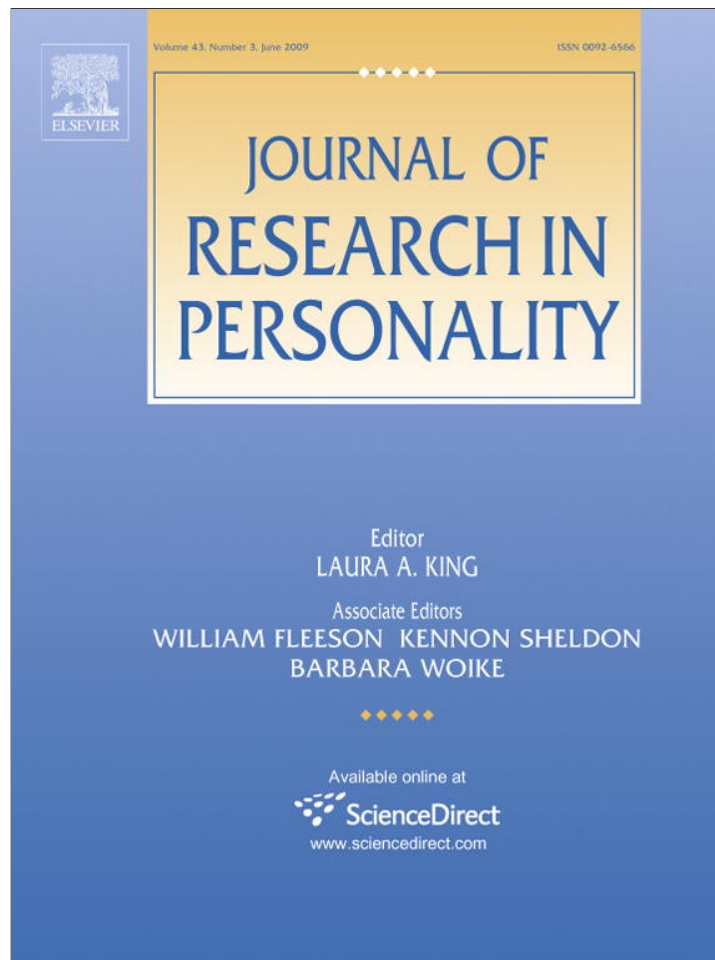


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## Journal of Research in Personality

journal homepage: [www.elsevier.com/locate/jrp](http://www.elsevier.com/locate/jrp)

## Resonance to archetypes in media: There's some accounting for taste

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## ARTICLE INFO

Article history:  
Available online 11 December 2008

Keywords:  
Personality  
Measurement  
Popular culture  
Media  
Preferences  
Archetypes  
Resonance

## ABSTRACT

Modern mass media typically employ archetypes—prototypical characters—in their narratives. This research proposes that people's affective reactions to and preferences for these characters in rich cultural media—their “resonance” to archetypes—may be an indicator of their own personality and life themes. In the first of two studies, a Rich Culture Archetype Scale (RCAS) was constructed based on media examples from popular music, movies, and classic art representing certain archetypes. In the second study, the RCAS was compared with other scales of personality and of archetypes. Results indicated that there exist five clusters of archetypes to which people resonate, and that people's resonance predicts their personal life themes and media preferences.

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## 1. Introduction

People have been cultivating and refining mass communication for centuries (Dominick, 2002). We have long communicated to one another through etching, sculpture and painting, and music. In our contemporary information age, much of our life is dominated by such mass commercial media as movies, television, and the Internet (Bogart, 1991). The stories and characters that appear in these mass media are essential means of sharing human experience with one another. Some people discuss, converse, and analogize about television. Others infuse movie plot analogies and metaphors into their professional presentations in order to communicate a sense of tangible, shared understanding (Downing, 1991). Social institutions such as book clubs and Internet chat rooms often are organized around their respective media (Dominick, 2002). These phenomena suggest that there exist internal, psychological forces that allow us to respond in common ways to stories and story characters.

One part of personality proposed to explain our captivation with cultural phenomena is the archetype. An archetype is an internal mental model of a typical, generic story character to which an observer might resonate emotionally (Jung, 1961–1963/1983). Examples of archetypes include the Hero, the Jester, and the Sage, and they have been proposed as key elements in a common language involving the stories that people tell one another (e.g., Campbell, 1949; Downing, 1991; Mark & Pearson, 2001). Archetypal characters help promote actions in stories by embodying characteristic motives and other qualities that everyone can recog-

nize (e.g., for the Hero, growth, courage, and triumph over adversity). People who hear such stories may respond quite differently to a figure such as the Hero, and those patterns of different responding may represent important personality qualities.

A number of studies have traced proposed archetypes through the stories of various cultures (e.g., Jadot, 1975). Such research, however, typically employs bibliographic, cultural approaches. Using literary approaches, for example, several theories have attempted to organize various specific archetypes into groups. A few studies investigate the connotations of archetypal symbols; several others use self-report scales to infer an individual's identification with an archetype such as the Explorer (e.g., how strongly a test-taker agrees with the statement “I feel restless”; Pearson & Marr, 2002b). But to what degree do individual judges recognize archetypes? Can they identify archetypes in media, and do they respond to them emotionally?

We first discuss the origin of the archetype concept and update the theory, introducing a “neo-archetypal” approach. Study 1 presents a new psychometric procedure for testing the existence of classes of archetypes (see Goldberg, 1992; Saucier & Goldberg, 2002). Study 2 examines individual differences in people's emotional responsiveness to such archetypes, linking those differences to personal preferences in mass culture and establishing connections between tastes in media and personality.

## 2. What is an archetype?

The concept of the archetype may provide important explanations of how people respond to other people, story characters, and media. Archetype theory began with the work of Carl Jung (1875–1961). The portion of Jung's theory of particular interest

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here is that archetypes represent personifications of behaviors—characters who embody behavior patterns (Jung, 1964, 1968). Jung first proposed the concept of an archetype in the context of his clinical observations and discussion of the collective unconscious. He contended that people employed unconscious or implicit mental models of other people in the world based on a network of “primordial...mythological images” and ancient beliefs that were ancestrally common to all humans and provided the “true basis of the individual psyche” (Jung, 1961–1963/1983, pp. 16, 67; see also C. S. Hall & Lindzey, 1978, p. 120). Any real person, situation, or event could conjure up these powerful and ancient images from the collective unconscious, eliciting a powerful and otherwise inexplicable emotional reaction (Shelburne, 1988, p. 57).

Jung described only a few archetypes systematically, regarding them as “fundamentally unobservable” (Jung, 1961–1963/1983, p. 26; Shelburne, 1988, pp. 56, 63). Later, Joseph Campbell (1949/2004) codified many archetypal images, and contemporary theorists regularly discuss about 12 or 13 archetypes. Many of these, such as the Innocent, have evolved in concept; others, such as the Lover, the Hero and the Magician, have been relatively stable.<sup>1</sup>

Examples of these are illustrated in Table 1. Several organizational schemes for archetypes also have been proposed, dividing them into groups; for example, oriented by agency and/or communion (McAdams, 1993, pp. 127–131), or oriented by Maslowian needs such as stability, belonging, mastery, or fulfillment (Mark & Pearson, 2001, p. 16).

Jung and others often used archetypes as an explanation for responses to literature and other cultural stimuli—an approach that earned them many admirers in the humanities. As intriguing as many of Jung's concepts were, however, they were discrepant with mainstream American psychological thinking (and remain as incongruent today as they were in the early 1920s). For example, Jung promulgated a view of archetypes as based on biologically-transmitted primal ideas. More problematically, these archetypes were viewed by Jung as part of people's collective or racial unconscious, dating back to a prehistoric state and varying somewhat according to the ethnic group concerned (C. S. Hall & Lindzey, 1978; Jung, 1961–1963/1983). So as to distinguish between these earlier views of archetypes—to which many have objected (e.g., McGowan, 1994; Neher, 1996; Pietikainen, 1998)—and our own characterization, the next section introduces “neo-archetypal theory,” which preserves the more useful aspects of archetypal theory while integrating it within contemporary psychological understanding.

### 3. Neo-archetypal theory

The neo-archetypal theory we develop in this section retains key aspects of Jung's theory while leaving out its less substantiated parts. We have drawn on the work of several contemporary theorists in the area (e.g., Mark & Pearson, 2001; McAdams, 1993; McGowan, 1994; Pietikainen, 1998), as well as many researchers

in related areas. In neo-archetypal theory, archetypes possess five key characteristics. Specifically, archetypes: (a) are story characters, (b) are represented psychologically as mental models like self- and other-schemas and prototypes, and (c) often elicit intense emotional responses when encountered. Also, such archetypes (d) operate at an automatic or unconscious level, and (e) are culturally enduring so as to be easily learned and widely recognizable. We will elaborate briefly upon each of these ideas in turn.

First and foremost, in neo-archetypal theory (as in the original Jungian concept), archetypes are generic story characters. For most people, they represent key figures in story narratives and possess familiar and consistent constellations of traits. Commonly, archetypes are represented directly as recognizable generic characters such as “a mother,” “a criminal,” or “a healer” acting in a given story plot. However, archetypes also can be manifested thematically rather than as discrete story characters. For example, archetypal characters can be depicted in representational or allegorical paintings and/or sculptures; additionally, they can be represented even more abstractly, such as a theme, mood, or motif in a piece of music. The function of the archetype is the same in each medium: to serve to convey meaning or tell a story.

Second, in neo-archetypal theory, archetypes are viewed as standard mental models. Much of contemporary personality and social psychology describe the operation of a person's mental models of themselves and others (Epstein, Pacini, Denes-Raj, & Heier, 1996; Higgins, 1987; Mayer, 2005; Oyserman & Markus, 1990). For example, Markus and Nurius's (1986) *possible selves* are a class of mental models of peoples' actual, ideal, feared, and desired selves. Closer still to archetypes, people often represent others as personality types—as extraverts or introverts, for example—and are able to learn and categorize such prototypes very quickly (Andersen & Cole, 1990; Cantor & Mischel, 1977; Glassman & Andersen, 1999; Mayer & Bower, 1986).

Third, in neo-archetypal theory, archetypes are mental constructions that, when triggered, tend to elicit powerful emotional responses in those who are exposed to them. The archetype concept is predicated on a person's previous emotional encounters and interactions with similar characters or ideas (C. S. Hall & Lindzey, 1978; Jung, 1961–1963/1983; Katz, 1984; Stewart, 1987). The emotional component of mental models can endure across experiences (Scherer, 1992) and even can extend to unfamiliar situations. For example, affective responses to novel consumer products, social groups, and even politicians can be more or less automatically triggered by previous experience (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). Similarly, Andersen and Berk (1998) have examined significant-other prototypes—prototypes of other people that incorporate the key characteristics of those one has known closely in early life—and have found that representations from people's personal past can elicit stronger emotional reactions than those of non-significant others. Personality prototypes and our emotional responses to them thus are inextricably linked, even to the point where the emotional reaction itself may be considered prototypical (Shaver, Schwartz, Kirson, & O'Connor, 1987).

The fourth feature of neo-archetypal theory refers to the archetypes' frequently automatic operation. The processing of some mental models is often viewed as automatic or implicit (Bargh & Chartrand, 1999), and their non-conscious nature may contribute to how people construct and maintain models about themselves and others (Bargh & Tota, 1988; Epstein, 1998). Additionally, the automaticity of some mental models is thought to affect a number of different mental processes and outcomes, including, how people form attitudes and judgements, how they interpret their moods and emotions, and how they behave under various conditions (Bargh, Chen, & Burrows, 1996; Bowers, 1984; Carver, Ganellen,

<sup>1</sup> As an example of an archetype that has evolved in concept, the Innocent has gone by several names in the archetypal literature. Jung (1968) himself cited a Child God archetype (which some later termed the Elf) but also used the flowery terminology of Puer Æternis to describe what is almost certainly the same character: the embodiment of renewal, hope, and youth. McAdams did not have an imago exactly like this; his Ritualist, however, was a simple, unambitious character who above all else “longed to return to paradise” (McAdams, 1993, p. 158). This satisfaction with tranquility is borne out in Mark and Pearson's (2001) Innocent archetype: a simple, pure, and naïve character who holds traditional values and generally exudes innate goodness (Pearson & Marr, 2002a). Many other current archetypes have gone through similar processes of evolution, such as the Creator, the Ruler, and the Jester (see Table 1).

**Table 1**  
Archetype definitions.

Archetype	Definition	Sources
Caregiver	Represented by caring, compassion, and generosity. Commonly protective, devoted, sacrificing, nurturing, and often parental. Usually very benevolent, friendly, helping, and trusting	Campbell (1949/2004), p. 109 C. S. Hall and Lindzey (1978), pp. 120, 122 McAdams (1993), pp. 155, 157, 208 Mark and Pearson (2001), p. 210
Creator	Represented by the innovative, the artistic, and the inventive. Often non-social; perhaps a dreamer; looking for novelty and beauty and an aesthetic standard. Will emphasize quality (over quantity), being highly internally driven	C. S. Hall and Lindzey (1978), p. 122 McAdams (1993), p. 145 Mark and Pearson (2001), p. 229
Everyman/ Everywoman	Represented by the working-class common person; the underdog; the neighbor. Persevering, ordered, wholesome; usually candid and sometimes fatalistic. Often self-deprecating; perhaps cynical, careful, a realistic and often disappointed humanist	Campbell (1949/2004), pp. 295–308 C. S. Hall and Lindzey (1978), p. 122 Mark and Pearson (2001), p. 166
Explorer	Represented by an independent, free-willed adventurer. Seeks discovery and fulfillment. Often solitary; spirited and indomitable; observer of the self and environment. Constantly moving; a wanderer	McAdams (1993), p. 138 Mark and Pearson (2001), p. 72
Hero	Represented frequently by the courageous, impetuous warrior. Noble rescuer and crusader; must often undertake an arduous task to “prove their worth” and later become an inspiration. Symbolically the “dragonslayer”—the redeemer of human strength	Campbell (1949/2004), pp. 34–36, 227–228 C. S. Hall and Lindzey (1978), pp. 121–122 McAdams (1993), p. 135 Mark and Pearson (2001), p. 106
Innocent	Represented by the pure, faithful, naive, childlike character. Humble and tranquil; longing for happiness and simplicity—a paradise. Often a traditionalist; saintly; symbolizing renewal	Jung (1968), pp. 158–159 Campbell (1949/2004), pp. 327–328 C. S. Hall and Lindzey (1978), p. 122 McAdams (1993), p. 158 Mark and Pearson (2001), pp. 54–55
Jester	Represented by living for fun and amusement; a playful and mischievous comedian. Usually ironic and mirthful, sometimes irresponsible; a prankster. Enjoys most a good time and diversion from care	Jung (1968), pp. 255–258 McAdams (1993), p. 171 Mark and Pearson (2001), p. 197
Lover	Represented by the intimate, romantic, sensual, and especially passionate. Seeking mainly to find and give love and pleasure. Seductive and delightful, but perilous—often tempestuous and capricious. Often a warm, playful, erotic, and enthusiastic partner	Jung (1968), pp. 28–30 Campbell (1949/2004), pp. 316–318 C. S. Hall and Lindzey (1978), p. 123 McAdams (1993), pp. 148–151 Mark and Pearson (2001), pp. 179–181
Magician	Represented by the physicist; the visionary; the alchemist. Seeking the principles of development and how things work; a teacher, a performer or a scientist. Fundamentalist interested in natural forces, transformations, and metamorphoses	Jung (1968), pp. 35–37 C. S. Hall and Lindzey (1978), p. 122 McAdams (1993), pp. 208–209 Mark and Pearson (2001), p. 144
Outlaw	Represented in the rebellious iconoclast; the survivor and the misfit. Often vengeful, a disruptive rule-breaker, possibly stemming from hidden anger. Can be wild, destructive and provoking from a long time spent struggling or injured	McAdams (1993), p. 209 Mark and Pearson (2001), p. 124
Ruler	Represented by a strong sense of power and control: the leader; the boss; the judge. Highly influential, stubborn, even tyrannical. Maintains a high level of dominance; can apply to an administrator, arbiter, or a manager of others	Campbell (1949/2004), pp. 319–322 C. S. Hall and Lindzey (1978), p. 122 McAdams (1993), p. 208 Mark and Pearson (2001), p. 245
Sage	Represented by a valuing of enlightenment and knowledge; truth and understanding. This is the expert and the counselor, possessing wisdom and acumen, perhaps a bit pretentious. Scholarly, philosophical, intelligent; a mystical and prestigious guide in the world	Jung (1961–1963/1983), pp. 125–127 Campbell (1949/2004), pp. 46–47 C. S. Hall and Lindzey (1978), pp. 121–122 McAdams (1993), pp. 143, 208–209 Mark and Pearson (2001), p. 90
Shadow	Represented by the violent, haunted, and the primitive; the darker aspects of humanity. Often seen in a tragic figure, rejected; awkward, desperately emotional. Can be seen to lack morality; a savage nemesis	Jung (1961–1963/1983), pp. 91–93 C. S. Hall and Lindzey (1978), pp. 122–124

Froming, & Chambers, 1983; Ingram, Partridge, Scott, & Bernet, 1994; Jacoby, Woloshyn, & Kelley, 1989; Kitamura, 2005; Smith & Lerner, 1986; Strauss & Allen, 2006). Generally speaking, many researchers believe that the models we construct can affect mental functions even outside of perception or memory (Kihlstrom, 1987). This non-conscious activation of such schemas in everyday experience is consistent with Jung's original view that archetypes were recognized unconsciously.

Finally, neo-archetypal theory views archetypes generally as learned conceptualizations as opposed to being predisposed through evolutionary history. Originally, Jung and others believed archetypes were genetically inherited. Today, however, most mental models, such as personality prototypes and scripts, are viewed as being acquired through learning (e.g., Anderson, 1980; Mayer & Bower, 1986; Schank & Abelson, 1977), thus suggesting that the

frequency with which we employ such models may speak to their cultural importance. Most contemporary researchers who have studied the archetype concept maintain that it is culture, not biology, that imparts archetypal models from person to person (McAdams, 1993, 2006; McGowan, 1994; Neher, 1996; Pietikainen, 1998), although there may be partial exceptions (e.g., deSilva, Rachman, & Seligman, 1977). As such, people implicitly learn to recognize the appearance and function of a great many prototypical characters from the roles such characters play in their life narratives (McAdams, 1993, 2006); indeed, the symbolic and affective importance of these story characters derives partially from the fact that they have endured for so long in the culture's literary, folkloric, and artistic history.

This updated view of archetypes, with their five main characteristics, can be summarized in the following definition:

Archetypes are story characters—prototypes of culturally important figures—that are learned and recognized implicitly, and whose historical and personal significance evoke emotional reactions.

#### 4. Research on archetypes

Jung's work on archetypes was initially embraced by many scholars in the humanities, but was welcomed less warmly in the sciences. For example, Jung's theory was extensively explored and developed by Joseph Campbell, in his (1949) seminal text, *The Hero With a Thousand Faces*. By using the metaphor of the "hero's journey," and archetypes such as the orphan, the warrior, and the saint, Campbell traced many archetypes and symbols across the mythological literatures of many different cultures, arguing for their universality.

Personality psychology soon incorporated the archetype concept into its textbooks (e.g., C. S. Hall & Lindzey, 1957), recognizing its possible application to understanding personality and responses to other people. Early clinicians searched for archetypes in their clients' responses to Rorschach inkblots, dreams, and even personal life stories. Many psychotherapists identified and analyzed archetypal responses in these and other productions (Frame, 2002; Lewis & McCully, 1994; Lockhart & Siegel, 1976; McCully, 1978, 1987; Solomon, 1991; Squyres & Craddick, 1990; Stevens, 2000).

Archetypal concepts such as the anima and animus attracted some research attention in the 1970s, at a time of considerable gender differentiation and change. Craddick, Thumin, and Barclay (1971) presented the archetypal symbol of the yin-yang—believed to represent, among other things, opposing male and female qualities—to college students, and asked participants to evaluate the symbol on 30 bipolar dimensions such as "beautiful-ugly," "good-bad," and "strong-weak." The experimenters found that participants saw the yin-yang as unifying qualities usually associated separately with men or women, and provided some support for the dimorphic, yet intertwined models of the anima and animus archetypes. Similarly, Lash and Polyson (1987) attempted to identify unconscious yet distinct gender associations to animals by using the Vividness of Visual Imagery Questionnaire (VVIQ; Marks, 1973). They found that "maleness" was consistently associated with animals such as apes, cockroaches and walruses; images of birds, cats, and kangaroos were likewise associated with being female. Whether the neo-archetype concept is necessary to explain this type of mental imagery, however, or whether it can be more simply explained as connotative associations to the diffuse conceptual categories of masculinity and femininity is uncertain.

In several recent studies, however, researchers have found that people often unconsciously recognize and are sensitive to associations between archetypal symbols and their suggested meanings (Huston, Rosen, & Smith, 1999; Rosen, Smith, Huston, & Gonzalez, 1991). Participants in these studies demonstrated better learning and recall of words and images when the images were paired with "correct" (i.e., conceptually matched) words than when the images were paired with "incorrect" words (i.e., those that had been archetypally mismatched; Rosen et al., 1991). For example, learning and recall of the image of a butterfly (as part of a longer list of word-image pairs) was better when the butterfly image had been matched with its preidentified archetypal associate word ("soul") than when it was matched with an incorrect, unrelated word ("paradox"). The correct associations were determined by the authors with consultation from the *Archive for Research for Archetypal Symbolism* at the C. G. Jung Institute in San Francisco. This difference between matched and unmatched pairs remained constant whether the participants were given the image and asked to recall

its paired word, or given the word and asked to recall its paired image (Huston et al., 1999; Rosen et al., 1991). Similar results were obtained using a word-completion task as an alternate condition to the cued-recall. Yet although these studies may demonstrate that certain archetypal concepts are associated in intriguing and provocative ways, they fail to examine actual story characters of the sort central to the neo-archetype concept.

At least one study suggests that people respond *affectively* to certain kinds of archetypes. Maloney (1999) used 18 selected images of the Hero and the Mother (i.e., the Caregiver) from the aforementioned *Archive*, and asked participants about how pleasing, interesting, and memorable they found the various images to be. The author concluded there was evidence that people responded in differential patterns to the two classes of archetypes. However, the reported results—that participants responded to "quest," "attachment," and "conflict" themes—seem difficult to interpret, and, at best, are only inconsistently supported by the statistical analyses. As such, the presence of an integrated network of archetypes remains an open question.

Finally, some self-report scales have been developed that ask people about themes related to specific archetypes and then try to identify a person with an archetype based on these personal life themes (Marr, 1996; Pearson & Marr, 2002b). Such scales assume the presence of archetypal models, however, without directly testing for them.

To summarize, the concept of the archetype has been used to explain how people respond to other people, story characters, and media. This notion is potentially useful to personality psychology, as well as to media studies and the humanities. However, empirical research on the archetype is sparse. Some evidence suggests that people do reliably associate certain concepts, such as the masculine and feminine, with various animals and symbols, and yet many fundamental empirical questions concerning the archetype remain unexplored. Can people reliably identify archetypes underlying story characters in movies, and art, and related themes in music? What are some fundamental archetypes? Can they be grouped? Do people respond emotionally to certain archetypes more than others?

We conducted our first study to see if people could recognize archetypes within cultural media in a consistent manner, as hypothesized in neo-archetypal theory. Our ultimate aim was to assess whether people show repeated patterns for liking stimuli that all exemplify the same archetype *across different mass media*, thus possibly revealing a personal life theme. If so, we hoped to construct an archetype scale using examples of cultural stimuli from three popular culture media: music, movies, and art.

As a first step, descriptions of archetypes from previous researchers were examined (e.g., Campbell, 1949/2004; Jung, 1961–1963/1983; Mark & Pearson, 2001; McAdams, 1993; Pearson & Marr, 2002a), and a list of thirteen conceptual archetypes, with definitions, was developed (see Table 1). For example, the Hero (or Warrior), the Caregiver (or Universal Mother), and the Sage (or Wise Old Man) have been quite consistent across theorists, and these were fairly directly summarized. In some cases, however, the parallels across archetypes proposed by theorists involve some approximations. For example, our operational definition of the Ruler shares some characteristics with the Ruler in Mark and Pearson (2001; i.e., controlling, authoritarian, a leader), but also draws upon McAdams' (1993) Arbiter imago (a judge; a manager of others) and Jung's (1961–1963/1983) Father archetype (highly influential, stubborn, and tyrannical).

If archetypes exist, it then stands to reason that these affective schemas or mental models can be identified in the popular music, movies, television, literature, and classic art of today (Mark & Pearson, 2001, pp. 9–10). It might be possible, then, to measure such archetypes by using stimuli from such sources. For the purposes

of this research, items in each mass culture medium will be referred to as *rich cultural stimuli*, or RCS.

## 5. Overview of Study 1

An important assumption of neo-archetypal theory is the belief that individuals conversant with the theory can correctly identify archetypes (cf. Huston et al., 1999; Lewis et al., 1994; Lockhart & Seigel, 1976; McCully, 1987; Solomon, 1991; Rosen et al., 1991; Squyres & Craddick, 1990; Stevens, 2000). To test that assumption, we identified 156 rich cultural stimuli: 12 examples each of the 13 archetypes identified in Table 1. Of the 12 examples per archetype, four each were drawn from music, art, and film. These 156 stimuli then were presented to the participants in the study, to address a number of hypotheses about archetypes and their identification.

### 5.1. Hypotheses concerning recognizing archetypes

**Hypothesis 1.** People can perceive archetypes in rich cultural media.

If people are able to perceive archetypes, they should exhibit interjudge agreement as to precisely which archetypes are represented by which stimuli. Specifically, participants should be able to classify most of the 156 items as being representative of particular archetypes, or archetype blends, with sufficient agreement.

**Hypothesis 2.** Archetypes can be grouped into clusters.

Most Jungian archetype research focuses on individual archetypes. However, groups of archetypes that overlap might be constituents of larger and more global archetype clusters, as some of the archetypes share various characteristics with each other. For example, despite differences described in some sources (e.g., Mark & Pearson, 2001), the Magician and the Sage are archetypes that both connote a wizard, or wise old man: a guiding spirit; a scientist and a prestigious teacher or grandfather (Jung, 1961–1963/1983; Campbell, 1949/2004). Such similarities prompted us to hypothesize that certain archetypes could form groups or clusters identifiable via factor analysis. Aside from the expected Magician–Sage similarity, however, we had no preconceived notions about which archetypes, if any, might group together into clusters.

### 5.2. Hypotheses concerning scale development

**Hypothesis 3.** A Rich Culture Archetype Scale can be successfully developed.

If the above hypotheses were supported, it would then be possible to construct a Rich Culture Archetype Scale (RCAS) that would contain rich cultural stimuli from popular music, movies, and classic art that were predetermined, preidentified representatives of various archetypes. Such a scale could then be employed to measure individual differences in emotional responses to various archetypes in the future.

## 6. Study 1

### 6.1. Methods

#### 6.1.1. Participants

100 college students (26 male, 74 female) enrolled in introductory psychology courses participated in Study 1 and received

experimental course credit; their responses were identified only by number.

#### 6.1.2. Materials

Each of the 13 archetypes shown in Table 1 was represented with four stimuli in each of three rich cultural media (music, movies, and art), for an overall total of 156 items, which were block-randomized for administration. The 52 music stimuli were contained on audio CDs and played aloud for all participants, while the remaining 104 movie and art stimuli were printed as high-definition color images inside hardcover binders so that, for the majority of the session, the participants could work on the stimuli at their own pace. Participants received the stimuli binders, an answer sheet on which to record their responses, and a sheet of “archetype definitions” (from Table 1), which they had the option to keep when they left the session.

#### 6.1.3. Procedure

The participants were given a list of individually-lettered archetype definitions so that they could become familiar with the archetypes before the ratings actually began. The archetypes were listed alphabetically so as to preclude any notion of certain archetypes being preferable to others. Participants were then given an answer sheet on which they were told to write the letter of the archetype that they thought each rich cultural stimulus (RCS) would best represent.

After allowing the participants to study the definitions list for 2–3 min, the first set of stimuli (music) was presented. The music items were selected from a number of popular musical traditions including classical, punk, jazz, rap, funk, pop, country, metal, and experimental music (see Appendix A for a list of the music items used in both studies). Participants listened to each item for approximately twenty seconds and were requested to select the archetype from the definition sheet that was best represented by the music. The sequential number of each music stimulus (which always was the same) was announced by the researcher before the item was played so as to avoid confusion.

The participants were reminded to try and give an answer for each item, even if they were unfamiliar with it, and to make sure to use all 13 archetypes (though not necessarily equally often). Reminders of this nature could also be found on the answer sheet and in the stimuli binders. Once the music stimuli were all played, the stimuli binders were distributed with the movie and art images. As each participant finished all 156 items, their stimuli binder and answer sheet were collected. The entire process typically took 60–75 min.

## 6.2. Results

### 6.2.1. Perception of archetypes in rich cultural media

Our first hypothesis was that participants could identify archetypes in RCS with some agreement. To test this, a matrix was created with the 156 RCS items down the rows and the 13 archetypes across the top. Participants' responses were then tabulated in the matrix. A segment of the matrix for the pre-classified 12 Caregiver and 12 Jester items is shown in Table 2. As expected, the items selected by the investigators as representative of the Caregiver or the Jester were, on the whole, nominated as such by the participants much more often than they were nominated as other archetypes. Similar nomination frequency item breakdowns for the other eleven archetypes also were observed.

The left side of Table 3 shows the average number of nominations for the 156 RCS items in the initial pool, based on their *a priori*-classified archetypes. For example, the twelve RCS items selected to represent the Outlaw received a total of 463 “Outlaw” nominations from participants—an average of 38.6 nominations

**Table 2**  
Study 1: Sample Data Setup (Caregiver & Jester): individual item nomination frequencies.

Expected archetype	Media	Item Description (i.e., title or artist)	Number of nominations													N
			CA	CR	EV	EX	HE	IN	JE	LO	MG	OU	RU	SG	SH	
Caregiver	Music	Tracy Chapman	36	4	20	8	5	15	1	3	1	0	0	6	1	100
		The Beatles	15	0	5	0	2	20	0	45	0	1	0	12	0	100
		James Taylor	<b>74*</b>	1	2	0	3	11	0	8	0	0	0	1	0	100
		Natalie Merchant	<b>39*</b>	7	8	1	1	20	1	14	0	1	1	7	0	100
	Movie	"It's a Wonderful Life"	31	2	27	0	2	21	0	12	0	0	1	2	2	100
		"Life is Beautiful"	<b>31*</b>	12	13	3	4	7	1	2	4	0	0	20	2	99
		"The English Patient"	<b>45*</b>	5	7	1	4	4	0	13	3	3	0	8	2	95
	Art	"The Princess Bride"	10	2	7	7	4	19	10	20	12	0	0	7	0	98
		"Virgin and Child"	<b>45*</b>	3	1	0	0	36	0	8	1	0	1	1	1	97
		"Whistler's Mother"	20	4	26	0	1	19	2	0	1	1	0	5	19	98
		"Christ Healing the Sick..."	34	9	4	2	24	0	0	2	7	0	5	10	2	99
	"The Banjo Lesson"	<b>51*</b>	4	8	2	0	17	0	5	6	0	0	6	1	100	
Jester	Music	Steve Miller Band	2	6	2	14	0	9	<b>53*</b>	10	0	1	0	3	0	100
		The Clash	1	9	4	10	0	4	29	3	10	17	4	3	2	96
		Parliament Funkadelic	0	5	2	3	0	6	<b>73*</b>	5	2	1	1	0	0	98
		Van Halen	0	7	6	16	2	3	20	5	4	22	6	6	0	97
	Movie	"...Something About Mary"	4	0	5	2	0	8	69	9	0	3	0	0	0	100
		"Duck Soup"	0	4	4	2	0	4	72	1	4	0	0	3	0	94
		"Wedding Crashers"	0	1	0	3	0	0	<b>91*</b>	3	0	0	0	1	0	99
	Art	"Jay and Silent Bob..."	0	1	4	7	3	1	<b>73*</b>	0	1	6	0	0	2	98
		"The Merry Drinker"	4	4	11	6	1	7	<b>55*</b>	1	1	2	3	3	0	98
		"A Luncheon at Bourguival"	7	2	32	0	0	32	15	4	0	1	0	6	0	99
		"A Bold Bluff"	1	2	9	1	2	7	<b>67*</b>	0	3	6	0	1	1	100
	"The Orgy"	2	4	12	2	0	3	14	47	0	7	2	3	4	100	

CA, Caregiver; CR, Creator; EV, Everyman/Everywoman; EX, Explorer; HE, Hero; IN, Innocent; JE, Jester; LO, Lover; MG, Magician; OU, Outlaw; RU, Ruler; SG, Sage; SH, Shadow.  
\* Starred items are those selected for inclusion in the RCAS in Study 2.

**Table 3**  
Study 1: Average number of nominations for target archetype and non-target archetypes for initial and final item pools included in the RCAS.

Archetype	Average number of nominations					
	Initial 156-item pool (12 items/archetype)			Final 83 RCAS items (6 items/archetype + 5 auxiliary art items)		
	Expected archetype	All other archetypes	Next-highest archetype	Expected archetype	All other archetypes	Next-highest archetype
Caregiver	35.92	5.24	15.75 (IN)	47.50	4.31	15.83 (IN)
Creator	32.42	5.53	11.33 (SG)	41.57	4.74	12.57 (SG)
Everyman/Everywoman	41.67	4.76	9.25 (EX)	53.29	3.79	9.71 (EX)
Explorer	38.58	4.99	12.50 (EV)	53.67	3.83	11.00 (EV)
Hero	42.17	4.80	9.75 (EX & RU)	56.14	3.65	14.29 (RU)
Innocent	49.17	4.13	11.67 (CA)	59.43	3.26	6.86 (CR)
Jester	52.58	3.81	7.58 (EV)	68.67	2.51	5.67 (EX)
Lover	60.08	3.27	11.08 (IN)	72.33	2.24	5.67 (IN)
Magician	19.67	6.54	12.50 (EX)	32.00	5.57	15.00 (EX)
Outlaw	38.58	5.00	11.67 (RU)	49.33	4.10	8.50 (JE)
Ruler	32.67	5.47	16.67 (SH)	42.33	4.68	15.17 (OU)
Sage	24.42	6.21	14.42 (MG)	31.00	5.63	12.17 (MG)
Shadow	68.67	2.59	12.17 (OU)	81.14	1.56	8.71 (OU)
Average	41.28	4.79	12.03	52.95	3.84	10.86

CA, Caregiver; CR, Creator; EV, Everyman/Everywoman; EX, Explorer; HE, Hero; IN, Innocent; JE, Jester; LO, Lover; MG, Magician; OU, Outlaw; RU, Ruler; SG, Sage; SH, Shadow.

per item (*Expected Archetype* column). The *All Other Archetypes* column represents the average number of nominations for the other 12 (in this case, non-Outlaw) archetypes for each of the 12 items: 5.0 nominations per item for each "other" archetype. The next highest-nominated category for these items after the Outlaw was the Ruler (averaging 11.7 nominations per item) and the remaining eleven archetypes were nominated even less often. This pattern of "expected" versus "other" archetype nomination totals indicates that participants agreed as to which stimuli represented a given archetype and which did not,  $t(12) = 9.59, p < .001$ , and that the participants' responses reflected the expected categorization initially determined by the investigators in most cases.

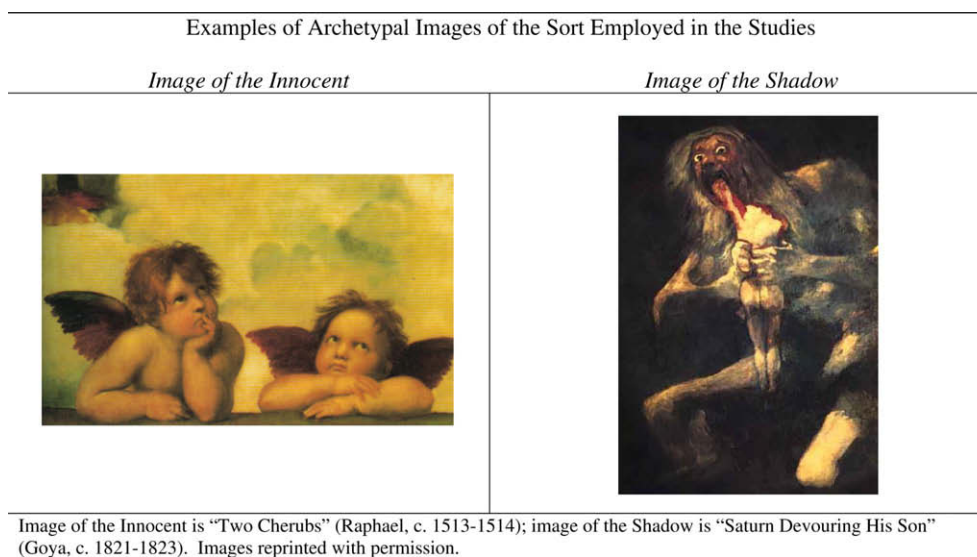
As a second perspective on rater agreement, we divided the sample into two groups of 50 judges each. For both groups, we cal-

culated the modal categorical response for each item. The resulting Kappa index of interrater agreement (the 50 judges in one group versus the 50 judges in the other) for all stimuli that exhibited a modal archetypal categorization was  $\kappa = .79$ . Taken together with the overall nomination frequencies of the archetype items (Table 3), this provided strong evidence that participants can reliably identify archetypes—even across three different RCS media.

Examples of two different archetype stimuli, one for the Innocent and one for the Shadow, are illustrated in Fig. 1.

### 6.2.2. Grouping the archetypes into clusters

Table 4 shows the similarities between archetypes based on participants' nomination answers. These correlations indicated that the thirteen archetypes were sometimes independent of one



**Fig. 1.** Examples of two RCS items used in Study 2, representing the Innocent (left) and the Shadow (right). (See above-mentioned references for further information.)

**Table 4**

Study 1: Intercorrelations of subjects' perceptions of the similarity of pairs of archetype categories.

	CA	CR	EV	EX	HE	IN	JE	LO	MG	OU	RU	SG	SH
Caregiver	–												
Creator	–.10	–											
Everyman/Everywoman	.07	–.11	–										
Explorer	–.20	–.06	.08	–									
Hero	–.12	–.17	–.15	–.04	–								
Innocent	<b>.23</b>	.04	.01	–.14	–.21	–							
Jester	–.15	–.06	–.03	–.02	–.17	–.09	–						
Lover	.08	–.09	–.12	–.19	–.13	–.01	–.07	–					
Magician	–.13	<b>.29</b>	–.18	.06	–.07	–.09	–.09	–.18	–				
Outlaw	–.23	–.18	–.13	–.01	–.02	–.27	–.04	–.21	–.15	–			
Ruler	–.19	–.13	–.21	–.09	<b>.35</b>	–.26	–.15	–.18	–.10	<b>.20</b>	–		
Sage	–.01	<b>.27</b>	–.01	.06	–.03	–.06	–.19	–.16	<b>.48</b>	–.25	–.07	–	
Shadow	–.17	–.14	–.18	–.18	–.16	–.21	–.18	–.18	–.07	.10	–.01	–.18	–

Note: A given correlation is between the two specific archetypes indicated. For example, the correlation of  $r = -.10$  between the Caregiver and the Creator represents the correlation between the number of endorsements of each of the 156 stimuli as a Caregiver versus each respective item's endorsement as a Creator (or, the correlation between the complete Caregiver and Creator columns indicated in part in Table 2).

Correlations in bold are significant at  $p < .05$ . CA, Caregiver; CR, Creator; EV, Everyman/Everywoman; EX, Explorer; HE, Hero; IN, Innocent; JE, Jester; LO, Lover; MG, Magician; OU, Outlaw; RU, Ruler; SG, Sage; SH, Shadow.

another, and at other times moderately correlated. Nominations for the Ruler and the Hero overlapped appreciably,  $r(154) = .35$ ,  $p < .001$ , as did those for the Magician and Sage,  $r(154) = .48$ ,  $p < .001$ . That is, two particular archetypes (e.g., Magician and Sage) were often nominated highly for the same items, suggesting that they shared some characteristic similarities. The remaining pairs of archetypes, however, had lower relationships; i.e., between  $r = -.2$  and  $.2$ , such as the Lover and Creator,  $r(154) = -.09$ , *ns*, or the Sage and Explorer,  $r(154) = .06$ , *ns*.

The correlation matrix supports ideas that both (a) the thirteen archetypes were mostly representative of very different RCS items, and (b) that some archetypes are more interrelated than others. An exploratory factor analysis provided a more detailed look at this latter notion. Principle components analysis yielded initial eigenvalues (2.1, 1.9, 1.4, 1.3, 1.2, 1.0, and 0.9) and an accompanying scree plot suggesting that the archetypes might cluster on four or five factors. When these factors were varimax-rotated, the four- and five-factor solutions explained 51.5% and 60.4% of the variance, respectively. Rotated solutions for both models indicated archetype clusters for characters who were “Knowing and Constructive,”

“Caring and Loyal,” “Striving and Driven”, and “Average and Independent.” Table 5 shows the rotated loadings for the five-factor solution, which appeared most encompassing in including the original archetypes.

### 6.2.3. Construction of the RCAS

In order to test how people respond to archetypes in rich culture media, it was necessary to collect clear examples of archetypes into a scale. Study 1 provided detailed information regarding the quality of archetypal RCS; using that information, we built a scale called the Rich Culture Archetype Scale (RCAS).

There were two main criteria for item selection: (a) representativeness of the archetype (i.e., items with the highest raw number of nominations for a particular archetype were usually selected; see individual cell totals in Table 2), and (b) distinctiveness (i.e., items with the largest difference between the highest-nominated category and the second-highest-nominated category were preferred; compare to cell totals of other columns in Table 2). The first criterion was regarded as the most important. Using these selection criteria, two items in each medium (music, movies, and art)

**Table 5**  
Study 1: Factor Loadings for a five-factor representation of archetypes (Nomination Frequencies), using a principal components analysis with varimax rotation.

Archetype	Factor				
	I: Knowing & Constructive	II: Caring & Loyal	III: Striving & Driven	IV: Conflicted & Destructive	V: Average & Independent
Magician	<b>.801</b>				
Sage	<b>.776</b>				
Creator	<b>.642</b>				
Caregiver		<b>.737</b>			
Innocent		<b>.584</b>			
Jester		-.488	-.429	-.486	
Outlaw	-.316	-.470		.382	
Hero			<b>.822</b>		
Ruler			<b>.729</b>		
Shadow				<b>.840</b>	
Everyman/Everywoman					<b>.674</b>
Explorer					<b>.653</b>
Lover				-.371	<b>-.563</b>

Note: Loadings greater than .5 are in bold; loadings smaller than .3 are deleted.

then were chosen to represent each one of the thirteen archetypes in the RCAS, for an initial total of 78 items. Five additional art stimuli were added to the scale, in anticipation of potential limitations with familiarity effects in that area, resulting in a total of 83 items. Each item was chosen to represent only one archetype.

As seen in the right side of Table 3, the 83 items chosen for the RCAS displayed, on average, large differences between the number of nominations for the archetype they were chosen to represent and their average number of nominations for the twelve other archetypes,  $t(12) = 11.82, p < .001$ . For example, the six items chosen to represent the Explorer in the RCAS were nominated as the Explorer an average of 53.67 times by the participants in Study 1; these six items were only nominated 3.83 times on average for each of the other twelve archetype categories. This difference for each archetype indicates that the RCAS uses a manageable and concise set of stimuli that are distinctively archetypal.

### 6.3. Discussion of Study 1

Study 1 indicated that people can reliably identify individual archetypes in rich culture media; specifically, in music, movies, and classic art. The study also showed that people can agree fairly consistently on the individual archetypes the RCS items most clearly represented, even with minimal explicit knowledge of the archetypes themselves. Finally, the thirteen archetypes used in this study were found to be sufficiently independent of each other, although some overlaps were suggested by participants' patterns of category nomination. What still is required, however, is a demonstration that people will respond emotionally and differentially to such stimuli. In Study 2, we examine whether individual differences occur in responses to archetypes.

## 7. Overview of Study 2

People's mental models of the world may influence their feelings about the things they like. For example, people may prefer rich culture media that represent a specific archetype to which they are attracted. Additionally, preferences for specific story characters may relate to socioemotional traits such as the Big Five (Mayer, 1995, 2005; McAdams et al., 2004; McCrae & Costa, 1999). Recalling that people are thought to respond to archetypes by experiencing cognitively-accessible emotions such as fascination, interest, and significance, Study 2 examines the questions, "Do people respond to archetypes in unique patterns?" and "Do these differences relate systematically to individuals' self-identification with archetypes and/or media preferences?" In addition, we wanted to assess whether people's reactions to archetypes relate to their personality

traits, and whether media preferences can be predicted from archetypes even controlling for these traits. As such, Study 2 investigated two sets of hypotheses: (a) measuring responsiveness to archetypal content, and (b) predictions from that measurement.

### 7.1. Hypotheses concerning responsiveness to archetypes

**Hypothesis 1.** Resonance is a unitary construct.

Neo-archetypal theory characterizes a person's response to an archetype as involving a diffuse but potent emotional and spiritual reaction (e.g., Jung, 1961–1963/1983, p. 16). To capture something of that overall response, the RCAS included questions examining participants' interest, liking, disliking, and familiarity for each item. We hypothesized that these ratings would correlate together and approximate the striking experience of encountering a psychologically meaningful character (cf. Maloney, 1999). This combined reaction to an archetype was termed "resonance."

**Hypothesis 2.** General clustering patterns will be found in the archetype measures.

We expected the RCAS resonance scores to reveal that people respond to groups of archetypes similarly. For example, in Study 1, a "Caring and Loyal" cluster of archetypes emerged consisting of the Caregiver and the Innocent (possibly including the Lover as well). We expected that people would resonate to specific archetypes, and also to the groups in which the archetypes clustered (as suggested by the factor analysis in Study 1).

**Hypothesis 3.** Archetype responses will reliably distinguish individual differences.

A third hypothesis was that people would exhibit reliable individual differences as to archetype resonance. This was a particularly stringent test of the theory, as the RCAS spanned multiple dissimilar media in music, art, and still shots from movies; however, we expected that people would recognize the archetypes across media and resonate to them accordingly.

### 7.2. Hypotheses concerning predictions from archetypal resonance

**Hypothesis 4.** There will be gender differences in resonance to archetypes.

Jung and others since him have suggested that men and women might differentially respond to certain archetypes. Whether these differences are framed as anima/animus dynamics (Bradway, 1995; Brozo & Schmelzer, 1997) or due to social gender schemas

(Archer & Lloyd, 2002; Bem, 1974; Diekman & Eagly, 2000; Eagly, 1987), research suggests that people will respond to archetypes in a fashion consistent with traditional sex roles. Thus, in the context of this study, we expected that men, relative to women, would respond more to such archetypes as the Ruler, the Outlaw, and the Jester because, on average, they would identify more strongly with power, rebellion, and certain forms of humor. Similarly, we believed that women, relative to men, and also consistent with traditional sex-role conceptions, would respond more to the Caregiver, Lover, and Innocent, because, on average, they would identify more strongly with the compassion, stability, and intimacy that collectively characterize these archetypes.

**Hypothesis 5.** The RCAS will relate moderately to other archetype measures.

Our fifth hypothesis was that a person's resonance to one or more archetypes would correlate with his or her self-reported life themes, as indicated both by a pre-existing scale of archetypes (the Pearson-Marr Archetype Indicator [PMAI]; Pearson & Marr, 2002b) and self-judged similarity to the various archetypes as they were defined by the investigators.

**Hypothesis 6.** Archetype resonance will relate to entertainment preferences.

Archetypes often are said to exist in artistic works (Mark & Pearson, 2001). We were concerned with whether archetype resonance would predict people's preferences for groups of leisure activities, and in particular, their preference for certain genres of media that, arguably, emphasize different archetypes. To test this, the RCAS was correlated with a modified scale of entertainment preferences by Rentfrow (2004).

**Hypothesis 7.** Archetypes will correlate with personality traits.

One way to think about archetypal story characters is that each can be defined as a profile of traits. For example, Jesters might display high extraversion but low conscientiousness, while Creators may be high in openness to experience. Assuming that people resonate to archetypes similar to themselves, our final hypothesis predicted that resonance to a given archetype would correlate with participants' own patterns of Big Five traits.

## 8. Study 2

### 8.1. Methods

#### 8.1.1. Participants

Data from 125 college psychology students (52 male, 73 female) were used in all analyses for Study 2. As in Study 1, students received experimental course credit for participating in the study.

#### 8.1.2. Materials

The materials used for analyses in this study were (a) the RCAS, (b) the Pearson-Marr Archetype Indicator (PMAI; Pearson & Marr, 2002b), (c) a scale of self-to-archetype judged similarity, (d) a 100-item measure of Big Five unipolar trait descriptive adjectives (Goldberg, 1992), and (e) a modified scale of media preferences (Rentfrow, 2004).

**Rich Culture Archetype Scale (RCAS).** The Rich Culture Archetype Scale (RCAS) developed in Study 1 consists of 83 art, music, and movie items, representing each of 13 archetypes (see Fig. 1 and Appendix A for examples of these items). Participants were asked the following questions for each item: (a) How **interested** are you in this stimulus?, (b) How much do you **like** this stimulus?, (c) How much do you **dislike** this stimulus?, and (d) How **familiar** are you with this stimulus? Answers were recorded on each partic-

ipant's answer sheet on a six-point Likert-type scale. The RCAS generally can be completed in 30–45 min.

**Pearson-Marr Archetype Indicator (PMAI).** The PMAI (Pearson & Marr, 2002b) contains 72 items predicting twelve Pearson archetypes (cf. Mark & Pearson, 2001). For this study, six new items were added and staggered throughout the PMAI, which otherwise neglects the Shadow. Examples of the added Shadow items are, "Sometimes people describe me in ways I refuse to accept," "I sometimes frighten others with the ways I talk and act," and "Sometimes I really enjoy feeling a bit evil." These six additional items were intended to match as closely as possible the tone and format of the existing PMAI statements, and all 78 of these self-report items were answered on a standard five-point Likert scale.

**Perceived similarity.** Participants were given an alphabetized list of the 13 archetypes and their definitions (see Table 1) and asked, "Please rate how similar you are to this archetype," on a scale of 1–7, where 1 was "Not at all similar" and 7 was "Extremely similar."

**Big Five descriptors.** These 100 unipolar personality markers developed by Goldberg (1992) measure personality traits according to the taxonomic organization of the Big Five, and responses to each trait adjective are reported on a nine-point Likert-type scale. (A second, much briefer Big Five scale was also administered in the study, but dropped from the analyses because it was determined to be redundant.)

**Entertainment Preferences Questionnaire (modified; EntPQ).** The Entertainment Preferences Questionnaire (Rentfrow, 2004) is an unpublished scale, which requests participants to rate, on an eight-point Likert-type scale, their level of liking for a number of genres in mass culture, such as "Folk" and "Rap/hip-hop" (music), "Business" and "Fiction & literature" (books and magazines), "Action" and "Romance" (movies), and "Reality" and "Soap operas" (television). Several modifications to the original Entertainment Preferences Questionnaire were made: for example, the genres "Hardcore" and "Industrial" were added to the music section, and an entirely new section on classic art was added, with eighteen categories ranging from "Prehistoric/Neolithic" to "Modern photography."

**Demographic questions.** Finally, three general questions were asked regarding each participant's gender, age, and academic concentration.

#### 8.1.3. Procedure

Participants received an answer sheet containing the response scales for use with the items on the RCAS. Participants were encouraged to answer every item and to avoid global pre-judgments of the stimuli (for example, relying on friends' opinions of movies that they personally had not seen) and instead to answer based on their initial impressions of what specifically was being presented in the study. In addition to being listed at the top of the answer sheet, the four preference questions (i.e., interest, liking, disliking, and familiarity) were listed next to each image to help participants keep them in mind when they were looking at each item. The 26 selected musical stimuli were presented in a fixed order for about twenty seconds each; participants then answered the four questions for the item after its presentation. Following the last music item, hardcover binders were distributed for the last 57 stimuli in movies and art. Once participants were finished with the items in the stimuli binder, they turned in the binder as well as their answer sheet and received the "life themes" packet, which included the modified PMAI (Pearson & Marr, 2002b), the Goldberg (1992) Big Five descriptors, the modified Entertainment Preferences Questionnaire (Rentfrow, 2004), and the archetype similarity scale, as well as the demographic questions.

## 8.2. Results

Study 2 was designed to assess participants' dominant archetypal life themes and to compare these themes to their self-identified

personality traits and their preferences for rich cultural media genres and individual examples therein.

### 8.2.1. Characteristics of the resonance construct

The RCAS resonance score for each item was developed from an examination of the four participant ratings for each scale (interest, liking, disliking, and familiarity). Recall that each participant rated the 83 stimuli on all four attributes. Examination of the intercorrelations of these ratings on a cross-section of 12 items representing each media type suggested consistent, robust positive correlations between interest and liking (range across items,  $r = .71$  to  $.87$ ), and negative correlations between both interest and disliking ( $r = -.35$  to  $-.59$ ) and liking and disliking ( $r = -.39$  to  $-.66$ ). This consistency encouraged us to construct a resonance score of overall favorable responsiveness to a given item by summing “interest + liking + (reverse) disliking” ( $\alpha = .86$ ). Familiarity was not as consistently associated with the other three ratings, so it was omitted from the final resonance construct. This calculation also preserved a greater fidelity to neo-archetypal ideas of focusing on a person's emotional reactions to archetypes, for which familiarity is not necessary. For the RCAS analyses in this study, then, resonance scores featured only the first three ratings for each item.

Table 6 shows the mean scores for the thirteen archetypes across the three archetype measures. The Jester and the Hero resonated most according to RCAS scores; the Creator and the Shadow least. In comparison, Pearson-Marr scores indicated that the most prevalent archetypes in participants' self-reported life themes were the Jester and the Sage, while the least reported life themes were the Shadow and the Everyman/Everywoman. Finally, participants rated themselves as most similar to the Caregiver and the Lover and least similar to the Outlaw and the Shadow.

These rank-order comparisons suggest that the convergence of the RCAS with the other two archetype measures is modest. The correlations between the RCAS rank orderings and those of the two other measures were  $r_{\text{RCAS-PMI}(11)} = .38$ ,  $ns$ , and  $r_{\text{RCAS-Self}(11)} = .14$ ,  $ns$ , which were considerably lower than the correlation between the rank orderings on the PMI and the archetype similarity scale,  $r_{\text{PMI-Self}(11)} = .66$ ,  $p = .014$ . These findings indicate that resonance for rich cultural stimuli, as measured by the RCAS, draws on different elements of personality processes than do the other two archetype measures.

### 8.2.2. Clustering patterns among archetype measures and an application of confirmatory factor analysis

Recall that the varimax-rotated principal components analysis of the participants' archetype nominations for the items in Study 1 offered possible four- and five-factor models of archetype clusters. Further factor analyses of the archetype scores on the PMI and self-judged archetype similarity used in Study 2 suggested the presence of five clusters of archetypes very similar to what we found in Study 1. Although the five-factor solutions from Study 1 and Study 2 were not all exactly the same, they were similar enough as to be recognizably congruent. Since reasonable 5-factor models arose from explorations of the data from both Studies 1 and 2, we used confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) to fit a 5-factor model to Study 2's RCAS data (see Table 7).<sup>2</sup> These archetype clusters are general composites. Their names—simplified from Study 1—are: (I) the Knower (Creator, Magician, and Sage); (II) the Carer

(Caregiver, Innocent, and Lover); (III) the Striver (Hero and Ruler); (IV) the Conflictor (Outlaw and Shadow); and (V) the Everyperson (Everyman/Everywoman, Explorer, and Jester).

We thus assigned the 13 archetypes to the five general archetype clusters of Knower, Carer, Striver, Conflictor, and Everyperson. Because we viewed certain archetypes as likely fitting in with more than one cluster, we allowed some archetypes to load on more than one factor (provided the combination was theoretically plausible). For example, the Explorer loaded mainly on the Everyperson cluster but also loaded moderately on the Knower cluster (see Table 7). This is plausible given the Explorer's drive for self-knowledge (see Table 1). This 5-factor, non-hierarchical model fit yielded a Chi-square value of  $\chi^2(52) = 160.3$  (a  $C_{\text{min}}/\text{d.f.}$  ratio of 3.08: 1), a Comparative Fit Index (CFI) of .893, and a Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) of .136. Although in absolute terms the fit is far from perfect, the 5-factor model emerged as the best model relative to the 2, 3, 4, and 6-factor models we explored. The superiority of the 5-factor model encouraged us to focus on that approach, although its modest absolute fit provided a caution that the exact number and content of the factors explored here may be subject to modification by future studies.

### 8.2.3. Reliability of individuals' archetype responses

Inter-item reliabilities for the RCAS also are listed in Table 7. Each final reliability for each archetype in the RCAS was calculated from two music resonances, two movie resonances, and two art resonances (with the exception of the Hero, which included a third art item and only one music item). The alpha coefficients for the individual archetypes of the RCAS were between .38 and .78. For the most part, these are satisfactory for this sort of brief-scale exploratory measure, which draws upon many disparate media examples of each archetype. Alpha coefficients also were calculated for the five archetype clusters of the RCAS, ranging from .74 to .88 (see Table 7). The grouping of archetypes led to greatly improved inter-item reliabilities among the individual scales in the RCAS.

These RCAS overall reliabilities may be somewhat lower than what might otherwise have been the case if only a single form of media (e.g., movies) had been employed. This would occur if people's overall resonance levels varied appreciably across media. Indeed, people's average raw scores were slightly higher for movies than they were for music or art (the Striver archetypes were the lone exception; their art stimuli garnered the highest raw scores). To address the significance of these differences, then, we ran a repeated measures ANOVA and confirmed a main effect for media type,  $F(2, 226) = 71.89$ ,  $p < .001$ , as well as a media-archetype interaction,  $F(24, 2712) = 69.02$ ,  $p < .001$ .

We then re-estimated the reliabilities for each archetype by conducting a participant (125)  $\times$  media (3)  $\times$  item (2) ANOVA for each single archetype and then estimating their reliabilities using the intraclass correlation formula  $(MS_{\text{part}} - MS_{\text{error}})/MS_{\text{part}}$  (e.g., King, 2004). Using this method, we successfully obtained reliabilities equivalent to the initial alphas. The ANOVA approach to reliability has the advantage, in this context, of allowing us to test whether our reliabilities might be higher if we had studied participant responses to just one media type at a time. To pursue this question, we partialled out the main effect of variance due to media type—as well as the item  $\times$  media and participant  $\times$  media interactions—for each archetype and archetype cluster, and then recalculated the intraclass correlations. (These interactions were almost always significant: for example, the Outlaw's item  $\times$  media interaction was  $F[2, 370] = 504.68$ ,  $p < .001$ , and its participant  $\times$  media interaction was  $F[247, 370] = 1.25$ ,  $p = .026$ .)

The resulting reliability estimate (with the media main effect and two interactions removed from the error term) yielded marginally higher reliabilities for the individual archetypes in several

<sup>2</sup> Recall that in Study 1, for each item, there were up to 100 nominations possible (one from each participant) for a given stimulus, in any of the 13 archetype categories. These categories became 13 columns in the data matrix for Study 1. This meant that once we knew the nominations assigned to any 12 categories, the number assigned to the 13th category was determined (excepting cases of missing data). That is, the number of linearly independent vectors—the rank of the matrix—was  $N - 1$ . As such, the determinant could not be calculated, and the matrix was singular (Searle, 1982). Consequently, standard CFA was not applicable for Study 1.

**Table 6**  
Study 2: Participant endorsement descriptives for individual archetypes (organized by average frequency of use;  $N = 125$ ).

Archetype	RCAS resonance (scale range: 0–90)			PMAI (scale range: 6–30)			Self-judged archetype similarity (scale range: 1–7)			Average rank
	M	SD	Rank	M	SD	Rank	M	SD	Rank	
Jester	65.10	(8.63)	1	25.02	(3.00)	1	4.46	(1.71)	3	1.33
Caregiver	58.39	(11.12)	7	22.40	(3.76)	4	5.20	(1.35)	1	4.00
Sage	60.42	(10.39)	5	22.50	(2.73)	2	4.22	(1.53)	5	4.00
Explorer	60.65	(8.64)	4	21.03	(2.78)	8	4.38	(1.62)	4	5.33
Ruler	58.58	(10.73)	6	22.47	(3.34)	3	3.58	(1.73)	8	5.67
Lover	56.40	(10.89)	11	22.09	(3.75)	5	4.93	(1.57)	2	6.00
Hero	62.94	(9.57)	2	21.60	(3.93)	7	3.23	(1.61)	10	6.33
Creator	53.69	(12.51)	12	22.11	(3.65)	6	4.00	(1.75)	6	8.00
Outlaw	61.42	(10.61)	3	18.65	(4.40)	11	2.91	(1.77)	12	8.67
Innocent	57.21	(11.99)	8	18.66	(3.39)	10	3.37	(1.71)	9	9.00
Everyman/Everywoman	57.17	(7.59)	9	17.09	(3.99)	13	3.96	(1.63)	7	9.67
Magician	56.51	(9.58)	10	19.07	(2.87)	9	3.16	(1.69)	11	10.00
Shadow	43.63	(13.64)	13	17.83	(4.27)	12	1.90	(1.31)	13	12.67

instances (Table 7, last column), indicating that using different media had lowered the reliabilities originally reported. The effect was somewhat less pronounced for the archetype clusters, perhaps because they contained stimuli that were already diverse.

#### 8.2.4. Observed gender differences in archetype scores

The means for resonance to the Knower, Carer, Striver, Conflictor, and Everyperson clusters on the RCAS were, respectively,  $M = 170.66, 171.80, 121.56, 104.86,$  and  $182.72$ ; their standard deviations were, respectively,  $SD = 28.57, 31.00, 18.45, 20.45,$  and  $20.95$ . In our construction of the RCAS, we attempted to balance the items so that the archetypes would be equally represented by both genders (i.e., by including items featuring male caregivers, female heroes, etc.). As predicted by social role theory, though, some notable gender differences were nonetheless found in the archetype score means, for both individual archetypes and for the grouped clusters suggested by the factor analyses. Male participants scored significantly higher than female participants on the Striver cluster of archetypes across all three measures,  $t_{RCAS}(122) = 4.88, p < .001$ ;  $t_{PMAI}(122) = 2.48, p = .014$ ;  $t_{Self}(123) = 3.12, p = .002$ . Men also scored more highly on the Conflictor cluster of archetypes, though in this case the significant score differences were confined to the RCAS,  $t(120) = 5.55; p < .001$ . Contrastingly, women's scores on the Carer cluster of archetypes were significantly higher than men's for both the RCAS,  $t(118) = 7.95, p < .001$ , and the PMAI,  $t(120) = 2.71, p = .008$ . Finally, archetypes classified as Knower and Everyperson offered no clear-cut gender differences.

Individually across the three measures, the hypotheses that men would score more highly on the Ruler and Outlaw and women more highly on the Caregiver and Lover were supported, though some observed differences were somewhat unforeseen (for example, men mainly scored higher on the Hero than did women). Additionally, and somewhat curiously, the expected gender differences in scores for the Jester and the Innocent were seen only in the RCAS, and although these differences were significant in both cases, they were not replicated in the other two measures.

#### 8.2.5. Relation of the RCAS to other archetype measures

We expected that people's dominant archetypes would correlate moderately across the RCAS, the PMAI, and the archetype similarity self-judgments—three scales which measure similar constructs but allow participants to utilize different response paradigms and somewhat varied interpretations of the archetypes. For example, an individual's resonance score on the RCAS Magician scale was expected to correlate more highly with his or her scores on the PMAI Magician scale than with his or her scores on the PMAI Ruler scale.

This turned out to be the case, generally speaking: resonance scores on the individual RCAS archetype scales correlated moderately with scores on their corresponding archetype scales across measures while their correlations with non-corresponding archetype scales were lower. For the PMAI, the mean correlation for corresponding archetypes on the RCAS was  $r = .27$  and the mean correlation for non-corresponding archetypes was  $r = .08, t(12) = 2.88, p = .013$ . Likewise, for self-judged archetype similarity, the mean correlation with corresponding RCAS scales was  $r = .33$  and the mean correlation for non-corresponding scales was  $r = .13, t(17) = 4.20, p = .001$ .

We also computed correlations for RCAS cluster scores as compared to matching and non-matching clusters on the other two measures. Grouping the archetypes was found to improve, by and large, the correspondence between measures. More specifically, the correlations of the RCAS clusters with their equivalent PMAI clusters ranged from  $r = .41$  (for the Knower) to  $r = -.04$  (for the Everyperson—the only cluster below  $r = .27$ ), and the

**Table 7**  
Study 2: Estimated factor loadings of the confirmatory factor analysis for RCAS archetypes and clusters and their reliabilities.

Cluster and component archetypes	RCAS Factor Loadings					Reliability Estimates	
	I: Knower	II: Carer	III: Striver	IV: Conflictor	V: Everyperson	Alpha	Corrected $r_{intra}$
Cluster I: Knower						<b>.85</b>	<b>.85</b>
Creator	.58	.31				.74	.83
Magician	.76					.50	.49
Sage	.84					.61	.67
Cluster II: Carer						<b>.88</b>	<b>.88</b>
Caregiver		.91				.72	.76
Innocent		.94				.74	.73
Lover		.81				.63	.61
Cluster III: Striver						<b>.77</b>	<b>.78</b>
Hero		.45	.79			.65	.66
Ruler			.93			.57	.63
Cluster IV: Conflictor						<b>.79</b>	<b>.83</b>
Outlaw				.87		.69	.71
Shadow			.75	.67	-.65	.78	.81
Cluster V: Everyperson						<b>.74</b>	<b>.74</b>
Everyman/Everywoman		.64			.51	.38	.36
Explorer	.31				.60	.41	.41
Jester					.81	.46	.50

Note: Order of factors is based on exploratory five-factor solutions from Studies 1 and 2. "Corrected  $r_{intra}$ " column indicates reliabilities when controlling for media effects, as estimated by intraclass correlation.

correlations for corresponding clusters on self-judged similarity ranged from  $r = .47$  to  $r = .20$  (again, for the Knower and Everyperson, respectively).

#### 8.2.6. Relation of archetype clusters to entertainment preferences

Factor analyses of the Entertainment Preferences Questionnaire (EntPQ; Rentfrow, 2004) generally yield similar factors across studies (P. J. Rentfrow, personal communication, April 27, 2006). In our principal components analysis (with varimax rotation), we found nine identifiable factors, including: (I) Artful and Cultured, which incorporated preferences for many kinds of art as well as architecture and photography books; (II) Romance and Drama, which included romantic, fashion, entertainment, and health pursuits; (III) Relaxed and Studious, which included preferences for blues and jazz music, documentary and independent films, and philosophy books; and (IV) Action and Comedy, which contained tastes for humor, action/adventure, thrillers, and sports. The nine identifiable EntPQ factors (Factor VIII was found to be unidentifiable in this analysis) were found, when rotated, to constitute 57.6% of the variance in scores on the scale.

Comparing the individual RCAS archetypes and global archetype clusters with the EntPQ factors revealed some robust zero-order correlations of the EntPQ with the RCAS (see Table 8), possibly because of the media basis of both measures. Notably, the RCAS Knower archetypes correlated  $r(70) = .70$ ,  $p < .001$  and  $r(63) = .75$ ,  $p < .001$  with the EntPQ Artful and Cultured and Relaxed and Studious factors (respectively). The Carer cluster correlated with the EntPQ Romance and Drama factor,  $r(115) = .68$ ,  $p < .001$ . RCAS Conflictor archetypes also were predictive of preferences along the Dark and Excitatory factor of the EntPQ,  $r(88) = .58$ ,  $p < .001$ , and the Striver cluster correlated  $r(108) = .50$ ,  $p < .001$  with the Solitary factor of the EntPQ.

The RCAS clusters thus individually predicted several of the EntPQ factors through simple correlations. We next attempted to assess the discriminant validity of the RCAS clusters relative to one another. To do this, we ran five hierarchical regressions for each of the nine identifiable EntPQ factors, with four non-targeted RCAS clusters in the first step and the remaining cluster-of-interest in the second step. These analyses tested whether the isolated cluster significantly added to the prediction of that EntPQ Factor. The results of these regressions supported our hypothesis that the RCAS

clusters are somewhat independent of one another (see Table 8). For example, participant resonance scores on the Carer cluster contributed significantly over and above the other four clusters on the EntPQ Romance and Drama factor,  $F_{change}(1, 105) = 65.62$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $R^2_{inc} = .31$ , as well as the Religious factor,  $F_{change}(1, 100) = 17.50$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $R^2_{inc} = .14$ . Other individual RCAS clusters likewise predicted significantly over the other four on various EntPQ factors (see  $R^2_{inc}$  values in Table 8), thus supporting the discriminant validity and independence of the five RCAS factors.

#### 8.2.7. Relation of the archetypes with personality traits

We also correlated participants' scores on the RCAS with their scores on the Goldberg (1992) Big Five personality markers (Table 8, lower portion). As with the EntPQ, we performed a set of hierarchical regressions in order to assess the individual contribution of each RCAS cluster to each of the Big Five factors (this time using the Big Five factors as single dependent variables). Again, to predict the separate contribution of each archetype cluster to each Big Five trait, four RCAS clusters were entered in the first step, and the target cluster was entered in the second step. As expected, resonance scores on the archetypes of the Knower contributed heavily (over and above the other four clusters) to the variance in Openness, and the archetypes of the Conflictor played a large part in predicting (low) scores on Conscientiousness. Most other RCAS clusters, however, displayed only modest predictive power at best at explaining variance in Big Five scores: for example, the only individual cluster that added significant prediction to Extraversion scores was the Everyperson,  $F_{change}(1, 105) = 4.86$ ,  $p = .030$ ,  $R^2_{inc} = .04$ , and even including this, the total variation in Extraversion predicted by the five RCAS clusters was not significant,  $F(5, 105) = 1.91$ ,  $ns$ . This lends further support to the notion that the resonance construct is relatively independent of the Big Five personality traits.

One additional finding, in regard to the global cluster-level patterns shown in Table 8, was that many individual archetype-to-trait predictions were consistent with the nature of the specific archetypes. Some of these results indicate that (a) people dominated by the Jester show high Extraversion but low Conscientiousness, (b) those resonating to the Creator and the Sage display high levels of Openness, (c) people loading on the Outlaw show low Conscientiousness, and (d) people high on aspects of the Shadow

**Table 8**  
Study 2: Discriminant validity of RCAS clusters in predicting the EntPQ and Big Five Factors (With incremental predictions [ $R^2_{inc}$ ] of each cluster).

Dependent factor	RCAS Cluster				
	Knower $r$ ( $R^2_{inc}$ )	Carer $r$ ( $R^2_{inc}$ )	Striver $r$ ( $R^2_{inc}$ )	Conflictor $r$ ( $R^2_{inc}$ )	Everyperson $r$ ( $R^2_{inc}$ )
<i>EntPQ</i>					
I: Artful & Cultured	.70*** (.08**)	.58*** (.06**)	.38** (.01)	.30* (.00)	.27* (.04')
II: Romance & Drama	.16 (.02')	.68*** (.31***)	-.04 (.01)	-.13 (.00)	.22* (.01)
III: Relaxed & Studious	.75*** (.10**)	.58*** (.03')	.31* (.03')	.48*** (.04')	.37** (.00)
IV: Action & Comedy	.18 (.00)	-.24* (.04')	.44*** (.06**)	.36*** (.01)	.26** (.00)
V: Dark & Excitatory	.34** (.01)	-.23* (.03')	.33** (.00)	.58*** (.16***)	.08 (.03')
VI: Solitary	.23* (.02)	-.10 (.00)	.50*** (.03')	.54*** (.06**)	.42** (.01)
VII: Religious	-.06 (.03)	.35*** (.14***)	-.11 (.01)	-.27** (.01)	-.07 (.01)
IX: Childlike	.27** (.01)	.13 (.00)	.19* (.00)	.17 (.00)	.25** (.01)
X: Classic & Historic	.28** (.01)	.22* (.02)	.38*** (.01)	.32*** (.01)	.43*** (.04')
<i>Big Five</i>					
Extraversion	-.01 (.01)	.17 (.01)	.03 (.00)	-.07 (.01)	.20* (.04')
Agreeableness	-.01 (.00)	.24* (.01)	-.00 (.00)	-.19* (.05')	.16 (.03)
Conscientiousness	-.09 (.02)	.14 (.00)	-.22* (.00)	-.39*** (.12***)	-.10 (.00)
Neuroticism	-.08 (.04')	.03 (.03)	-.06 (.00)	.06 (.05')	-.13 (.02)
Openness	.45*** (.16***)	.22* (.00)	.12 (.02)	.18 (.00)	.18 (.00)

Note:  $R^2_{inc}$  figures indicate specific contribution of each RCAS cluster to that dependent variable, over and above the other four clusters.

\*  $p < .05$ .  
\*\*  $p < .01$ .  
\*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

rate low in Agreeableness. Two unanticipated results were that the RCAS resonance scores showed significant and unexpected positive correlations between the Everyman/Everywoman and Extraversion, and between the Caregiver and Openness.

### 8.2.8. Incremental validity of the archetypes in predicting the EntPQ

It is possible that the RCAS's predictions detailed above were little different from what might have been obtained by using a measure of the Big Five alone as a predictor of media preferences (cf. Dollinger, 1993; Furnham & Bunyan, 1988; Hall, 2005; Rawlings, Barrantes i Vidal, & Furnham, 2000; Rawlings & Ciancarelli, 1997; Rentfrow & Gosling, 2003, 2006; Weaver, 1991). To test this hypothesis, we ran another set of nine hierarchical regressions with two steps each, again using the EntPQ factors as the dependent variables. The first block of independent variables consisted of participant scores on the Big Five (as measured by Goldberg's (1992) Big Five descriptive adjectives); for the second block, we added the 5 RCAS cluster resonance scores.

In eight of these nine regressions, the second block (the RCAS factors) led to a substantial increase in predictive power. In some instances this increase was very large indeed. For example, the Big Five factors had a non-significant prediction of scores on the Artful and Cultured factor of the EntPQ:  $F(5, 60) = 1.61$ ,  $ns$ , with  $R^2 = .12$ . However, the RCAS (the second block of predictors) increased prediction considerably,  $F_{change}(5, 55) = 13.30$ ,  $p < .001$ , with  $R^2_{inc} = .48$ , and resulted in the overall significance of the model,  $R = .78$ ,  $R^2 = .60$ ,  $R^2_{adj} = .53$ ,  $F(10, 55) = 8.28$ ,  $p < .001$ . Likewise, for the EntPQ Solitary factor, the initial Big Five predictors were not significant,  $F(5, 90) = .48$ ,  $ns$ ,  $R^2 = .03$ , but adding the RCAS fac-

tors into the regression resulted in  $F_{change}(5, 85) = 12.27$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $R^2_{inc} = .41$ , and again made the overall model significant,  $R = .66$ ,  $R^2 = .43$ ,  $R^2_{adj} = .37$ ,  $F(10, 85) = 6.52$ ,  $p < .001$ . The results of these regressions indicate that the concept of resonance to media, as measured by the RCAS, cannot adequately be explained by individual differences in Big Five personality traits, though such traits may complement certain media preference patterns.

### 8.3. Discussion of Study 2

In Study 2, certain archetypes consistently correlated highly with certain others—even across the different archetype measures and the different media of the RCAS—and factor analyses support our earlier evidence for five archetype clusters. People exhibited considerable individual variation in the archetypes to which they resonate.

The RCAS also demonstrated reliability and incremental validity in predicting patterns of media consumption and in predicting other personality dimensions. The convergence of the RCAS with the factors of the EntPQ in particular provides support for a possible archetype-based model of personal taste, molded somewhat by gender and personality traits.

These five archetype clusters may speak to a taxonomy of personal preferences in rich culture based on a discrete and finite number of well-known themes (e.g., love, violence, self-discovery). Their continuity and consistency across different archetype measures indicates that these archetypal themes may represent an individual's affective or emotional reactions to culturally universal aspects of human life and the characters—real or fictional—that one encounters across one's life who fairly embody those aspects.

## 9. General discussion

### 9.1. Summary of findings

At the outset of this paper, we argued that people establish models of themselves and the world (Mayer, 2007), and that some of these concern archetypes—that is, culturally important prototypical story characters (McAdams et al., 2004). In our neo-archetypal theory, such archetypes (a) are story characters, (b) represent mental models, (c) elicit intense emotional responses, (d) operate at an automatic or unconscious level, and (e) are culturally enduring, since they are easily learned and widely recognizable. Research in social cognition has shown that mental models such as these are indeed often processed automatically, and that they can, in fact, be quite emotionally evocative (e.g., Bargh & Chartrand, 1999; Fiske & Taylor, 1991). Furthermore, some evidence exists that archetypes and archetype-like themes can be identified through specific associations with culturally rich stimuli (Craddick et al., 1971; Huston et al., 1999; Lash & Polyson, 1987; Rosen et al., 1991); these associations can involve affective judgments as well (e.g., Maloney, 1999).

One of the main aims of this research was to develop an exploratory, reliable measure of archetypal preferences using rich culture media. Study 1 showed that people could indeed recognize and categorize archetypes in RCS and that such a measure could in fact be constructed. The Rich Culture Archetype Scale was created using 83 RCS items that were the most clearly representative of the specific archetypes. Following this, Study 2 demonstrated, first, that we resonate differently to examples of different archetypes—that is, people react to archetypal RCS with varying levels of interest and liking. Second, the different archetypes cluster reliably based on people's resonance to various rich culture stimuli. Third, scores on these archetype scales and clusters predict fairly well patterns of people's personal preferences in rich cultural media; essentially, people tend to gravitate consistently towards some archetypes, no matter what the media, though how aware they are of this is uncertain. Finally, these archetypal resonances in personality are relatively distinct from things like gender and the Big Five traits; the RCAS clearly measures manifestations of personality beyond these constructs (see Table 8).

### 9.2. Future directions and limitations

Such findings offer surprising new evidence for the possible existence of dominant archetypal themes in our lives. These themes appear to run the gamut (for example) from the Carer, who enjoys romance movies and fashion books, and is agreeable and accommodating, to the Striver, who enjoys action movies, sports television, and books about espionage, and may be outgoing yet low on Conscientiousness. Such themes may also plumb the sometimes-hurtful depths of the Conflictor, who enjoys hardcore and (heavy) metal music, and horror movies, and is low in Agreeableness.

Archetypal life themes may be used not only to predict personal preferences, but also how we interact socially with others through our interests, and how we identify with archetypal characters. For example, by identifying with a particular archetype, the individual has an automatically-created support group for his or her tastes, since the archetypes unify their constituents with common interests. That is, people exhibiting the general life themes of the Shadow may show high interest in the Dark and Excitatory factor of the EntPQ, preferring horror movies and books, and hardcore and industrial music, and join with one another on that basis.

Understanding a person's archetypal life themes may be useful in planning targeted communications toward the individual, from artwork to public health messages to more prosaic forms of advertising. Organizations from non-profits to movie studios could potentially communicate more effectively if they identified reso-

nance patterns in their target audiences. Returning to personality, understanding the archetypes to which an individual resonates may form an adjunct aspect of assessment, perhaps having applications in understanding personality disorders (might those with antisocial disorders resonate to the Conflictor, for example?).

Still, further research will be needed to better understand the concept. The cross-cultural validity of the RCAS is unknown at present, and although this type of media-based personality exploration is especially relevant to college student populations (as these are among the most voracious consumers of rich culture media), more diverse samples are needed to fully assess the scale's utility for determining the resonance of, for example, non-native English speakers or people from other cultures. Moreover, rich cultural tastes often vary from generation to generation (and even across geographic locations), and cohort effects are possible.

### 9.3. Implications and concluding comments

We have provided evidence that archetypes, as defined within our neo-archetypal approach, are a potentially important form of mental model (and thus, are an important component of personality; Andersen & Cole, 1990; Markus & Nurius, 1986). These archetypes are influential in people's lives and can reveal information about them, be they self-reported life themes or projected through resonance to rich cultural stimuli. Our initial version of a unique and unobtrusive measure of personality, the Rich Culture Archetype Scale, may be used to develop these ideas in further research on personal preferences and personality in general. The tendency of some of these archetypes to correlate across different media and with some personality traits suggests that archetypal influences on thinking may be widespread, and may well extend to people's social and personal identities, in addition to their personal media tastes as demonstrated here.

A culture's cohesive body of interconnected stories, with its popular and repeating characters, is known as its *mythos*; it is especially enduring as told through folklore and the arts. As rich culture continues to be produced at an astonishing rate, it is likely that contemporary examples of archetypes will continue to evolve in music, movies, art, and other media. Understanding such models may be useful to understanding an individual's personality, and his or her preferences and dislikes. Such research on how we resonate to story characters can help us appreciate the significance of *mythos* in all our lives.

## Acknowledgments

The authors are grateful to Laura A. King, Richard E. Lucas, Victor Benassi, David Pillemer, Rebecca Warner, and three anonymous reviewers who commented thoughtfully and helpfully on earlier drafts of this manuscript. We also thank Erin Goforth, Rachel Rogers, and Stephen Underwood for their help in coming up with archetypal items for the media pool in Study 1.

## Appendix A

Final selected music items used in the RCAS (Study 2).

RCAS item number	Song title	Song artist	Time	Archetype played represented
1	"In the Light"	Led Zeppelin	(5:53–6:13)	Sage
2	"Luxurious"	Gwen Stefani	(1:43–2:03)	Lover

Appendix A. (continued)

RCAS item number	Song title	Song artist	Time played	Archetype represented
3	“Master of Puppets”	Metallica	(2:37–2:57)	Ruler
4	“You’ve Got a Friend”	James Taylor	(1:11–1:31)	Caregiver
5	“The Joker”	Steve Miller Band	(2:05–2:25)	Jester
6	“Ain’t That America”	John Cougar Mellencamp	(1:47–2:07)	Everyman/Everywoman
7	“Take Five”	Dave Brubeck	(0:19–0:39)	Creator
8	“Mr. Self Destruct”	Nine Inch Nails	(2:46–3:06)	Shadow
9	“Here I Go Again”	Whitesnake	(0:19–0:39)	Explorer
10	“Crazy Train”	Ozzy Osbourne	(1:43–2:03)	Outlaw
11	“We Are the Champions”	Queen	(1:29–1:49)	Hero
12	“The Man Who Loved the Earth”	Peter Gabriel	(0:47–1:07)	Magician
13	“Breakaway”	Kelly Clarkson	(0:17–0:37)	Innocent
14	“God Save the Queen”	The Sex Pistols	(0:17–0:37)	Outlaw
15	“Strokin”	Clarence Carter	(3:48–4:08)	Lover
16	“Angel of Death”	Slayer	(0:47–1:07)	Shadow
17	“Paranoid Android”	Radiohead	(1:25–1:45)	Sage
18	“The Four Seasons: Spring”	Vivaldi	(0:00–0:20)	Creator
19	“Tear the Roof Off”	George Clinton & Parliament Funkadelic	(0:27–0:47)	Jester
20	“Walk On”	U2	(1:04–1:24)	Hero
21	“Learning to Fly”	Pink Floyd	(1:43–2:03)	Magician
22	“A Boy Named Sue”	Johnny Cash	(1:04–1:24)	Explorer
23	“I Want to Thank You”	Natalie Merchant	(1:09–1:29)	Caregiver
24	“It’s Oh So Quiet”	Bjork	(2:31–2:51)	Innocent
25	“Hustla’s Ambition”	50 Cent	(0:41–1:01)	Ruler
26	“The Dying Miner”	Woody Guthrie	(0:03–0:23)	Everyman/Everywoman

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