

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF IMPLICIT PERSPECTIVES OF PERSONALITY AMONG ZULU-SPEAKING PEOPLE IN SOUTH AFRICA

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COMMENTS

The reader should keep the following in mind:

- The editorial style as well as the references in this mini-dissertation follows the format prescribed by the Publication Manual (5th edition) of the American Psychological Association (APA). This practice is in line with the policy of the Programme in Industrial Psychology of the North-West University (Potchefstroom) to follow APA style in all scientific documents as from January 1999.
- The mini-dissertation is submitted in the form of a research article.

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SUMMARY

Title: The establishment of implicit perspectives of personality among Zulu-speaking people in South Africa

Key terms: psychology, indigenous psychology, cross-cultural psychology, Zulu-speaking people, Zulu, personality

The application of personality assessment for clinical and personnel decisions has long been an activity of interest to psychologists all over the world. In South Africa, personality assessment tools are used for the purpose of hiring, for placement decisions, to guide and assess training and development, and to evaluate the performance of workers. Psychological testing in South Africa was formerly initiated with white test takers in mind. It has been found that, currently, none of the available personality questionnaires provide a reliable and valid picture of personality for all cultural (language) groups living in South Africa.

With South Africa's new Constitution in 1994 came stronger demands for the cultural appropriateness of psychological tests. The implicit perspectives of personality of Zulu-speaking South Africans were determined in this study. These will enable psychologists to work towards developing a personality assessment tool that is fair to all South African cultural (language) groupings.

A qualitative research design was used with an interview as data-gathering instrument. A Zulu-speaking fieldworker was recruited to interview 141 Zulu-speaking South Africans, mainly from KwaZulu-Natal. The study population was purposely drawn from different sections of the Zulu-speaking population. A total of 6 465 Zulu-speaker personality descriptors was obtained from the respondents and then translated into English. Content analysis was used to analyse, interpret, and reduce these descriptors to a total of 179 (reduced to 128 personality characteristics), which highlight the most important perspectives of personality for Zulu-speaking individuals.

The personality characteristics were divided into six categories, namely, drive, emotions, interpersonal factor, meanness, sociability, and other. The majority of the characteristics are

representative of the socialistic nature of the Zulu people. Zulu-speaking persons are caring, loving, religious, helping, talkative, in touch with their sexuality, and extroverted.

The findings of this study were compared to the Five Factor Model (FFM), and evidence was found for the extroversion factors, but no support or evidence was found for the openness to experience factor, conscientiousness, neuroticism, and agreeableness. In comparison with the Chinese Personality Assessment Inventory (CPAI), support was found for 13 of the 22 personality scales. Characteristics such as emotionality, responsibility, inferiority versus self-acceptance, meanness, slickness, family orientation, relationship orientation, harmony, flexibility, modernisation, introversion versus extroversion, leadership, and social orientation can be seen as characteristics indigenous to the Zulu culture.

Recommendations were made for future research.

OPSOMMING

Titel: Die bepaling van implisiete perspektiewe van persoonlikheid onder Zulusprekende persone in Suid-Afrika

Sleutelterme: sielkunde, inheemse sielkunde, kruiskulturele sielkunde, Zulusprekende mense, persoonlikheid

Die toepassing van persoonlikheidsmeting vir kliniese en personeelbesluite is lank reeds 'n aktiwiteit wat belangstelling by sielkundiges wêreldwyd wek. In Suid-Afrika word meetinstrumente van persoonlikheid gebruik met die oog op indiensneming, plasing, opleiding, ontwikkeling en die meet van werksprestasie. Psigologiese toetsing in Suid-Afrika is voorheen geïnisieer met blanke toetslinge in gedagte. Weinig van die beskikbare persoonlikheidsvraelyste toon 'n betroubare of geldige beeld van persoonlikheid vir die verskillende kultuurgroepe (taalgroepe) in Suid-Afrika.

Met Suid-Afrika se nuwe Grondwet in 1994 het daar sterker vereistes vir kultureel geskikte psigologiese toetsings ontstaan. Die implisiete persoonlikheidsperspektiewe van Zulusprekende Suid-Afrikaners is in die studie vasgestel. Dit sal sielkundiges en ander professies in staat stel om kultuurvrye persoonlikheidstoetsings vir alle kulturele (taal)groepe van Suid-Afrika te ontwikkel.

'n Kwalitatiewe navorsingsontwerp is gebruik met 'n onderhoud as data-insamelingsmetode. 'n Zulusprekende veldwerker is gewerf om onderhoude met 141 Zulusprekende Suid-Afrikaners uit die KwaZulu-Natal-provinsie te voer. Die studiepopulasie is doelgerig vanuit verskillende dele van die Zulusprekende bevolking getrek. 'n Totaal van 6 465 persoonlikheidsbeskrywings van Zulusprekers is van die respondente bekom en toe in Engels vertaal. Inhoudsontleeding is gebruik om die beskrywings te ontleed, te vertolk en na altesaam 179 persoonlikheidskenmerke te verminder wat verder verminder is na 128, wat die belangrikste persoonlikheidsperspektiewe van Zulusprekende individue beklemtoon.

Die persoonlikheidseienskappe is in ses kategorieë verdeel, naamlik dryf, emosies, interpersoonlike faktor, gemeenheid, sosialiteit, en ander. Die meerderheid kenmerke is verteenwoordigend van die sosiale aard van Afrika-gemeenskappe. Zulusprekende persone

gee om vir ander en is liefdevol, gelowig, hulpvaardig, spraaksaam, in kontak met hulle seksualiteit en ekstroverte.

Die bevindinge van hierdie studie is vergelyk met die Vyffaktor-model, en bewyse is gevind vir die ekstroversie, maar nie vir die openheid vir ondervinding, bewustheid, neurotisisme en ooreenstemmendheid-faktor nie. In 'n vergelyking met die Chinese Persoonlikheids-assesserings-vraelys is daar bewyse gevind vir 13 van die 22 persoonlikheidskale. Eienskappe soos emosies, verantwoordelikheid, minderwaardig versus selfaanvaarding, gemeenheid, slinksheid, familie-oriëntasie, verhoudingsoriëntasie, harmonie, buigsaamheid, modernisasie, introversie versus ekstroversie, leierskap en sosiale oriëntasie kan beskou word as persoonlikheidskenmerke inheems aan die Zulu-kultuur.

Aanbevelings vir toekomstige navorsing is aan die hand gedoen.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This mini-dissertation focuses on, and deals with, the establishment of implicit perspectives of personality among Zulu-speaking people living in South Africa.

This chapter deals with the motivation for this research project and contains a problem statement and a discussion of the research objectives, in which the general objective and specific objectives are set out. The research method is explained, and a brief overview of the division of chapters is given.

1.1 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Psychological tests are translated and adapted into different languages across the world. The search for psychologically universal generalisable traits has been one of the major goals of cross-cultural psychology (Schnabel, Banse, & Asendorpf, 2006). Personality tests are being developed in a specific country and then transported to another country. This process is widely known as imposed etic strategy (Berry, 1969). The generalisability and utility of these test instruments are more and more coming under the spotlight. The use of these instruments is being questioned (Butcher, 2006). The onus has shifted to psychologists to determine the validity and reliability for the audience for which these instruments are now being utilised. The application and adaptation have been an activity for psychologists around the world for the last 60 years (Schmidt, Kihm, & Robie., 2000).

Since South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994, a new Constitution had seen the light, and stronger demands had been placed on the cultural appropriateness of psychological tests. From there, the Employment Equity Act (55/1998) saw the light. This Act stipulates the following: *"Psychological testing and other similar assessments are prohibited unless the test or assessment being used (a) has been scientifically shown to be valid and reliable, (b) can be applied fairly to all employees; and (c) is not biased against any employee or group."* Fairness to all cultural (language) groups is an imperative standard. Test takers have become more vocal about their rights. Psychology as a profession is being held accountable for the (im)proper usage of instruments (Robins, Frayley, & Krueger, 2007). The Employment

Equity Act creates a daunting task for psychology as a profession, as it loads the burden of proof onto the profession.

The importance of personality to industrial, work, and organisational psychology is now apparent, with meaningful relationships between personality variables and criteria, such as job satisfaction, supervisory ratings, the development of job-specific criteria, counterproductive behaviour, and organisational citizenship (Meiring, Van der Vijver, Rothmann, & Barrick, 2005).

Twelve years after South Africa's first democratic election, and the picture is changing. In South Africa, it has become imperative to retain staff because of the skills shortages in the country (Claasen, 1997). In order to keep the workforce, it is important to make sure that the person who is placed at least remains in the same position for a certain period of time. Personality assessment can assist in this quest.

Personality assessment instruments are often adapted to languages and cultures that are different from the country in which they were originally developed and for which they were originally intended (Foxcroft, 2004). Most inventories currently employed in South Africa have been imported from Western societies (Foxcroft, 1997). When a psychological instrument is used in a new population, it is essential to demonstrate that it retains construct validity in the new context (Robbins et al., 2007). When the new group differs substantially from that for which the instrument was developed, research helps to improve the tests, using methods and research to standardise the questionnaires. According to Foxcroft (1997, 2004), certain tests in South Africa are primarily standardised for whites, as would be expected, as most instruments are from typical Anglo-Saxon countries (Meiring, et al., 2005).

Although many of these tests are available in English and Afrikaans, they are meant for first-language speakers. These results can then be misleading when these persons are assessed in their second and even third language (Schnabel et al., 2006). For the many South Africans who cannot even speak Afrikaans or English, there are few tests or even no tests available. More problems are that people answer questions in a culture-specific way (Ling Lin & Church, 2004). The question that arises is whether or not a questionnaire can be developed and standardised for the black South African (specifically, the Zulu), a questionnaire that will be fair in terms of language, culture, values, beliefs, and assumptions.

Developing an instrument that can assess a person in his or her own language will help to get a more reliable and more even picture of the Zulu. It will be culturally fairer. It can give an indication of certain personality traits, which can help in the assessment of work wellness and work satisfaction and can help to determine where to put a person in the organisation where he or she can use his or her potential to the fullest (Woody, Detweiler-Bedell, Teachman, A., & O'Hearn, 2003).

Another problem that arises is the problem of finding personality traits specific to a given culture – in this case, the Zulu-speaking person. The chief problem associated with these efforts to identify the major dimensions of personality has been that of obtaining a representative set of personality variables (Ling Lin & Church 2004, & Gill, 1993). The aim would thus be to find the most important elements of language used in the Zulu culture.

Strong misgivings have been expressed about the relevance to Zulu behaviour of the theories underlying foreign-made tests, and researchers and scientist-practitioners have been urged to develop indigenous tests (Church, 2001). Indigenous personality constructs that are important and meaningful to the local culture are missing in translated instruments. These deficiencies are leading to a rising interest in developing indigenous measures (Cheung & Leung, 1998). Many of the indigenous personality constructs reflect the relational nature of human experience, which defines selfhood in a social and interpersonal context (Derlega, Winstead, & Jones, 2005). Aspects that are important to a specific culture would also determine specific personality traits that are measured through a personality questionnaire, and as already mentioned, these personality measures are very often developed for Western countries such as the USA and other Western cultures and not specifically for black people (Gill, 1993).

Little research has been done regarding personality traits of the black Zulu-speaking person living in South Africa (Huysamen, 2002). This group can mostly be found in KwaZulu-Natal. Some of these cultural traits are things such as not being a coward; another is your duty to your parents, providing for them and looking after them (Koopman, 1991; Kotzé, 1993). This, for example, is not very important in Western societies. Zulus (and other black majority groups) were seen as and treated as socially inferior. As in all cultures, they do have their own beliefs and rituals, such as the Zulu belief that only good is inherited from the ancestors and that all bad aspects are due to one's own wrongdoing: one is being punished for it by the ancestors (Koopman, 1991). One study implied that black people preferred community-

related values (for example) to private ones and emphasised public well-being and democratic values (Spence, 1982).

There is a substantial amount of practice in assessing personality in South Africa, both in a professional context (for example, the assessment of applicants and clients) and in a research milieu. In the majority of cases, the assessment procedures use imported instruments, which are either used in their original (English) form (for example, 15FQ+, Tyler, 2002) or in an adapted form (for example, Meiring et al., 2005). In only a few instances are locally developed instruments employed (South African Personality Questionnaire, by Taylor and Boeyens (1991)). In most cases, the suitability of the instrument for the various language (cultural) groups is not addressed; equivalence of the instrument with the structure obtained in the countries in which the instrument was developed is assumed (Ghorpade, Hattrup, & Lackritz, 1999). In recent years, more attention has been paid to the issue of equivalence of tests for the multicultural South African context (for example, Boeyens & Taylor, 1991; Meiring et al., 2005). The results of the examinations have not been unequivocally positive. Boeyens found that there was no structural equivalence of the personality factors across cultural groups, while Meiring et al. (2005) reported very low internal consistencies for the 15FQ in all South African language groups.

For some instruments, there is considerable international evidence to support the structural equivalence in a wide variety of cultures, such as the NEO-PI-R (McCrae & Allik, 2002) and the EPQ (Barrett, Petrides, Eysenck, & Eysenck, 1998), although there is no evidence to the effect that these measures show equivalence across all South African language groups. Van de Vijver and Rothmann (1997) proposed the adoption of a convergence approach in cross-cultural psychology. Indigenous measures should be derived that are maximally relevant to the different cultures. If the instruments are culturally diverse (unbiased) instruments that yield similar results, then the results are likely to be universal.

In light of the above discussion, the following research questions emerge:

- How is personality conceptualised in the literature?
- What are the problems surrounding personality measurement in the South African context?

- What are the unique problems surrounding personality measurement in South Africa?
- What are the implicit perspectives of personality among Zulu-speaking people in South Africa?

1.2 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The research objectives consist of a general objective and specific objectives.

1.2.1 General objective

The aim of the study is to identify implicit personality traits of Zulu-speaking people in South Africa's nine provinces.

1.2.2 Specific objectives

The specific objectives of this study are the following:

- To investigate how personality is conceptualised in the literature.
- To identify the problems surrounding personality measurement for the South African context.
- To establish how personality perspectives can be determined.
- To determine the implicit perspectives of personality in Zulu-speaking South Africans.

1.3 RESEARCH METHOD

The research consists of a literature review and an empirical study. The results obtained are presented in the form of a research article.

1.3.1 Research design

A qualitative design was used in this study with an interview as data-gathering technique (De Vos, Strydom, Fouchè, & Delport., 2006). This was researched from an exploratory perspective. Exploratory research is suitable to explain and understand human behaviour or, rather, to illuminate it.

The importance is not placed on numbers or measurements as in quantitative research. The design is interpretive, participating, and naturalistic. Qualitative research is concerned with the portrayal of the social life of participants that would be true for the people who are being studied (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005). In qualitative research design, the object or person being studied is observed by an observer who is impartial and does not try to influence participants in any way and, thus, who can make objective observations (Kerlinger & Lee, 2000). This contributes to the research without manipulating findings or being biased against participants. This was the design found to be most suitable to answer the needs of this study.

1.3.2 Participants

The stratified samples method was used where participants were drawn purposively from certain subpopulations of Zulu-speaking people living in South Africa.

The study population consisted of 141 Zulu-speaking South Africans from KwaZulu-Natal ($N = 141$). The purposive sampling method was utilised, by means of which the Zulu-speaking population was divided into different sections (strata) according to age, gender, and socio-economic status. Purposive sampling uses the judgement of an expert in selecting cases, or it selects cases with a specific purpose in mind (Neuman, 2005).

It would prove to be an impossible task to list all the Zulu-speaking individuals in South Africa and then draw a random sample from this list; instead, specific individuals were identified by the researcher for interview purposes. The sample sizes (strata) are reported in Table 1.

Table 1

Sample Sizes for the Study

Economic activity/ education	Females		Males	
	Age between 18 and 35 years	Age older than 35 years	Age between 18 and 35 years	Age older than 35 years
Not economically active (students, homemakers, disabled, those too ill to work, anyone not seeking work)	12 participants	12 participants	12 participants	12 participants
Unemployed	11 participants	12 participants	11 participants	12 participants
Employed	12 participants	12 participants	12 participants	11 participants

The stratified sample was only drawn from KwaZulu-Natal, since the majority of Zulu-speaking individuals in South Africa are located in this province, with a total of 10.4 million Zulu-speaking individuals living in South Africa, of whom 7.6 million form part of the province's population (2004, Census). The sample sizes were chosen in a way that would cover a variety of Zulu-speaking persons of different ages, genders, education, and socio-economic status. Between 11 and 12 persons per stratum provided sufficient information to cover all areas of personality in Zulu-speaking individuals.

1.3.3 Data collection

Data was collected by means of a semi-structured interview with participants. The interviewer summarised and reflected on participants' responses and also asked for clarification. Open-ended questions were used for this questionnaire. According to literature, this kind of self-report instrument offers an opportunity to investigate social, psychological, and physiological processes within everyday situations (Bolger, Davis, & Rafaeli, 2003). This approach differs from quantitative research, which attempts to gather data by means of objective methods to provide information about relations, comparisons, and predictions and attempts to remove the investigator from the investigation process (Creswell, 2005).

The participants were asked biographical information and then descriptions of personality of various people in various settings such as a parent, a friend of the same sex and of the opposite sex, a teacher, colleague, or friend, or a child:

A lexical approach was used. A lexical approach makes more sense in conducting a study gathering personality-specific data of a particular group (Ashton, Lee, & Goldberg, 2004). According to the logic of the lexical strategy, the most imperative fundamentals of personality variants should be represented, in any human language, by a large number of parallel but distinctive words (generally adjectives) that are used by ordinary people in everyday description of their own personalities and those of others (Ashton et al., 2004). According to Hewitt, Foxcroft, & MacDonald, (2004) and Cheung, Leung, & Ben-Porath, (2003), it is necessary to have a multicultural team when looking at test development.

A fieldworker was recruited from a Zulu language group to guarantee reliability and validity. This fieldworker was trained before conducting the interviews. Well-trained interviewers can ask all types of questions and can use extensive probes when they feel that a question has not been answered fully. The interviews were conducted in Zulu in order to enable participants to express themselves fully. Interviews were recorded and notes taken during the interview to ensure that all data was captured.

The reliability of qualitative research lies in the consistency and neutrality of such research (Kerlinger & Lee, 2000; Krefting, 1991). Reliability was ensured by amplifying the nature of the study to the participants and highlighting honesty in regard to answers. The interviewer maintained a positive, unconditional attitude throughout interviews to guarantee that his presence did not affect the process. Participants were selected from different sections in the Zulu-speaking population to ensure that the study population was representative. The interviewer took field notes during the interview, and all interviews were recorded to ensure accurate recall of information.

The disadvantages of face-to-face interviews could be that they are costly in terms of training the fieldworker and of equipment, such as in this case the sound recorder and batteries, of data analysis, and of travelling expenses (De Vos et al., 2006). No standardised or semi-structured questionnaire that would answer the needs of this study could be traced. Therefore, after the literature on the construction of a questionnaire had been reviewed, a self-developed questionnaire was constructed and, subsequently, used to determine personality traits among black Zulu-speaking persons in South Africa across various settings.

The validity of qualitative research lies in its credibility and transferability (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005). To ensure credibility, the interviewer spent sufficient time with the participants to

establish rapport and to enhance the willingness of the participants to share information. Interviews were conducted in Zulu to enable the participants to express themselves freely, and professional translators translated the Zulu responses into English to ensure minimum information loss. Questions were rephrased and repeated to ensure that participants understood them, and the interviewer asked participants to clarify unclear responses, without biasing the participants.

The data obtained in this research was compared with the available literature on the personality of Zulu-speaking individuals to ensure that interpretations made were reliable and valid. Participation in the study was voluntary, and no person was coerced into participating. All participants were informed of the purpose of the study beforehand. The responses of the participants were treated confidentially. The information that will be publicised will not link specific individuals to particular responses.

1.3.4 Data analysis

Content analysis was used to interpret and analyse data. Content analysis is a technique for examining information, or content, in written or symbolic material. Material that needs to be analysed is identified. The system includes counting how often words or themes occur. The researcher records what was found in the material. This technique is often used for explanatory research, but is most often used in descriptive research (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; De Vos et al., 2006).

The translated personality descriptors obtained during the interviews were examined and incorporated to form personality descriptors. Responses were first reduced by removing superfluous words in the descriptions, such as “a”, “he”, “she”, and “is”. Personality descriptors were then interpreted and divided into preliminary personality categories. In the last step, the number of categories was reduced by grouping together characteristics with similar meanings.

1.4 OVERVIEW OF CHAPTERS

In Chapter 2, the psychometric and theoretical qualities of the personality measurement are discussed. The chapter also deals with the empirical study. Chapter 3 deals with the discussion, limitations, and recommendations of this study.

1.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter discussed the problem statement and research objectives. The measuring instruments and research method used in this research were explained, followed by a brief overview of the chapters that follow.

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CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH ARTICLE

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF IMPLICIT PERSPECTIVES OF PERSONALITY AMONG ZULU-SPEAKING PEOPLE IN SOUTH AFRICA

ABSTRACT

The objective of this study was to determine the implicit personality perspectives of Zulu-speaking South Africans. A qualitative research design was used with semi-structured interviews as data collection method. The study population consisted of 141 Zulu-speaking individuals who were drawn from different sections of the Zulu-speaking population in the KwaZulu-Natal region. A trained Zulu fieldworker conducted personal interviews with each of the participants. A total of 6 465 Zulu personality descriptors were obtained from the participants, which were then translated into English. Content analysis was used to analyse, interpret, and reduce the descriptors to 179 personality characteristics and then reduce them to a further 128, which highlight the most important perspectives of personality for Zulu-speaking individuals. It was found that most Zulus were extroverts; they are socially very active and tend to advise, are flexible, are independent, listen, and reprimand. The following six main categories were derived from the study: drive, emotions, interpersonal factor/insight, meanness, sociability, and other.

OPSOMMING

Die doelstelling van hierdie studie is om die implisiete persoonlikheidsperspektiewe van Zulusprekende Suid-Afrikaners vas te stel. 'n Kwalitatiewe navorsingsontwerp is gebruik met gestruktureerde onderhoude as data-insamelingsmetode. Die studiepopulasie het bestaan uit 141 Zulusprekende individue wat op 'n doelgerigte wyse geneem is uit verskillende segmente van die Zulusprekende bevolking in KwaZulu-Natal. 'n Opgeleide Zulusprekende veldwerker het persoonlike onderhoude met elk van die respondente gevoer. 'n Totaal van 6 465 Zulu-persoonsbeskrywings is van die respondente bekom, wat daarna in Engels vertaal is. Inhoudsontleding is gebruik om die beskrywings te ontleed, te vertolk en te verminder na 179 persoonlikheidskenmerke wat verder verminder is na 128, wat die belangrikste persoonlikheidsperspektiewe van Zulusprekende individue uitlig. Daar is gevind dat die meeste Zulu's geklassifiseer kan word as ekstroverte; hulle is sosiaal aktief en is geneig om die volgende eienskappe te toon: hulle adviseer, is buigsaam, is onafhanklik, luister en is tereg wysend. Die volgende ses hoofkategorieë het na vore gekom uit die studie: dryf, emosies, interpersoonlike faktor/insig, gemeenheid, sosialiteit en ander.

An activity for psychologists around the world for the last 60 years has been the application and adaptation of psychological instruments (Schmidt, Kihm, & Robie, 2000). Psychological tests are currently being translated and adapted into different languages across the world. The search for psychologically universal generalisable traits is becoming one of the major goals of cross-cultural psychology (Schnabel, et al., 2006). Personality tests are being developed in a specific country and then transported to another country. This process is widely known as imposed etic strategy (Berry, 1969). The generalisability and utility of these test instruments are more and more coming under the spotlight. The use of these instruments is being questioned (Butcher, 2006). The onus has shifted to psychologists to determine the validity and reliability for the audience for which these instruments are now being utilised.

Since South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994, a new Constitution had seen the light, and stronger demands had been placed on the cultural appropriateness of psychological tests. From there, the Employment Equity Act (55/1998) saw the light. This Act stipulates the following: *"Psychological testing and other similar assessments are prohibited unless the test or assessment being used (a) has been scientifically shown to be valid and reliable, (b) can be applied fairly to all employees; and (c) is not biased against any employee or group."*

Fairness to all cultural (language) groups is an imperative standard. Test takers have become more vocal about their rights. Psychology as a profession is being held accountable for the (im)proper usage of instruments. The Employment Equity Act creates a daunting task for psychology as a profession, as it loads the burden of proof onto the profession.

The importance of personality to industrial, work, and organisational psychology is now apparent, with meaningful relationships between personality variables and criteria, such as job satisfaction, supervisory ratings, the development of job-specific criteria, counterproductive behaviour, and organisational citizenship (Van de Vijver & Rothmann, 2004).

South Africa has since then entered a new crisis. In South Africa, it has become imperative to retain staff because of the skills shortages in the country. In order to keep your workforce, it is important to make sure that the person who is placed at least remains in the same position for a certain period of time (Heath & Martin, 1990). Personality assessment can assist in this quest.

Personality assessment instruments are often adapted to languages and cultures that are different from the country in which they were originally developed and for which they were originally intended (Foxcroft, 2004). Most inventories currently employed in South Africa have been imported from Western societies (Foxcroft, 1997). When a psychological instrument is used in a new population, it is essential to demonstrate that it retains construct validity in the new context (Schnabel, Banse, & Asendorpf, 2006). When the new group differs substantially from that for which the instrument was developed, research helps to improve the tests, using methods and research to standardise the questionnaires. According to Foxcroft (2004), certain tests in South Africa are primarily standardised for whites, as would be expected, as most instruments are from typical Anglo-Saxon countries (Meiring, Van der Vijver, Rothmann, & Barrick, 2005).

For the purpose of this study, the focus is on establishing implicit perspectives of personality among Zulu-speaking people in South Africa. The term *implicit* would imply something that is not shared directly and that is not observable, but can be assumed from certain things that are shared and that can be observed. The term *perspective* indicates a view in regard to a certain case or the way in which a case can be approached (Plug, Louw, Gouws, & Meyer, 2000).

Definition of personality

The emotions, thoughts, and behaviour patterns that a person has are typically referred to as a personality (Kassin, 2003) and can vary immensely among individuals. In making the area amenable to scientific enquiry, some, using the statistical technique of factor analysis, have hypothesised that personality contains prominent aspects that are stable across situations, called traits (Draycott & Kline, 1995). The question that arises for scientists is whether personality dimensions are universal or culture-specific (Ling Lin & Church, 2004).

Personality theories are classified differently and vary in regard to the assumptions they make about human behaviour (Matthews, Deary, & Whiteman, 2003). Personality approaches are classified into two major categories, namely, descriptive (trait) theories and causative theories (Ling Lin & Church, 2004). Descriptive (trait) theories focus on describing personality in terms of traits or dimensions; they do not consider factors that cause a person to acquire his or her personality traits. Examples of descriptive theories include Allport's trait-factor theory

of personality and Costa and McCrae's Five Factor Theory (Costa & McCrae, 1992). Causative theories attempt to account for how personality traits are acquired; examples include Freud's psychoanalytic theory and Bandura's cognitive theory (Derlega, Winstead, & Jones, 2005). For the purpose of the study, the focus is placed on traits.

Personality theories differ in their fundamental assumptions about human behaviour (Eysenck, 1992). Although this is generalisation, research has shown that all personality theories can mainly be classified roughly into five general perspectives (McCrae & Allik, 2002). The *psychodynamic approach* emphasises the influence of unconscious processes (for example, Freud and Jung), the *learning approach* focuses on people's histories of reinforcement and punishment (for example, Watson and Skinner), the *humanistic approach* stresses people's natural tendencies toward personal growth and fulfilment (for example, Rogers, Maslow, and Allport), the *cognitive approach* examines people's beliefs and ways of thinking (for example, Rotter and Bandura), and the *biological approach* studies the anatomy and physiology of the nervous system (Eysenck and Buss) (Derlega, Winstead, & Jones, 2005). Trait theory is an approach to personality theory and is based on the assumption that a person's personality can be captured in a series of binary oppositions (Allport, 1937).

Implicit Personality Theories (IPTs) are used in this study to attempt to determine personality in the Zulu-speaking population. These statements are expectations that are constructed about a person after the central traits have been determined. People have a number of general assumptions about what personality traits go together (Ho, Peng, Lai, & Chan, 2001). This folk psychology is referred to as implicit personality theory (Werth & Förster, 2002).

Hierarchical structure of personality

Eysenck (1967; 1991) has suggested that personality is reducible to three major traits, while others (McCrae & Costa, 1987) have suggested that there are five. There are other proponents who suggest that there are more factors than these (for example, Goldberg, 1993). According to Ashton, Lee & Goldberg (2004), a lexical approach makes more sense in conducting a study gathering personality-specific data of a particular group. According to the logic of the lexical strategy, the most important elements of personality variation should be represented, in any human language, by a large number of similar but distinct words (generally adjectives) that are used by lay people in everyday description of their own personalities and those of

others (Ashton, et al., 2004). This area of research remains a field of study for universities and scientists (John, Donahue, & Kentle, 1991).

Origins of the Big Five and personality measurements

Gordon Allport and H. S. Odbert (Allport & Odbert, 1936) who are considered the fathers of personality research hypothesised that *“Those individual differences that are most salient and socially relevant in people’s lives will eventually become encoded into their language; the more important such a difference, the more likely is it to become expressed as a single word”*.

This statement has become known as the **lexical hypothesis**. Allport and Odbert worked through two of the most comprehensive dictionaries of the English language available at the time and extracted 18 000 personality-describing words. From this list, they extracted 4 500 personality-describing adjectives, which they considered to describe observable and relatively permanent traits (Saucier & Goldberg, 1998).

Raymond Cattell used the emerging technology of computers to analyse the Allport-Odbert list. He organised the list into 181 clusters and asked subjects to rate people whom they knew by the adjectives on the list. Using factor analysis, Cattell generated 12 factors and then included four factors that he thought ought to appear. The result was the hypothesis that individuals describe themselves and one another according to sixteen different, independent factors (Cattell, 1947). With these sixteen factors as a basis, Cattell went on to construct the Sixteen Factor Personality Questionnaire (16PF), which remains in use by universities and businesses for research.

The three-factor model includes “extroversion”, “neuroticism”, and “psychoticism”, while the five-factor model includes “openness to experience”, “conscientiousness”, “extroversion”, “agreeableness”, and “neuroticism” (Costa & McCrae, 1989). These traits exist because they are the highest-level factors of a hierarchical taxonomy based on the statistical technique factor analysis. They are the result of factor analysis on lower-order traits, which themselves are the product of factor analysis on habits, which, in turn, exist because of factor analysis on behaviours (Goldberg, 1993).

Both approaches use self-report questionnaires to try and capture the top-level factors by means of the lower levels. However, although they use broadly the same methodology, there are some differences (Costa & McCrae, 1989). Firstly, the nature of the questionnaires is subtly different; for example, three-factor instruments use a binary answering system of “yes” and “no”, while five-factor instruments use a five-point scale. Secondly, there are organisational differences; for instance, the three-factor model is strict in as much as a four-tier hierarchy is adhered to, and the three top-level factors are intended to be orthogonal (uncorrelated) (Eysenck & Eysenck, 1985).

Thus, while the two approaches are comparable because of the use of factor analysis to construct hierarchical taxonomies, they differ in their set-up. In particular, there are differences in the organisation and number of high-level factors (Barrett, Petrides, Eysenck, & Eysenck, 1998).

So far, it has been shown that the two approaches tend to be comparable, even though they differ in their organisation of factors. However, the two approaches also differ in their causal claims. While both models are descriptive, only the 3F offers any detailed causal explanations, and this sets the two approaches apart (McCrae & Allik, 2002).

Cross-cultural measurement of personality

The question that arises for practitioners who study cross-cultural psychology is whether personality dimensions are universal or culture-specific (Ling Lin & Church, 2004).

The terms “etic” and “emic” were originally proposed by Pike (1967) in order to enable a different approach to language and culture. The “etic” approach may provide a broad and unified framework that enables researchers to understand similarities and differences across cultures (Lynam, Caspi, Moffitt, Raine, Loeber, & Stouthamer-Loeber, 2005). The “emic” approach, on the other hand, may provide a perspective concerning phenomena that are highly relevant to members of a specific culture in terms of attitude and personality (Berry, 1969; 1989).

According to Cheung, Cheung, Wada, & Zhang (2003), psychology relied heavily on the adoption of Western measures or the measurements of the so-called “Anglo-Saxon countries”

(Rothmann, 2004; Meiring, Van de Vijver & Rothmann, 2005). Instruments were typically translated and used in various clinical settings. This strategy was called the “imposed etic” approach (Cheung, Leung, Fan, Song, Zhang, & Zang, 1996). Assessment instruments are developed in one culture in this strategy and then adopted in another culture with the assumption that underlying theories and constructs of personality are universal (Cheung, Leung, & Ben-Porath 2003). This was proved not to be true. Ellemers, Spears & Doosje, (2002) argued that certain personality traits were because of the typically individualistic nature of the culture of Western people and were not necessarily generalisable across various cultures.

Cheung et al. (2003) proved this to be true; an instrument was developed for specifically the Chinese culture/personality. This instrument was created and tested and was called the Chinese Personality Assessment Inventory (CPAI). The Chinese Personality Assessment Inventory (CPAI) is an example of an “emic-etic” approach. The CPAI was developed in China with the intent of answering the specific need for a culture-specific and sensitive instrument that would retain the psychometric standards of established assessment measures (Cheung et al., 1996). A combined etic-emic approach was used to adopt both universal and indigenous personality constructs. Personality constructs were obtained from Chinese literature, research on everyday experience, and personality (Cheung, Leung, Zhan, Sun, Gan, Song, & Xie, 2001).

The history and personality of the Zulu-speaking person

The Zulus were originally a minor clan in what is today northern KwaZulu-Natal. In the Zulu language, “Zulu” means heaven or sky. At that time, the area was occupied by many large Nguni tribes and clans (also called “isizwe”, meaning nation or people, or “isibongo”, meaning clan). Nguni tribes had migrated down Africa’s east coast over thousands of years, probably arriving in what is now South Africa in about the year AD 800 (Anon, 1974).

Zulu is one of the 11 official languages and has 10.4 million (2001 estimate) speakers living in South Africa. The Zulus (South African English, and isiZulu: *amaZulu*) are a South African ethnic group of an estimated 17 to 22 million people who live mainly in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. The Zulu people form South Africa’s single largest ethnic group. Small numbers also live in Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Mozambique. Their language,

isiZulu, is a Bantu language – more specifically, part of the Nguni subgroup. The Zulu kingdom played a major role in South African history during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Under apartheid, Zulu people were classed as second-class citizens and suffered under state-sanctioned discrimination. Today, they are the most numerous ethnic group in South Africa, and all have equal rights along with all other citizens (2001, Census). No new or valid data exists on this topic, as all black people were classified as being “black”.

In a modern context, circumstances such as deprivation, low income, unemployment, instability, lack of proper education, and malnutrition contribute to activating collective and socialistic consciousness in black Africans (Pretorius, Louwrens, & Motshegoa, 2004). Kotzé (1993) points out that people with a collective consciousness define time socially and in terms of the immediate present. Time is viewed as something that is subordinate to people. This is portrayed in the socialistic nature of the Zulu. Traditional Africans’ economic orientation is more socialistic than capitalistic. They would frown on the concept of putting one’s money away. This is, however, a changing phenomenon, as they are starting to westernise (Kotzé, 1993; Pretorius et al., 2004).

METHOD

Research design

A qualitative research design was used. Exploratory research is well suited to the description and understanding of human behaviour, rather than the explanation thereof. In qualitative research, the design is based on interpretation, participation, and realism. Qualitative research is concerned with the portrayal of the social life of participants that would be true for the people being studied. In the qualitative research design, the object or person being studied is observed by an observer who is impartial and who can make observations objectively. This contributes to the research without manipulating findings or bias against participants (De Vos, Strydom, Fouchè, & Delport, 2006).

Participants

The study population consisted of 141 Zulu-speaking South Africans from KwaZulu-Natal ($N = 141$). The stratified sampling method was used, by means of which the Zulu-speaking population was divided into different sections (strata) according to age, gender, and socio-economic status. Individuals were purposively drawn from these strata to ensure representativeness. Purposive sampling uses the judgement of an expert in selecting cases, or it selects cases with a specific purpose in mind (Creswell, 2005). As it is impossible to list all the Zulu-speaking individuals in South Africa and then draw a random sample from this list, the researcher instead identified specific individuals to interview. The characteristics of the participants are reported in Table 1.

Table 1

Characteristics of the Participants

<i>Item</i>	<i>Category</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Gender	Male	70	49
	Female	71	51
Race	African	141	100
Language	Zulu	141	100
Educational level	Higher education and training	46	32
	Further education and training	47	33
	General education and training	48	34
Economic activity	Employed	47	33
	Unemployed	46	32
	Not economically active	48	34

The study population consisted of 33% employed citizens, while 32% were unemployed, and 34% were not economically active. The sample comprised of 141 Zulu-speaking individuals. The participants were almost equally divided between females (51%) and males (49%). At an educational level, 32% had received higher education and training, while 33% had received further education and training and 34% general education and training.

Data collection

Data was collected by means of a semi-structured interview with participants. The interviewer summarised and reflected on participants' responses and also asked for clarification. Open-ended questions were used for this questionnaire. According to literature, this kind of self-report instrument offers an opportunity to investigate social, psychological, and physiological processes within everyday situations (Bolger, Davis, & Rafaeli, 2003). This approach differs from quantitative research, which attempts to gather data by means of objective methods to provide information about relations, comparisons, and predictions and attempts to remove the investigator from the investigation process (Robins, Frayley & Krueger, 2007).

The participants were asked biographical information and then descriptions of personality of various people in various settings such as a parent, a friend of the same sex and of the opposite sex, a teacher, colleague, or friend, or a child.

A lexical approach was used. A lexical approach makes more sense in conducting a study gathering personality-specific data of a particular group (Ashton et al., 2004). According to the logic of the lexical strategy, the most imperative fundamentals of personality variants should be represented, in any human language, by a large number of parallel but distinctive words (generally adjectives) that are used by ordinary people in everyday description of their own personalities and those of others (Ashton, et al., 2004). According to Hewitt, Foxcroft and Macdonald, (2004) and Cheung et al. (2003), it is necessary to have a multicultural team when looking at test development.

A fieldworker was recruited from a Zulu language group to guarantee reliability and validity. This fieldworker was trained on the way in which to ask questions. Well-trained interviewers can ask all types of questions and can use extensive probes when they feel that a question has not been answered fully. The interviews were conducted in Zulu in order to enable participants to express themselves fully. Interviews were recorded and notes taken during the interview to ensure that all data was captured.

The reliability of qualitative research lies in the consistency and neutrality of such research (Kerlinger & Lee, 2000; Krefting, 1991). Reliability was ensured by amplifying the nature of the study to the participants and highlighting honesty in regard to answers. The interviewer

maintained a positive, unconditional attitude throughout interviews to guarantee that his presence did not affect the process. Participants were selected from different sections in the Zulu-speaking population to ensure that the study population was representative. The interviewer took field notes during the interview, and all interviews were recorded to ensure accurate recall of information.

The disadvantages of face-to-face interviews could be that they are costly in terms of training the fieldworker and of equipment, such as in this case the sound recorder and batteries, of data analysis, and of travelling expenses (De Vos et al., 2006). No standardised or semi-structured questionnaire that would answer the needs of this study could be traced. Therefore, after the literature on the construction of a questionnaire had been reviewed, a self-developed questionnaire was constructed and, subsequently, used to determine personality traits among black Zulu-speaking persons in South Africa across various settings.

The validity of qualitative research lies in its credibility and transferability (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). To ensure credibility, the interviewer spent sufficient time with the participants to establish rapport and to enhance the willingness of the participants to share information. Interviews were conducted in Zulu to enable the participants to express themselves freely, and professional translators translated the Zulu responses into English to ensure minimum information loss. Questions were rephrased and repeated to ensure that participants understood them, and the interviewer asked participants to clarify unclear responses, without biasing the participants.

The data obtained in this research was compared with the available literature on the personality of Zulu-speaking individuals to ensure that interpretations made were reliable and valid. Participation in the study was voluntary, and no person was coerced into participating. All participants were informed of the purpose of the study beforehand. The responses of the participants were treated confidentially. The information that will be publicised will not link specific individuals to particular responses.

Data analysis

A total of 6 465 personality descriptors were obtained through interviews. The responses were interpreted, analysed, and then reduced by means of content analysis. Content analysis

is a technique that is used to examine information or content. The researcher identifies material that needs to be analysed (such as pictures, clips, interviews, and newspapers); then a system is created for recording specific aspects (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Kerlinger & Lee, 1991).

The researcher read all the English and Zulu data into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet in order to give the researcher a sense of the whole. Superfluous words in the descriptions were then removed. All descriptions were interpreted and then categorised into a personality characteristic most applicable to the description that had originally been given.

The last step was to reduce the number of categories by grouping these together where overlapping occurred. After this, 179 personality categories were created and further reduced to 128 traits. Some of the personality constructs are heterogeneous and some homogeneous. Each description includes a number of related descriptions.

RESULTS

A list of the 179 distinct personality characteristics, together with their descriptions, is presented in Appendix A. In the first, third, fifth, and seventh columns, the personality characteristics are given in alphabetical order. The second, fourth, sixth, and eighth columns consist of the different personality descriptors, obtained from the interviews, which led to the labelling of the different personality characteristics.

In Appendix A, the 179 personality characteristics obtained from the interviews have been divided into six categories, namely, drive, emotions, interpersonal factors, meanness, sociability, and other characteristics.

The following personality characteristics contributed to the final categorisation:

- Drive includes the items *competent*, *educational*, *encourage*, *intelligent*, *moral value*, *proud*, *trustworthy*, and *talented*. These reflect the Zulu-speaking person's drive towards successful living and adaptation to surroundings.

- Emotions include the items *anger, anxiety, calmness, empathy/sympathy, friendliness, happiness, humour, open-minded, patient, sad, scared, and sentimental*. These refer to affect and emotions that are experienced among Zulu-speaking people.
- Interpersonal factors include the items *adaptability, ambition, disciplined, empowering, enthusiastic, forgiving, honest, independent, kind, lazy, obedient, respectful, role model, self-esteem, short-tempered, and spoiled*. These refer to the way in which Zulu-speaking people interact with one another and the outside world in a positive manner.
- Meanness includes the items *abandoned, abusive, aggressive, cheeky, demanding, denial, discriminate, disgraceful, domineering, fighting, greedy, hateful, intruding, jealous, rude, selfish, stingy, thief, troublemaker, uncooperative, untruthful, and violent*. These characteristics describe the negative way in which Zulu-speaking persons interact with others. These characteristics are typical traits that are harmful to interpersonal relationships.
- Sociability includes characteristics expressed in items such as *accepting, adore, advising, agreeable, annoying, energetic, giving, honest, humble, influential, and inspiring*. These characteristics reflect the way in which Zulu-speaking people interact when in the presence of other people.
- Other characteristics that did not fall in either of these groups were reflected in items such as *religious, sexuality, political, safety, and traditional*.

Through Table 2, it became apparent that Zulu-speaking South Africans placed great emphasis on interaction with one another. The majority of descriptions obtained from the data seemed to have to do with sociability. Sociability is the positive way in which Zulu-speaking people interact, and the second category of meanness appears to reflect the negative way in which Zulu-speaking people interact. Emotions reflect that Zulu-speaking people are emotional. The drive group reflects that they do have a sense of duty and that they strive towards achieving their goals. A variety of other emotions were also mentioned, which showed that they are very religious, political, and cultural.

Table 3

Categorisation of the Zulu Personality Characteristics

<i>Drive</i>	<i>Emotions</i>	<i>Interpersonal factor</i>	<i>Meanness</i>	<i>Sociability</i>	<i>Other</i>
Analytical	Angry	Adaptability	Abandoned	Accepting	Aesthetic
Busy	Anxiety	Ambitious	Abusive	Adore	Alert
Career	Calm	Determined	Aggressive	Advising	Copycat
Competent	Empathetic	Disciplined	Cheeky	Agreeable	Corporal punishment
Confident	Fearful	Distracted	Demanding	Annoying	Drug abuse
Courage	Friendly	Empowering	Denial	Appreciative	Financial assistance
Cultural	Happiness	Enthusiastic	Discriminate	Approachable	Foul language
Educational	Humoristic	Forgiving	Disgraceful	Attention seeker	Hobby
Encourage	Joyful	Honest	Domineering	Caring	Political
Hard-working	Laughing	Independent	Fighting	Easy-going	Religious
Indecisive	Loving	Kind	Gossip	Encourage	Safety
Intelligent	Nosy	Lazy	Greedy	Energetic	Sexuality
Mannered	Open-minded	Leadership	Hateful	Extrovert	Story teller
Moral values	Patient	Obedient	Intruding	Forgiving	Traditional
Organised	Risk taker	Respectful	Jealous	Giving	Ugly
Playful	Sad	Role model	Liar	Harmonious	Witchcraft
Proud	Scared	Self-esteem	Pretending	Helpful	
Punctual	Sentimental	Short-tempered	Rude	Honest	
Successful	Sympathetic	Spoiled	Selfish	Humble	
Talented		Supportive	Singy	Influentia	
Trustworthy			Thief	Inspiring	
			Troublemaker	Introvert	
			Uncooperative	Listening	
			Untruthful	Lonely	
			Violent	Loud	
				Snobbish	
				Talkative	

DISCUSSION

The general aim of this study was to determine the implicit perspectives of personality of Zulu-speaking individuals. Descriptors obtained from the study indicated that Zulu-speaking people were willing to become involved in one another's problems and welfare. It was found that most Zulus were extroverts; they are socially very active and tend to advise, are flexible, are independent, listen, and reprimand. They tend to show the following categories: drive, emotions, interpersonal factor/insight, meanness, sociability, and other. They can be described as more collectivistic than individualistic. The well-being of the group is placed above the self and money.

The majority of the personality descriptors that were obtained from this study indicated the social as well as collectivistic nature of Zulu-speaking people. The personality characteristic *caring* received the majority of personality descriptors. *Caring* was followed by *loving*, *religious*, *helping*, *talkative*, *sexuality*, and *extroverted*. The personality characteristics that Zulus value highly are reflected in the lexical items *advising*, *happiness*, *encourage*, *aggressive*, *hobby*, *religious*, and *understanding*.

Zulu-speaking persons are socially active and loving, caring, and helpful towards others. Personality descriptors that emerged to support these findings were *encouraging*, *loving*, *respectful*, *supportive and understanding*, *accepting*, *agreeable*, *caring*, and *helpfulness*. Characteristics reflected in lexical items such as *greedy*, *thief*, *liar*, *selfish*, *greedy*, and *gossip* were used to describe someone whom the interviewee did not like.

Pretorius et al. (2004) indicated that respect was of importance in the African community. This was also found in the study, with descriptors in relation to respect coming to the fore. It is of interest to note that findings from Pretorius et al. (2004) mentioned that African people were traditionally open and could sometimes even be regarded as loud and rowdy. In equivalence, it was found that the Zulu-speaking person was more extroverted than introverted (De Young, Peterson & Higgins, 2005).

High frequencies were found that related to *socialising*. This finding supports the fact that Zulus could be described as more collectivistic and socialistic than individualistic. High

counts were found for loudness in the Zulu population, which supports the finding on the extroverted nature of the Zulu.

Low frequencies were found for the descriptors *openness* and *self-esteem*. This finding supports previous findings by Cheung et al. (2003) in the Chinese sample, with the Chinese being found to be more collectivistic. According to McCrae (1996), *openness* is hereditary, like all of the major personality dimensions such as conscientiousness, agreeableness, extroversion, and neuroticism. One environmental cause of increased *openness* appears to be exposure to tertiary (college) education. *Openness*, however, correlates weakly with measures of creativity and with intelligence test scores.

Openness is often presented by psychologists as healthier or more mature. However, open and closed styles of thinking are useful in different environments. The intellectual style of the open person may serve a professor well, but research has shown that closed thinking is related to superior job performance in police work, sales, and a number of service occupations (Schmidt et al., 2000). According to De Young, et al., (2005), “Openness to experience describes a dimension of personality that distinguishes imaginative, creative people from down-to-earth, conventional people. Open people are intellectually curious, appreciative of art, and sensitive to beauty. They tend to be, compared to closed people, more aware of their feelings. They therefore tend to hold unconventional and individualistic beliefs, although their actions may be conforming (see agreeableness). People with low scores on openness to experience tend to have narrow, common interests. They prefer the plain, straightforward, and obvious over the complex, ambiguous, and subtle. They may regard the arts and sciences with suspicion, regarding these endeavours as abstruse or of no practical use. Closed people prefer familiarity over novelty; they are conservative and resistant to change”.

Descriptors related to *emotionality* also surfaced in this study, such as *happiness*, *humoristic*, *open-minded*, *scared*, and *laughing*. According to the study, Zulus can be regarded as in touch with their emotions, with characteristics reflected by lexical items such as *careful*, *competent*, *drive*, *enquiring*, *inquisitive*, *intelligent*, *leadership*, *mature*, *responsible*, *self-control*, and *talented* that are frequently used to describe others. Zulus used to live in tribes that had a leader or so-called “chief”, a fact that can be seen in the descriptors that contribute to *dominance*, namely, *arrogant*, *assertiveness*, *authoritative*, *competitive*,

controlling, demanding, and pride. However, what is interesting is that they are described more in terms of indecisive than decisive.

Personality characteristics that had a lower frequency were reflected in lexical items such as *drive, jealous, family value, togetherness, cultural, informative, loud, agreeable, disciplined, honest, availability, sharing, abuse, bad behaviour, financial support, ambitious, accepting, humble, open-minded, nosy, and stubborn*. The characteristic of *drive* reconfirms the sociable nature of the Zulu people. People rather than material value are important. Their cultural background is disappearing in the wake of the modern world. The high frequency of “loud” supports the claims for extroversion, as loudness is often associated with extroversion.

Other characteristics that scored low included *empathy, dislike, forgiving, dedicated, political, pride, hardship, struggle, poverty, selfish, stability, authoritative, considerate, ignorance, negative behaviour, optimistic, talented, curious, good heart, appreciative, and careful*.

Factors that are not adequately covered by the Big Five, but that were found in the study were *religiosity, sexuality, honesty, conservativeness, masculinity/femininity, and sense of humour*. These factors indicate that the Zulu-speaking people are very religious, have a sense of humour, and are in touch with their sexuality.

Important personality characteristics that emerged from the study, but do not correlate with the Five-Factor Model (FFM) or the Chinese Personality Assessment Inventory (CPAI) are reflected in the following terms: *religion, humour, fair, bias, discriminates, and prejudiced*. These characteristics may be considered indigenous characteristics of the Zulu culture. A possible reason for the importance of the characteristics *fair* and *prejudiced* could be South Africa’s political history and the oppression of black people. Religion plays an important role in the Zulu community and during this study. Many personality descriptors relating to religion surfaced.

When Zulu-speakers’ personalities were compared with the Five Factor Model (FFM) (Costa & McCrae, 1989), it was found that the *extroversion* dimension of the FFM correlated with the characteristics *extroversion, introversion, assertiveness, and optimism* and that the *conscientious* dimension of the FFM correlated with characteristics represented by lexical

items such as *drive*, *talented*, *strictness*, and *controlling*. Personality descriptors related to anxiety and temper could fall under *neuroticism*, while characteristics such as *caring*, *selfishness*, *arrogance*, and *stubbornness* could fit into the *agreeableness* dimension of the FFM. Few characteristics relating to *openness* could be found in the Zulu-speaking individuals' personality descriptors. There is also no coverage in the FFM of characteristics such as family values and other relationship aspects among the Zulus, that is, characteristics such as *family value*, *relationship orientation*, *honesty*, *harmony*, *understanding*, *loving*, *respectful*, and *morality*. Other important characteristics that are not covered in the FFM relate to *discrimination*, *humour*, *religion*, *fairness*, and *resourcefulness*.

The personality characteristics of the Zulu-speaking individuals correspond to 15 of the 22 personality scales of the CPAI. The 15 scales include *practical-mindedness*, *emotionality*, *responsibility*, *inferiority versus self-acceptance*, *optimism versus pessimism*, *meticulousness*, *family orientation*, *harmony*, *(Ren Qing) relationship orientation*, *flexibility*, *thrift versus extravagance*, *leadership*, *introversion versus extroversion*, and *self-orientation versus social orientation*. No personality descriptors match the *voraciousness versus slickness*, *external versus internal control*, *modernisation*, *face*, *adventurousness*, *logical versus affective orientation*, and *defensiveness mentality* scales of the CPAI. Important characteristics that are not covered in the CPAI include *prejudiced*, *fair*, *humour*, *strict*, and *religious*. The study supports the findings of Cheung and colleagues that the interpersonal-relatedness factor of the CPAI, which reflects a strong orientation towards instrumental relationships, emphasis on occupying one's proper place and engaging in appropriate action, avoidance of internal, external, and interpersonal conflict, and adherence to tradition and norms, is particularly important in Chinese and other collectivistic cultures (Cheung et al., 2003).

Limitations of this study should be highlighted. The study population was limited to members of the Zulu culture in KwaZulu-Natal, which could have an influence on the representativeness of Zulu-speaking people. However, most Zulu-speaking people are located and live in KwaZulu-Natal. However, the focus of this study was to explore and describe the personality characteristics of individuals and not to generalise the results to Zulu-speaking persons all over South Africa. Some meaning of the data could have been lost during the first interviews and the final reporting of characteristics. The fieldworker who conducted the interviews was a person who himself spoke Zulu and who is from the Zulu population. A professional translator was used to check the quality of the data and translations.

RECOMMENDATIONS

A more representative sample of the Zulu culture could be used, including people from all provinces in South Africa. More sections of the population should be included (urban versus rural representativeness).

A quantitative approach could be used to verify the items in the different constructs statistically. Personality characteristics could be regrouped to form fewer and broader characteristics, which could then be grouped into fewer personality constructs.

Information from this study could be compared with studies among other language groups in South Africa to identify language-specific clusters to get a representative sample in regard to other-language-speaking groups. This, in turn, could be used to develop a personality questionnaire that is valid and reliable for the South African population.

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CHAPTER 3

CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this chapter, conclusions are drawn in regard to the results of the empirical study, limitations are pointed out, and recommendations are made for future research.

3.1 CONCLUSIONS

The following specific objectives were set at the beginning of the study:

- To investigate how personality is conceptualised in the literature.
- To identify the problems surrounding personality measurement for the South African context.
- To establish how personality perspectives can be determined.
- To determine the implicit perspectives of personality in Zulu-speaking South Africans.

Next, conclusions are made for each specific objective.

The first objective of this research was to investigate how personality is conceptualised in literature.

According to Derlega, Winstead, and Jones (2005), personality theories can generally be classified into five common perspectives, namely, the behaviouristic, learning, cognitive and humanistic, biopsychological, and neuropsychological. These theories differ in assumptions about human behaviour. The theories about personality can be divided into two main categories, namely, descriptive or causative theories. Causative theories try to account for how personality traits are acquired, while descriptive theories describe personality in terms of characteristics (Derlega et al., 2005).

The terms “etic” and “emic” were originally proposed by Pike (1967) in order to enable a different approach to language and culture. The “etic” approach may provide a broad and unified framework that enables researchers to understand similarities and differences across cultures. The “emic” approach, on the other hand, may provide a perspective concerning

phenomena that are highly relevant to members of a specific culture in terms of attitude and personality (Berry, 1969; 1989).

For the purpose of this study, the focus was on descriptive (trait) theories. Personality traits can be seen as the best psychophysical system to describe the personality of an individual.

Allport is seen as the father of trait theories. He defined personality as the dynamic organisation within the individual of those psychophysical systems that conclude a person's unique adjustment to a person's environment (Allport, 1937). Personality traits are regarded as the best psychophysical system to describe the personality of an individual.

Allport and his colleague Odbert (1936) hypothesised that "Those individual differences that are most salient and socially relevant in people's lives will eventually become encoded into their language; the more important such a difference, the more likely is it to become expressed as a single word". This has become known as the "lexical hypothesis". Allport and Odbert went through the most comprehensive dictionaries of the English language available at the time; they extracted 18 000 personality-describing words. From this list, they extracted 4 500 personality-describing adjectives that they found described observable and relatively permanent traits, which was where they left their study.

Raymond Cattell used the emerging computer technology to analyse the Allport-Odbert list (Cattell, et al., 1992). He organised the list into 181 clusters and asked subjects to rate people whom they knew according to the adjectives on the list. Using factor analysis, he generated twelve factors and included four factors that he thought ought to appear. Cattell was one of the first researchers to develop a structure for the classification of personality traits. His taxonomy consisted of sixteen primary factors and eight second-order factors (Cattell, Eber, & Tatsuoka, 1992). Fiske (1971) and Norman (1967) reanalysed Cattell's results, but only found confirmation for five of the second-order factors, which became known as the Big Five. Several scales and questionnaires measuring the Big Five have been established (Costa & McCrae, 1989; Goldberg, 1990; John, Donahue, & Kentle, 1991) and widely applied in Western and other countries.

Despite widespread use of personality measuring instruments to assess the five-factor model, Cheung and Leung (1998), Cheung, Leung, Zhang, Sun, Gan, Song, & Xie, (2001), Tyler &

Newcombe (2006), and Tyler, Newcombe & Barrett (2005) cautioned that claims of the universality of the Big Five personality factors were too early. The biggest problem in cross-cultural personality assessment, according to Cheung, Leung, Fan, Song, Zhang, and Zhang (1996), was the failure in these instruments to address the issue of the oversight of the significance of the emic (culture-specific) constructs that are indigenous to a particular country or population. This argument became the foundation for the importance of developing the CPAI. The aim of developing the instrument was to provide an instrument that was relevant to the Chinese people. The CPAI consists of 22 normal personality scales, 12 clinical scales, and three validity scales (Cheung, et al., 1996).

The second objective was to identify the problems surrounding personality measurement in South Africa.

In recent years, the multicultural nature of populations has become more apparent to many psychologists (Van de Vijver & Rothmann, 2004). This phenomenon is observed especially in South Africa. Van de Vijver and Rothmann (2004) demonstrated that psychological instruments imported from typical Anglo-Saxon countries had limited appropriateness for South Africa. The study by Taylor and Boeyens (1991) showed that even an instrument that was developed specifically for South Africa (the South African Personality Questionnaire) showed shortcomings in certain items. Since the first democratic elections in 1994, a great need to develop more culture-sensitive psychological instruments for South Africans has arisen. South Africa's new Constitution made stronger demands for the cultural appropriateness of psychological tests.

Fairness to all cultural (language) groups is an imperative standard. Test takers have become more vocal about their rights. Psychology as a profession is being held accountable for the (im)proper usage of instruments. The Employment Equity Act creates a daunting task for psychology as a profession, as it loads the burden of proof onto the profession (Meiring, Van de Vijver & Rothmann (2004).

The onus of proof has shifted to psychologists using psychological instruments, who have to indicate that they comply with this Act (Van de Vijver & Rothmann, 2004).

The third objective was to explore how personality perspectives could be determined.

When a person is asked to describe someone, people tend to describe that person according to his or her central traits (Allport, 1937). According to Allport (1937), the best way to tell someone's personality is through personality traits. Everyone has certain fundamental traits, which are those traits that are exceptional and influence most of a person's behaviour.

People often assume that certain behaviours and personality traits go together, for instance, that talkative individuals are also sociable. This co-occurrence of expectancies concerning traits and behaviours is known as implicit personality theories (Werth & Förster, 2002). These are the general expectations that we build about a person(s) after we get to know something about his/her/their central traits. According to Goldstein (1998), individuals draw inferences about other people's personalities on the basis of little information. Such theories are implicit because these assumptions are often unconscious and are not formally stated, and they are not tested.

One way to establish the personality perspectives of an individual or group is to study his/her/their essential personality traits, after which assumptions can be made according to the researcher's implicit personality theories.

The implicit perspectives of personality in Zulu-speaking persons

When the Zulu personality characteristics were compared to the Five-Factor Model (FFM), evidence was found of the extroversion terms, but there was no evidence of the openness factor. It was found that the importance of family relationships and other relationships of Zulus was not sufficiently covered in the Five Factor Model, nor in characteristics reflected in terms such as *biased, humour, religion, cultural values, endurance, and courage*.

Similar findings were obtained when Zulu personality characteristics were compared to the CPAI. The personality characteristics of the Zulu-speaking individuals corresponded to 13 of the 22 personality scales of the CPAI. The 13 scales include emotionality, responsibility, inferiority versus self-acceptance, meanness, slickness, family orientation, relationship orientation, harmony, flexibility, modernisation, introversion versus extroversion, leadership, and social orientation.

No personality descriptors matched the practical-mindedness, optimism versus pessimism, meticulousness, internal versus external locus of control, face, thrift versus extravagance, and logic versus affective orientation scales of the CPAI. Important characteristics that were not covered in the CPAI include characteristics reflected in the terms *religious, sexuality, prejudiced, fair, and humour*.

The personality characteristics that Zulus value highly are reflected in the lexical items *advising, happiness, encourage, aggressive, hobby, religious, and understanding*.

It became clear from the study that Zulu-speaking people were willing to become involved in one another's problems and welfare. It was found that most Zulus were extroverts; they are socially very active and tend to advise, are flexible, are independent, listen, and reprimand.

Zulu-speaking persons are socially active and loving, caring, and helpful towards others. Personality descriptors that emerged to support these findings were *encouraging, loving, respectful, supportive and understanding, accepting, agreeable, caring, and helpfulness*. Characteristics reflected in lexical items such as *greedy, thief, liar, selfish, greedy, and gossip* were used to describe someone whom the interviewee did not like.

Pretorius, Lourens & Motshegoa, (2004) indicated that respect was of importance in the African community. This was also found in the study, with descriptors in relation to respect coming to the fore. It is of interest to note that findings from Pretorius et al. (2004) mentioned that African people were traditionally open and could sometimes even be regarded as loud and rowdy. In equivalence, it was found that the Zulu-speaking person was more extroverted than introverted (Anon, 1974).

High frequencies were found that related to *socialising*. This finding supports the fact that Zulus could be described as more collectivistic and socialistic than individualistic.

Low frequencies were found for the descriptors *openness* and *self-esteem*. This finding supports previous findings by Cheung, Ling Lin & Ben-Porath, (2003) in the Chinese sample, with the Chinese being found to be more collectivistic. According to McCrae & Allik (2002), *openness* is heritable, like all of the major personality dimensions such as conscientiousness, agreeableness, extroversion, and neuroticism. One environmental cause of

increased *openness* appears to be exposure to tertiary (college) education. *Openness*, however, correlates weakly with measures of creativity and with intelligence test scores.

Openness is often presented by psychologists as healthier or more mature. However, open and closed styles of thinking are useful in different environments. The intellectual style of the open person may serve a professor well, but research has shown that closed thinking is related to superior job performance in police work, sales, and a number of service occupations (Schmidt, Kihm & Robbie, 2000).

According to John, et al., (1991), “Openness to experience describes a dimension of personality that distinguishes imaginative, creative people from down-to-earth, conventional people. Open people are intellectually curious, appreciative of art, and sensitive to beauty. They tend to be, compared to closed people, more aware of their feelings. They therefore tend to hold unconventional and individualistic beliefs, although their actions may be conforming (see agreeableness). People with low scores on openness to experience tend to have narrow, common interests. They prefer the plain, straightforward, and obvious over the complex, ambiguous, and subtle. They may regard the arts and sciences with suspicion, regarding these endeavours as abstruse or of no practical use. Closed people prefer familiarity over novelty; they are conservative and resistant to change”.

Descriptors related to *emotionality* also surfaced in this study, such as *happiness*, *humoristic*, *open-minded*, *scared*, and *laughing*. According to the study, Zulus can be regarded as in touch with their emotions, with characteristics reflected by lexical items such as *careful*, *competent*, *drive*, *enquiring*, *inquisitive*, *intelligent*, *leadership*, *mature*, *responsible*, *self-control*, and *talented* that are frequently used to describe others. Zulus used to live in tribes that had a leader or co-called “chief”, a fact that can be seen in the descriptors that contribute to *dominance*, namely, *arrogant*, *assertiveness*, *authoritative*, *competitive*, *controlling*, *demanding*, and *pride*. However, what is interesting is that they are described more in terms of indecisive than decisive.

Personality characteristics that had a lower frequency were reflected in lexical items such as *drive*, *jealous*, *family value*, *togetherness*, *cultural*, *informative*, *loud*, *agreeable*, *disciplined*, *honest*, *availability*, *sharing*, *abuse*, *bad behaviour*, *financial support*, *ambitious*, *accepting*, *humble*, *open-minded*, *nosy*, and *stubborn*. The characteristic of *drive* reconfirms the sociable

nature of the Zulu people. People rather than material value are important. Their cultural background is disappearing in the wake of the modern world. The high frequency of “loud” supports the claims for extroversion, as loudness is often associated with extroversion.

Other characteristics that scored low included *empathy, dislike, forgiving, dedicated, political, pride, hardship, struggle, poverty, selfish, stability, authoritative, considerate, ignorance, negative behaviour, optimistic, talented, curious, good heart, appreciative, and careful.*

Factors that are not adequately covered by the Big Five, but that were found in the study were *religiosity, sexuality, honesty, conservativeness, masculinity/femininity, and sense of humour.* These factors indicate that the Zulu-speaking people are very religious, have a sense of humour, and are in touch with their sexuality.

A total of 6 465 personality descriptors were obtained, which were categorised into 128 different personality characteristics. These characteristics were divided into six categories, namely, *interpersonal factor, drive, emotions, meanness, sociability, and other characteristics.*

3.2 LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT

The following limitations regarding this research have been identified:

Firstly, the sample size was limited to only a few members of the Zulu culture in KwaZulu-Natal, which implies that the results may not be representative of Zulu-speaking people living in South Africa. The sample consisted of 141 participants, and although this is a relatively small sample size for quantitative research, it is sufficient for qualitative research (Neuman, 2005). Saturation occurred, and descriptions started to repeat themselves. Very little or no new information was found with new interviewees.

Secondly, according to census data (2001), the language of the Zulu people is spoken mostly in KwaZulu-Natal, a province along the south-eastern coastline of South Africa. The predominant language of KwaZulu-Natal is Zulu (census 2001 figures); therefore, the current research was limited to KwaZulu-Natal.

Thirdly, in regard to possible subjective interpretation of the personality descriptors when categories were formed, the researcher attended several workshops in methodology in order to reduce subjectivity, and all data was cross-validated by various persons. The best would, however, be if a person from the same language group did the categorisation and interpretation.

3.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations regarding the research can be made:

The first recommendation concerns answering the question of whether the five factors are the right ones. Attempts to replicate the Big Five in other countries with local dictionaries have succeeded in some countries, but not in others. Certain languages do not provide enough variance of related terms for proper statistical analysis. In the Chinese sample, it was found that people loaded high on the neuroticism factor (Tyler & Newcombe, 2006; Tyler, Newcombe, & Barrett, 2005). Other researchers (De Fruyt, McCrae, Szirmák, & Nagy, 2004) found evidence for agreeableness, but not for other factors. Some found seven factors, some only three.

The second recommendation is that a model of personality be compiled. The Big Five personality traits are empirical observations, not a theory; the observations of personality research remain to be explained. Costa and McCrae have built what they call the Five Factor Theory of Personality in an attempt to explain personality from the cradle to the grave (Costa & McCrae, 1989). They have not followed the lexical hypothesis, though, but have favoured a theory-driven approach, which is inspired by the same sources as the Big Five.

The third recommendation concerns answering the question “Which factors predict what?”. Job outcomes for leaders and salespeople have already been measured, and research is currently being carried out in expanding the list of careers.

For future research, it is suggested that a more representative sample of the Zulu culture be used, which could include Zulu-speaking individuals from other provinces. The data analysis could also be done by a person of Zulu-speaking origin to avoid possible subjective interpretation. The study population could be divided into more subsections of the population

in order to include all the different individuals in the Zulu culture.

Future researchers could rearrange the 128 personality characteristics to form fewer, broader descriptions, which could be grouped into fewer personality constructs. It is recommended that a quantitative approach be used to verify the items in the different constructs statistically.

The information obtained from this study should be compared with information from other language groups in South Africa to identify common and language-specific clusters. These terms could then be used to develop a personality questionnaire that is valid and reliable for South African conditions.

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Appendix A

List of personality-descriptive terms

Personality-descriptive terms	Descriptions	Personality-descriptive terms	Descriptions	Personality-descriptive terms	Descriptions	Personality-descriptive terms	Descriptions
Abusive	She/he was abusive He would hit us for nothing He abuses his sister	Demanding	He is difficult to get along with Someone who is very needy	Independent/individualism	Does what he likes to do Does things in his own way Has his/her own taste in things Doesn't have the same opinion as others	Sad	She's very unhappy with friends She'll cry over nothing
Abandoned	She neglected us as children	Denial	We'll always disagree				
Accepting	Gets along with everyone Easy-going person Doesn't care about a person's background	Determined	Single-minded person Handles us firmly She is very strong-minded	Influential	Points me in the right direction We both shaved our hair I do as my parents tell me to do	Safety	She would protect us when he was drunk She would not walk alone in the street at night
Adaptability	A person who does not do well in the community	Disability	He can't help himself around the house due to an accident	Introvert	Wants to be alone Speaks softly, so you can't hear	Scared	His eyes were full of worry when he got home
Adore	I am passionate about my daughter	Disciplined	Her house is tidy She looks after herself	Inspiring	He would only want what was the best for us	Secretive	Doesn't talk to us Keeps secrets from us
Advisor	Someone who gives me advice	Discriminate	Other kids don't play with him	Intelligent	At school she/he is smart	Self-esteem	Believes in himself Confident that he

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	She would advise us on anything We advise each other		Always criticises us Doesn't like black people		He is very clever He helps us with maths		will always do his best
Advising/ discriminating	She gives me advice, although she hates us	Disgraceful	Does not appreciate anything or anyone	Intruding lifestyle	She opposes me	Self-praise	He would only care about others interest
Aesthetic	She's beautiful Appreciates the beautiful things in life	Dishonest	Steals money from his mother Lies to the teacher about where he was	Irritable	She would not stop talking She gets irritable easily	Selfish	A person who only thinks about himself/herself Doesn't want to see others progressing
Aggressive	He'll beat us for nothing Someone who likes to pick a fight Always beats me when I do wrong	Dislike	Don't like her Doesn't like fruit Don't like my father	Jealous	He is jealous of me She is jealous of our possessions Doesn't like a good thing from others	Sentimental	Affected by his emotional matters Does not get rid of things from friends
Aggressive/ abusive	He was violent to my mother He always hit us when he was drunk She shows anger	Disrespectful	Not talking nicely to adults Shows no respect towards the elderly	Joyful	He would always express his happiness and joy to me	Self-respect	She is confident in everything she does My pride helps me to be better
Aggressive/ domineering/ negative effect	He'll beat us when he gets home and tell us that he loves us	Distracted	Can't listen or concentrate in the classroom	Kind	Compassionate Comforts me when I am sad	Sexuality	Does not like women Not liking man that much

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Agreeable	Accepts another person's opinion	Drug abuse	Addicted to alcohol A smoker Always going to drink and parties	Laughing	A person who laughs a lot She is friendly and always smiling	Sharing	Shares his views with me Gives us when he has Gives us nice things
Alert	She warned us when there was danger	Easy-going	Down to earth	Lazy	A person who does not like to work	Short-tempered	She's impatient Easily made angry
Ambition	I hope to be a good father to my son	Educational	Likes to be educated	Leadership	Strong person	Sneaky	Behaves like a snake Does things without us knowing
Analytical	He is not creative mentally Someone who always analyses everything	Extrovert	Good teaching skills Has time to teach us People's person Like to be in others' company Talks a lot Very outgoing person	Liar	Leads us in the right direction/path A person who does not tell the truth Doesn't keep his promise Lies to us about where he has been	Snobbish	He is arrogant She pretends to know our business To be humble To be modest
Angry	He would get furious when he came home late She'll beat us for nothing	Empathetic	Cares about us When she's hurt, I'm also hurt She shows empathy towards me	Listening	I hear her and she hears me Listens to my problems Good listener	Sociability	Gets along with the community Invites neighbours to come and visit Visits us and goes out
Annoying	He/she annoys us	Empowering	She'll allow us to eat before bedtime	Lonely	Does not have anyone Not involved with me	Spoiled	Severely impaired

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Anxiety	I was scared, I could do nothing She gets scared easily He/she has no worries	Encourage	Always encourages us to do better She was fond of me Building me as a person	Loud	A person who shouts Speaks loudly to all Makes noise with the TV/radio When she's happy, she's loud	Stingy	Can't ask him for any money Doesn't want to share with us
Appreciative	She brought us up in a nice way We were lucky to have her Thankful	Energetic	He is very lively She is full of life Someone who can't sit still	Loving	I love myself To show love to kids She loves to play with children	Story teller	Likes to tell stories Talks about other people's lives
Approachable/humble	He is easy to talk to She is very sociable He's arrogant She's cheeky with us	Enthusiastic	She is passionate towards others He'll come home after work Like a sister in the house	Mannered	Greets everybody Behaves very well Has good manners Difficult person Gets angry sometimes	Straight forward	Does what she wants now Doesn't take nonsense No backbiting Doesn't listen to advice Thinks he knows everything
Attention seeker	He would always tell us about his life	Fearful	She gets frightened easily	Moral values	Doesn't like to drink alcohol or smoke	Subsistence abuse	He dedicate his life to drinking/smoking
Available/approachable	Can always talk to him	Fighting	He would beat us with a stick	Name-calling	Called us bad names	Successful	She's doing well on her own

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	She is always there when I need someone They have time for me She is always there		He would get into a quarrel with others		She would taunt the kids		Victorious Has his own business
Bad behaviour	Does wrong things Finds himself in situations A person with bad attitude	Financial assistance	Gave us money Helped me with money Bought things for me when I had nothing	Negative affect	Who misbehaves A pessimistic person A person who behaves badly	Supportive	He was there for me I can depend on him He always stands by my side
Bad-hearted	Doesn't have a kind heart	Firm hand	Unlikely to give in Compact and solid	Nosy	Likes to know other people's business Interferes in my life	Sympathetic	She'll always give me good advice
Bad-mannered	Doesn't greet others No respect for others	Forgiving	She's merciful with the children	Obedience	Doesn't like a person who does wrong things	Talented	She's a talented girl Has talents
Bad self-esteem	Thinks he is not good as anything Too fat to do sports	Foul language	He swears a lot She would swear at us	Open-minded	Knows what he wants Open person Easy to talk to	Talkative	A person who talks a lot Likes to talk

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Believes	He believed that I could do anything He is a Christian	Free person	He's a free man Not to be controlled by others	Organised	We work together as a team	Thankful	He'll take whatever you buy him
Belittles/ Makes fun of/ biased	Embarrassing them	Friendly/smiling	Always smiling	Outgoing	Easy to get along with	Thief	Takes other people's belongings
	Calling them idiots She would not listen to us both when we did wrong	Funny	Talking to us Always telling jokes Outgoing person	Patient	Has time for slow learners Takes her time with things	Thoughtful	Treating people in a kind and considerate manner
Bullied	He teased them He'll kick us for nothing	Giving	She would help us when we had nothing	Peaceful	He's quiet A calm atmosphere	Traditional	He likes livestock To do handcraft Doesn't like pants
Busy	The people of the community would always gather together	Gossip	Likes to gossip Talks behind their backs	Playful	Likes to play Makes jokes with us	Troublemaker	A person who causes disputes
Calm	Peaceful Relaxes after work Quiet when she gets home and starts supper	Greedy	A greedy person Someone who doesn't want to share with others	Pleasure seeker	Somebody's desire To give pleasure	Trustworthy	Does not gossip about her friends I trust him with my life She is very reliable
Career	He loved his job He'll stay until late at	Happiness	Smiling faces Showing joy in doing	Polite	Does things politely Always polite when	Two-faced	She means well, but she bites too

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	his work		something you want to		speaking to others		
Caring	Feels for people who are not well Wishes the best for others They never forgot about her She wants me to have a bright future	Hard-working/ hard worker	Likes to see me work hard Works in his garden Works non-stop Works until late at night	Political	I'm not usually a very political person	Untruthful	A person who does not tell the truth A person who hates the truth
Cheeky	Talks back Rude to others	Harmonious	Does life in harmony with others	Pretending	His heart is not pure Pretending	Ugly	She's fat and short He's ugly
Chores	Doing house chores Does the shopping Looks after the cattle	Hateful	We all hated her	Promiscuous	Not to be involved with school girls Does not want to be with me	Unbiased	Treating everyone equally Always telling stories and jokes
Competent	Incompetent Competent	Helpful	He always helped us Helps when we have problems/our books	Proud/pride	A person full of pride Proud of me She's fond of me	Uncooperative	Does not cooperate in our projects
Confident	He is confident about himself I'm confident in my work	Hobby	Likes working in his garden Likes to watch TV, sing, play soccer	Punctual	Always on time Wakes too early Always attends class	Understanding	Easy to communicate with We understand each other

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Controlling	Likes everything to be in order Makes decisions for me Wants to do everything his way	Honest	Always tells the truth Speaks his/her mind Tells you straight Doesn't lie to us	Quiet	A quiet person Doesn't talk a lot On her own	Unforgiving	Can't forgive her for what she did to me
Copycat	Does the same as me Wants the same as me	Humble	Doesn't have an attitude Doesn't think he's better	Religious	Likes to go to church Believes in God Born a Christian	Violent	He stabs people He injured her by hitting her
Corporal punishment	Used to beat us Beats us for nothing Likes to hit us	Humoristic	He likes joking a lot He likes kidding To make jokes in the classroom	Reprimanding	Doesn't like us to speak as we please Beating us when we are at fault Beats us if we didn't do homework	Witch	She is a witch Bewitched people
Courage	She is very brave He'll stand up to the others	Hurtful	He is hurt/wounded	Reserved	Not talking about things that hurt her		
Criminal behaviour	He rapes women He stabbed the man with a knife He broke into our house	Hyperactive	Can't sit still He/she is very hyperactive	Respectful	Respects me I respect him a lot The community respects her		

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Cruel	Says things that hurt Kicks the dog	Impatient	A person who does things in a hurry	Risk taking	Walks alone at night with boys Wandering alone		
Cultural	Believes in culture Loves her culture Wants to learn about other cultures	Ignorant	Doesn't want to learn about other cultures Doesn't understand other cultures	Role model			
Deceitful	Liar, deceitful, untrustworthy	Indecisive	Don't know what he likes or wants in life	Rude	Discussing with people		