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Amidst a culture of noise silence is still golden : a sociocultural historical analysis of the pathologization of introversion

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ABSTRACT

This theoretical thesis explores the phenomenon of introversion, how it has come to be perceived over time in both the United States and various other countries and cultures, and why. This paper seeks to understand how and why the United States has come to value extroverted personality characteristics over introverted ones, and attempts to discover the creation of this value system through a historical analysis of the creation of the definition and meaning of both introversion and extroversion. This thesis utilizes an extensive review of the literature rooted in psychoanalytic theory in order to trace the creation of the definition and meaning of introversion and also locates what this means for introverts navigating the broader societal landscape from this phenomenon's origin to present day in the United States. In addition, through the lens of sociocultural theory, this paper explores other countries and cultures, specifically Finland and India, to realize alternative ways of perceiving introversion. It also attempts to understand greater society in both Finland and India throughout history to help appreciate why introversion may be perceived differently in countries other than the United States. Through this sociocultural historical analysis of the phenomenon of introversion, this theoretical thesis discusses implications for social work practice and offers ideas as to why altering society's perception of introversion in the United States is both necessary and meaningful.

AMIDST A CULTURE OF NOISE SILENCE IS STILL GOLDEN:

A SOCIOCULTURAL HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE PATHOLOGIZATION OF

INTROVERSION

A project based upon an independent investigation,
submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Social Work.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to explore how introversion has come to be perceived over time, how and why the United States has come to value extroverted personality characteristics and how this compares to values in other cultures.

This is a theoretical thesis in which data was collected from published sources. I became interested in this topic partly due to my own experience of possessing many introverted qualities, and partly because over the course of my two summers at Smith College School for Social Work, I began noticing a dominant structure for interaction within the classroom setting. This led me to consider how this setting might represent larger society as a whole. The findings of this study are expected to contribute to greater understanding of the phenomenon of introversion and its implications for clinical social work practice.

The Issue: Introversion and Extroversion

Definition and Description

Introversion and extroversion are both terms introduced into psychology by Carl Jung (Jung, 1910) to identify opposite personality types. Jung felt that extroverts saw the outside world as their primary source for gathering energy and meaning, and that introverts tended to direct their efforts inward, interested in their own thoughts, imagination, and internal world to achieve the same result. In order to thrive, those with extroverted personality types tended to feel best being surrounded by people, whereas those with introverted personality types preferred time alone in order to achieve the same sense of wellness. Where an extrovert may feel recharged sharing information about themselves in a group setting, an introvert would achieve the same rejuvenated feeling after time alone to reflect on one's own thoughts.

One constant, in a review of the literature for the definition and description of both introversion and extroversion, is the idea that the two groups obtain their energy from different sources. Arbetter (1991) states that:

> Introverts draw their strength from within themselves. They need privacy and time to be alone. Being with lots of people is emotionally draining for them. Extroverts, on the other hand, are outgoing people who draw energy from others. Being with a crowd of people even at the end of the day does not tire them out; it recharges their energy (p. 20).

This concept, where one draws energy, is also made apparent by Mudore (2002), "Extroverts get their energy from people and are renewed by being around others. Introverts get their batteries charged from the inner world of ideas and enjoy being alone" (p. 17).

Another common description found in the literature is that of preference. Introverts often prefer a few deep and meaningful relationships, whereas extroverts enjoy multiple, more surface relationships. Introverts might find it most enjoyable to stay home with a good book, whereas extroverts opt to attend a social gathering for fun. Extroverts are more focused on action when introverts might tend toward reflection. In a classroom setting, extroverts tend to prefer group work, brainstorming, and classroom discussion, when introverts tend toward lecture and individual assignments. Extroverts appreciate social banter and small-talk where introverts elect deep discussion. Extroverts like to talk rather than listen and sometimes do their thinking out loud. Introverts prefer to do their thinking in private and often enjoy listening as opposed to talking. Introverts may be drawn to individual activities such as musical instruments or tennis whereas extroverts will be drawn to activities like team sports. Extroverts tend to survey the outside world to confirm their ideas, to ensure self-esteem, and to receive information about themselves. Introverts typically develop their own ideas and opinions internally (Pannapacker, 2012; Arbetter, 1991; Mudore, 2002).

How do People become Introverts or Extroverts

Benziger (2005) writes, "So much has been discovered in the past ten years that it is now possible to be relatively certain about the physiological bases for the personality characteristics Dr. Jung identified as introversion and extraversion" (p. 25). The primary biological component that is understood to contribute to an individual becoming introverted versus extroverted is rooted in the reticular activating system of the brain (Benziger, 2005, p. 25). Eysenck (1979) describes the function of the reticular activating system in relation to introversion/extroversion:

> This is the system that monitors incoming neural impulses resulting from environmental stimulation that either stimulates (excites) or inhibits responses of higher brain centers to the stimulation; the system thus controls the arousal level of the cortex of the brain. Extraverts and introverts are held to differ in the relative strength of the opposing processes of excitation and inhibition such that introverts typically have higher levels of cortisol arousal compared with extraverts (Morris, 1979, p. 9).

Benziger (2005) also points to the brain's natural levels of arousal as being one of the primary components of an individual being introverted or extroverted. Extroverts have a naturally low level of arousal, while introverts possess a naturally higher level. This results in extroverts seeking higher levels of external stimulation in order to achieve a comfortable level of arousal, while introverts will become overwhelmed by the same level of external stimulation (Benziger, 2005, p. 26). Benziger (2005) provides some examples of the ways in which both extroverts and introverts will naturally seek to achieve levels of arousal that feel comfortable to them:

> Typical ways in which the extravert seeks stimulation include: trying to influence or control his or her environment; confronting others; engaging in competition; attending crowded parties of events 'where the action is'…typical ways in which the introvert seeks to control the level of stimulation include: spending time reading, reflecting or otherwise alone; competing mostly with oneself or self image; going to small parties or out of the way places (p. 27-28).

Gallagher (1994) confirms, more broadly, that with the advances in science in understanding personality there is certainly a biological component, "it now seems clear (personalities) are inborn and resistant to change" (p. 38). Gallagher (1994) points to various studies over time, one in particular by Kagan in which both identical and fraternal twins, who were raised either together or separately from birth, displayed very few differences in personality. Gallagher (1994) concludes, "evidence from twin studies and his subjects' family histories has convinced Kagan that the inhibited and uninhibited natures begin with genes" (p. 44).

This scientific, biological basis for describing how one becomes introverted or extroverted is not the view of all researchers of this topic, especially those from an earlier time. Siegelman (1968) suggests that there are also developmental aspects that contribute to whether an individual becomes introverted or extroverted. He points to three in particular which include: early parent-child relations, sibling position, and heredity (p. 85, 87, 88). Siegelman (1968) writes, "The most widely supported association is that accepting, loving, positive parents frequently have extroverted children, while rejecting, cold, negative mothers and fathers tend to have introverted sons and daughters" (p. 85).

The Problem

The problem is that even though science tells us otherwise, society has come to view positive, healthy personality traits linked to extroverts and negative, pathological traits linked to introverts. Since almost half of the U.S population are considered introverts (Cain, 2012), this view of introversion is clearly problematic as it stigmatizes those that possess introverted characteristics as "less desirable", "not normal" or even "pathological", and suggest they must be changed or fixed somehow.

Perception

The Extrovert Ideal, according to Cain (2012):

Is the omnipresent belief that the ideal self is gregarious, alpha, and comfortable in the spotlight. The archetypal extrovert prefers action to contemplation, risk-taking to heed-talking, certainty to doubt. He favors quick decisions, even at the risk of being wrong. She works well in teams and socializes in groups (p. 4).

Cain (2012) goes on to describe the fact that the United States is considered the most extroverted country in the world in which room for various personality types is actually quite limited, "we're told that to be great is to be bold, to be happy is to be sociable" (p. 3). The ideal personality type, the characteristics considered to be most desirable, are those that are directly in line with the definition of what it is to be extroverted. Characteristics such as outgoing, life of the party, feels at ease in any social situation, a go-getter, on the move, has lots of friends, and exudes confidence in a crowded room.   Rauch (2003) offers, "In our extrovertist society, being outgoing is considered normal and therefore desirable, a mark of happiness, confidence, leadership" (p. 134). Cain (2012) writes, "Talkative people are rated as smarter, better-looking, more interesting, and more desirable as friends…the same dynamics apply in groups, where research shows that the voluble are considered smarter than the reticent- even though there's zero correlation between the gift of gab and good ideas" (p. 4-5).

Thus, if these extroverted characteristics are perceived to be ideal, where does that leave introverts? Cain (2012) writes, "Introversion- along with its cousins sensitivity, seriousness, and shyness- is now a second-class personality trait, somewhere between a disappointment and a pathology. Introverts living under the Extrovert Ideal are like women in a man's world, discounted because of a trait that goes to the core of who they are" (p. 4). Rauch (2003) agrees with this perception, "Introverts may be common, but they are also among the most misunderstood and aggrieved groups in America, possibly the world" (p. 133). Rauch (2003) states that introverts are described with words like "guarded, loner, reserved, taciturn, self-

contained, private- narrow, ungenerous words that suggest emotional parsimony and smallness of personality" (p. 134). As Cain (2012) points out, introverts are often linked directly with shyness. These two terms are observed as being negative aspects of one's personality that require fixing or treating. Scott (2006) describes this perception, "shyness has become an 'unhealthy' state of mind for individuals living in contemporary Western societies. Insofar as its behavioral 'symptoms' imply a failure to achieve certain cultural values, such as assertiveness, self-expression and loquacious vocality, shyness is increasingly defined as a problem for which people can, and should, be treated" (p. 133).

Introverts pretend to be extroverts

There is so much pressure in the United States to live up to certain standards that often, even unknowingly, introverts attempt to mold themselves in to individuals who possess extroverted personality characteristics because that's what we've all been told will help us achieve success, happiness, wealth, and popularity. Thus, individuals who should truly feel at ease to embrace their introversion, are made to feel as if they are unequal to those who are more extroverted. And who can blame them? If teachers perceive intelligence to be defined by the most talkative members in class, and employers favor the folks that can deliver a stellar presentation, it seems as though the only way to "win" is to take on traits that feel foreign and unfamiliar to half of the population. Lane (2003) writes:

> This emphasis (on extroversion) has transformed our expectations of the individual in society so dramatically that we now tend to believe that active membership in community activities, the cultivation of social skills (becoming a "people person"), and the development of group consciousness are natural, universal, and obligatory aims. We think the adjustment should be painless rather than a cause of unease and, sometimes, even of profound discontent. We tend, moreover to attach such import to the attainment of these goals that psychiatrists are now licensed to regard as ill those manifesting even vaguely ungregarious behavior (p. 208).

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United States society values extroverts over introverts

We live in a society in which its very core set of values seem to favor only one half of the entire population. We are a nation that bases decisions on who can present an idea the best, not on who comes up with the best idea. From a very young age it is implicitly embedded in our psyche that to be extroverted is to be the best. One look at big business, politics, and the obsession with popular culture and this is abundantly clear. It's not typically the smartest voice that is rewarded, it's the loudest. It's not the one with the best ideas, it is the one with the best personality, the most entertaining, or the most skilled at influencing others. Rauch (2003) believes that, "Extroverts are overrepresented in politics, a profession in which only the garrulous are really comfortable…with their endless appetite for talk and attention, extroverts also dominate social life, so they tend to set expectations" (p. 134).

Introversion as a mental illness

In considering what to include in the DSM III, one of the lead members of the diagnostic committee, Robert Spitzer, who some argue may be the most influential psychiatrist of the twentieth century, considered to near approval, creating a diagnostic category for "introverted personality disorder". Thankfully, he received so much backlash from the mental health community as a whole that this category did not get approved. Spitzer did receive approval for both "social phobia" and "avoidant personality disorder" (Lane, 2007, p.3). Lane (2007) refers to this time frame and the release of the third edition of the DSM, "In this five-hundred page volume, the bible of psychiatrists the world over, the introverted individual morphed into the mildly psychotic person whose symptoms included being aloof, being dull, and simply 'being alone'" (p. 3).

Although "introverted personality disorder" did not make the DSM-III, the discussion

regarding its inclusion has never been completely laid to rest. As recent as 2008, an article

appeared in the *Psychiatry Bulletin* asking that the community reconsider a spot in the DSM-V

for introversion (Steadman, 2008).

Social phobia named the "disorder of the decade"

In July of 1993, *Psychology Today* came out with an article called "Disorder of the

decade: what happens when the mere thought of talking to a stranger is terrifying?" This article,

along with others, suggested that if an individual did not meet certain criteria for being outgoing

enough, it was a diagnosable offense and one that could be "cured" through treatment and

medication, "For those brave enough to come forward, treatment does exist. In behavioral

therapy, participants identify self-destructive thinking patterns, compare notes with fellow

sufferers, and role-play uncomfortable situations, such as cocktail parties, that force them to

face- and ultimately master- the initial stages of anxiety they feel in real life" (Psychology Today,

1993, p. 23).

From its initial appearance in the DSM in 1980, when social phobia was officially

categorized as a psychiatric disorder, normal emotional states such as shyness and sensitivity

became indicators of a possible defect in brain chemistry. So much so, that soon after "Disorder

of the Decade" hit newsstands everywhere, estimates indicated that the percentage of the U.S.

population suffering from this illness ballooned from 3.7 percent to 18.7 percent (Lane, 2007, p.

5). This resulted in social phobia claiming its third place title as, "the third-most-common

psychiatry disorder, behind only depressive disorder and alcohol dependence" (Lane, 2007, p.5).

Medication

With the upsurge in diagnoses like social phobia and antisocial personality disorder, so too came the pharmaceutical companies and their cures in the form of various little pills. Barry Wolfe, of the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) is referenced in "Disorder of the Decade" and recommends a combination of drug and cognitive therapy to assist those effected by "one of the worst neglected disorders of our time…drugs such as the betablocker propranolol, phenelizine, and the antidepressant Prozac (help) alleviate symptoms" (Psychology Today, 1993, p.23). Anti-anxiety medication, sleeping pills, and anti-depressants are the three most commonly prescribed mental health medications in current times, Scott (2003) suggests that, "In a culture obsessed with self-expression and communication, it is perhaps not surprising that more and more people can identify with some experience of shyness, and it is even less surprising that they should interpret this as a 'problem' to be solved as quickly as possible (via some form of medication)" (p. 139).

Importance to the profession of social work

This topic is important to the field of social work in two main areas. The first being the ways in which this phenomenon impacts both clinicians as well as those individuals accessing mental health services, and the second being the impact on professional social work education.

Impact on Clinicians and individuals accessing mental health services

The impact on individuals seeking treatment can manifest in multiple ways. Often individuals who are naturally introverted take on extroverted characteristics in order to meet societal norms and expectations (Cain, 2012). This may be a decision that is completely or at least partially unconscious. This may lead to a variety of mental health concerns such as

substance abuse, being labeled with various mental illnesses, being prescribed unnecessary medications, impacting self esteem, relationships, and developing a false sense of self.

Individuals who are naturally introverted may be inaccurately diagnosed with mental illnesses such as depression or anxiety because they do not enjoy being in certain social situations or feel out of their element speaking in front of a large group. If these characteristics are seen as problematic, inhibiting an individual from completing what are thought to be typical daily tasks in an extroverted society, this may lead introverted people to take on disorders in a situation where there is in fact nothing abnormal about them.

Inaccurate diagnosis can have the potential to lead individuals accessing mental health services astray. If consumers are told by mental health professionals, people in the field that they are supposed to trust, that there is something wrong with the way in which they are behaving, this has the powerful ability to impact the way in which they operate day to day. They may attempt to alter natural introverted characteristics in order to help "cure" themselves of their illness.

Many of the treatment modalities used in the field of social work are developed with the idea that those who are introverted demonstrate improvement or positive responses to treatment if and when they begin to take on more extroverted characteristics. It is possible that clinicians may be looking for signs of improvement based on the extroverted ideal that has been embedded in all of us.

Individuals may present with symptoms such as low self-esteem, depression, or anxiety because they are introverts attempting to navigate an extroverted world and this has them feeling really low about themselves. If it is seen as the norm to be extroverted, some folks may not understand why those characteristics do not come naturally to them or why they feel so

uncomfortable in certain situations. Attempting to be someone that they are not can be unattainable or uncomfortable, thus resulting in feelings of inadequacy. If clinicians agree that these particular individuals do need to adjust their behavior to become more extroverted, and label them as mentally ill, this only furthers the vicious cycle.

Impact on Social Work Education

Various academic social work institutions throughout the country accommodate the extroverted student over the introverted one. Students are encouraged to participate in large group discussions and those who are confident in this role are often seen as the smarter, better student. If these are the students receiving the attention and praise of their professors as well as other members of the academic community, it is often those students who are positively reinforced as being valued members of the field.

It is often the quiet, introverted students that are put on the spot when it is noticed that they do not readily participate in group discussion. Evaluations from professors often recommend that those students should make more of an effort to participate in class. This reinforces the idea that being quiet, more introverted, is not something that one should strive for.

Contribution of this study to the profession of social work

It is my hope that the findings of this study will contribute to the profession of social work in the following ways:

Brings awareness to the problem

This study, first and foremost, is attempting to bring awareness to the pathologization of introversion in this society. This problem is one that often goes under the radar, is so deeply imbedded in the way in which our society function on so many levels, that creating awareness is the first and most important step.

Asks the reader to consider viewing introverts in a different light

Once awareness has been created, the next step is to ask readers to consider their own biases, both explicit and implicit toward introverts. Often these biases may be unknown or go unrecognized. Once they are drawn out of the unconscious and into the conscious, the next step, and one I am attempting through this study, is to ask readers to shift their own thinking about introverts. To attempt to see and recognize introverted qualities as natural and really quite positive as opposed to the negative and pathologized views that are often highlighted.

Asks the reader to rethink practice and educational techniques

Next, this study asks readers to consider rethinking the ways in which treatment is provided to introverts. To consider the idea that the treatment that extroverts respond well to are not necessarily the same treatments that should be provided to introverts. This study asks those in the social work profession to think about symptom pictures that they are looking for to diagnose particular patients, and to consider whether that person is mentally ill, or in fact, a healthy introvert attempting to live up to the expectations of an extroverted society. To possibly provide a space in which clinicians can provide a reframe for patients that takes the problem of the internal makeup of the patient and places it externally onto a society that is not geared to meet their needs.

This study also asks readers to reconsider the ways in which our educational institutions cater to extroverts. To think about ways that can confirm that introverts both are and feel equally important and intelligent without having to be the students expected to constantly make adjustments for the extroverts and the expectations of the creation of an extroverted classroom setting.

Methodology

This study is a historical and cultural analysis of the issue of introversion – tracing the history of this issue from its origin to its present status in the U.S, and comparing how it is viewed in the U.S to how it is viewed in other countries and cultures. For its historical analysis I examined psychoanalytic theory. The reason I looked to this theory was because there is a clear thread that starts with Jung and weaves through various schools of thought within psychoanalytic theory that presents the creation, definition, and value for the terms introversion and extroversion in the field. There is a language that has been created and expanded upon over time in the field of psychoanylsis that has shaped how introversion has been perceived in the field as well as in greater society that has roots in psychoanalytic theory.

For the Cultural Analysis I used the lens of sociocultural theory. I reviewed literature about the perception of introversion in Finland and India. These two countries were chosen because they provide insight into parts of the world in which introversion is viewed in an alternative light than it is in the United States.

For this theoretical thesis the data for analysis was collected from published sources. My initial collection of such sources began with Cain's 2012 book *Quiet: The Power of Introverts in a World That Can't Stop Talking*. From there I reviewed sources used by Cain and began to compile my own list based on what she included in her findings. From the sources that I found through Cain, I then looked at the sources that these authors utilized and chose relevant readings from them. This resulted in a snowball effect that started from reviewing the work of one author, and led me to the work of many others. In addition to this, I conducted an online search through the Smith College School for Social Work database Ebscohost. My decision to include or exclude certain sources was primarily based on determining the relevance to my topic. I focused

on published sources whose work seemed to have significant relevance to one or more of the chapters in greater depth. I ensured that I included the work of key contributors to my topic. I did this by noticing particular names that kept coming up in my review of the literature and ensuring that those authors were included in my review.

I did encounter great difficulty and frustration when searching for references for Chapter 3 of this thesis. I spent an abundance of time searching for sources that had been written about other countries and cultures when it comes to the phenomenon of introversion. I contacted the Smith College library staff for help refining my search to ensure that I was searching for sources in the most effective way possible, and still was unable to come up with much. This resulted in Chapter 3 being a more narrow review than I had hoped for or anticipated. I discovered a few reasons for this difficulty, which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapters 3 and 4.

Organization of the Report

Chapter 2 traces the history of this issue from its origin in psychoanalytic theory to its present status. I reviewed the key players in terms of research conducted and opinions formulated on the topic of introversion and also noted how these definitions created and contributed to a particular societal landscape in regards to the perceptions of introversion throughout the various time periods.

Chapter 3 takes on a sociocultural focus in which I reviewed literature on the perception of introversion in Finland and India.

Finally, chapter four brings the previous three chapters together. I compared and contrasted different cultures' perceptions of introversion in comparison to those viewpoints held and established in the United States as well as added my own voice in a discussion portion in

which I consider the implications of this phenomenon on the field of social work at present and

what it might mean for the future.

CHAPTER 2

Tracing the pathologization of introversion from origin to present day

The purpose of this thesis is to explore how introversion has come to be perceived over time, how and why the United States has come to value extroverted personality characteristics and how this compares to values in other cultures. This Chapter traces the history of this issue from its origin in psychoanalytic theory to its present status. I will review the key players in terms of research conducted and opinions formulated on the topic of introversion and also note how these definitions created and contributed to a particular societal landscape in regards to the perceptions of introversion throughout the various time periods.

The origin- Psychoanalytic theory and the study of personality

The origins of introversion, how it became a term that most of us are familiar with today, how it derived a definition that encompasses particular meaning, can be traced back to the early 1900s and the development of psychoanalytic theory. At this time, Sigmund Freud was and continued to be, the most famous, the most published, and the most widely respected psychiatrist of this period. Carl Jung, who was an early protégé of Freud, is widely credited as the psychiatrist who created and defined both the terms of introversion and extroversion. As this section will explain, Freud and Jung did not see eye-to-eye on the definition of introversion, thus greatly contributing to the creation of a term that was often misinterpreted not only within the field of psychology, but among greater society as well. The story of the origin of the word and definition of introversion helps to explain why, over one hundred years later, introverts are still working to rid themselves of stereotypes and pathologies that have been linked to the term for decades.

In 1910, Jung wrote a paper *Psychic Conflicts in a Child* in which he introduced the term introversion for the first time. In this paper, Jung writes:

> The elegiac reveries (of the child) express the fact that part of the love which formally belonged, and should belong to a real object, is now introverted, that is, it is turned inward into the subject and there produces increased fantasy activity. Whence comes this introversion? Is it a psychological manifestation peculiar to this period, or does it come from a conflict (Capobianco, 1988, p. 245).

This is important to note, as it is widely accepted as the first time that the word introversion was introduced or used in a published piece of writing within the psychoanalytic field. This paper also marked the beginning of a series of correspondence between Jung and Freud regarding each theorist's grapplings with, and forming of positions, in respect to the definition and relevance of the term introversion.

These ongoing discussions between Jung and Freud led to the 1911 publishing of Freud's legendary essay *The Dynamics of Transference* in which Freud laid out his own understanding of introversion for the first time. In this essay, Freud completely dismissed Jung's comprehensive understanding of introversion, implicitly rejecting everything but its pathological significance:

> An invariable and indispensable precondition of *every* onset of a psychoneurosis is the process to which Jung has given the appropriate name of 'introversion'. That is to say: the portion of libido which is capable of becoming conscious and is directed towards reality is diminished, and the portion which is directed *away* from reality and is unconscious, and which, though it may still feed the subject's fantasies, nevertheless belongs to the unconscious, is proportionately increased…The analytic treatment now proceeds to follow it; seeks to track down the libido, to make it acceptable to consciousness and, in the end, serviceable for reality" (Capobianco, 1988, p. 248-249).

This may be the most highly significant piece of writing in the early forming of the definition of introversion for a few reasons. First, due to the massive following, the essential monopoly that Freud possessed over the field of psychology and the development of psychoanalytic theory, it becomes clear that the majority of analysts in the field would take Freud's view of introversion, that of being only significant in its pathological sense, over the

younger more inexperienced and lesser known, less respected, less seasoned voice of Jung. As a result, the production of countless writings and talks within the field thereafter, took Freud's perception of introversion as truth, thus creating, whether intentional or not, a largely accepted definition of introversion within the field for years to come. Second, this also gave way for the idea that introversion was pathological, and extroversion healthy, to easily make it's way into the thought process of greater society, coupled with the changes society was undergoing at the time in relation to introversion/extroversion, which will be discussed at length in section B of this chapter.

In 1913, Jung delivered a lecture before the Psychoanalytical Congress entitled *A Contribution to the Study of Psychological Types*. In this lecture, Jung focused on a discussion of the differences between the clinical presentations of hysteria and schizophrenia and the relevance of extroversion/introversion to the two. It is safe to assume that, due to the field's acceptance of Freud's definition of introversion being used only in a pathological sense, Jung may have felt pressure to conform, at least publically to this point of view. Or, the field may have only been interested in hearing Jung's interpretation of introversion in a pathological sense, and this was the only time that he was given a platform to speak of it in early years. Nevertheless, in this lecture, Jung (1913) posits:

> I propose to use the two terms *extraversion* and *introversion* to describe these two opposite movements of libido (hysteria and schizophrenia respectively), further qualifying them as *regressive* in pathological cases where delusional ideas, fictions, or fantastic interpretations, all inspired by emotivity, falsify the judgment of the patient about things or about himself…when the objective world sinks into the shadow, as it were, or undergoes a devaluation, while the individual occupies the centre of his own interest and becomes in his own eye the only person worthy of consideration, it is a case of introversion…in the mechanism of introversion, the libido concentrates itself wholly on the complexes, and seeks to detach and isolate the personality from external reality (Jung & Baynes, 1953, p. 499).

When considering the language used by Jung in this lecture, it is important to contemplate how the psychoanalytic community may have interpreted his words. Jung presents introversion in specific relation to schizophrenia, and how to interpret or diagnose a patient that may be presenting with schizotypal symptoms. He also uses terms such as "regressive", "pathological", "delusional", and "devaluation". He describes an individual who sees himself as the "only person worthy of consideration", which leads to the thought of an individual who is narcissistic, and states that this person detaches so much that they are no longer living in reality.

Furthermore, in 1923, Jung was able to popularize the term introversion with his publication of *Psychological Types* (Shapiro & Alexander, 1975, p. 12). In *Psychological Types*, Jung described introverts appearing to others as, "taciturn, impenetrable, often shy, inaccessible, hard to understand" (Shapiro & Alexander, 1975, p. 45). It is important to highlight here, that Jung acknowledged that this view of introverts was societally based and that in a different culture, an introverted individual may not necessarily be described or viewed in the same way. This topic will be discussed at length in Chapter 3 of this paper.

Edmund S Conklin, a psychologist in the early 1900s, who specialized in abnormal psychology and was recognized as both a distinguished professor and author in the field, produced an article in 1923 that appeared in the *Journal of Abnormal Psychology and Social Psychology* entitled "The Definition of Introversion, Extroversion and Allied Concepts". In this piece, Conklin suggested that psychoanalytic terms and their meanings needed some sort of systematization. This proposal was reflective of the high volume of conflicting ideas circulating the field regarding terms and their meanings, and introversion was one of the main terms in conflict. Conklin (1923) conducted a thorough review of the literature and noted, "I have found that the well known term introversion sometimes used as though it indicated a morbid form of

behavior and that only, with the implication that the corresponding or ambivalent form, extroversion, is normal and always so" (p. 49). He further drove this point home by writing, "Freud has used introversion as though it were abnormal and Jung in his Theory of Psychoanalysis apparently considers it abnormal and extroversion as the normal mode of living" (p. 49). Although more recent interpretations of Jung's work would argue with Conklin's interpretation, it is significant to realize that the impression of Jung's work at the time was considered in-line with Freud's perception.

Another major piece of writing produced in 1923 was by psychologist William McDougall in which he challenged Jung's notion that personality is made up of only two types (introvert and extrovert). McDougall's work demonstrated that common language used at this time continued to pathologize introversion, just as Freud did. McDougall (1923) described the introvert in these terms, "He seems relatively cold and expressionless; he cannot easily let himself go; his emotional expressions, in word or gesture or other bodily forms, are very moderate and restrained even when he is strongly moved. He tends to be over self-conscious and introspective; and that adds to his general inhibitedness" (p. 23). McDougall took this description a step further by providing scientific backing for his judgments. This is significant to note as it was becoming more and more important for the field of psychology to utilize science as a way of proving that the profession was meaningful and should be taken seriously. At this time in history, in order to stay relevant, and not dismissed as nonsense, scientific backing was necessary to establish validity. McDougall (1923) described a natural substance, which he referred to as Substance X, which, he claimed, was produced by the brain to protect humans from becoming too introverted:

> And the man who is constitutionally provided with a large amount of this antidote to
> cortical inhibition is the extravert. The extravert, then, is the man who, though he may

possess, and commonly does possess, a cortex developed just as highly as that of the introvert, nevertheless does not suffer in the same degree the inhibition of all emotional expressions that characterizes the introvert (McDougall, 1923, p. 24).

As a result of the pressure on the field to shift toward providing scientific proof to legitimize its research and diagnoses, psychoanalysis saw a rise in testing mechanisms to provide scientific measure to assist psychoanalysts with diagnoses. Buchanan (1994) notes, "Standardized psychological testing played a decisive role in establishing psychology as a significant social practice prior to World War I" (p. 148). One example of this type of testing was created in 1939 at the University of Minnesota. The Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) was designed for use with clinical populations, and used to identify one's similarity to various diagnostic groups (Morris, 1979, p. 33). The MMPI became the most researched personality test in the world during this time (Buchanan, 1994, p. 148). In 1946, the last portion of the MMPI was completed, "The last of the MMPI's ten basic clinical scales was the Social Introversion Scale. Developed independently in 1946 by Lewis E. Drake at the University of Wisconsin, the scale was found to be so useful by those at Minnesota that it was routinely scored and added to the MMPI's basic clinical scales" (Buchanan, 1994, p. 153). Perhaps the most important aspect of the development of the MMPI, with regard to introversion, was that this test was constructed to meet the needs of the already established definition of introversion. In other words, this test assumed that those who measured high on the Social Introversion Scale were more likely to possess symptoms of mental illness, especially compared to those "normals" who rated as more extroverted. Thus, the MMPI only contributed to reaffirming the accepted definitions, that introverts were pathological, "The MMPI did not challenge the status quo; rather, it embodied it" (Buchanan, 1994, p. 154).

In 1947, Hans Eysenck, a psychologist known as one of the pioneers and experts for his contributions to the study of personality, published a book called *Dimensions of Personality*. Eysenck described this period as a time in which the field of psychology lost interest in the discussion surrounding introversion. Eysenck (1947) pronounced writing his book as an attempt to resurrect the discussion in a time when no one was interested in having it:

> Research is a rat race in which it is easy to fall behind; when you are the only one in the race you are left in peace to fashion your own theories, carry out your own researches, and reach your own conclusions without having to look over your shoulder constantly to see if others are catching up with you and perhaps overtaking you (p. 3).

Thus, Eysenck became a key player in the defining and shaping of how introversion was perceived at this time, because, as he readily admits, he was basically the only person involved in conducting the research at this time. Although Eysenck does not hold to Freud's perception of introversion in later years, in *Dimensions of Personality*, he not only confirms his alignment with Freud, but also continued to posit that Jung was attuned with Freud as well, "Related to Jung in that his main concern was with the abnormal counterparts of abnormal personality types…" (p. 10).

The Beginning of Change

A shift began to occur however, with Eysenck at the forefront throughout the 1950s and 1960s, "the divergence of notions of introversion and extraversion and the disparity among them is, then, a main product of the work of this period" (Alexander & Shapiro, 1975, p. 16) and "One of the conclusions of the Carrigan review article is that curiously, there is little agreement as to the meaning of introversion/extroversion" (Alexander & Shapiro, 1975, p. 12).

Patricia Carrigan, a psychologist and professor at the University of Michigan in the 1960s, contributed an article in the *Psychological Bulletin* entitled "Extraversion-Introversion as a Dimension of Personality: A Reappraisal" where she explained, "Few personality constructs

have remained as controversial and as productive of research over the years as extraversion-introversion" (Carrigan, 1960, p. 329). Carrigan's article received considerable attention in the field, and provided an opportunity for many others to reconsider their ideas of introversion and where those ideas came from. Carrigan (1960) furthers her suggestion regarding the definition's ambiguity, "Doubt concerning the unidimensionality of extraversion-introversion was a natural consequence of the conflicting results of early research" (p. 329).

In 1962 Isabel Briggs Myers and Katharine Cook Briggs, both researchers of human behavior and enthusiasts of Jung's work, believed that a knowledge of personality preferences would help women entering the workforce for the first time during World War II, to identify jobs that would be best-suited and most helpful at the time. They developed an instrument, the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI), that helped ease some of the confusion of the times and provided an alternate interpretation of Jung's work on introversion. This interpretation has continued to gain speed and appreciation in recent times and will be discussed at length later on in this chapter. The MBTI is a self-report instrument that helps to identify an individual's strengths and personality preferences. Myers & Briggs based their lifelong work on Jung's theories and it is important to note that they interpreted the meaning of his work on introversion/extroversion differently than many of those before them. Myers & Briggs (2000) believed, "that the premise of his work was to discover how normal human beings take in information and how they make decisions. He also studied two core mental functions (introversion/extroversion) relating to how people get and expend their energy" (p. 52). The MBTI provided the field with an alternative lens to view introversion, and also provided the ever so necessary scientific research backing to support their views.

In addition, in 1975, Irving Alexander & Kenneth Shapiro, researchers and scholars in the study of personality, suggested, as Jung had so many years prior, that culture plays a key role in interpreting the value of introversion, "If we keep in mind that some, if not most, of these points are descriptive of the introvert in a particular cultural setting only…the introvert…does not invest directly in objects and indeed would feel vulnerable in doing so…this sense of vulnerability, which itself may be a function of an interaction with a particular culture…" (p. 49). The role of culture is a significant portion of this paper and will be reviewed in detail in Chapter 3.

Economic and Socio-cultural developments during the late1800s to early 1900s

The Industrial Revolution, perhaps the most significant economic and socio-cultural shift in American history, also laid the backdrop for an entirely new system of values when considering what qualities were desirable for any individual in this new way of life to possess. This section will explore the changes that occurred during this time, why they occurred, and the connection these changes had to the perception of introversion and extroversion at this time.

The Industrial Revolution forever altered the ways in which the American people went about day-to-day life in every way. Up to this point, most Americans lived in rural areas and worked the land to provide for themselves and their families. All work was within walking distance. They lived in small communities in which relationships were established among local families, friends, and neighbors based on living in the same small community from generation to generation. Being born into a particular family, a certain community guaranteed the work, the position in life that each individual would grow into, and this work was passed on from father to son and mother to daughter.

At the turn of the century, these small rural communities became the exception, not the norm, due to industrialization creating a new, more prosperous way of life. A mass immigration from rural communities to urban cities occurred due to the promise of a more modern and lucrative way of life. Job opportunities in factories, department stores, advertising, construction, transportation, sales and business skyrocketed, and the place these opportunities were offered were in the cities. Susan Cain, author of the 2012 best-selling book *Quiet: The Power of Introverts in a World that Can't Stop Talking,* refers to this time period as a cultural evolution and writes, "The new economy calls for a new kind of man- a salesman, a social operator, someone with a ready smile, a masterful handshake, and the ability to get along with colleagues while simultaneously outshining them" (p. 20).

Industrialization sparked other changes as well. The evolution of factories provided the opportunity for automobiles to be manufactured in mass quantities. For the first time, automobiles were made available to the masses, not just the very wealthy. Instead of being limited to one's small community, improvements in transportation now allowed citizens to venture out and commute to work. Along with the automobile, arose the development of roads, railroads, streetcars, and trolleys. Walking to work was quickly becoming a thing of the past.

As a result of this mass immigration from rural farms to urban cities, people were no longer going to work with folks they had been associated with their entire lives. Instead, they were attempting to be hired by complete strangers for positions like sales, marketing, and advertising. This entirely new and different job-seeking experience resulted in the first impression becoming a key to success for the first time in history. In order to sell a product, employers began looking for employees with winning personalities as opposed to strong moral character. Thus, character became a thing of the past. In this new modern world, it was all about

personality. Warren Susman, a self-identified cultural historian, wrote the now famous work

entitled *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* in

1927 in which he described what "formed the heart of that New Thought or Mind Cure

movement so important in the process from a culture of character to a culture of personality" (p.

275). Susman (1927) went on to suggest:

> The social role demanded of all in the new culture of personality was that of a performer. Every American was to become a performing self. Everyone was expected to impress and influence with trained and effective speech. Special books and courses were developed to meet demands in this area alone…clothing, personal appearance, and 'good manners' were important, but there was little interest in morals. Poise and charm top the list of necessary traits, and there was insistence that they could be learned and developed through careful practice (p. 280).

> One of the most famous and influential books ever written to meet these demands, that of

a performing self, was Dale Carnegie's *How to Win Friends and Influence People*. As Cain

(2012) points out:

> Carnegie's metamorphosis from farm boy to salesman to public-speaking icon is also the story of the rise of the Extrovert Ideal. Carnegie's journey reflected a cultural evolution that reached a tipping point around the turn of the twentieth century, changing forever who we are and whom we admire, how we act at job interviews and what we look for in an employee, how we court our mates and raise our children (p. 21).

> In his book, Carnegie (1936) wrote:

> Dealing with people is probably the biggest problem you face, especially if you are in business. Yes, and that is also true if you are a housewife, architect, or engineer. Research done a few years ago…uncovered a most important and significant fact…These investigations revealed that even in such technical lines as engineering, about 15 percent of one's financial success is due to one's technical knowledge and about 85 percent is due to skill in human engineering- to personality and the ability to lead people (p. 18).

> Carnegie (1936) also tells the reader that his book will help them transform their

personality in eight important ways that many believe to be essential even today:

> Eight things this book will help you achieve: 1. Get out of a mental rut, think new thoughts, acquire new visions, discover new ambitions; 2. Make friends quickly and easily; 3. Increase your popularity; 4. Win people to your way of thinking; 5. Increase

you influence, your prestige, your ability to get things done; 6. Handle complaints, avoid arguments, keep you human contacts smooth and pleasant; 7. Become a better speaker, a more entertaining conversationalist; 8. Arouse enthusiasm among you associates (p. 3).

Along with this, the advertising industry focused heavily on promoting products that would make any man or woman a likeable personality to meet the requirements of this new culture of personality:

> The new personality-driven ads cast consumers as performers with stage fright from which only the advertiser's product might rescue them. The ads focused obsessively on the hostile glare of the public spotlight, 'ALL AROUND YOU PEOPLE ARE JUDGING YOU SILENTLY,' warned a 1922 ad for Woodbury's soap. In 1921 a Woodbury's soap ad showed a crestfallen young woman, home alone after a disappointing evening out. She had 'longed to be successful, gay, triumphant,' the text sympathized. But without the help of the right soap, the woman was a social failure (Cain, 2012, p. 24-25).

The message became clear, that one's smile, one's appearance, one's gift of gab, the ability to be liked, to sell anything to anyone at anytime was the new requirement to be successful in life.

In addition to a sweeping shift in advertising, self-help guides underwent a transformation of their own, "All of this is preface to the discovery of the beginnings of a radical shift in the kinds of advice manuals that appeared after the turn of the century, and to new preoccupations, which strike at the heart of the basis of the culture of character" (Susman, 1927, p. 275). Cain (2012) suggests that, "One of the most powerful lenses through which to view the transformation from Character to Personality is the self-help tradition in which Dale Carnegie played such a prominent role…by 1920, self-help guides had changed their focus from inner virtue to outer charm" (p. 22).

Clearly, extroverted personality characteristics were the ideal for this new economy. Those who were comfortable in a crowd, speaking to large audiences, and convincing consumers, through their charming personality and fine outward appearance, were what was desirable to

employers and the key to financial, romantic, and lifelong success as well as happiness.

Introverts on the other hand, those who did not find enjoyment in large crowds, lacked an

excitement for speaking to large audiences, and did not possess the gift of gab did not really have

a place in this new world. Thus, many natural introverts likely felt the overwhelming pressure to

become more extroverted in order to achieve success and happiness. This resulted in many

Americans developing anxieties that had been virtually non-existent in the past. The rise of the

Inferiority Complex, "the idea of wrapping their social anxieties in the neat package of a

psychological complex appealed to many Americans. The Inferiority Complex became an all-

purpose explanation for problems in many areas of life ranging from love to parenting to career"

(Cain, 2012, p. 26) The intense and unnatural pressure to become a performer of sorts, to make a

great first impression, to act a role or play a part, to focus on presenting a certain type of self. All

of the features that favored extroverted characteristics and shunned introverted ones:

> Child guidance experts set about helping children to develop winning
> personalities…psychologist, social workers, and doctors focused on the everyday child
> with the 'maladjusted personality'- particularly shy children. Shyness could lead to dire
> outcomes, they warned, from alcoholism to suicide, while an outgoing personality would
> bring social and financial success (Cain, 2012, p. 27).

Recent Developments

Only very recently have attitudes and perceptions of introversion begun to shift, or at

least, to be discussed in more public platforms. This shift likely experienced its beginnings in

1980, when, as mentioned in chapter 1, the American Psychological Association proposed that a

diagnostic category of "introverted personality disorder" be included in the DSM-III. This is

significant to note in this section due to the fair amount of resistance this proposal received from

the mental health community in which, "A letter writing campaign among mental health and

personality type professionals helped persuade the APA to withdraw the proposed diagnosis"

(Psychology Today, Ancowitz, 2010). This backlash was due to the fact that many members in the mental health profession identified as introverts, and healthy ones at that. Many members of the field believed that such an inclusion would unjustly pathologize a very large, very healthy portion of the population. Unfortunately, the protest from the mental health community in the 80s did not stick. Introverted personality disorder has surfaced again in discussions regarding its inclusion in the DSM-V as recent as 2010. In an article that appeared in *Psychology Today* entitled "A Giant Step Backward for Introverts", Ancowitz (2010) writes, "the APA is now considering a proposal to include introversion in the next edition of its Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM 5). The proposal would make introversion a contributing factor in diagnosing certain personality disorders".

An article written in *Psychology Today* in May 2012 discusses the very recent shifts that are just beginning to occur in people's perceptions:

> Traditionally, because we in western culture tend to take a more extraverted orientation to life, introverts have long been prejudicially perceived as being selfish, narcissistic, pathologically shy or even psychotic. But this sometimes-vicious negative bias toward introverts and introversion has started to change lately, due in part to the burgeoning interest in meditation and mindfulness (two forms of introverted activity), the gradually growing popularity of Jung's (introverted) psychology, as well as the publication of various recent books on the subject (Psychology Today, Diamond, 2012).

Not only is Jung's work becoming more popular, it is only recently being interpreted accurately and independently of Freud, especially in regards to his views on introversion. As discussed earlier in this chapter, Jung's work on introversion was largely overlooked for a number of years due to Freud's dismissal of the concept's importance. It is only in more recent years that Jung's extensive work on introversion has been studied, published, and acknowledged in the way that Jung, a declared introvert himself, intended.

As noted above by Diamond (2012), the rising popularity of utilizing mindfulness-based techniques in multiple facets of life, an exercise that requires an individual to utilize introverted strengths, has helped create awareness in recent years that there are positive aspects to introversion. Charles A. Francis (2012), founder and director of the Mindfulness Meditation Institute, offers an explanation as to why mindfulness has become so popular in recent years:

> The primary reason mindfulness meditation has become so popular is because scientists have been conducting a tremendous amount of research on the practice. They are confirming the benefits that practitioners have been advocating for many years, and they're continuing to make breakthroughs every day. Researchers are finding that mindfulness meditation helps people overcome many health-related issues such as stress, high blood pressure, heart disease, substance abuse, and much more. They're also finding that the practice helps people enhance their mental capabilities such as abstract thinking, memory, and creativity (Francis, 2012).

True to form, western society, in its fast-paced world where anything and everything is available with the click-of-a-button relies on scientific evidence to let them know that slowing down, breathing, and being introspective is in fact, quite healthy.

Perhaps the most paramount of all recent developments is the greatest economic and socio-cultural shift since the Industrial Revolution, and that is the Technological Revolution, which began in the 1980s and is still occurring today, "Information technology has created the telephone, radio broadcasting, television, cable television, VCRs, the cellular phone, PCs, computer networks, telecommunications networks, the Internet, and innovations yet to come" (Kozmetsky & Yue, 2005, p. 18). Information technology has completely shifted every aspect of modern life in the United States and a large portion of the world:

> In 1995, 26 million people were using the Internet- in 2007 it was 1.3 billion…email remains the most popular application and has revolutionized the way people structure their work and social lives. With the new ease of data transfer and communication, businesses have changed their organizational structures and routines. Some governments try to offer more participatory interaction with citizens, who can now pay taxes and sometimes even vote online. Individuals who have access can look for information, do their shopping, study for a degree, do their banking, date others, plan their music, play

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games, use social networking sites, write a blog, or phone their friends online" (Kleine & Unwin, 2009, p. 1047).

It is important to note that this revolution possesses very key players who are introverts, including Steve Wozniak (co-founder of Apple), Bill Gates (co-founder of Microsoft), and Larry Page (co-founder of Google) to name a few. Thus, introverted characteristics have been essential to the way in which the modern world operates, although it is likely that many are not aware that some of these individuals are introverts due to the continued misinterpretation of what being introverted actually means.

Along with Cain's book, there have been a number of recent writings being published and receiving popularity in recent years that focus on introversion as a positive, natural personality-type that should not be viewed as a source of shame, but rather, as something to be embraced. Some of these writings include: *The Introvert Advantage: How to Thrive in an Extrovert World* published in 2002; *Caring for your introvert* in 2003; *Introvert power: Why your inner life is your hidden strength* published in 2008; *Introverts in the Church: Finding our place in an extroverted culture* in 2009; *Revenge of the Introvert* in 2010; and multiple publications in 2012 including: *The Introvert's Way: Living a quiet life in a noisy world*; *President Obama is an Introvert and so am I*; *Introverts no longer the quiet followers of extroverts*; and *Extroverts destroy the world…and it's up to introverts to clean up the mess* in which Kyle (2012) writes, "They (extroverts) may not be responsible for all the evil in the world, but they did give us such pernicious results as Enron, Hollywood, the financial crisis, Washington, infomercials, and Harvard Business School" (p. 39).

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Summary

Amidst its origins in psychoanalytic theory, coupled with the rise of the Industrial Revolution, both of which were occurring simultaneously during the early 1900s, we become more clearly able to understand the development of the perception of introversion in the United States. In tracing the phenomenon of introversion back to its beginnings, back to the early conversations and works of both Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung, we are able to understand the dialogue that was started and circulated among the field of psychiatry. Freud's pivotal description of his understanding of introversion in a purely pathological sense, created a ripple effect in the field that has continued to have lasting effects, "An invariable and indispensable precondition of every onset of a psychoneurosis is the process to which Jung has given the appropriate name of 'introversion'" (Capobianco, 1988, p. 248).

The general acceptance of this early description of introversion as pathological and extraversion as healthy and normal, combined with the mass societal overhaul that was the Industrial Revolution, primed the United States of America for what Cain (2012) so accurately termed "The Extrovert Ideal". Not only were introverted characteristics seen as unnatural and problematic, extraverted personalities were thought of as the norm and the actual, literal means by which individuals living in this new world were able to gain access to employment, wealth, and status. In a landscape that, with what seemed to be altered as quickly as a snap-of-the-finger, had completely shifted from rural communities where you knew everyone, to urban cities where impressing a stranger with your outer wit, charm, and dazzling smile became key to achieving the American Dream, there was no place for introversion other than in the psychiatric hospitals.

These attitudes and beliefs, which have remained embedded in American culture for over a century, continue to plague this nation in present day. However, with the rise of more accurate interpretations of Jungian theory, the ability for introverts to be heard en masse via the world wide web, the growing interest in mindfulness and meditation, as well as the rise in publication of both academic and popular texts regarding the many powerful and positive aspects of introversion, a shift in this perception is finally gaining momentum.

CHAPTER 3

A sociocultural exploration of introversion: Finland and India

This chapter will provide an in-depth sociocultural exploration and review of the

literature of two countries, Finland and India, in order to discover their perceptions of

introversion. This chapter will delve into the history of both Finland and India respectively, in

order to locate what was occurring in both countries from a broader societal perspective. It will

also attempt to trace how the field of psychology specifically impacted perceptions of

introversion in both Finland and India.

Finland

In 1985, University of Jyväskylä communications professors Jaako Lehtonen and Kari

Sajavaara, wrote a piece in the book *Perspectives on Silence* entitled *The Silent Finn*. This essay

described the characteristics of a nation considered to be the most introverted country in the

world (Cain, 2012, p. 14). Lehtonen & Sajavaara (1985) wrote:

> One of the recurring popular explanations of Finnish silence is the national character of
> the people…People are expected to ponder their words carefully because words are
> powerful…Americans ask questions and ask others to talk to fill up interactional silence,
> because silence is not tolerated socially. In many cases, the function of talk among
> Americans is not in the transference of information or messages, but in the avoidance of
> silence. In Finland, silence is socially acceptable to a different degree…at meals, silence
> rather than talk is the rule; it is not considered necessary to be engaged in social small
> talk while eating (p. 198-200).

Lehtonen & Sajavaara (1985) also provide a list of proverbs and sayings that help

illustrate the values of the Finnish people: "Listen a lot speak little; one mouth, two ears; a fool

speaks a lot, a wise man thinks instead" (p. 193).

In 1991, Sallinen- Kuparinen, McCloskey, & Richmond, conducted a study that sought to

determine whether Finns perceived themselves as quieter than Americans. The study was titled:

Willingness to communicate, communication apprehension, introversion, and self-reported

communication competence: Finnish and American comparisons. Sallinen-Kuparinen et al (1991)

pointed out some important ideas in this study and their remarks allow us to greater understand

and locate the study of introversion in Europe:

> As an increasing number of non-U.S. scholars have become interested in some of the
> same research topics, awareness of the need for intercultural explorations has increased.
> That is not to say that most of the mainline communication scholars have integrated
> cultural concerns into their mainstream scholarship. They definitely have not. While
> some attention may be paid to ethnicity within the U.S., real cultural differences usually
> receive no attention at all…there has been a longstanding bias toward Anglo-American
> culture. The overwhelming majority of studies has been conducted in the United States,
> where oral communication is highly appreciated with positive social evaluation as
> concomitant. Consequently, remaining silent is considered a problem and silent cultures
> interpreted as representing a high prevalence of communication apprehension. Europeans'
> willingness to communicate or their likelihood to avoid oral interaction are less well
> known. Hence, it has been noted that additional research must be conducted in a variety
> of cultures to provide a database from which initial culturally sensitive theoretical
> projections as to communication orientations can be generated (p. 56-57).

The specific study conducted by Sallinen-Kuparinen et al (1991), which they have noted

is an attempt to start to provide a broader voice to the subject, consisted of a target population of

college students at the University of Jyvaskyla. It consisted of 249 participants, 75 being female

and 174 being male. The results of this study supported the hypothesis that in Finnish culture, not

being willing to communicate is not due to communication apprehension, but rather, has more to

do with sociocultural variables such as the role of talk in society as well as the value placed on

communication. Sallinen-Kuparinen et al (1991) note that, "In verbal cultures, remaining silent

presents a problem; in cultures with a high tolerance of silence, the same overt behavior is

socially more acceptable and the perceptions of a person's competence are not predominantly

based on his or her verbal behavior" (p. 61). The study also confirmed that some widely held

stereotypes such as Finns being perceived as silent, shy, introverted, reserved, and quiet remain

consistent with the findings in this particular study, "The scores obtained indicate that Finns are

indeed less willing to communicate than people from most other cultures which have been

studied (U.S., Sweden, Australia)…they are more introverted than people in the general North American culture…Finns are asserted to appreciate and tolerate silence" (p. 57-61). Thus, this study does confirm a high level of introversion in Finland, and it also suggests that these characteristics are viewed as valuable as opposed to pathological.

In 2005, Richard D Lewis published a book called *Finland: Cultural Lone Wolf.* Lewis is a British linguist, cross-cultural communications consultant, and author. Lewis speaks ten languages including Finnish. In *Cultural Lone Wolf,* Lewis provides the reader with a comprehensive overview of all things Finnish. A key segment of his writing is dedicated to the history of economic and socio-cultural development in Finland. This history is important as it provides us with the societal backdrop that contributed to the development of a culture of introverts.

For six hundred fifty years prior to 1808, Finland was ruled by Sweden. In 1808 however, Finland, which at the time was considered to be Sweden's Eastland province, was invaded by Russia, "The period of Russian rule in Finland, which lasted 108 years (1809-1917), bore no resemblance in character or essence to that of Russian occupations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries" (Lewis, 2005, p. 45). Alexander I, was known for his rather liberal tactics, and treated Finland with the utmost respect. In other words, Alexander I was not interested in changing Finland, or imposing Russian ways onto the nation. Thus, "Swedish law remained in force, the Lutheran church was left untouched, and all the members of the senate were Finns" (Lewis, 2005, p. 45).

Throughout the early 1900s, Lewis (2005) describes how Finland maintained its loyalty to Russia, which allowed the country room to:

> Create a strong sense of national identity and remain quite independent and inward in making decisions for themselves. As Russia suffered a military and psychological setback

in 1905 when the Japanese defeated the country in the Russo-Japanese War, Finland continued to thrive with a democratically elected parliament, a fiscal system, state railways, a separate legal system, an established church, a national currency, a coat of arms, a national anthem, two official languages, a university, a body of literature, its own newspapers, commercial companies, universal suffrage, and numerous societies and political associations, all the institutions of a modern state. Imperial Russia, by contrast, had no viable parliament and a weak fiscal situation (p. 48).

In regards to foreign policy, Finland remained quite independent and focused solely on their own national interest. The country erupted in Civil War based on this concept in 1917. The political right believed it was time to cut ties from Russia entirely and declared themselves, "Supreme authority of Finland" (Lewis, 2005, p. 49). This did not sit well with the political left, who believed it was still in the nation's best interest to remain connected to Russia. This Civil War resulted in Finland's official independence as a nation in the same year that it began and Finland continued to prosper within themselves, "The 1920s saw the introduction of compulsory education and conscriptive military service. Clubs, societies, and associations multiplied, and a new body of Finnish literature made its appearance. From 1920 onward Finland's cultural scene expanded and attracted international attention" (Lewis, 2005, p. 53).

Another notable piece of Finnish history was that women achieved the right to vote in 1906. This was only second in the world to New Zealand where women began voting in 1893. Throughout history, women have played a central role in Finland, were the first on the continent to have voting power, and this voting strength led to passing of laws in the 1920s such as Prohibition, women receiving powerful posts such as Nordic ministers and civil service positions, as well as contributing to policy regarding paternity leave in which it is often males who stay home to care for children.

Finland made it through World War II, although battered and bruised, without becoming anyone's territory as well. Neither Germany, nor Russia, nor the United States, who offered them

aid, but was refused in an effort to maintain control in their own affairs, "It would have been useful to help pay off war debts, but hardship is often the price of independence. The Finnish people as a whole have always shown themselves willing to pay the price. What other country ever paid off its war debts? Britian and the U.S., in particular, were impressed as Finland balanced her books with the Soviets" (Lewis, 2005, p. 56).

Based on Finland's history as a country, of protecting its people, its land, its ideals constantly from bigger, more prevailing nations, and achieving success through always turning inward and trusting only themselves, it makes sense that a dominant aspect of Finnish personality, is a strong sense of national identity:

> From kindergarten on, Finns are taught-and-learned 'national' concepts that become, as they grow up, core beliefs, which are found almost impossible to discard. They regard others' beliefs and habits as strange or eccentric, mainly because they are unlike their own. Accomplished traits (of Finns) include modesty, introversion, ultra-honesty, concealment of feelings, desire for solitude, work ethic, uneasiness with foreigners, use of silence, independence, pessimism, sense of separateness, and distrust of verbosity (Lewis, 2005, p. 53, 71).

This strong sense and focus on national identity and introversion remain true in Finland in more recent years as well, "Finns are mainly silent people who go in for deep thinking, which is facilitated by the synthetic nature of their language. Silence engenders vision, imagination, and calm judgments. Small talk interferes with creative thought. Finns take talking seriously and prefer to use language for something that actually pushes things further on the pragmatic level. The basic rule is 'less is more'" (Lewis, 2005, p. 21).

One might speculate that, surely, in an increasingly globalized world where extroverted characteristics continue to spread all over the world, Finland must need to make some adjustments to their own introverted tendencies. Lewis (2005) says otherwise:

> If you ask someone which country ranks first in global competitiveness in business, the most common answer would be the U.S. or Singapore or Japan. All would be wrong. It's

Finland. In 2003 Finland outranked U.S., Singapore, and all others in global competitiveness, reflecting the ability of a country to sustain its high rates of growth based on 259 criteria, including openness of the economy, technology, government policies, and integration into trade blocks (p. 18).

And that's not all; Finland outranks all others worldwide for reading, math, and scientific literacy and all of Europe in postsecondary enrollments. They are also at the top of the list in the Economist Environmental Sustainability Index and the Corruption Free Index. *Harvard Business Review* gave, "Finnish humility and honesty unequivocal praise and admires the Finnish style of management more than any others (p. 20).

As recent as 2013, American academic Michael Berry discusses Finnish silence in an article for *Psychology Today*:

> Finnish silence is a method of preserving harmony with nature, oneself and others. It's natural for Finns to move between fluent active listening and speaking while respecting others. Finns rely on direct dictionary translation to describe themselves as 'shy' or 'silent' in the presence of foreigners. However, these terms often carry negative connotations. Finns are able to interpret this kind of silence, but it is difficult for other cultures to be comfortable with it. Berry rejects silence as a reflection of low self-esteem and encourages Finns to take pride in the cultural trait (Berry, 2013).

India

Although Finland and India have a vast array of sociocultural and economic differences, they do share a unique distinction in their emphasis on the value of introverted characteristics and introspective thinking. Since ancient times, India has been a nation to place a high premium on deep-reflective thought, meditation, mindfulness, and the inner workings of the mind. This section will focus on three periods of time in Indian history: pre-colonialism, colonialism, and post-colonialism and will review the relevance of each period in regards to the field of psychology and the perception of introversion in India throughout history.

In 1964, Hajime Nakamura, a Japanese academic of Vedic, Hindu, and Buddhist scriptures wrote a book entitled *Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples: India, China, Tibet, Japan.* Nakamura's chapter on India called, "India- The introspective character of Indian thought- the development of the sciences of inner reflection", offered insight into the value of introversion in India:

> There has been a dominant trend of thought in India to emphasize the universal and to subsume the subjective and personal aspects of individuals under the universal. As a result of such tendencies in this way of thinking, material-external-objective sciences are not regarded highly and tend to stagnation. Spiritual-introspective-subjective studies, on the other hand, are greatly encouraged… Indians have made a very elaborate introspective examination of states of mind, especially of the emotional ones, and they have always placed special emphasis upon the practical and moral significance that such states have. These two points are the remarkable features of Indian psychology (Nakamura, 1964, p. 152, 156).

Prior to colonialism, ideas entrenched in religion were what rooted the study of psychology in India. Paranjpe (2007) shares points this out in several passages:

> The boundaries of traditional psychology in India were defined by a spiritual quest, which is alien to the mainstream of modern psychology, especially in America…Since ancient times, philosophy with a strong religious bent held the dominant position in the Indian community…As the religious character of Indian thought is generally acknowledged, we shall simply add that the inclination toward religion is not a feature merely observed in the thought of individual philosophers, but that it had become imbedded in a deeper source- in the way of thinking of the Indian people in general…The ancient Indians set a high value on introspection and they exercised the silent meditation of *Yoga* to attain serenity of mind. And at the same time, they made careful analyses of mental processes from the religious and ethical standpoint. The *Yoga* school, as the name indicates, laid emphasis on the virtues of Yoga, and in their exercise of concentration of the mind they were engaged in the examination of its constitution… Indians have made a very elaborate introspective examination of states of mind, especially of the emotional ones, and they have always placed special emphasis upon the practical and moral significance that such states have. These two points are the remarkable features of Indian psychology (p. 69, 154,156, 157, 158).

During colonialism, Western ideas and philosophies dominated India's societal landscape and cast a shadow over ongoing development in the field of psychology:

> During the colonial period, beginning late 19th century, traditional scholarship and the Sanskrit language, was systematically marginalized under colonial rule, and the trend continued as colonial mentality persisted for decades after independence…During the four decades that elapsed between the founding of the first psychological laboratory in 1905 and the end of colonial rule in 1947, Western psychology was steadily but firmly transferred to the Indian subcontinent through a long line of scholars trained abroad (Paranjpe, 2007, p. 63).

During this period, a man named Girindra Sekhar Bose, founded the Indian Psychoanalytic Society in 1922. Bose is considered by many to be the father of psychoanalysis in India. Bose corresponded with Freud for a number of years, and used Freudian theory to shape his perspective on psychoanalysis. Bose agreed with Freud, and faithfully followed his theories in his work in most areas. One essential difference between the two is in regards to their perceptions of introversion. In 1994, Ashis Nandy wrote a compilation of essays called *The Savage Freud and Other Essays on Possible and Retrievable Selves*. Nandy reviews an essay by Bose entitled *"Sattva, Rajah, Tamah"* in which Bose discusses, "*gunas in praktri*" which Nandy says translates to, "traits, attributes, or qualities in nature" (Nandy, 1994, p. 123). The essay describes that these qualities are of two kinds: gunas that control ajnana or the absence of knowledge in a person and aprakasa or the nonmanifest (in nature) are classified as tamah. The second kind of guna controls jnana or knowledge in human personality and the manifest in nature. These gunas can, in turn, be of two types: bahirmukkha, literally outerdirected or extroversive and antarmukkha, inner-directed or introversive. Extroversion known as rajah; and introversion as sattva (Nandy, 1994, p. 123). Nandy (1994) writes:

> What emerges clearly is the hierarchy Bose imposes on the entire set of gunas. Like Freud, he believes the unconscious and the nonmanifest, (together constituting the tamah) represent an inferior level of personality functioning. Unlike Freud or Jung but like a true Hindu, Bose extends his hierarchy to extroversion and introversion. In his model, the

extroverted or rajasika becomes inferior to the introverted, seen as definitionally more sattvika…Bose goes on to say that the self is all-pervasive; it pervades nature. Compared to the self, nature is narrower and more limited. And it is not so much the knowledge of self but the relationship between self and nature that is the stuff of genuine knowledge… One must, therefore, know thyself. Further, antarmukha jnana, or inner-directed knowledge is the knowledge of pure experience or awareness, whereas bahirmukha jnana is material knowledge (p. 126).

Post colonialism has allowed the field to circle back to more traditional ways of practice and thinking, as many Western ideas have fizzled as they do not hold true to the Indian way of life. In addition, as mentioned in Chapter 2, many traditional Eastern practices and philosophies have gained extreme popularity in the Western world. "In his authoritative review of the literature of the 1971-1976 period sponsored by the Indian Council of Social Science Research, the well-known psychologist Udai Pareek concluded that there were "signs of a growing crisis in psychology" insofar as psychology had "failed to make a thrust in the national life… scholars such as Jadunath Sinha and Ramchandra Rao had already begun to rejuvenate psychology embedded in the ancient tradition (p. 67).

In 2007, Anand C Paranjpe, an Indian psychologist and professor of psychology and the humanities, wrote an essay entitled *From tradition through colonialism to globalization: Reflections on the history of psychology in India.* Paranjpe (2007) opens his essay by offering the reader an overview of how the history of psychology in India is currently perceived, "Contemporary Indian psychologists generally tend to ignore the contribution of the pre-modern period…this factor involves the effects of colonial rule under which everything Indian was considered inferior to its Western counterpart" (p. 56). Paranjpe offers an alternative voice to this. In his essay, he provides a history that acknowledges the vast amount of contributions to the study of personality pre-colonialism, through colonialism, and post-colonialism as well. Paranjpe (2007) speaks of the value of introverted thought in India stemming back to pre-colonial times:

Almost all schools of Indian thought- the Upanishadic, Buddhist, Jaina, and so on- have developed complex theories of cognition and epistemology. Of these schools, a prominent one called the Advaita (meaning nondualist) Vedanta emphasizes the constructive aspects of cognition. It suggests that there is an unmistakable element of cognitive construction in human processes of getting to know the world…it has developed a rigorous method of critical self-examination… through relentless self-examination, it is claimed, one is able to clearly distinguish the changing images of self from the unchanging nature of the true self and then directly experience it in the Fourth State of consciousness. A person who has thus experienced the true self can remain stably anchored in it and carry on in daily life without riding high on an ego fluffed with success or feeling depressed with failure. An unshakable inner calm- a highly desirable state- is thus attained (p. 60).

Summary

Chapter 3 makes an attempt to provide the beginnings of a review of the literature that invites a broader, sociocultural voice into the discussion. As Chapter 4 will discuss in greater depth, this task proved to be quite a difficult one in that it was challenging to find literature produced about this topic from voices other than the dominant American one. As a result, this chapter took a much narrower focus than anticipated, and became somewhat of a case study on the two countries of Finland and India.

Finland, is known as a country that is home to a particularly silent people. The perception of silence, quiet, and introversion in Finland holds much different meaning than it does in the United States. A Finn who describes themselves as shy or silent, would be describing those personality traits as highly regarded, positive characteristics, only to be interpreted in English as a Finn meaning those characteristics to be negative or pathological traits. In Finland, silence is the norm, not the exception. Quiet, reflective thought is highly valued and viewed as a sign of intelligence.

Throughout history, Finland as a nation has survived being surrounded and ruled by larger nations by turning inward, believing in themselves, and making decisions that have

maintained their independence over and over again. This has created a deeply embedded set of values among the Finnish people that believes in national identity over individualism. Due to ongoing success on an international level in a variety of areas such as business, economics, environmental issues, and crime, the world is starting to take notice of Finland and its silent ways, believing this small, silent nation may just have figured some things out for the better.

Since ancient times, India has placed a high premium on deep, reflective thought, mindfulness, meditation, and all the inner workings of the mind have to offer. India's history, and the course that the study of psychology took throughout this history, seems to be divided into three distinct periods of time: pre-colonialism, colonialism, and post-colonialism.

During pre-colonialism, ideas were entrenched in the study and practice of religion. A high value was placed on introspective thinking and silent meditation. Psychology was viewed as an extension of, not separate from, religious practices. These practices placed a high value on introverted characteristics as they were thought necessary for achieving greater spiritual awareness. Psychology really moved away from these views during colonialism as Western ideas and philosophies essentially took over. This period has had ripple effects in current times that the field continues to work to overcome. Those effects include the perception that Western ideals trumped ideas brought about in India itself.

During colonialism, Girindra Sekhar Bose, who is considered by many to be the father of psychoanalysis in India, emerged and brought many of Freud's ideas and practices to India. Although Bose rarely strayed from the beliefs and opinions held by Freud, one area where he did maintain his own thoughts was on the perception of introversion. Bose believed that introverted thinking was essential to gaining knowledge and awareness, whereas extroverted thinking was merely to access material knowledge.

       In post-colonial and recent times, psychology in India is beginning to look back to the teachings, ideas, and practices of pre-colonialism. In fact, eastern practices and philosophies such as yoga, mindfulness, and meditation, have gained increasing popularity in the Western world and are suggested to be key ingredients to achieving inner peace and contentment.

CHAPTER 4

Discussion

The purpose of this theoretical thesis was to explore the phenomenon of introversion by tracing the history of this issue from its origin to its present status. I attempted to discover how and why the United States came to value extroverted personality characteristics over introverted ones and how this compared to values in other countries and cultures. My examination of this phenomenon relied heavily on collecting data from published sources and reviewing the literature I collected from two theoretical perspectives. In Chapter 2, I conducted a historical analysis on the phenomenon of introversion through psychoanalytic theory. Chapter 3 relied on sociocultural theory to conduct historical analyses of the phenomenon in both Finland and India.

Chapter 2, *Tracing the Pathologization of Introversion from Origin to Present Day*, located the origin of the terms introversion and extraversion through psychoanalytic theory back to the early 1900s, back to the early conversations and work of Carl Jung and Sigmund Freud. Freud's pivotal description of introversion in a purely pathological sense, created a ripple effect in the field of psychiatry that has had lasting effects, "An invariable and indispensable precondition of every onset of a psychoneurosis is the process to which Jung has given the appropriate name of 'introversion'" (Capobianco, 1988, p. 248). The general acceptance of this early description of introversion as pathological, and extraversion as healthy and normal in the field of psychiatry was crucial in shaping the perception of introversion and what value it held in society.

In addition to the shaping of the definition and description of this phenomenon in the field of psychiatry, the Industrial Revolution, which was occurring simultaneously in the United States, created a societal landscape primed for extroverted personality traits. In a culture

experiencing rapid shifts from rural communities where people knew most everyone they came into contact with, to urban cities where impressing strangers became necessary for survival, what individuals portrayed on the outside trumped what they possessed on the inside. The American Dream could be achieved through first impressions, wit, charm, and the ability to speak in front of and persuade large crowds. In this environment introverted characteristics were problematic, viewed as unnatural, and had no place in this new world.

These attitudes and beliefs have remained embedded in American culture even in current times, although a shift has started to occur. Jungian theory is starting to be interpreted more accurately, the World Wide Web has provided a massive forum for introverts to be heard, the growing interest in mindfulness and meditative practices, as well as the abundance of both academic and popular texts providing alternative narratives that shed light on all the positive and natural gifts being an introvert has to offer, a shift in the perception is finally gaining momentum.

Chapter 3, *A Sociocultural Exploration of Introversion: Finland and India*, attempted to provide an in-depth sociocultural exploration and review of the literature of both Finland and India and the value they each place on introversion. Like Chapter 2, this chapter traced the history of introversion in both countries, took the temperature of the broader societal landscape, and attempted to locate the phenomenon in the field of psychology.

This chapter revealed Finland to be known as a country of a remarkably silent people. Finland's perception of introversion is much different than in the United States in that being quiet, silent, introverted are viewed as highly positive and respectable personality traits. Throughout history, Finland as a nation has survived and maintained high levels of success by turning inward and relying on themselves, as opposed to seeking assistance from other nations even when this was the more difficult choice to make. This self-reliant nature had constructed

and created a deeply entrenched set of values among the Finnish people that believes in national identity over individualism.

Like Finland, India believes introverted personality characteristics to be highly valuable. Indian people value deep, reflective thought, mindfulness, meditation, practices that require introspective thinking. Even as India navigated three distinct periods of time: pre-colonialism, colonialism, and post-colonialism, the value of introversion stood the test of time and remains a key ingredient today.

One of the most telling experiences throughout the process of writing this theoretical thesis emerged in what I was unable to find. When I began my review of the literature for Chapter 3 of this thesis, I hit a roadblock. I was struggling to find sources that discussed the phenomenon of introversion from perspectives of other countries and cultures. I began to question my research abilities, and enlisted help from the experts at Smith College library's research department. When they were unable to come up with additional resources, it only made the roadblock larger and more difficult to surpass. I could not figure out why I was coming up short of information again and again. After awhile I came across a number of sources that seemed to speak to what I now believe I was experiencing, "There has been a longstanding bias toward Anglo-American culture. The overwhelming majority of studies has been conducted in the United States, where oral communication is highly appreciated with positive social evaluation as concomitant" (Kuparinen, McCroskey, & Richmond, 1991, p. 56); "Europeans' willingness to communicate of their likelihood to avoid oral interaction are less well known. Hence, it has been noted that additional research must be conducted in a variety of cultures to provide a database from which initial cultural-sensitive theoretical projections as to communication orientations can be generated" (Kuparinen et. Al, 1991, p. 57); "The large

quantity of research that has been conducted on speech anxiety and related constructs is in the U.S., whereas very little interest in this area has been expressed in Sweden, where quietness and reticence are generally looked at as being more individual differences rather than problems" (Daun, 1987, p. 135); "The development of human communication theory in the United States has been based in large part on empirical research involving subjects representing the mainstream U.S. culture, mostly undergraduate college students…the tendency to assume what is true of people in the U.S. is true of people in other parts of the world is representative of the general ethnocentricity of Americans" (McCroskey, Burroughs, Daun & Richmond, 1990, p. 127); and finally "As an increasing number of non-U.S. scholars have become interested in some of the same research topics, awareness of the need for intercultural explorations has increased. That is not to say that most of the mainline communication scholars have integrated cultural concerns into their mainstream scholarship. They definitely have not. While some attention may be paid to ethnicity within the U.S., real cultural differences usually receive no attention at all" (Kuperinen et. al, 1991, p. 56).

As relayed in the quotes above, it seems that the research made available on this topic and others like it, have been largely constructed from one dominant point of view. Just as the definition and description of introversion came to be accepted and embedded in United States culture based on Freud's interpretation and the values shaped in society by the Industrial Revolution, this narrative has continued to dominate available research and resources. This is a bit frightening as it is quite clear that there are several cultures and countries who maintain alternative, valuable perspectives on this phenomenon, but they are buried deep in hard to find corners and crevices of the available body of work on this topic.

It is here that I will begin to offer a new evaluation of the literature. Both introverted and extroverted personality characteristics are valuable. The world requires both types as well as the vast array of the melding of the two types in various individuals. Like no snowflake is the same, no individual is the same in relation to how introverted or extroverted or what combination of the two they possess. Allowing both introverts and extroverts the space to inhabit their qualities in ways that feel comfortable and true is what makes this phenomenon beautiful. Being able to embrace one's alone time without judgment, in fact with acceptance allows introverts to contribute to this world in their own way, just as extroverts reserve the same right to do so in a crowd.

This leads me to be transparent about one major weakness in the methodology used in this paper. I have been keenly aware of the fact that I felt much more comfortable writing about the history of the United States as opposed to writing about the history of Finland and India. This is because, being a United States citizen, I possess a small background in American history, whereas I did not have any knowledge of the history of Finland or India. I fear that I have oversimplified both of these wonderful countries of which I lack familiarity and have overgeneralized the values of individuals in both countries of which I was able to gather little research. In addition, even when writing about American history, I am aware of the fact that I have likely overgeneralized this section as well as I speak generally and not to specific individuals experiences or that of oppressed populations within the United States. I am aware that an entirely new discussion could be and should be had to speak to the intersectionality of introversion/extroversion and issues of race, class, gender, and so on. It is necessary to continue to study this phenomenon, particularly in the glaring gap that is missing in the research of other countries and cultures.

In consideration of the field of social work, it is my hope that this paper is a step in raising awareness within the field that there is a dominant perspective of introversion that needs to be dismantled. This can be done by taking notice of individuals seeking services have introverted traits, and how those can be positively reinforced and honored. Awareness of this phenomenon can be raised among mental health practitioners by offering seminars on topics such as living as an introvert in an extrovert society. Fliers can be created to post around mental health agencies, in clinician's offices, in hospitals, and other milieus where mental health practitioners work to create awareness. Reading lists on the topic can be composed and distributed to clinicians. Discussion groups among clinicians can be formed to offer a space to educate and disseminate on this subject.

In the classroom, this can be done by creating a curriculum that provides a milieu in which introvert's learning preferences are given just as much space as extrovert's. For example, offering time during class to work individually and silently. Instructors might create exercises in which the goal is to absorb information from a reading for example, and then ask students to free-write any and all ideas that come to mind from that reading. Instead of sharing these ideas on the spot with the entire class, maybe students would be asked to think deeply on the topic overnight and come together the following class and choose how they might want to share those ideas. It could be by allowing other students to read one another's thoughts and comment back to one another in writing, or by forming small groups to discuss the information as opposed to asking for volunteers to share to the whole class. Another idea might be to train instructors that when they pose questions to the class, there is a standard two minute silence that happens before any student is asked to answer the question. Thus, allowing all students to think on the question for a few moments before answering. Another idea would be to offer a few moments at various

times during class where all members take a moment to practice mindfulness. A moment to be silent and introspective and center one's thoughts.

This can be done by dedicating time, energy, and resources within the field to continue to expand the body of research regarding this phenomenon. Research on other countries and cultures that tend to be more introverted could be studied to help the United States expand upon and adopt ideas and methods that have already been proven to work elsewhere. Research that describes the positive traits of introversion and how these traits can be highlighted in various aspects of life in this country.

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