cultural differences in contextualization across personality domains mirror differences in trait use. If this were the case, we would expect opposite patterns for the corresponding rows of Tables 5.6 and 5.7. However, what we found was that the patterns were in the same direction for the agentic–communal dimension and Openness, and in the opposite direction, although less pronounced, for Emotional Stability. It appears that cross-cultural differences in the use of abstract terms to describe particular personality concepts do not necessarily imply corresponding differences in the use of contextual information. This is in line with Study 1, where differences in contextualization were found even in trait-only descriptions.

Finally, it is interesting to note that the clusters that displayed the largest interactions of ethnocultural group with both trait use and contextualization (Openness, Intellect, and Emotional Stability) are among the smaller and more contested factors in psycholexical studies (De Raad et al., 2010; Saucier & Goldberg, 2001). Our study suggests that differences in trait use and contextualization may indeed complicate the observation of these clusters in psycholexical studies. It seems fair to conclude that when specific personality clusters are concerned, large cross-cultural differences can be expected mostly in the more peripheral personality concepts.

In summary, in Study 3 we found significant interactions of culture with the use of traits and contextual information, on the one hand, and personality domains, on the other. Our findings suggest that (a) traits are used most for the most salient concepts in all cultures; (b) trait use and contextualization do not co-vary completely; and (c) the largest interactions with culture occur in the smaller personality clusters.

General Discussion

We examined cross-cultural differences in characteristics of personality description between three ethnocultural groups in South Africa: Blacks, Coloureds and Indians, and Whites. We found support for all hypotheses formulated in accordance with the cultural psychology perspective and the individualism–collectivism framework. The three groups revealed the expected differences with respect to use of traits (Hypothesis 1) and contextualizing information (Hypothesis 2), use of agentic versus communal traits (Hypothesis 4), and use of traits for agentic and communal descriptions (Hypothesis 5); their linguistic practices were associated with the use of traits (Hypothesis 3). The responses of Blacks were consistent with expectations for collectivistic groups (where fewer traits and more contextualization are expected) and

those of Whites for individualistic groups (where more traits and less contextualization are expected), with Coloureds and Indians generally displaying intermediate results, closer to Blacks in some analyses and to Whites in others.

These results have several implications for the trait and cultural psychology perspectives on trait use. First, the differences posited in the individualism–collectivism framework extend beyond East–West comparisons and apply also to the African context. This negates the supposed unique role of Asian dialectical thought for differences in trait use (Del Prado et al., 2007) because Asian dialecticism can be assumed to be of limited relevance in the South African context. Although the individuals in many non-Western cultures may share features that make them different from the populations typically studied in mainstream psychology (for a recent overview, see Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010), and some of these features may affect personality conceptions in a similar way across cultures, these features could hardly be subsumed under the single concept of Asian dialecticism, which has a specific cultural-historical and philosophical background (Nisbett et al., 2001; Spencer-Rodgers, Williams, & Peng, 2010). Second, trait use differences may be more fruitfully thought of as lying on a continuum rather than in dichotomous terms. The intermediate characteristics of personality descriptions made by Coloureds and Indians illustrate this point. Finally, although our findings are supportive of the cultural psychology perspective, they also support the trait perspective (Church, 2009) insofar as traits were used in all three groups. Nonetheless, the substantial group differences should be emphasized: The overall proportion of traits was .36 in Blacks' descriptions and .69 in Whites; for self-descriptions, the difference was even more remarkable with .28 traits in Blacks and .88 in Whites. In practical terms, these findings strongly suggest that items with concrete behaviors should be used in the development of personality assessment tools for comparisons involving more collectivistic and more individualistic groups (cf. the findings of Schmitt et al., 2007, on Openness in Africa).

On the other hand, our study suggests that there are important questions with respect to characteristics of personality descriptions across cultures which cannot be addressed from either the trait or cultural psychology perspective. This becomes evident when one considers the preferred categories of personality description beyond traits, the contextualization of descriptions, the role of social distance from the described person, and the substantiation of differences in the use of traits and context across personality domains. We found that Blacks made more descriptions using behaviors and preferences and specific relational contextualization than the other groups (however, all three groups made few references to social roles and identities); they used the fewest traits for self-descriptions but had overall small differences in use of traits across social distance; they used relatively few traits and little contextualizing information for agentic descriptions and Openness. Whites had the opposite pattern,

and Coloureds and Indians had an intermediate pattern. These complex patterns could not have been predicted from the trait or the cultural psychology perspective alone. In fact, the formulation of our Hypotheses 3, 4, and 5, discussed above as supportive of the cultural psychology perspective, also required additional theoretical considerations about the role of language (Kashima et al., 2006), cross-cultural differences in preferences for agentic or communal descriptions (Del Prado et al., 2007; Sedikides et al., 2005), and the psycholexical hypothesis (Saucier & Goldberg, 2001), respectively. This integration of different perspectives is in line with efforts to bring the study of trait use beyond the juxtaposition of the trait and cultural psychology perspectives (Church, 2000, 2009).

Prevailing views on cross-cultural differences in characteristics of personality description refer either to the substance of personality conceptions (e.g., Triandis, 2001) or to different modes of expression (e.g., Kashima et al., 2006). We find the latter perspective better applicable to our findings, and specifically to the role of language and the finding that the same categories of personality description—traits, behaviors, and preferences and perceptions—were used most in all groups. The presumably more important aspects of interpersonal and social relations for the individuals of the more collectivistic groups were expressed within these categories and with increased use of relational contextual information, but not with any more specific categories like social roles and identities. Our study suggests that the use of traits for personality description reflects a preferred mode of expression, enhanced by having higher education. Further research should account more completely for the role of education.

In summary, we found that the individualism–collectivism framework correctly predicts cross-cultural differences between ethnocultural groups in South Africa, whereby the groups can be placed on a continuum from more collectivistic (Blacks) to intermediate (Coloureds and Indians) to more individualistic (Whites). At the same time, we found that the implications of this framework need to be expanded and modified at several points. First, when personality descriptions are specifically requested, the cross-cultural differences are concentrated in the relative use of traits, behaviors, preferences and perceptions, and relational contextual information, but not in other social-relational categories such as social roles and identities, where much literature in the individualism–collectivism tradition has emphasized the importance of these latter categories (Cousins, 1989; Ma & Schoeneman, 1997; Markus & Kitayama, 1998; Triandis, 2001). The prevailing use of disposition-relevant descriptions across cultural groups is in line with the individual-self-primacy hypothesis (Gaertner et al., 2002) but has farther-reaching ramifications involving both self-concepts and concepts of others. Second, our data suggest that people in more individualistic cultures adapt their personality descriptions more to the target of their descriptions, employing more traits for those they know best (themselves and close others). The use of traits for

personality descriptions of different target persons appears to constitute a remarkable exception to the general rule of increased sensitivity to social context in collectivistic cultures (Kanagawa et al., 2001; Markus & Kitayama, 1998). Finally, the interaction of trait use with content of personality descriptions should be taken into account. Both on the level of broad concepts like agency and communion and narrower concepts like specific personality clusters, more traits tend to be used for more salient characteristics. The cross-cultural differences in trait use and contextualization tend to be most pronounced for more peripheral personality concepts.

Recent research on traits and context often turns to topics beyond trait use in personality description, such as the direct measurement of implicit trait beliefs (Church et al., 2003), cross-role (Church, Anderson-Harumi, et al., 2008) and cross-situational behavior consistency (Church, Katigbak, et al., 2008; see also Church, 2009). Our study demonstrates that much is to be gained from a better understanding of the basic characteristics of personality descriptions across cultures. The research field of implicit trait beliefs and personality conceptions will be enriched if future studies pay serious attention to understudied populations, to mechanisms affecting trait use such as language, education, and social distance, and to the interplay of trait use and contextualization with the semantic content of personality descriptions.

Chapter 6

Beyond Agreeableness: Indigenous Social-Relational Personality Concepts in South Africa*

The present study addresses the conceptualization and measurement of social-relational personality constructs in South Africa from an indigenous perspective. This study is part of a larger project aiming at the development of a comprehensive personality inventory for use in the 11 official languages of South Africa (the South African Personality Inventory, SAPI). Using free descriptions in a mixed-methods approach, our previous research has identified an implicit personality model shared across the major cultural-linguistic groups in South Africa (Nel et al., in press; Valchev et al., 2011, in press). One of the central characteristics of this model is its strong emphasis on the social-relational functioning of the individual. The present study, using quantitative measures, addresses the question to what extent these social-relational personality concepts can be accommodated in existing universal personality models, or represent substantial additions calling for the expansion of such models.

Personality Structure across Cultures

There is general agreement that a set of five personality factors corresponding to the Big Five or Five-Factor Model (FFM) is cross-culturally replicable both when standardized questionnaires measuring this model are used (e.g., McCrae & Allik, 2002) and when lexica are studied (e.g., Saucier & Goldberg, 2001; see De Raad et al., 2010, for a more conservative view on the replicability of factors in lexical studies). The question of whether more personality factors are needed beyond the Big Five for an exhaustive representation of personality has received much research attention. We refer specifically to three lines of research in this quest.

First, researchers have examined the effects of wider variable selection in psycholexical studies including highly evaluate attributes, physical descriptions, and other characteristics considered "external" to the core of personality (Saucier, 2008, p.

* This chapter is based on Valchev, Van de Vijver, Meiring, et al. (2012).

30). Research in this line has suggested that the Big Five could be enriched with the addition of positive and negative valence (Benet-Martínez & Waller, 2002) and a number of other dimensions like religiousness, honesty, tradition, and humor (Paunonen & Jackson, 2000; Saucier & Goldberg, 1998).

Second, Ashton, Lee, and colleagues (for a review, see Ashton & Lee, 2007) have reanalyzed psycholexical data that formed the basis for the establishment of the Big Five in a number of languages and suggested a new model, the HEXACO, which features a sixth factor, Honesty-Humility. This factor captured variance in the domain of interpersonal traits between the axes of the Big Five's Agreeableness and Conscientiousness and had an incremental value in the prediction of related personality outcomes (Ashton & Lee, 2007; Saucier, 2008).

Third, the comprehensiveness of the Big Five model in non-Western cultural contexts has been critically examined from the perspective of indigenous personality studies (Church, 2008). Using an inductive approach, Church and colleagues have developed theoretical models and accompanying measures representing the implicit personality conceptions in Mexico (Ortiz et al., 2007) and the Philippines (Katigbak, Church, & Akamine, 1996; Katigbak, Church, Guanzon-Lapeña, Carlota, & Del Pilar, 2002). Comparing these models with established FFM measures, these researchers have found that most personality concepts in the two cultures could be subsumed within the FFM and suggested that culture-specific aspects could mostly be expected in the expression and salience of specific model components, like the concepts of warmth and affection in Mexico. A line of research using similar methods in China identified a personality dimension beyond the Big Five, Interpersonal Relatedness, measured by the Cross-Cultural (Chinese) Personality Assessment Inventory (CPAI-2; F. M. Cheung et al., 2001, 2008; S. F. Cheung, Cheung, Howard, & Lim, 2006). Interpersonal Relatedness deals with interpersonal relationships and social functioning in a normative context and is defined by concepts like harmony, discipline, relational orientation, social sensitivity, thrift, and tradition. This dimension has been found to have incremental value in behavior prediction (Zhang & Bond, 1998) and has been replicated in diverse non-Chinese groups, although it appeared to be less salient for European Americans (S. F. Cheung et al., 2006; Lin & Church, 2004).

What is common to these three distinct lines of research, and perhaps most obvious in indigenous personality research, is that the candidates for expanding the Big Five space most often involve concepts in the area of interpersonal functioning (Church, 2008). In the Big Five model, this area is primarily represented by Agreeableness. It has been frequently noted in the literature that Agreeableness seems to be at the same time the largest, the most evaluatively laden, and the least well understood personality dimension (Graziano & Tobin, 2002). Arguably these properties mean that Agreeableness is in need for further refinement and possible

expansion. Cross-cultural studies in a non-Western context in which interpersonal functioning is important can inform this debate on expansion.

Agreeableness and Social-Relational Functioning

The core of Agreeableness refers to motivations, traits, and behaviors aimed at maintaining positive relations with others (Graziano & Eisenberg, 1997). An important component is the notion of effortful control, accounting for the suppression of self-interest and negative affect in interpersonal settings (Jensen-Campbell & Graziano, 2001). It could be argued that the elements of effortful control and self-restraint, shared with Conscientiousness, are central also to the Honesty-Humility factor in the HEXACO model (Ashton & Lee, 2007).

Another important aspect of Agreeableness is its relation to social desirability (McCrae & Costa, 1983). Agreeableness has been found to be strongly associated with descriptions of the ought self (Hafdahl, Panter, Gramzow, Sedikides, & Insko, 2000) and moralistic (Paulhus & John, 1998) and communal (Paulhus & Trapnell, 2008) biases in self-perception and presentation. Graziano and Tobin (2002) distinguished between impression-management and self-deception aspects of socially desirable responding and found that Agreeableness was only related to impression management. They found that other personality dimensions were also related to social desirability (cf. Li & Bagger, 2006) and concluded that Agreeableness is not threatened by self-favoring biases. Recent research has suggested that persons from more collectivistic cultures score higher on impression management and deceptive strategies measured in lie scales, whereas persons from more individualistic cultures score higher on self-deception (Lalwani, Shavitt, & Johnson, 2006; Van Hemert, Van de Vijver, Poortinga, & Georgas, 2002). So, it is clear that social desirability plays a role in the expression of personality concepts in the interpersonal domain, and its role may differ across cultures.

The most pertinent question regarding Agreeableness from a cross-cultural perspective is to what extent this dimension sufficiently captures the main personality concepts in the area of social-relational functioning in non-Western, collectivistic cultures. Attention to relations and to social context is supposed to be more prominent in collectivistic than in individualistic cultures (Triandis, 1995) and this can be expected to result in higher salience or levels of Agreeableness. A major finding in the opposite direction is that of McCrae, Terracciano, and 79 Members of the Personality Profiles of Cultures Project (2005b) who found a positive association between country-level Agreeableness and individualism. A possible interpretation is that there may be an Agreeableness core focusing on general prosocial orientation, which is more salient in an individualistic context, and further concepts of—presumably more norm-regulated—social-relational functioning, more prominent in a collectivistic context. The research by F. M. Cheung and colleagues (F. M. Cheung et al., 2001) has made the strongest case for expansion of the Big Five model with

additional concepts of social-relational functioning (Church, 2008). Recently, we proposed an indigenous personality model for South Africa which also displays a strong emphasis on social-relational aspects of personality (Nel et al., in press; Valchev et al., 2011). In the present study, we put this model, developed on the basis of qualitative data, to the test by examining its social-relational concepts using a quantitative approach in a framework defined by established measures of the Big Five model, Interpersonal Relatedness, and social desirability.

The South African Context and Social-Relational Clusters

South Africa is a multicultural society comprising 11 official languages and four distinct ethnic groups: Blacks, Coloureds, Indians, and Whites. The dominant approach to personality study and assessment has been to use imported instruments measuring models developed in Western contexts, mostly the UK and the US. These instruments have often been found to have unsatisfactory psychometric properties in South Africa, especially in the Black group (Foxcroft, Paterson, Le Roux, & Herbst, 2004; Laher, 2008; Meiring, Van de Vijver, Rothmann, & Barrick, 2005). In contrast, Taylor and De Bruin (2005) developed their Basic Traits Inventory (BTI) to measure the Big Five specifically taking local context into account. This instrument has been validated in the major ethnic and linguistic groups of South Africa (Ramsay, Taylor, De Bruin, & Meiring, 2008).

The SAPI project (F. M. Cheung, Van de Vijver & Leong, 2011; Nel et al., in press; Valchev et al., 2011, in press) is the first to examine the implicit personality conceptions in South Africa's 11 languages from an indigenous perspective. The first stage of this mixed-methods project identified nine broad personality clusters based on shared content and co-occurrence patterns in free personality descriptions made in the 11 languages. The nine clusters were: Conscientiousness, Emotional Stability, Extraversion, Facilitating, Integrity, Intellect, Openness, Relationship Harmony, and Soft-Heartedness, further subdivided into 37 subclusters and 188 facets (Nel et al., in press). The social-relational aspects were represented in four clusters: Facilitating (referring to the quality of being a good guide in life, with descriptions like "He gives good advice and builds people up"), Integrity (dealing with moral values and behaviors, e.g., "Fair, does not discriminate"), Relationship Harmony (dealing with the preservation of harmony in interpersonal relationships and the larger social context, e.g., "Peacemaker, always wants the family to be united"), and Soft-Heartedness (dealing with altruism and empathy, e.g., "Kind, caring, willing to help"). Soft-Heartedness showed the strongest conceptual relation with the Agreeableness core. Relationship Harmony was similar to Interpersonal Relatedness (F. M. Cheung et al., 2001) but was narrower as it did not include the latter's tradition-focused elements. Integrity was similar to the HEXACO model's Honesty-Humility (Asthon & Lee, 2007) but included additional elements of fairness and discrimination. Finally,

Facilitating did not have a clear correspondence to an existing personality concept in other models and appeared relatively culture-specific.

In a subsequent study, we found that Facilitating, Relationship Harmony, and Soft-Heartedness were more prominent in the descriptions of the Black group than in the White group, with Indians in the middle (Valchev et al., in press), underscoring the salience of these concepts in a collectivistic context. These findings fit in a global pattern of documented differences between Blacks and Whites, where Blacks are considered more collectivistic and Whites more individualistic (Allik & McCrae, 2004; Eaton & Louw, 2000; Laher, 2008).

The Present Study

We aim to develop the nomological network of the South African social-relational concepts further with quantitative data for Blacks and Whites. We address four questions. First, what is the relation of the SAPI social-relational concepts to the Big Five model? Our conceptual analysis of the SAPI social-relational clusters has treated them as extensions of Agreeableness including relatively culture-specific elements (Nel et al., in press; Valchev et al., in press). We hence formulate the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1: The social-relational scales constitute a single factor that is related to Agreeableness.

Second, what is the relation of the SAPI social-relational concepts to Interpersonal Relatedness (F. M. Cheung et al., 2001; S. F. Cheung et al., 2006)? The two constructs share a focus on social-relational functioning, while Interpersonal Relatedness also focuses on tradition. We test the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2: There is a pattern of strong associations of the SAPI social-relational scales with the relational components of Interpersonal Relatedness, and less strong associations with the tradition-focused components.

Third, how do the SAPI social-relational concepts relate to social desirability? Previous research has found links of Agreeableness and Conscientiousness to impression management (e.g., Graziano & Tobin, 2002). Impression management, in turn, is distinct from (albeit related to) deception as measured in lie scales (Paulhus, 1991) and has recently been proposed as an indicator of capacity for interpersonal adjustment in social context (Uziel, 2010). We hence formulate the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 3: The links of the social-relational scales with social desirability are strong, similar to those for Agreeableness and Conscientiousness, and stronger for impression-management than for a lie scale measuring the tendency to deceive.

Finally, we are interested in cross-cultural differences in mean scores. Differences have been observed between more collectivistic and more individualistic groups with respect to the salience of social-relational personality concepts (Valchev et

al., in press), mean scores on Interpersonal Relatedness (Lin & Church, 2004), and social desirability scales (Lalwani et al., 2006). We thus test the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 4: Blacks score higher than Whites on the positive (and lower than Whites on the negative) SAPI social-relational scales, CPAI-2 Interpersonal Relatedness, and social desirability.

Method

Development of the SAPI Social-Relational Scales

Items were generated with input from the content of the free descriptions obtained by Nel and colleagues (in press). On average, at least 10 items were developed for each of the 83 facets of Facilitating, Integrity, Relationship Harmony, and Soft-Heartedness. All items were formulated in the first person singular, used simple language, and specified concrete behaviors expressed with an object whenever possible (e.g., "I care for others" and "I help others cope with their problems"). The decision to use concrete behaviors was based on the finding that concrete expressions were favored by Blacks (Valchev, Van de Vijver, Nel, et al., 2012) and on previous findings pointing to improved cross-cultural replicability of psychological constructs when concrete behavior manifestations are used (Ramsay et al., 2008; Schmitt, Allik, McCrae, Benet-Martínez, et al., 2007; Schwartz et al., 2001).

The total item pool of the social-relational clusters contained 1,183 items. In a pilot study, questionnaires for each cluster were administered separately to students (samples were between 439 and 1,023 participants per cluster). Applying hierarchical factor analysis (Schmid & Leiman, 1957) on these data, the number of items was reduced in consecutive steps to 265. The retained items had high loadings (above .40) both on the first-order and the second-order factor, did not have extreme mean values (below 1.50 or above 4.50 on a 5-point Likert scale), did not have extreme skewness (above 2) or kurtosis (above 4), and best met the criteria of simple language, concrete formulation, and content representation.

Sample and Procedure

Participants were students at the Police College in Pretoria (n = 678), University of Johannesburg (n = 223), University of the Witwatersrand (n = 372), and North-West University (n = 210). The sample included 1,043 Blacks (429 males; M_{age} = 24.33 years, SD = 4.79) and 440 Whites (126 males; M_{age} = 19.55 years, SD = 2.23). All had completed at least high-school level education. All participants filled in the SAPI social-relational scales; in addition, 799 students (603 Blacks and 196 Whites) filled in the BTI and 768 students (523 Blacks and 245 Whites) filled in the CPAI-2 Interpersonal Relatedness (IR) scales. The package of scales was completed in a single

session, with counterbalanced order, except for the students at the Police College, who had completed the BTI at an earlier session. All students received course credit for their participation, except for 120 students at the University of Johannesburg who were rewarded with the local equivalent of US$ 2.50.

Instruments and Psychometric Properties

All questionnaires were administered in English and requested self-report. A 5-point Likert scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) was used in all questionnaires.

SAPI social-relational scales. We used the data of the sample described above, augmented with 708 participants who were excluded from the main analysis (either because their data could not be matched for the different questionnaires, or because they were Coloureds [n = 136] or Indians [n = 91], whose number, spread across questionnaire combination, was deemed insufficient to include them as separate groups), for preliminary analyses of the scales. Using factor analysis, 10 scales were formed that corresponded to the factors identified in the pilot studies. The number of items was reduced to a total of 91 by selecting the items with the highest loading on their target factor and the lowest cross-scale correlations.

The following 10 SAPI social-relational scales were used in the main analyses of this study: Facilitating (10 items, e.g., "I guide people in life"); Integrity (11 items, e.g., "I take responsibility for my mistakes"); Relationship Harmony (10 items, e.g., "I make others feel at home"); Active Support (13 items, e.g., "I give others emotional support"); Empathy (6 items, e.g., "I take others' feelings into account"); Unreliability (7 items, e.g., "I disappoint others"); Harmony Breach (8 items, e.g., "I cause arguments between others"); Arrogance (6 items, e.g., "I boast about things that make me better than others"); Hostility (10 items, e.g., "I make people feel weak when they are around me"); and Egoism (10 items, e.g., "I keep my things for myself"). All scales are unipolar. The items were presented in a random order.

The Cronbach's alpha values for the SAPI social-relational scales ranged from .59 to .92 with an average of .81 for Blacks, and from .74 to .89 with an average of .81 for Whites. The Tucker's phi indices of construct equivalence for these scales (see Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997) ranged from .98 to 1, with an average of .99.

BTI. The BTI, which has been developed in South Africa (Taylor & De Bruin, 2005), measures the FFM and provides both factor and facet scores. Each factor subsumes 4 to 5 facets, and each facet is measured by 6 to 10 items. All scales are unipolar; items are formulated in the positive direction, except for Neuroticism. Similarly to the SAPI items, most BTI items involve concrete behaviors (Taylor & De Bruin, 2005).

Cronbach's alpha values for the factor scales ranged from .86 to .94 with an average of .89 for Blacks, and from .89 to .96 with an average of .92 for Whites. For the facet scales, alphas ranged between .39 and .83 with an average of .71 for Blacks,

and between .57 and .91 with an average of .80 for Whites. There was only one scale with a very low alpha of .39 in Blacks: Openness to Values. There was no clear indication of single items causing the low value. Like all facet scales, this scale only contained a small number of items (six). Because we were interested in overall patterns rather than individual facet scales, and the reliability values for the factor scales were excellent, we retained this facet scale as is; caution would be warranted in the interpretation of results on this facet scale. The Tucker's phi indices for the factor scales ranged from .97 to .98, with an average of .97, and for the facet scales from .90 to .99, with an average of .97.

CPAI-2 IR. Preliminary analyses indicated a number of items negatively affecting the internal consistency (with several Cronbach's alpha values of the magnitude of .40) and structural equivalence (with several Tucker's phi indices far below .90) of the CPAI-2 IR scales. Most such items involved negations, difficult wording, and concepts that have different connotations in the two cultural groups (e.g., the idea of saving money by using public transport, which may be more salient in the less affluent Black group). After careful examination, a total of 17 items (two to five per scale, except the unaffected Social Sensitivity scale) were removed, which resulted in a marked improvement of the scales' properties. The following six scales were used in the final analyses: Traditionalism versus Modernity (10 items); Relational Orientation (8 items); Social Sensitivity (11 items); Discipline (9 items); Harmony (12 items); and Thrift versus Extravagance (7 items; see F. M. Cheung et al., 2001).

The Cronbach's alpha values of the reduced scales ranged from .47 to .64 with an average of .58 for Blacks, and from .49 to .68 with an average of .59 for Whites. These values are low, yet comparable to those found in other non-Chinese samples (S. F. Cheung et al., 2006; Lin & Church, 2004). Tucker's phi ranged from .94 to .98.

Social desirability. Three scales were used: To accompany the SAPI social-relational scales, 18 items were adapted from the Marlowe-Crowne scale (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960) and the Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding (BIDR; Paulhus, 1991). Based on previous research (Meiring, 2011), two scales were formed: Positive Impression Management (IM-Positive; 8 items, e.g., "I continue with my work if I am motivated") and Negative Impression Management (IM-Negative; 10 items, e.g., "I have some bad habits"). In addition, the BTI Social Desirability (SD, or lie) scale was used in the part of the sample that completed the BTI. This scale contains 13 items that employ extreme statements about positive or denial of negative behaviors (e.g., featuring the words "always," "never," "everything," and "everyone") and can thus be considered as a lie scale. Cronbach's alphas of the three scales ranged from .66 to .84 with an average of .74 for Blacks, and .51 to .70 with an average of .64 for Whites. Tucker's phi indices ranged from .94 to .99, with an average of .97. In summary, all scales had at least satisfactory and most had very good reliability values and structural equivalence indices between Blacks and Whites.

Results

For an overall inspection of the interrelations among the constructs in the present study, we correlated the BTI factor scales, CPAI-2 IR scales, and social desirability scales to the SAPI social-relational scales in both Blacks and Whites. The results are displayed in Table 6.1. Differences in correlations between the two groups were tested using Fisher's *r*-*z* transformation (Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003).

SAPI Social-Relational Scales and the Big Five

As expected, the SAPI social-relational scales correlated with Agreeableness; however, they also correlated with Conscientiousness and Openness (see top panel of Table 6.1). The correlations were higher for the positive than the negative SAPI social-relational scales. The correlations were largely similar in both groups.

We conducted a joint factor analysis of the SAPI social-relational scales and the BTI facets using the maximum likelihood algorithm with Oblimin rotation. Because we expected at least one additional dimension, we examined seven-, six- and five-factor solutions. The loadings for both groups of the seven- and six-factor solutions are presented in Tables 6.2 and 6.3, respectively. The SAPI social-relational scales clearly formed two factors beyond those defined by the BTI scales, a positive and a negative one. In the six-factor solution the BTI Agreeableness and Openness factors merged in Blacks, and the Extraversion facets spread across factors in Whites (see Table 6.3). In the five-factor solution (not presented here) Agreeableness and Openness merged in Whites, and the two merged with Conscientiousness in Blacks; the social-relational scales still defined two separate factors in both groups.

It could be argued that the two SAPI social-relational factors represent merely positive and negative valence. If that were the case, the removal of the negative scales would result in a structure where the positive scales are attracted to the five BTI factors. However, after excluding the negative SAPI social-relational scales, the positive SAPI scales still formed a distinct separate factor in six- and five-factor solutions. In summary, in partial confirmation of Hypothesis 1, the SAPI social-relational scales revealed a pattern of significant and meaningful relations to the (Big Five) Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, and Openness as measured by the BTI, but defined two separate factors with a distinct positive and negative component. The additional factors were not reducible to positive and negative valence.

SAPI Social-Relational Scales and Interpersonal Relatedness

The analysis of structural equivalence of the CPAI-2 IR scales indicated that the separate scales had good equivalence between Blacks and Whites (Tucker's phi between .94 and .98). However, CPAI-2 IR as one whole scale was not structurally equivalent in the two groups: Tucker's phi = .74. Inspection of the item loadings

Table 6.1 *Correlations of the BTI factor scales, CPAI-2 IR, and social desirability scales with the SAPI social-relational scales in Blacks (B) and Whites (W)*

	Facili-tating		Integrity		Rel. Harmony		Active Support		Empathy		Unreliability		Harmony Breach		Arrogance		Hostility		Egoism	
	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W
BTI																				
Extraversion	**.31**	**.31**	.29	.25	.28	.24	**.30**	**.31**	.14	.16	-.12	.08	-.12	.06	.02	.13	-.06	.08	-.06	.10
Neuroticism	-.22	-.15	-.25	-.19	-.25	-.13	-.24	-.07	-.11	.07	.26	**.37**	.28	**.41**	.17	.11	.23	.28	.26	**.31**
Conscientiousness	**.47**	**.44**	**.51**	**.47**	**.46**	**.38**	**.46**	**.40**	.23	**.31**	**-.33**	-.23	**-.36**	-.26	-.10	-.11	**-.32**	-.17	-.19	-.10
Openness	**.39**	.28	**.32**	.19	**.35**	.22	**.35**	.25	.24	.20	-.16	.14	-.15	.11	.00	.17	-.14	.11	-.07	.28
Agreeableness	**.39**	**.38**	**.41**	**.33**	**.39**	**.45**	**.39**	**.42**	.22	**.40**	-.28	-.08	-.29	-.07	-.11	-.13	-.25	-.10	-.20	-.09
CPAI-2 IR																				
Tradition. vs. Modern.	**.31**	.03	**.33**	-.07	**.33**	.01	.28	.03	-.08	-.08	-.29	.06	-.25	.06	.06	.12	-.22	.06	-.12	.12
Relational Orientation	**.40**	**.33**	**.46**	**.38**	**.48**	**.40**	**.45**	**.44**	.22	**.44**	**-.39**	-.26	**-.35**	-.17	-.24	**-.32**	**-.38**	-.26	**-.35**	-.21
Social Sensitivity	**.59**	**.62**	**.59**	**.55**	**.60**	**.68**	**.64**	**.73**	**.39**	**.67**	**-.44**	**-.37**	**-.36**	**-.34**	-.23	**-.39**	**-.38**	**-.40**	**-.37**	**-.39**
Discipline	**.46**	.18	**.46**	.19	**.42**	.12	**.38**	.14	.02	.05	**-.32**	-.02	-.30	-.01	.00	-.01	-.25	-.09	-.10	.14
Harmony	**.53**	**.48**	**.55**	**.54**	**.57**	**.64**	**.59**	**.59**	**.34**	**.53**	**-.49**	**-.50**	**-.44**	**-.50**	**-.36**	**-.45**	**-.51**	**-.51**	**-.46**	**-.49**
Thrift vs. Extravagance	**.34**	.09	**.41**	.21	**.35**	.14	**.40**	.12	.22	.23	**-.34**	-.16	-.28	-.08	-.25	-.26	**-.34**	-.17	-.28	-.17
Social Desirability																				
IM-Positive	**.66**	**.38**	**.74**	**.59**	**.70**	**.43**	**.68**	**.41**	.25	**.33**	**-.52**	-.28	**-.48**	-.30	-.22	-.12	**-.49**	-.26	**-.32**	-.10
IM-Negative	**-.44**	-.17	**-.53**	-.25	**-.46**	-.18	**-.41**	-.12	.17	-.03	**.69**	**.55**	**.66**	**.57**	.24	.28	**.56**	**.41**	**.53**	**.46**
BTI SD (Lie)	.28	.14	**.33**	.06	.27	.02	.25	.04	-.03	.02	-.25	.12	-.26	.10	.03	.23	-.22	.19	-.09	.16

Note. BTI = Basic Traits Inventory (Taylor & De Bruin, 2005); BTI SD (Lie) = social desirability (lie) scale of the BTI; CPAI-2 IR = Interpersonal Relatedness scales of the Cross-Cultural Personality Assessment Inventory (S. F. Cheung et al., 2006); IM = impression management; SAPI = South African Personality Inventory, in development (Nel et al., in press); Tradition. vs. Modern. = Traditionalism vs. Modernity. For correlations with the BTI, N = 799 (603 Blacks, 196 Whites); for the CPAI-2 IR, N = 768 (523 Blacks, 245 Whites); for IM-Positive and IM-Negative, N = 1,483 (1,043 Blacks, 440 Whites). Correlations with absolute value above .30 (medium or large effect size) appear in boldface. Pairs of correlations that differ at $p < .001$ between the two groups are underlined.

Table 6.2 *Loadings of the BTI facet scales and the SAPI social-relational scales on the joint seven-factor solution for Blacks and Whites*

	Blacks							Whites						
Scale	1[a]	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
BTI														
E: Ascendance	.09	-.03	-.07	.25	-.07	**.58**	.19	.15	.16	.11	.20	.25	**-.49**	-.18
E: Liveliness	-.06	-.01	.01	.22	.03	**.66**	-.04	-.05	-.04	-.15	.28	-.04	**-.84**	-.04
E: Pos. Aff.	-.02	-.02	-.09	.23	.21	**.34**	-.24	.10	-.07	.21	.07	.04	**-.43**	.29
E: Gregariousness	.02	-.03	-.10	.10	.11	**.67**	-.07	.25	.05	.13	-.16	.01	**-.47**	.11
E: Excit.-Seek.	.04	.03	.08	-.13	.00	**.61**	.00	-.11	.08	.04	**-.35**	.27	**-.37**	.12
N: Affect. Instab.	.03	.09	**.69**	-.01	-.07	.09	.02	-.13	.09	**-.88**	.04	-.10	-.21	-.11
N: Depression	-.02	.03	**.73**	-.10	.09	.06	.02	.06	.07	**-.84**	-.07	.09	.04	.09
N: Self-Consc.	.00	-.05	**.73**	.07	.04	-.09	-.04	.09	.09	**-.72**	-.04	.06	.13	.12
N: Anxiety	-.04	-.04	**.82**	.02	-.01	.05	.02	.01	.00	**-.83**	.03	.08	.03	.02
C: Effort	.06	-.01	-.02	**.66**	.04	.07	.06	-.01	-.12	.11	**.61**	.11	-.11	.09
C: Order	.02	-.01	.00	**.90**	-.08	.01	-.09	.12	.07	-.01	**.73**	.02	-.07	.02
C: Dutifulness	.06	-.02	-.03	**.80**	.05	.01	.01	.13	-.09	.11	**.59**	.20	-.07	.08
C: Prudence	.10	.01	-.05	**.62**	.13	.03	.06	.01	-.04	-.20	**.84**	.05	.01	-.03
C: Self-discipline	-.02	-.02	-.09	**.60**	.20	.01	-.04	-.01	.02	.21	**.72**	-.02	-.05	.23
O: Aesthetics	.04	.02	-.04	.01	**.41**	.23	.07	-.01	.01	-.03	.09	**.65**	.03	.02
O: Ideas	.06	.06	-.18	.07	**.46**	.22	.02	.09	.20	.09	.14	**.64**	-.04	-.05
O: Actions	.05	.05	-.10	.09	**.46**	.23	.05	-.04	.00	.00	-.02	**.72**	.04	.08
O: Values	.09	.12	.07	.02	**.47**	-.02	.01	.06	.05	-.06	-.04	**.34**	-.13	.05
O: Imagination	.12	.00	-.08	.25	**.36**	.12	.02	.03	-.07	-.07	.00	**.70**	.01	.01
A: Straightf.	.00	-.18	-.09	.25	**.48**	-.08	.16	.18	-.05	.07	.21	-.02	-.11	**.44**
A: Compliance	-.04	-.13	-.04	-.05	**.63**	.12	-.05	.02	-.11	-.02	-.07	**.34**	.01	**.55**
A: Prosoc. Tend.	.09	.03	-.14	.12	**.54**	.05	.09	.15	.16	.05	.16	.09	-.07	**.48**
A: Modesty	-.01	-.04	.07	.05	**.50**	-.13	-.08	-.10	.03	-.15	.06	.03	.03	**.68**
A: Tendermind.	.03	-.08	.00	.23	**.58**	.00	-.19	.22	-.22	-.20	.07	**.31**	-.19	**.31**
SAPI														
Facilitating	**.92**	-.01	-.02	.00	.03	.03	.02	**.83**	.14	.10	.09	.02	.01	-.02
Integrity	**.72**	-.25	.01	.12	-.01	.00	.03	**.60**	-.29	.03	.14	.08	-.06	-.09
Rel. Harmony	**.88**	-.09	-.04	.00	.02	-.02	.02	**.67**	-.23	.03	.01	.04	.01	.11
Active Support	**.91**	-.03	-.03	.02	-.02	.02	-.14	**.96**	-.06	-.06	-.03	-.01	-.05	-.03
Empathy	**.33**	.00	-.01	.04	.06	.00	**-.44**	**.62**	-.23	-.19	.01	.03	.01	.06
Unreliability	-.19	**.77**	.01	.00	-.04	-.02	-.17	-.08	**.83**	-.13	-.07	.01	-.01	.07
Harmony Breach	-.12	**.75**	.02	-.10	.00	.01	-.11	.05	**.83**	-.19	-.14	-.10	-.02	.12
Arrogance	.07	**.58**	.05	.03	.03	-.01	**.35**	-.07	**.84**	.12	.05	.08	-.01	-.09
Hostility	-.12	**.83**	-.05	-.08	-.01	.04	-.15	-.15	**.85**	-.05	.03	-.07	-.04	.09
Egoism	-.05	**.65**	.10	.08	-.01	-.03	.22	-.09	**.75**	-.09	.06	.29	.05	-.17

Note. BTI = Basic Traits Inventory (Taylor & De Bruin, 2005); SAPI = South African Personality Inventory, in development (Nel et al., in press); BTI facet scales: E = Extraversion; N = Neuroticism; C = Conscientiousness; O = Openness; A = Agreeableness; Pos. Aff. = Positive Affectivity; Excit.-Seek. = Excitement-Seeking; Affect. Instab. = Affective Instability; Self-Consc. = Self-Consciousness; Straightf. = Straightforwardness; Prosoc. Tend. = Prosocial Tendencies; Tendermind. = Tendermindedness. Loadings with absolute value above .30 appear in boldface.
[a]Tucker's phi indices for the seven factors were: .93, .95, .93, .94, .92, .92, .41, respectively.

Table 6.3 *Loadings of the BTI facet scales and the SAPI social-relational scales on the joint six-factor solution for Blacks and Whites*

	Blacks						Whites					
Scale	1[a]	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
BTI												
E: Ascendance	.07	-.03	-.07	.28	-.18	**.61**	.24	.30	.21	.26	.26	.02
E: Liveliness	-.05	-.01	-.02	.14	.05	**.68**	.13	.20	.05	**.36**	.05	.26
E: Pos. Aff.	.02	-.04	-.13	.11	**.31**	**.34**	.16	.01	.27	.14	.07	**.46**
E: Gregariousness	.02	-.03	-.12	.03	.11	**.69**	**.33**	.16	.20	-.09	.02	**.33**
E: Excit.-Seek.	.03	.03	.08	-.17	-.03	**.63**	-.04	.16	.12	**-.31**	**.32**	.26
N: Affect. Instab.	.03	.10	**.69**	-.03	-.05	.07	-.06	.21	**-.79**	.05	-.07	-.01
N: Depression	-.03	.03	**.73**	-.09	.09	.06	.07	.08	**-.86**	-.07	.09	.07
N: Self-Consc.	.01	-.05	**.71**	.05	.09	-.10	.08	.06	**-.77**	-.05	.05	.06
N: Anxiety	-.04	-.03	**.81**	.00	.01	.03	.03	.02	**-.85**	.02	.08	.00
C: Effort	.07	-.02	-.05	**.65**	.04	.08	-.01	-.10	.12	**.65**	.10	.10
C: Order	.07	-.04	-.07	**.74**	.07	-.01	.10	.08	-.01	**.76**	.02	-.01
C: Dutifulness	.09	-.03	-.08	**.75**	.09	.02	.12	-.09	.11	**.62**	.18	.08
C: Prudence	.12	.00	-.08	**.63**	.11	.05	-.01	-.02	-.21	**.87**	.01	-.07
C: Self-discipline	.01	-.04	-.13	**.57**	.23	.02	-.04	-.01	.18	**.74**	-.02	.18
O: Aesthetics	.04	.02	-.02	.10	.29	.29	-.02	-.01	-.05	.09	**.67**	-.03
O: Ideas	.07	.06	-.17	.15	**.36**	.28	.08	.18	.08	.15	**.67**	-.09
O: Actions	.05	.05	-.09	.18	**.34**	.30	-.06	-.03	-.02	-.02	**.73**	.05
O: Values	.10	.13	.08	.09	**.39**	.04	.09	.08	-.04	-.03	**.35**	.09
O: Imagination	.13	.00	-.08	.30	.29	.17	.04	-.08	-.08	.00	**.71**	-.01
A: Straightf.	.00	-.17	-.07	**.38**	**.33**	.00	.16	-.08	.03	.25	-.02	**.46**
A: Compliance	-.03	-.14	-.03	.02	**.55**	.19	.00	-.18	-.09	-.04	**.36**	**.51**
A: Prosoc. Tend.	.09	.03	-.12	.25	**.40**	.13	.11	.11	-.01	.19	.11	**.45**
A: Modesty	.01	-.05	.07	.09	**.49**	-.09	-.14	-.05	-.23	.08	.07	**.59**
A: Tendermind.	.07	-.10	-.03	.22	**.62**	.03	.26	-.20	-.19	.11	**.33**	**.37**
SAPI												
Facilitating	**.93**	.00	.01	.05	-.07	.05	**.80**	.09	.05	.09	.03	-.07
Integrity	**.72**	-.25	.03	.16	-.09	.01	**.63**	-.29	.04	.16	.07	-.07
Rel. Harmony	**.90**	-.08	-.01	.06	-.07	.00	**.66**	-.27	.00	.02	.03	.10
Active Support	**.92**	-.03	-.03	.00	-.02	.02	**.98**	-.08	-.09	-.02	-.01	-.03
Empathy	**.38**	-.02	-.06	-.13	.26	-.05	**.63**	-.25	-.21	.02	.03	.03
Unreliability	-.16	**.77**	-.03	-.12	.11	-.06	-.13	**.80**	-.19	-.08	.01	.05
Harmony Breach	-.08	**.77**	-.01	-.17	.08	-.02	.00	**.80**	-.26	-.14	-.10	.11
Arrogance	.03	**.58**	.07	.16	-.13	.04	-.12	**.82**	.08	.04	.09	-.13
Hostility	-.08	**.85**	-.09	-.17	.11	.00	-.20	**.83**	-.10	.02	-.06	.08
Egoism	-.07	**.66**	.11	.14	-.08	-.01	-.14	**.74**	-.13	.04	.28	-.22

Note. BTI = Basic Traits Inventory (Taylor & De Bruin, 2005); SAPI = South African Personality Inventory, in development (Nel et al., in press); BTI facet scales: E = Extraversion; N = Neuroticism; C = Conscientiousness; O = Openness; A = Agreeableness; Pos. Aff. = Positive Affectivity; Excit.-Seek. = Excitement-Seeking; Affect. Instab. = Affective Instability; Self-Consc. = Self-Consciousness; Straightf. = Straightforwardness; Prosoc. Tend. = Prosocial Tendencies; Tendermind. = Tendermindedness. Loadings with absolute value above .30 appear in boldface.
[a]Tucker's phi indices for the six factors were: .91, .93, .89, .94, .83, .52, respectively.

indicated that the differences were concentrated in the items of the Traditionalism versus Modernity and Thrift versus Extravagance scales, and three items of the Discipline scale dealing with the beneficial aspects of following traditional conventions and regulations. These items had high positive loadings on CPAI-2 IR in the Black group, but not in the White group. After removal of the Traditionalism versus Modernity, Thrift versus Extravagance, and the three Discipline items dealing with traditional conventions and regulations, Tucker's phi increased to .94. This finding suggests that adherence to tradition and thrift norms is part of the Interpersonal Relatedness domain more for Blacks than for Whites.

The pattern of correlations of the CPAI-2 IR scales with the SAPI social-relational scales suggested a similar interpretation (see the middle panel of Table 6.1). The SAPI social-relational scales were more strongly associated with the Relational Orientation, Social Sensitivity, and Harmony scales than with Traditionalism versus Modernity, Discipline, and Thrift versus Extravagance. However, the correlations with the latter three scales were higher in the Black sample than in the White sample.

We examined the relations of the CPAI-2 IR and the SAPI social-relational scales in a joint factor analysis. Because of the conceptual similarity and the overall high correlations, we expected a single factor with a possible second negative factor. We performed a maximum-likelihood factor analysis, extracting two and one factors, with Oblimin rotation for the two-factor solution. The pattern matrices for both groups can be found in Table 6.4. Both factor solutions suggested that the CPAI-2 IR scales and the SAPI scales jointly defined a factor of social-relational functioning, with a subdivision into positive and negative aspects. The SAPI scales with the most pronounced relationship components, like Active Support, Relationship Harmony, and Facilitating, were the strongest markers of the joint factor, whereas the three CPAI-2 IR scales involving tradition and norms showed the lowest loadings on the joint factors. Group differences were also found: The tradition-focused concepts were more strongly linked to interpersonal concepts for Blacks than for Whites.

In summary, in support of Hypothesis 2, the SAPI social-relational scales demonstrated convergent validity by virtue of their associations with the CPAI-2 IR scales involving interpersonal functioning, and discriminant validity by virtue of their weaker association with the tradition-focused CPAI-2 IR scales.

Personality Scales and Social Desirability

The correlation matrix of the SAPI social-relational scales contained, as expected, sizeable correlations with the IM-Positive and IM-Negative scales (see the bottom panel of Table 6.1). The BTI SD (lie) scale, on the other hand, appeared less strongly related to the social-relational scales.

To assess these associations in the two groups, we performed separate multigroup regression analyses per personality scale with AMOS (Arbuckle, 2009).

Table 6.4 *Loadings of the CPAI-2 IR and SAPI social-relational scales on the joint two- and single-factor solutions*

	Blacks			Whites		
	Two Factors[a]		Single	Two Factors		Single
Scale	1	2	Factor	1	2	Factor
CPAI-2 IR						
Traditionalism vs. Modernity	.30	-.10	**.38**	.06	.13	-.03
Relational Orientation	**.41**	-.20	**.57**	**.46**	-.08	**.50**
Social Sensitivity	**.66**	-.06	**.70**	**.75**	-.12	**.80**
Discipline	**.45**	-.05	**.49**	.20	.08	.14
Harmony	**.50**	-.26	**.69**	**.53**	**-.37**	**.73**
Thrift vs. Extravagance	**.33**	-.18	**.47**	.12	-.14	.21
SAPI						
Facilitating	**.90**	.05	**.83**	**.80**	.06	**.72**
Integrity	**.65**	-.26	**.84**	**.63**	-.24	**.75**
Relationship Harmony	**.87**	-.06	**.88**	**.82**	-.11	**.85**
Active Support	**.96**	.05	**.88**	**.93**	-.02	**.88**
Empathy	**.56**	.17	**.42**	**.79**	-.10	**.81**
Unreliability	-.08	**.83**	**-.69**	-.10	**.81**	**-.56**
Harmony Breach	.04	**.87**	**-.60**	-.08	**.81**	**-.53**
Arrogance	-.02	**.53**	**-.41**	-.18	**.66**	**-.55**
Hostility	-.08	**.83**	**-.68**	-.15	**.79**	**-.59**
Egoism	-.05	**.70**	**-.57**	-.17	**.69**	**-.56**

Note. CPAI-2 IR = Interpersonal Relatedness scales of the Cross-Cultural Personality Assessment Inventory (S. F. Cheung et al., 2006); SAPI = South African Personality Inventory, in development (Nel et al., in press). Loadings with absolute value above .30 appear in boldface.
[a]Tucker's phi indices for the two and single factors were: .97, .97, and .96, respectively.

We defined saturated models with intercorrelations among the three social desirability scales and regression paths from the social desirability scales to each personality scale. Using the comparative fit index (CFI) and the Tucker-Lewis index (TLI), we assessed the change in fit from the unrestricted model to the regression-weights model imposing equal weights between groups. The results are displayed in Table 6.5. The CFI suggested that the regression-weights model had an adequate fit (above .95) for most scales. However, the TLI identified a number of scales with poor fit, pointing to differences in the regression weights between the two groups.

Four findings are worth mentioning. First, the R^2 values suggested that the links of social desirability to the positive SAPI social-relational scales, Agreeableness, Openness, Conscientiousness, and Interpersonal Relatedness tended to be higher in the Black group, whereas the links to the negative social-relational scales and Neuroticism tended to be higher in the White group, although these differences were not consistent and significant for all scales. Second, as expected, the SAPI social-relational scales were relatively strongly associated with social desirability overall.

Table 6.5 *Standardized regression weights and* R^2 *values for Blacks (B) and Whites (W) and comparative fit indices for the structural-weights multigroup regression analysis models of personality and social desirability scales*

	Standardized Weights						R^2		Comparative Fit Indices	
	IM-Positive		IM-Negative		BTI SD (Lie)					
Personality Scale	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W	CFI	TLI
SAPI										
Facilitating	.64***	.53***	-.14***	-.05	.03	-.01	.52***	.29***	1.00	.99
Integrity	.68***	.67***	-.21***	-.16**	.03	-.14**	.64***	.48***	1.00	.98
Relationship Harmony	.66***	.50***	-.14***	-.13*	.01	-.14*	.54***	.27***	.99	.98
Active Support	.67***	.60***	-.12***	-.06	.00	-.14*	.53***	.35***	.99	.97
Empathy	.43***	.47***	.23***	-.04	-.05	-.11	.16***	.21***	.98	.92
Unreliability	-.32***	-.27***	.50***	.60***	.07*	.28***	.45***	.48***	.96	.85
Harmony Breach	-.28***	-.28***	.50***	.64***	.05	.28***	.41***	.54***	.96	.84
Arrogance	-.15***	-.21**	.24***	.38***	.19***	.35***	.09***	.25***	.97	.87
Hostility	-.34***	-.28***	.45***	.48***	.09*	.34***	.40***	.37***	.96	.85
Egoism	-.14***	-.12*	.43***	.53***	.14***	.27***	.20***	.32***	.99	.94
BTI										
Extraversion	.20***	.19**	.13**	.12	.35***	.31***	.16***	.16***	1.00	1.03
Neuroticism	-.13**	.02	.19***	.57***	-.08	-.05	.10***	.33***	.88	.54
Conscientiousness	.36***	.53***	.08*	-.13*	.52***	.19***	.46***	.42***	.97	.87
Openness	.29***	.24***	.20***	.19**	.34***	.12	.19***	.10***	1.00	.98
Agreeableness	.28***	.32***	.10**	.07	.52***	.30***	.37***	.24***	.99	.98

Table 6.5 *(Cont.)*

	Standardized Weights								Comparative Fit Indices	
	IM-Positive		IM-Negative		BTI SD (Lie)		R^2			
Personality Scale	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W	CFI	TLI
CPAI-2 IR										
Traditionalism vs. Modernity	.21***	.04	-.29***	-.05			.16***	.00	.92	.77
Relational Orientation	.36***	.21***	-.11*	.05			.17***	.04**	.96	.89
Social Sensitivity	.43***	.24***	-.10*	-.13*			.22***	.08***	.98	.95
Discipline	.37***	.38***	-.24***	.02			.25***	.14***	.97	.90
Harmony	.40***	.28***	-.19***	-.25***			.24***	.16***	.99	.98
Thrift vs. Extravagance	.30***	.18**	-.09*	.04			.12***	.03*	.97	.92

Note. BTI = Basic Traits Inventory (Taylor & De Bruin, 2005); BTI SD (Lie) = social desirability (lie) scale of the BTI; CPAI-2 IR = Interpersonal Relatedness scales of the Cross-Cultural Personality Assessment Inventory (S. F. Cheung et al., 2006); IM = impression management; SAPI = South African Personality Inventory, in development (Nel et al., in press); CFI = comparative fit index; TLI = Tucker-Lewis index. For the analyses of the SAPI and BTI scales, N = 799 (603 Blacks, 196 Whites); for the analyses of the CPAI-2 IR, N = 768 (523 Blacks, 245 Whites). The BTI SD (lie) scale was not used in the analyses involving CPAI-2 IR because only 84 participants filled in both questionnaires.
*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

The mean R^2 for the SAPI social-relational scales was .39 for Blacks and .36 for Whites, which in both groups was higher than the values for Agreeableness (.37 and .24, respectively) and lower than Conscientiousness (.46 and .42, respectively; Table 6.5). The CPAI-2 IR scales had weaker associations with social desirability, which may to an extent be attributable to the relatively low reliability of the CPAI-2 IR scales. Third, the standardized regression weights indicated that the SAPI social-relational scales were more strongly related to the IM scales than to the BTI SD (lie) scale (see Table 6.5). As could be expected, the positive and negative personality scales tended to be respectively related to positive and negative social desirability scales. Fourth, a comparison between the correlations of the BTI SD (lie) scale with the SAPI social-relational scales (bottom row in Table 6.1) and the regression weights for the same variables (Table 6.5) revealed an interesting case of suppression, especially for the negative SAPI scales. While the BTI SD (lie) scale's correlations with the SAPI social-relational scales were low and/or in the same direction as IM-Positive, the corresponding regression weights were higher and/or in the same direction as IM-Negative. It appeared that the two IM scales had suppressed the genuine social desirability variance of the BTI SD (lie) scale and brought to the fore the underlying lie component. It is worth noting that the suppression did not occur for the BTI scales; Agreeableness and Conscientiousness were highly positively associated both with the IM-Positive and the BTI SD (lie) scale. The link of the lie component to self-reported negative aspects of social-relational functioning, such as unreliability, arrogance, and egoism, adds to the content validity of the negative SAPI social-relational scales.

In summary, in support of Hypothesis 3, the SAPI social-relational scales had sizeable associations with social desirability, on average comparable to those of the BTI Agreeableness and Conscientiousness scales for both groups. The links were the strongest with the impression-management aspects of social desirability. The BTI SD (lie) scale's underlying lie component served as a criterion measure adding to the content validity of the social-relational scales.

Differences in Mean Scores

We conducted multivariate analyses of covariance testing for the main effects and interaction of ethnic group and gender, with age as covariate, separately for the SAPI social-relational scales, the BTI, the CPAI-2 IR, and the three social desirability scales. The Wilks' Lambda multivariate tests for ethnic group were significant ($p < .001$) for all analyses, with large effect sizes: partial $\eta^2 = .18$ (SAPI), .32 (BTI), .18 (CPAI-2 IR), and .24 (social desirability scales). The mean scores and univariate partial effect sizes for ethnic group are presented in Table 6.6. Blacks scored higher than Whites on the positive SAPI scales (except Empathy, *ns*), Conscientiousness, the CPAI-2 IR

Table 6.6 *Means (*M*) and standard deviations (*SD*) of scale scores of Blacks and Whites on personality and social desirability scales*

	Blacks		Whites		
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	η_p^{2a}
SAPI					
Facilitating	4.10	0.55	3.63	0.53	.05***
Integrity	4.18	0.50	4.00	0.47	.01**
Relationship Harmony	4.18	0.50	3.85	0.48	.03***
Active Support	4.11	0.49	3.91	0.47	.01***
Empathy	3.87	0.56	4.05	0.53	.00
Unreliability	1.89	0.64	2.49	0.63	.09***
Harmony Breach	1.89	0.67	2.52	0.66	.09***
Arrogance	2.05	0.66	2.25	0.73	.01***
Hostility	1.67	0.59	2.10	0.72	.06***
Egoism	2.30	0.58	2.70	0.58	.04***
BTI					
Extraversion	3.43	0.50	3.56	0.47	.02***
Neuroticism	1.92	0.41	2.93	0.75	.24***
Conscientiousness	4.17	0.48	3.70	0.54	.08***
Openness	3.75	0.46	3.70	0.49	.00
Agreeableness	3.72	0.47	3.62	0.43	.00
CPAI-2 IR					
Traditionalism vs. Modernity	3.22	0.56	2.55	0.48	.16***
Relational Orientation	3.88	0.50	3.79	0.46	.01
Social Sensitivity	3.73	0.44	3.68	0.41	.00
Discipline	3.41	0.55	3.16	0.47	.02***
Harmony	3.77	0.42	3.63	0.42	.00
Thrift vs. Extravagance	3.47	0.57	3.45	0.52	.00
Social Desirability					
IM-Positive	4.14	0.46	3.72	0.46	.08***
IM-Negative	2.23	0.60	3.31	0.56	.24***
BTI SD (Lie)	3.31	0.59	2.77	0.50	.05***

Note. BTI = Basic Traits Inventory (Taylor & De Bruin, 2005); BTI SD (Lie) = social desirability (lie) scale of the BTI; CPAI-2 IR = Interpersonal Relatedness scales of the Cross-Cultural Personality Assessment Inventory (S. F. Cheung et al., 2006); IM = impression management; SAPI = South African Personality Inventory, in development (Nel et al., in press). For the BTI, N = 799 (603 Blacks, 196 Whites); for the CPAI-2 IR, N = 768 (523 Blacks, 245 Whites); for IM-Positive and IM-Negative, N = 1,483 (1,043 Blacks, 440 Whites).
[a]Partial η^2 effect sizes of ethnic group.
*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Traditionalism versus Modernity and Discipline, and the IM-Positive and BTI SD (lie) scale; the pattern was reversed for the negative SAPI scales, Extraversion, Neuroticism, and the IM-Negative scale. Most univariate effect sizes were small, although a few were moderate or large. These findings supported Hypothesis 4.

Discussion

The present study aimed to advance the development of the nomological network of a set of social-relational personality concepts recently identified from an indigenous perspective in South Africa (Nel et al., in press). We examined the position of the SAPI social-relational concepts in the framework of the FFM or Big Five model (McCrae & Allik, 2002), their relation to Interpersonal Relatedness (F. M. Cheung et al., 2001) and social desirability (Graziano & Tobin, 2002), and cultural differences in these concepts. We found that the social-relational concepts had a pattern of significant correlations not only with Agreeableness, but also with Conscientiousness and Openness, and defined two separate factors, a positive and a negative one (Hypothesis 1). The SAPI social-relational scales displayed high correlations with the relational aspects of Interpersonal Relatedness (Hypothesis 2) and the impression-management aspects of social desirability (Hypothesis 3), and lower correlations with the tradition-focused aspects of Interpersonal Relatedness and the lie component of social desirability, providing evidence for convergent and discriminant validity, respectively. The scale structures and their patterns of associations were similar for Blacks and Whites. The main cultural differences referred to the stronger tendency for Agreeableness, Openness, and Conscientiousness to merge, the stronger links between relational and tradition-focused concepts, and the stronger links between positive social-relational concepts and social desirability in Blacks as compared to Whites. Blacks also scored higher than Whites on the positive social-relational scales, two Interpersonal Relatedness scales, and positive impression management, whereas Whites scored higher on the negative social-relational scales and negative impression management (Hypothesis 4).

Beyond Agreeableness: Expanding the Big-Five Space in the Domain of Social-Relational Functioning

How do the SAPI social-relational concepts fit in the framework defined by the Big Five model? We found two additional factors, mutually distinguished by their valence (Tables 6.2 and 6.3). It may seem obvious to interpret them as positive and negative valence factors. We see two arguments against this interpretation. First, conceptually, the two factors in the present study are more specific as they involve only social-relational aspects, in contrast to the classic positive and negative valence factors which feature substantively fuzzier content with more pronounced evaluative loading, such as *excellent*, *special*, *awful*, and *wicked* (Benet-Martínez & Waller, 2002). Second, empirically, the fact that the positive social-relational scales still defined a separate additional factor after the exclusion of the negative scales suggests that these scales are primarily distinguished from the Big Five factors by their content rather than valence.

Turning to the more substantive interpretations of the social-relational scales, an interesting finding is that they were related not only to Agreeableness, but also to

Conscientiousness and Openness (Table 6.1). The link to Conscientiousness is reminiscent of the position of the Honesty-Humility factor in the HEXACO model (Ashton & Lee, 2007; Saucier, 2008). Some of the elements of the SAPI social-relational concepts, like Integrity and Egoism, can be found in Honesty-Humility. Others, like Empathy and Active Support, correspond to aspects of Agreeableness and Emotionality, rather than Honesty-Humility, in the HEXACO model. Finally, concepts like Facilitating and Relationship Harmony are not well represented in the HEXACO model, or in fact most other models.

Facilitating was found to be one of the strongest markers of the SAPI social-relational concepts both in the framework of the Big Five (Tables 6.2 and 6.3) and of Interpersonal Relatedness (Table 6.4). Facilitating is defined by items about conveying knowledge, giving guidance, and empowering others. These characteristics correspond directly to one of the major adaptive problems pertinent to the evolutionary differentiation of personality traits proposed by Buss (1991, p. 472): "Who can I go to for advice?" In the Big Five framework, the answer to this question refers primarily to Openness, which taps the cognitive capacity to give advice (Buss, 1997). Facilitating, on the other hand, refers to the actual realization of this capacity in an interpersonal context. Tellingly, of the social-relational scales, Facilitating had the highest correlation to Openness (Table 6.1). The perceived importance of guidance and knowledge sharing in the South African context has been emphasized in previous research on implicit personality conceptions (Valchev et al., 2011) and employee perceptions in organizational settings (April & Peters, 2011). The aspect of transmitting wisdom assumes special importance in more traditional groups like the Black group in South Africa (Hammond-Tooke, 1974; Schwartz, 2006). The present study contributes to the conceptual and empirical embedding of guidance and facilitating in the framework of social-relational concepts.

Social-Relational Personality Concepts, Self-Regulation, Norms, and Tradition

The correlations of the SAPI social-relational scales with Agreeableness and Conscientiousness point to a common element of effortful control which is found in the theories of both of these Big Five dimensions (Graziano & Eisenberg, 1997; Hogan & Ones, 1997). The social-relational concepts under investigation all involve an element of effortful control, allowing individual differences in the proclivity to do the right thing in interpersonal situations. This interpretation fits with the observed correlations with the three different social desirability measures (Table 6.5). The positive associations with the IM scales are in line with recent propositions that impression management should be reconceptualized as a measure of interpersonally oriented self-control capacity, especially in social context (Lalwani et al., 2006; Uziel, 2010). In turn, the present research suggests that the impact of deceptive strategies on self-report personality measures may only be fully revealed when the common variance of lie scales with IM scales is suppressed.

The aspects of norm-congruent self-regulation in social context can be expected to be especially salient in more collectivistic (Triandis, 1995) or tight (Gelfand et al., 2011) cultures, where norms and traditions play an important role in behavior regulation. The research that led to the identification of the Interpersonal Relatedness concept in China started with a specific interest in the influence of Chinese norms and traditions on implicit personality concepts (F. M. Cheung et al., 1996). "Traditional" is also one of the candidates for expansion of the Big Five in lexical studies (Paunonen & Jackson, 2000). In the SAPI social-relational scales, unlike the CPAI-2 IR (F. M. Cheung et al., 2001), there are no items directly referring to the adherence to norms, regulations, and traditions. Nonetheless, the pattern of associations with CPAI-2 IR and the two IM scales suggests that perceived normative regulations play an important role in the constitution of the social-relational concepts in South Africa. The social-relational concepts extend personality in the direction of norms and values, usually studied independently of personality (Saucier, 2008). One of the consequences is the observed overall strong association with social desirability. It is important to note that this association points to norm-congruent self-regulation more than to faking good. Although this link to norms and values may hold to an extent for both Blacks and Whites, the coherence between relational and tradition-focused elements is stronger for Blacks. Future research should shed more light on the effects of the social-relational personality concepts on the ways that norms are perceived, negotiated, and enacted in different groups (Breugelmans, 2011).

Cross-Cultural Applicability

Indigenous research on personality usually starts with identifying a set of constructs relevant to one particular cultural group and may subsequently seek replication of these constructs in different cultural groups (e.g., S. F. Cheung et al., 2006; Katigbak et al., 1996; Lin & Church, 2004). In contrast, the present research employs constructs that have been identified as common to two cultural groups as distinct as Blacks and Whites. In view of the oft-perceived tensions between emic and etic approaches to personality study (Van de Vijver & Leung, 2001), our finding of structural equivalence of the indigenously-derived SAPI social-relational constructs is reassuring for the prospects of developing an integrated, emic-etic approach (F. M. Cheung et al., 2011). The finding of differences in mean levels on these constructs, on the other hand, is well in line with our previous findings of their differing salience (Valchev et al., in press) and with findings of cultural differences along the individualism–collectivism dimension in mean levels of personality characteristics (e.g., Allik & McCrae, 2004; S. F. Cheung et al., 2006; Lin & Church, 2004).

There were also group differences in the strength of associations between social desirability and personality constructs. We are not aware of any extensive research examining cross-cultural differences in these associations. Some previous research has failed to find systematic differences (Grimm & Church, 1999), although a more recent study by Steenkamp, De Jong, and Baumgartner (2010) suggested that culture-level

variables may moderate the associations of personality dimensions with social desirability. The present findings suggest that the links tend to be stronger for more strongly endorsed concepts (here, for positive concepts in Blacks and negative ones in Whites). Further research is clearly needed to establish the validity of these differential patterns.

Practical Implications

The present study confirms the previous findings, based on free descriptions, of the salience of a coherent set of social-relational personality concepts in South Africa, distinct from the Big Five model (Nel et al., in press; Valchev et al., 2011). This study also furthers the development of an instrument to measure these concepts.

Our findings suggest that the negative aspects of social-relational functioning are equally coherent and salient as the positive aspects. Although the BTI (Taylor & De Bruin, 2005) has been well established as an assessment instrument for the FFM in South Africa, its scales lack balance in valence, which may be viewed as a shortcoming in light of the present findings. More generally, negative concepts tend to be highly diagnostic (Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Finkenauer, & Vohs, 2001) and merit attention especially with respect to social-relational functioning.

Finally, an important outcome of the present study is the demonstration of structurally equivalent personality measurement in Blacks and Whites. The issue of low reliability that often plagues personality assessment of Blacks (Foxcroft et al., 2004; Laher, 2008; Meiring et al., 2005) was not evident in the SAPI social-relational scales. In fact, what was observed in several individual scales was probably one of the rare occurrences of higher reliability values for Blacks than for Whites. Overall, the high reliability values in the two groups attest both to the salience of the measured concepts and to the beneficial effects of using concrete behavior terms rather than abstract traits for personality measurement in the relatively collectivistic South African context (cf. Ramsay et al., 2008; Schmitt et al., 2007; Schwartz et al., 2001; Valchev, Van de Vijver, Nel, et al., 2012).

Conclusion

Claims for the expansion of the Big Five space of personality characteristics most often involve concepts of relational functioning, especially in cross-cultural research (Church, 2008). The present study adds to this body of research by identifying a coherent set of positive and negative social-relational concepts salient in South Africa. This set is distinct from the Big Five model and relates in a systematic manner to the relational and tradition-focused components of Interpersonal Relatedness (F. M. Cheung et al., 2001) and to the impression-management and lie aspects of social desirability. The SAPI social-relational personality concepts, observed in two fairly culturally distant groups such as Blacks and Whites in South Africa, have a relation to interpersonally oriented self-regulation in social context (Uziel, 2010). We hope that the present study stimulates further cross-cultural research in this border area between the domains of personality, norms, and tradition.

Chapter 7

Discussion and Conclusions

The present dissertation investigated different aspects of the relationship between personality and culture in South Africa. The overarching goal was to provide an integrative framework based on research in South Africa that can inform cross-cultural personality research and theory with respect to the most relevant areas where commonalities and differences across groups can be expected. In pursuit of this goal, four questions were addressed.

The first question addressed in this dissertation was: What are the most important personality concepts in the heterogeneous, non-Western, multicultural context of South Africa? This question was primarily addressed in Chapters 2 and 3. Chapter 2 explored the implicit personality conceptions of the three main Nguni cultural-linguistic groups of South Africa: Swati, Xhosa, and Zulu. Semistructured interviews were conducted with 116 native speakers of Swati, 118 of Xhosa, and 141 of Zulu in their own language. Participants provided free descriptions of 10 target persons each; responses were translated into English. Twenty-six clusters of personality-descriptive terms were constructed based on shared semantic content and connotations of the original responses. These clusters accounted for largely identical content in all three groups. The clusters represented an elaborate conception of social-relational aspects of personality revolving around the themes of altruism, empathy, guidance, and harmony (see Figure 2.1). Extending this research, Chapter 3 explored the implicit personality structure in the 11 official language groups of South Africa. This study employed a mixed-methods approach. In the first, qualitative part of the study, semistructured interviews were conducted with 1,216 participants from the 11 official language groups. The derived personality-descriptive terms were categorized and clustered based on their semantic relations in iterative steps involving group discussions and contacts with language and cultural experts. This analysis identified 37 subclusters, which could be merged in nine broad clusters: Conscientiousness, Emotional Stability, Extraversion, Facilitating, Integrity, Intellect, Openness, Relationship Harmony, and Soft-Heartedness. In the second, quantitative part, the perceived relations between the 37 subclusters were rated by 204 students from different language groups in South Africa and 95 students in the Netherlands. The outcomes generally supported the adequacy of the conceptual model, although several

clusters in the domain of relational and social functioning did not replicate in detail. The outcomes of both Chapter 2 and 3 revealed a personality structure with a strong emphasis on social-relational aspects of personality, in accordance with previous indigenous research, especially in collectivistic and traditional societies (e.g., F. M. Cheung et al., 2001; Yang, 2006).

The finding of a common overall model for the different cultural groups in South Africa was an important outcome as it suggested that there is much commonality in implicit personality conceptions. Still, there was the possibility that the constitutive elements of this common structure had different salience in the different groups. So, the second main question of this dissertation was: To what extent do the major groups in South Africa differ with respect to the indigenous model of personality? This question was addressed in Chapter 4. Using a combined emic–etic approach, this study investigated similarities and differences in the indigenous personality concepts of ethnocultural groups in South Africa. The interview responses of 1,027 Blacks, 58 Indians, and 105 Whites were analyzed. The nine clusters described in Chapter 3 were found in all groups, yet the groups differed in their use of the model's components: Blacks referred more to social-relational descriptions, specific trait manifestations, and social norms, whereas Whites referred more to personal-growth descriptions and abstract concepts, and Indians had an intermediate pattern. The findings suggested that in the implicit personality concepts manifested in free descriptions, there is a noticeable agreement between cultural groups on a common set of concepts similar to (or subsuming) the Big Five, but also noticeable differences in the emphasis on different components of this set. The expansion of the Big Five space implicates social-relational concepts and diverse social norms. This study suggested that when the ecological validity of group comparisons is taken seriously, these additional aspects can and should be incorporated in a common model.

Next to differences in the content of personality descriptions, we were also interested in their form and organization in traits or non-trait terms and the role of context, where important differences were first identified in Chapter 2. The whole approach of studying personality structure is premised on the importance of personality dispositions and could be challenged if that importance is limited. So, the third main question of this dissertation was: To what extent do different groups conceptualize and describe personality differently, and in what categories of description are these differences concentrated? This question was addressed in Chapter 5. Three studies investigated (a) the differences between three ethnocultural groups in South Africa in the use of traits and contextual information for personality descriptions, (b) the substantiation mechanisms of these differences, and (c) their expression across personality domains. The interview responses of 1,027 Blacks, 84 Coloureds and Indians, and 105 Whites were analyzed. In Study 1 we found similarities in the total set of categories used most often for personality description

across the three groups—traits, behaviors, preferences, and perceptions (over 86%), which were context-free (over 66%)—as well as substantial differences between the groups in the relative use of these categories. In Study 2 we found that both linguistic practices and distance from the target person play a role in cross-cultural differences in trait use. In Study 3 we found significant interactions of culture with the use of traits and contextual information across agency–communion and the nine indigenous South African personality clusters identified in Chapter 3. The responses of Blacks confirmed expectations for collectivistic groups, of Whites for individualistic, and Coloureds and Indians had an intermediate pattern. The results were generally supportive of the cultural psychology perspective on trait use, with one important qualification: Cross-cultural differences were concentrated in the relative use of traits, behaviors, preferences and perceptions, and contextual information, but not in other social-relational categories such as social roles and identities. The central implication is that structural models are not threatened because traits, behaviors, preferences, and perceptions can all convey dispositional information.

Finally, the fourth and most general question of this dissertation was: What are the implications of the proposed personality model in South Africa for current universal models of personality? Because the model identified in Chapters 2 and 3 differed from the Big Five mostly in the expansion of the Agreeableness domain, the answer to this question was explored in the study presented in Chapter 6. This study assessed the social-relational concepts of the indigenous model against the background of established personality models, and further asked to what extent these concepts function similarly in Blacks and Whites The social-relational concepts were examined jointly with the Big Five, the Interpersonal Relatedness personality dimension (F. M. Cheung et al., 2001), and social desirability. A total sample of 1043 Black and 440 White students completed a combination of the South African Personality Inventory (SAPI) social-relational scales and either the Basic Traits Inventory (BTI; Taylor & De Bruin, 2005) or the Cross-Cultural Personality Assessment Inventory's Interpersonal Relatedness scales (CPAI-2 IR; F. M. Cheung et al., 2001). The correlation matrix and results of factor and regression analyses suggested that the SAPI social-relational concepts (a) defined a positive and a negative factor, distinct from the Big Five and not reducible to valence factors, (b) were more strongly related to relational than to tradition-focused aspects of Interpersonal Relatedness, and (c) were more strongly related to impression management than to deception. The scales were structurally equivalent for Blacks and Whites. Links to tradition-focused concepts and social desirability tended to be stronger in the Black group. Blacks scored higher on the positive scales and Whites on the negative scales. Building on the studies reported in Chapters 2 and 3, this study provided additional evidence that for a comprehensive representation of personality in South Africa, the

Big Five space needs to be expanded in the direction of social-relational concepts where norms and values may have a role to play.

When emic personality concepts are observed, the ultimate question is whether they represent basic personality dimensions or culture-specific manifestations of such basic dimensions (Church, 2010; McCrae, 2000). The present data cannot provide a definitive answer for personality in South Africa. The conceptual model (Chapters 2 and 3) differs from the Big Five mostly in the expansion of the Agreeableness domain (see Figure 2.1). The findings reported in Chapter 6 suggest that the social-relational concepts are distinct from Agreeableness as measured by a Big-Five instrument. Future validation research on the complete indigenous model needs to confirm whether these concepts are a distinct factor or a culture-specific manifestation (a characteristic adaptation) of Agreeableness. In drawing the distinction between biologically based basic personality tendencies and characteristic adaptations, McCrae (2000, p. 15) postulated that "values, beliefs, and identities are not personality traits," and this is a position to which most personality psychologists would probably subscribe. However, non-Western personality studies have repeatedly drawn attention to constructs concerned exactly with values and norms, more often than not pointing to social-relational functioning and tradition (Berry, Poortinga, Breugelmans, Chasiotis, & Sam, 2011; Church, 2010). The underlying question seems to be about the boundaries between core and periphery of personality as illustrated, for example, in Yang's (2006, p. 291) Figure 1. Using concentric circles, Yang suggested that the relative contribution of relationship-, group-, and other-oriented (as opposed to individual-oriented) personality attributes is larger in Chinese than in American personality conceptions. The present dissertation suggests that more attention should be devoted to the border area of personality, norms, and values.

Another important aspect to consider is the role of language. On the one hand, despite the rich diversity of the languages employed in this research, there were no cross-language differences large and systematic enough to prevent the development of a common personality model. This is an important finding in line with the idea that personality variation and attention to personality variation have developed in response to common environmental challenges that people in all groups need to face (Buss, 1997; McCrae, 2000). In this respect, the prospects for defining a set of universal basic personality dimensions are good, even though the jury is still out on the exact contents of this set (e.g., Asthon & Lee, 2007; Church, 2008, 2010; De Raad et al., 2010). On the other hand, the findings of the present dissertation demonstrate how culture and language affect the salience and the expression of personality concepts. In the classical psycholexical studies, culture and language overlap, language is taken as a proxy to culture, and the differences between different lexical selections of a given language are rather limited (Saucier & Goldberg, 2001). In the present research, however, there were notable differences between the groups using the Germanic languages

(Coloureds and Indians vs. Whites), predicted in the individualism–collectivism framework (Chapters 4 and 5). Our study suggests that the assumption of a complete overlap between language and culture may not be universally applicable and that personality structure and salience of its components cannot be reduced to language. In that sense, it is useful to shift attention from language as a system to language use (e.g., Kashima, Kashima, Kim, & Gelfand, 2006; Pennebaker, Mehl, & Niederhoffer, 2003). Finally, with respect to trait and contextualization, the evidence of the present dissertation is that when personality descriptions are requested, it is fair to expect, across groups, descriptions (traits, behaviors, preferences, and perceptions) that are informative of an underlying structure, as well as differences in the formulations of these descriptions.

In summary, the present dissertation suggests that when natural language in use is studied, considerable cross-language and cross-cultural convergence can be expected on a set of concepts that is similar although likely more comprehensive than the Big Five (Chapters 2 and 3). The suggested expansion involves concepts of social-relational functioning (Chapter 6). Groups can also be expected to differ in the salience of the components of this overall structure (Chapter 4) and the level of abstractness and contextualization of their descriptions (Chapter 5).

Different Perspectives and Their Integration

What are the implications of the research presented in this dissertation for the study of personality and culture? To start with the contrast of emic (or indigenous) versus etic (or cross-cultural) research, the exploration of implicit personality structure presented in Chapters 2 and 3 is primarily emic as it analyzed person descriptions in specific cultural contexts and sought inferences about the cultural relevance of personality concepts. However, these studies contain an etic element as well. When more than one group is examined, there is inevitably some cross-group generalization driving the research toward a derived etic (Berry, 1989). Developing a personality structure from semistructured interview data simultaneously for a number of groups may be methodologically challenging, but it reduces the likelihood of artifactual culture-specifics. An integrated emic–etic investigation will do more justice to the relative salience of common elements in different groups. In the studies of the present dissertation, different elements were found to be more salient in different groups, although most personality facets were shared at least to some extent across groups. Such a graded approach may ultimately prove more informative than the dichotomies implied in some emic research (F. M. Cheung et al., 2011).

Turning to the debate between cultural psychology and cross-cultural trait psychology on traits and context, this dissertation found merit in both. A delineation

of the merits of both approaches requires a precise formulation of their premises. Whereas cross-cultural trait psychology is consistently interested in the cross-cultural replicability of traits, the focus of cultural psychology has been less unified. Cultural psychology emphasizes contrasts between individualistic and collectivistic cultures; self-concepts in the former are expected to be more abstract, autonomous, and consistent, whereas those in the latter—more specific, social, and situation-dependent (Church, 2008). One contentious issue is thus the use of traits and non-traits in personality description. The notion of traits and dispositions as elements of a unified and consistent structure is presented in cultural psychology as mostly relevant for individualistic cultures, whereas personality in collectivistic cultures is more strongly defined by relations, roles, and situations (Markus & Kitayama, 1998; Triandis, 1995). However, an exhaustive literature review has indicated that people in collectivistic cultures may use few traits for personality description, but use other terms, such as behaviors and preferences, that can convey dispositional information (Del Prado et al., 2007). The present dissertation suggests that cross-cultural differences may indeed be most pronounced not in references to roles or social identities, but in the use of traits versus behavioral descriptions (Church, 2008), the perceived role of context, and the semantic content (personality dimensions) of personality descriptions.

A second issue is the role of context and situation. Whereas some publications refer to contextuality and situatedness as the opposite of traitedness (e.g., Church, 2008), others treat contextualization and trait use in personality descriptions as two separate factors (e.g., Kashima et al., 2006). The present research demonstrated, first, that it makes sense to disentangle trait use from contextualization because they are empirically distinct (negatively related in some instances and positively in others), and second, that at least in free personality descriptions in South Africa, what matters most may be not just any context or situation, but specifically relational context. In summary, the strong point of the cross-cultural trait approach is its interest in dispositionally relevant terms that can be compared across groups, and its weak point is its apparent neglect of cultural variation in the preferred expression of these terms. Conversely, the strong point of the cultural psychology approach is its appreciation of cultural differences in the use of abstract and concrete personality concepts and the importance of context, and its weak point is its almost exclusive preoccupation with external factors like roles and context, which may leave little room for individual differences in dispositional terms. It should be made clear that these are extreme representations of the two perspectives. The present dissertation supports the position that research on personality and culture would benefit from combining the strong points of both perspectives (Church, 2010).

The present dissertation has sought to overcome classical divisions between relativistic and universalistic approaches. This endeavor can be related to ongoing discussions in the broad field of cross-cultural and cultural psychology (Berry et al.,

2011; Van de Vijver, Chasiotis, & Breugelmans, 2011). Fontaine (2011) proposed a fourfold framework that provides more graded distinctions in theory and method: relativism, construct universalism, repertoire universalism, and absolutism. The main point of the framework is that universalism can span a broad range of different approaches that can have varying ramifications. The research presented in this dissertation is closest to the construct universalist perspective: It is in line with the assumption of underlying traits and processes shared across groups, but demonstrates that their expression may differ in a number of ways, such as the use of traits and context, and different behavioral manifestations for similar personality constructs. A central element in Fontaine's framework is the position on language similarities and differences: In construct universalism, equivalence of the associative networks of words is needed; in repertoire universalism, equivalence of the meaning of individual words is needed. The overall pattern of findings in this dissertation meets the criterion of equivalence of associative networks. The development of a common measurement instrument with similar nomological networks across groups necessitates a transition to repertoire universalism where group comparisons are meaningful. Chapter 6 provides preliminary indications that this goal is realistic. Future comparative research on personality and culture stands to gain from employing a construct universalist perspective where both similarities and differences are adequately represented.

Limitations and Future Directions

The sheer size of the research project presented in this dissertation is one of its strengths, but has also implied some limitations on the speed of progress. The full-scale quantitative validation of the model is still forthcoming. Future research will need to establish the internal and external validity of the complete model, further develop its nomological network, and look into questions of bias and equivalence in the different language versions (Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997, 2001). The use of different modes of assessment may generate interesting insights (cf. Paunonen, Zeidner, Engvik, Oosterveld, Maliphant, 2000; Schwartz et al., 2006). The replicability of the model in other, African and non-African, contexts should also be explored.

The value of the indigenous concepts for behavior prediction is an area where research will be important. The perceived and actual ability to predict behaviors from traits more generally is an important theme for future studies of trait relevance across cultures. The few studies on this topic so far have provided mixed evidence for cross-cultural differences (Church, 2009). Further research on the predictive power of traits in different cultural contexts is needed.

Conclusion

The present dissertation demonstrated that in integrating different approaches to personality and culture, areas of commonalities as well as differences across cultures can be identified. The indigenous study of implicit personality concepts across groups is likely to converge on a set of concepts subsuming the Big Five, although expanding it in the domain of social-relational functioning, norms, and values. In turn, cross-cultural comparisons can focus on the different salience of components of this set and their different manifestation in context. In a similar way as a comprehensive representation of indigenous personality concepts in a given cultural context can be achieved by investigating individuals' personality descriptions, a global and comprehensive representation of the relations between personality and culture can be achieved by integrating the contributions of different approaches to the field.

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SUMMARY

The present dissertation investigated the relationship between personality and culture in the multicultural and multilingual context of South Africa. The overarching goal was to provide an integrative framework based on research in South Africa that can inform cross-cultural personality research and theory with respect to the most relevant areas where commonalities and differences across groups can be expected. Four questions, referring to central issues in contemporary perspectives on personality and culture, were addressed. First, what are the most important personality concepts in the culturally and linguistically heterogeneous context of South Africa? Second, how do the main cultural groups in South Africa differ in the perceived salience of these concepts? Third, what is the role of trait and context for personality in these groups? Fourth, what are the implications of the proposed personality model in South Africa for current universal models of personality?

The first question, about the implicit personality concepts in South Africa, was addressed in Chapters 2 and 3. Chapter 2 explored the implicit personality conceptions of the three main Nguni cultural-linguistic groups of South Africa: Swati, Xhosa, and Zulu. Semistructured interviews were conducted with 116 native speakers of Swati, 118 of Xhosa, and 141 of Zulu in their own language. Participants provided free descriptions of 10 target persons each; responses were translated into English. Twenty-six clusters of personality-descriptive terms were constructed based on shared semantic content and connotations of the original responses. These clusters accounted for largely identical content in all three groups. The clusters represented an elaborate conception of social-relational aspects of personality revolving around the themes of altruism, empathy, guidance, and harmony. Extending this research, Chapter 3 explored the implicit personality structure in the 11 official language groups of South Africa. This study employed a mixed-methods approach. In the first, qualitative part of the study, semistructured interviews were conducted with 1,216 participants from the 11 official language groups. The derived personality-descriptive terms were categorized and clustered based on their semantic relations in iterative steps involving group discussions and contacts with language and cultural experts. This analysis identified 37 subclusters, which could be merged in nine broad clusters: Conscientiousness, Emotional Stability, Extraversion, Facilitating, Integrity, Intellect, Openness, Relationship Harmony, and Soft-Heartedness. In the second, quantitative part, the perceived relations between the 37 subclusters were rated by 204 students from different language groups in South Africa and 95 students in the Netherlands. The outcomes generally supported the adequacy of the conceptual model, although several clusters in the domain of relational and social functioning did not replicate in

detail. The outcomes of both Chapter 2 and 3 revealed a personality structure with a strong emphasis on social-relational aspects of personality, in accordance with previous indigenous research, especially in collectivistic and traditional societies.

The second main question of this dissertation, about the similarities and differences in the indigenous personality concepts of ethnocultural groups in South Africa, was addressed in Chapter 4. The interview responses of 1,027 Blacks, 58 Indians, and 105 Whites were analyzed. The nine clusters described in Chapter 3 were found in all groups, yet the groups differed in their use of the model's components: Blacks referred more to social-relational descriptions, specific trait manifestations, and social norms, whereas Whites referred more to personal-growth descriptions and abstract concepts, and Indians had an intermediate pattern. The findings suggested that in the implicit personality concepts manifested in free descriptions, there is a noticeable agreement between cultural groups on a common set of concepts similar to (or subsuming) the Big Five, but also noticeable differences in the emphasis on different components of this set. The expansion of the Big Five space implicates social-relational concepts and diverse social norms. This study suggested that when the ecological validity of group comparisons is taken seriously, these additional aspects can and should be incorporated in a common model.

The third main question of this dissertation, about the role of trait and context for personality in the different cultural groups of South Africa, was addressed in Chapter 5. Three studies investigated (a) the differences between three ethnocultural groups in South Africa in the use of traits and contextual information for personality descriptions, (b) the substantiation mechanisms of these differences, and (c) their expression across personality domains. The interview responses of 1,027 Blacks, 84 Coloureds and Indians, and 105 Whites were analyzed. In Study 1 we found similarities in the total set of categories used most often for personality description across the three groups—traits, behaviors, preferences, and perceptions (over 86%), which were context-free (over 66%)—as well as substantial differences between the groups in the relative use of these categories. In Study 2 we found that both linguistic practices and distance from the target person play a role in cross-cultural differences in trait use. In Study 3 we found significant interactions of culture with the use of traits and contextual information across agency–communion and the nine indigenous South African personality clusters identified in Chapter 3. The responses of Blacks confirmed expectations for collectivistic groups, of Whites for individualistic, and Coloureds and Indians had an intermediate pattern. The results were generally supportive of the cultural psychology perspective on trait use, with one important qualification: Cross-cultural differences were concentrated in the relative use of traits, behaviors, preferences and perceptions, and contextual information, but not in other social-relational categories such as social roles and identities. The central implication is

that structural models are not threatened because traits, behaviors, preferences, and perceptions can all convey dispositional information.

Finally, the fourth main question of this dissertation, about the implications of the proposed personality model in South Africa for current models of personality, was addressed in Chapter 6. This study assessed the social-relational concepts identified in Chapters 2 and 3 against the background of established personality models, and further asked to what extent these concepts function similarly in Blacks and Whites. The social-relational concepts were examined jointly with the Big Five, the Interpersonal Relatedness personality dimension, and impression management and lie aspects of social desirability. A total sample of 1043 Black and 440 White students completed a combination of the South African Personality Inventory (SAPI) social-relational scales and either an instrument measuring the Big Five or an instrument measuring Interpersonal Relatedness. The correlation matrix and results of factor and regression analyses suggested that the SAPI social-relational concepts (a) defined a positive and a negative factor, distinct from the Big Five and not reducible to valence factors, (b) were more strongly related to relational than to tradition-focused aspects of Interpersonal Relatedness, and (c) were more strongly related to impression management than to deception. The scales were structurally equivalent for Blacks and Whites. Links to tradition-focused concepts and social desirability tended to be stronger in the Black group. Blacks scored higher on the positive scales and Whites on the negative scales. Building on the studies reported in Chapters 2 and 3, this study provided additional evidence that for a comprehensive representation of personality in South Africa, the Big Five space needs to be expanded in the direction of social-relational concepts where norms and values may have a role to play.

The findings of the present dissertation are discussed in the framework of more relativistic approaches, where the emphasis is on personality concepts relevant to a particular culture and on the different salience of traits versus social roles, identities, and situations, and more universalistic approaches, where the emphasis is on the cross-cultural replicability of predetermined, trait-based models. This dissertation suggests that for a comprehensive representation of personality in cultural context, indigenous study is needed. The power of indigenous studies to draw reliable conclusions on the relative importance and salience of personality concepts will be enhanced when more cultural groups are employed from the onset. With respect to the use of trait, non-trait content, and contextualization in personality descriptions, this dissertation suggests that dispositionally relevant terms can be expected across groups. At the same time, cross-cultural research should be alert to differences in the preferred expression of personality content in abstract versus concrete and context-free versus contextualized terms.

This dissertation has implications for the relations between culture, language, and personality. Language is relevant to cross-cultural differences, although the assumption of language as overlapping with culture (present in psycholexical studies) may not be fully borne out. Cultural differences in the salience and expression of personality concepts can be observed within groups sharing the same language. In that sense, it is useful to shift attention from language as a system to language use. It is arguable that the employment of free personality descriptions rather than lexicon sampling has allowed the present research to identify a large set of personality concepts extending beyond existing models, as well as noticeable cultural differences in the salience and expression of the components of this set. Future research may gain from a renewal of the interest in free personality descriptions.

In summary, the present dissertation demonstrated that in integrating different approaches to personality and culture, areas of commonalities as well as differences across cultures can be identified. The indigenous study of implicit personality concepts across groups is likely to converge on a set of concepts subsuming the Big Five, although expanding it in the domain of social-relational functioning, norms, and values. In turn, cross-cultural comparisons can focus on the different salience of components of this set and their different manifestation in context. In a similar way as a comprehensive representation of indigenous personality concepts in a given cultural context can be achieved by investigating individuals' personality descriptions, a global and comprehensive representation of the relations between personality and culture can be achieved by integrating the contributions of different approaches to the field.

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