Personality Correlates of Depressive Style in Autobiographies of Creative Achievers

Abstract

This study compared neurotic and depressive personality characteristics in creative achievers versus eminent but non-creative achievers. Forty-eight subjects (25 men, 23 women) autobiographies were assessed by trained raters on personality using the California Q-Set. Creative achievers included literary and visual artists whereas the control group consisted of political, military and social leaders. The Q-Set ratings were used to assess the five factors of personality (neuroticism, extroversion, openness to experience, agreeableness and conscientiousness). Neuroticism was further divided into subscales that assessed depressive style, impulsivity and anxiety. Results showed that creative achievers were rated significantly higher than controls on general neuroticism, as well as on depressive style and impulsivity. Creative achievers did not differ from controls in anxiety. It was also found that creative achievers were rated significantly higher than controls on openness to experience and agreeableness, but lower on conscientiousness. None of the effects for creativity was affected by subjects' sex.

Freud (1908/1973) felt creative artists were like children at play. They both create fantasy worlds invested with emotion and arrangement and the world around them in accordance with those fantasies. In fact, Freud hypothesized that creative production could be considered a substitute for childhood play. This fantasy world, distinct from reality, allows creative artists to bring unpleasant emotions from real life into a creative work. Situations and events that people generally find painful in everyday life, produce enjoyment when part of a creative work.
following question arises however. Do artists pay a psychological price for creating these "fantasy worlds"?

Many famous creative artists are considered to have suffered from depression. For example, Sylvia Plath, Jack London, Virginia Woolf, Jackson Pollock and Vincent Van Gogh all reputed to have experienced depression that led them to commit suicide (Prinley, 1989). Do these famous examples reflect a true relationship between creativity and depression, or is this a case where vivid historical examples lead people to infer a relationship where one may not really exist? The present study attempts to confirm a link between creativity and depression by examining the written autobiographical accounts of the lives of creative achievers.

The creative process can be defined as "the emergence of a novel relational product, growing out of the uniqueness of the individual on the one hand, and the material events, people, or circumstances of his life on the other" (Rogers, 1959, p.71). In an influential review of how to assess creativity, Hocevar and Bachor (1989) suggested that judgements of products, eminence (recognized as creative in one's own field) and self-reported creative activities, all are valid measures of creativity because they reflect what society consensus judges as creative. Cattell (1971) had earlier asserted that actual life performance is the best measure of creativity. He argued that an appropriate method of selection is to examine outstandingly creative people who have been identified by their peers as the best in their field. Employing a definition of creativity based on recognized creative achievement is the approach used in this study.

Three research strategies have been used to examine the relation between creativity and affective illness (Jamison, 1989). The first is to use historical and biographical studies of prominent individuals (e.g., Goetzel, Goetzel & Goetzel, 1978; Ludwig, 1992). Although such studies typically yield strong associations between mood disorders and creativity, they are flawed by reliance on anecdotal evidence of psychopathology, indirect access to subjects' internal states, and use of descriptive statistics. A second approach is to study the creative abilities of patients with diagnosed affective disorders. For example, Richards et al. (1988) compared the peak vocational creative accomplishments of diagnosed manic-depressives, cyclothymes, and their first-degree relatives with those of control subjects who had no history of affective disorder. Their results showed that creativity was rated higher in the affective disorder group compared to the control group; however, this effect was significant only if the relatives were included in the affective disorder group.

A third strategy involves using systematic, diagnostic assessment methods to study living writers and artists. For example, Jamison (1989) examined the psychiatric treatment history of 47 British writers and artists who had received prestigious awards in their field. Specifically, subjects were asked "detailed (open-ended and scaled) questions about history and type of treatment, if any, for affective disorder" (p. 127). The results showed that 38% of subjects reported psychiatric treatment for depression at some time in their lives (23% received anti-depressant medication, 8% received psychotherapy alone and 6% were treated for bipolar illness). Unfortunately, because the study did not include a control group, these results are at best only suggestive of a link between creativity and depression.

Using a structured clinical interview, Andreasen (1987) evaluated the history of mental illness in 30 creative writers from the distinguished University of Iowa Writers' Workshop and in a control group of 30 successful professionals who were matched on age, sex, and educational status. The results revealed that 80% of creative writers had an affective illness at some time compared with 30% of controls, and that 43% of creative writers had some type of bipolar illness versus 10% of controls. Although Andreasen's (1987) results appear to confirm an association between creativity and mood disorders, her research contains two methodological problems that should be noted. First, by personally interviewing the creative writers, the author was not blind to their experimental status. Second, different instruments were used to assess mood disorders in the creative and control subjects. Each of these factors could have possibly led to inflated rates of mood disorder in the creative writer sample.

In sum, although all three research strategies have yielded suggestive evidence of an association between creativity and mood disorders, there is still some question as to the true strength of this association. The present study represents an extension of the Jamison (1989) and Andreasen (1987) approach of using systematic assessment methods to study the lives of creative artists. Rather than interviewing creative achievers, we make use of randomly selected, written, autobiographical materials to examine the presence of depressive symptomatology in the lives of eminent, creative
individuals as compared with a control group which consisted
of equally eminent but non-creative achievers (e.g. poets and
leaders). An autobiography is a type of self-report data
since it was not solicited in the form of questions about
depression or mental illness, the possibility of subject
exaggerating a history of mental illness is reduced. Because
biographies of autobiographies exist in which people are
classified according to their occupation and source of fame
was possible to randomly select a sample of creative achiev-
and eminent but non-creative achievers.

It is difficult through the use of biographical or autobiogra-
phical materials to diagnose depression. Although Ludwig (1992)
attempted to present frequency of depression in his sample
of creative biographies, "no attempt was made to establish
formal psychiatric diagnoses for subjects" (p. 338). Presum-
ably he found it difficult to identify specific episodes of
depression unless the subject sought therapy, was hospital-
ized or attempted suicide. To allow for a wider scope in studying
depressive symptomatology in the present study, a depres-
sive personality style rather than actual episodes of depression
was examined. Zenmore and Rinholm (1989) note that vul-
nabilty to depression can be assessed by rating the extent to
which people experience depressotypic symptoms such as
mood swings and concern about one's adequacy. Similarly,
Block, Gjøde and Block (1991) noted that a number of
depression-predisposing personality characteristics have been
identified, including a lack of confidence in one's abilities,
excessive dependence on other people, helplessness and low
self-esteem. A systematic description of depressive personal-
ity characteristics has also been provided by Costa and McCrae
(1987) who have extensively studied the structure of person-
ality at the level of behavioral traits. They note that a collection
of depression-related characteristics (e.g., the frequent ex-
perience of dysphoric feelings) emerges reliably as an important
component of neuroticism.

The California Q-Set (Block, 1961) was used to assess the
personality of creative and eminent achievers. It provides a
general and comprehensive evaluation of an individual's per-
sonality, including normal and pathological traits. We planned

1 In support of this decision, other studies of eminent individuals have made this
distinction between political and creative achievers (Goetzl et al., 1978; Ochse,
1990; Simonot, 1984). Although politicians may be considered as having
creative personalities, their fame has not been achieved through the production
of creative products.

to use the Q-Set items to assess each subject's level of
neuroticism as well as to examine its more specific facets such as
being one of five central dimensions of personality that can be
reliably identified in factor analyses of general measures of
personality. It refers to "individual differences in the tendency
to experience distress and in the cognitive and behavioral styles
that follow from this tendency" (McCrae & John, 1992, p.195).

High levels of neuroticism have been associated with the
experience of chronic negative affect (Watson and Clark, 1984)
and the development of a variety of psychiatric disturbances
(McCrae & John, 1992). We also planned to assess the other
four central dimensions of personality, namely, extroversion,
openness to experience, agreeableness and conscientiousness.

It was hypothesized that creative achievers would score
higher on neuroticism than control subjects. Ochse (1991)
reviews evidence that suggests that creative individuals score
higher on general measures of psychopathology or neuroticism.
More specifically, it was hypothesized that creative
achievers would rate higher on the depressive facet of
neuroticism than control subjects. No predictions were offered
regarding other aspects of personality.

METHOD
Subjects

Forty-eight subjects (25 males, 23 females) were selected from
Briscione's (1982) A Bibliography of American Autobiogra-
phy, 1945-1980. Different headings in the index were used to
select creative and non-creative subjects. Visually creative
subjects were selected under the headings: painter, photogra-
pher, movie director and sculptor. Literary creative subjects
were selected from categories: novelist and poet. Non-creative
(control) subjects were selected from headings: U.S. Supreme
Court Justice, senator, president, U.S. Army General, social
activist, suffragist and labor leader.

In each bibliographic index category (novelist, painter, etc.),
subjects were recorded until a quota of nine creative
subject names were recorded until a quota of nine creative
subjects and nine non-creative achievers per cell was filled
for each sex. A search was made for the autobiographies at
the McGill University library. If any subject groups remained
unfilled, an additional exploration was conducted through
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sample included 9 male visual creators, 6 female visual creators, 7 male literary creators, 8 female literary creators, 10 male controls, and 9 female controls. (See Appendix B: bibliographic listing of subjects.)

To insure a base level of eminence in either a creative or non-creative field, subjects' names were looked-up in Who in America (1993) and Who Was Who in America (1896-1989). Forty of the 48 (83.3%) subjects were listed in these two references with minimum of 1.5 centimeters of space. The remaining 8 subjects were found in bibliographic dictionaries under their respective fields of eminence and were distributed evenly across the two creative and non-creative categories. Similar methods to ensure eminence have been discussed by Simonton (1984).

**Materials**

The California Q-Set (CQS; Block, 1961) is a comprehensive personality assessment instrument that consists of 100 statements descriptive of a wide range of personality, behavioral, and motivational factors. The items range from negative factors (e.g., "is guileful and deceitful") to neutral factors (e.g., "enjoys sensual experiences") to more positive factors (e.g., "has a clearcut, internally consistent personality"). The CQS was not designed to measure any specific personality variable, instead, "it is a pool of items which, like those in the MMPI, can be conceivably used in the development of many different scales" (Edwards, 1965, p. 170).

This study focused on the adult years as represented by the last 50 pages in each autobiography. Some autobiographies covered just the childhood or young adult years, so to insure some similarity of content in the last 50 pages, only those subjects who described their life from at least age 25 were included. Trained raters evaluated a subject's personalit

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"Criteria necessary for inclusion in these two dictionaries are based on awards, distinctions and prominent positions held. Just being included in such a reference ensures a baseline level of eminence having been achieved in American society. See Who's Who in America (1993) for specific, cut-off criteria. The sample used here may be moderately heterogeneous in terms of amount of eminence achieved relative to each other, but 83% of the sample achieved an equivalent standard of notable recognition in their field.

The only exception was Richard Nixon who, in discussing his presidency, could be easily identified. In order to avoid this problem, fifty pages from his years as senator and vice-president were used for analysis. In general, since we were measuring depressive personality style and not depressive episodes or hospitalizations, using the last fifty pages of the autobiographies (rather than the entire book) appeared justified. In this way, we might miss actual depressive episodes experienced earlier in life but the subject's approach towards life and overall personality style could be accurately examined.

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"Procedure"

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"Results and Preliminary Analyses"

Reliability of the CQS ratings was assessed by computing within-subject correlations between the 100 CQS ratings of the same subject by two judges. The within-subject correlations of the CQS profiles ranged from r(98) = .28 to r(98) = .82 with a mean of .59. Using the Spearman-Brown formula, .82 with a mean of .59. Using the Spearman-Brown formula, .82 with a mean of .59. Using the Spearman-Brown formula, .82 with a mean of .59. Using the Spearman-Brown formula, .82 with a mean of .59. Using the Spearman-Brown formula, .82 with a mean of .59. Using the Spearman-Brown formula, .82 with a mean of .59. Using the Spearman-Brown formula, .82 with a mean of .59. Using the Spearman-Brown formula, .82 with a mean of .59. Using the Spearman-Brown formula, .82 with a mean of .59.

Factor analysis of CQS items related to neuroticism. McCrae, Costa and Busch (1986) factor analyzed the CQS descriptions of 403 adult men and women. Five clear factors..."
emerged matching those commonly found for trait adjectives, namely neuroticism, extraversion, openness, agreeableness, and conscientiousness. They further showed that these five factors displayed convergent and discriminant validity against self-reports and peer and spouse reports on measures of the five factor model.

McCrae et al.'s (1986) analysis yielded 31 items that related to neuroticism. To test whether a depression factor could be retrieved from these items, a Principle Components Factor Analysis (with Varimax rotations) was performed on the items. A six-factor solution was specified. This analysis yielded 6 factors with eigenvalues above 1.0. Table 1 provides the items and loadings for the three largest factors. Factor 1, labelled "impulsiveness", had an eigenvalue of 6.14 and included 6 items (Cronbach α = .77). Factor 2, labelled "depressive style", had an eigenvalue of 3.51 and included 9 items (α = .78). Another relatively clear factor emerged for anxiety, consisting of 4 items (α = .68). These three factors accounted for 41% of the variance among neuroticism items. The other factors that emerged in the analysis of the neuroticism items accounted for only 20% of the variance, were less cohesive, and were more difficult to label.

**Table 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CQG Items</th>
<th>Factor 1 &quot;Impulsiveness&quot;</th>
<th>Factor 2 &quot;Depressive Style&quot;</th>
<th>Factor 3 &quot;Anxiety&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unpredictable</td>
<td>.81</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behaves ethically</td>
<td>-.78</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sees heart of problems</td>
<td>-.52</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>-.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prides self on objectivity</td>
<td>-.51</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clear-cut personality</td>
<td>-.84</td>
<td>-.15</td>
<td>-.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calm, relaxed</td>
<td>-.56</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>-.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thin-skinned</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>-.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fluctuating moods</td>
<td>.53</td>
<td>.66</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concerned with adequacy</td>
<td>.34</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>-.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brittle ego</td>
<td>.38</td>
<td>.53</td>
<td>-.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-defeating</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.45</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compares self to others</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.66</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extrapunitive</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>-.47</td>
<td>.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personally charming</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>-.62</td>
<td>-.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socially poised</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>-.64</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basically anxious</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irritable</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feels victimized, cheated</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheerful</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>-.32</td>
<td>-.77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Group differences on Neuroticism and its components.**

Separate 2 X 2 ANOVAs were performed on the CQG summary scores for Neuroticism and the three subscales for Depressive Style, Impulsiveness and Anxiety with Sex and Group (Creative Artist/Control) as between-subject factors. A significant main effect for Group was revealed on Neuroticism, F(1, 44) = 4.77, p < .05. It can be seen on Table 2 that creative artists scored significantly higher than controls on neuroticism. Significant main effects for Group were also obtained on depressive style, F(1, 44) = 5.42, p < .05, and impulsiveness, F(1, 44) = 13.82, p < .01; but not for anxiety. X² p < .05. Table 2 shows that creative artists scored significantly higher than controls on both depressive style and impulsiveness. No significant main effects or interactions emerged for sex.

To examine differences between written and visual creative artists, t-test comparisons were performed on Neuroticism, Depressive Style and Impulsiveness. A significant difference

*Two of the factors seemed to assess psychosomatic concerns and general vulnerability. Neither of these two factors yielded an internal reliability that was considered adequate for further analysis (α = .54 and .53, respectively). No label for the final 4-item factor was readily apparent.
was observed only for Depressive Style, \( t(28) = -2.19, p < .05 \), indicating that written artists scored higher than visual artists on depressive style (M's = 4.88 and 4.33, respectively).

**Group differences on other aspects of personality.**

2 X 2 ANOVAs were also performed on Extroversion, Openness to Experience, Agreeableness, and Conscientiousness. Significant Group main effects were found for Openness, \( F(1, 44) = 11.04, p < .01 \), Agreeableness, \( F(1, 44) = 4.17, p < .05 \), and Conscientiousness, \( F(1, 44) = 29.01, p < .001 \). It can be seen on Table 2 that creative subjects were rated higher than controls on openness and agreeableness, but lower on conscientiousness. There were no main effects or interactions related to sex on these measures. Also, post comparisons between the two creative artists groups revealed no differences on these measures.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personality Dimension</th>
<th>Creative Achiever</th>
<th>Non-Creative Achiever</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neuroticism</td>
<td>3.86</td>
<td>3.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depressive Style</td>
<td>4.61</td>
<td>4.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impulsiveness</td>
<td>3.87</td>
<td>2.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anxiety</td>
<td>3.59</td>
<td>3.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extroversion</td>
<td>6.10</td>
<td>6.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Openness to Experience</td>
<td>5.69</td>
<td>5.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agreeableness</td>
<td>5.81</td>
<td>5.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conscientiousness</td>
<td>6.02</td>
<td>6.66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. \( n = 30 \) for creative achievers and \( n = 18 \) for controls.

**DISCUSSION**

The results confirmed the prediction that creative achievers would be judged to be more neurotic than a control group. Neuroticism reflects the experience of psychological distress and has been associated with chronic negative affect and psychiatric disturbance. The finding that creative achievers rank higher on this dimension of personality supports the connections made in the past between emotional instability and creativity (Barron, 1968; MacKinnon, 1962, 1978; Ochse, 1990).

The results also confirmed the prediction that creative achievers would be more likely than a control group of achievers to possess characteristics specifically related to a depressive personality style. Thus, creative achievers were more likely to be described as concerned with their own adequacy, experiencing fluctuating moods, and possessing less social poise than non-creative achievers. Literary creators were particularly vulnerable to depression, and this may be the reason previous studies have been able to link creativity and depression using samples of creative writers (Andreason, 1987; Barron, 1968; Jamison, 1989).

What accounts for this connection between depression or depressive style and creativity? Similarities in early family environments of creative achievers and depressed people may provide a clue. Many creative achievers come from homes characterized by parental rejection and restrictive environments (Dredvahl, 1964; Goertzel et al., 1978) and a large percentage of both creative achievers and suicidal depressives experienced the loss of a parent in childhood (Albert, 1971, 1980). Similarly, adult depressives recall experiencing more parental rejection, more negative evaluations of themselves and less tolerant, affectionate behavior and warmth from their parents (Crook, Raskin & Elliot, 1981; Zenmore & Rinholm, 1989). The seeds for future creative achievement and depressive style may be planted in a childhood characterized by parental rejection, restrictiveness or loss.

In evaluating the present study's evidence for a relation between creativity and neuroticism and depressive style, it should be noted that our methodology had several features that set it apart from previous work. Thus subjects were randomly selected from a comprehensive bibliography, a control group that was matched on eminence was obtained, and ratings of personality were made by raters who were blind to both the hypotheses of the study and the identity of the subjects. Further, a comprehensive system of coding personality was employed and its reliability was established. The study included two kinds of creative artists and sampled equally among men and women.8 (Sex was not found to moderate any of the effects of creativity on personality). And finally,

8 In some categories, autobiographies written by men were easier to find than those written by women. In particular, autobiographies of female politicians and visual artists were scarce. The assumption could be made, therefore, that the women in this study were not as representative of their field as the male achievers. However, those women whose autobiographies we did locate were as likely as men to merit recognition in Who's Who dictionaries. Actually, the women who did achieve fame in these fields could be especially talented because they had to struggle for success in a male dominated field.
autobiographical rather than biographical materials were evaluated allowing for direct analysis of the subjects’ thoughts, beliefs and emotions. By addressing some of the previous methodological faults noted by authors such as Briggs (1988) and Rothenberg (1990), we hope to have strengthened the connection between creativity and depression.

In addition to the expected relations of creativity to neuroticism and depressive personality style, a relation was also found for impulsiveness. Creative achievers were rated as significantly more impulsive than controls. That is, creative achievers were found to be more unpredictable, less likely to be ethically consistent, and less proud of being rational. The differences between creative and controls on impulsiveness is interesting, given that impulsiveness resembles hypomania. Manic and hypomanic states are associated with increased activity, unusual thought processes, and hypersensitivity. Jamison et al. (1980), Jamison (1989), Richards et al. (1988) and Andreason (1987) all uncovered a higher than normal distribution of manic-depressive individuals in creative populations. If impulsiveness does reflect a tendency toward manic states, it may open up the thought processes of creative individuals and facilitate the creative process.

The finding that creative achievers rate higher than the control group of achievers on depressive style and impulsiveness raises some questions about the creative lifestyle. Impulsiveness or an unpredictable, inconsistent approach to life could be a response to the darkness and inertia of depression while depression could be a way to bring unpredictable, impulsive behavior under control. This portrait of a creative individual conforms to Miller’s (1981, 1990) view of a creative person cycling through depression and grandiosity, trying to cope with a narcissistic disturbance or injury.

Although creative achievers rated higher than controls on both depressive style and impulsiveness, they were no different from controls in their level of anxiety. This suggests that there is some specificity to the relation of creativity to aspects of neuroticism. However, it should be acknowledged that the anxiety subscale used in this study included only four items and possessed relatively low reliability. Thus, it may not represent a stringent test of the specificity hypothesis.

The study also suggested that the personality profile of creative individuals differs from the control group of achievers in areas other than neuroticism. In fact, of the five central dimensions of personality identified by Costa and McCrae and others, only for extroversion was a significant difference between creative and non-creative achievers not obtained. Creative achievers were rated higher than controls on both openness to experience and agreeableness whereas they were rated lower on conscientiousness.

To find neuroticism, agreeableness and openness to experience rated highly in the same individual is unusual and provides some insight into the unique personality of the creative achiever. Barron (1968) and MacKinnon (1962, 1978) proposed that the creative individual is more emotionally unstable than the average person but has strong coping abilities. Emotional instability is represented in this study by neuroticism, and an argument could be made that agreeableness and openness reflect a positive or well-adjusted approach to life. Agreeableness has been found to be positively associated with measures of well-being (McCrae & John, 1992) and openness to experience has been posited as a key aspect of a fully-functioning, self-actualized individual (Rogers, 1959). Creative individuals may cope with affective difficulties by becoming open to new experiences and new people. In this way, creative people learn much about the world and other people and can gain a sense of control over their environment. Freud (1908/1973) noted the battle between neurosis and ego control in the creative artist. The creative artist, according to Freud’s theory, has access to primary process thinking and unconscious fantasies. Unlike the neurotic or psychotic who becomes controlled by or engulfed in them, creators use the ego to control the fantasies and create a unique product.

Although this study attempted to account for the methodological problems existing in previous research, some new difficulties pertinent to this study need to be addressed. The achievers examined here were specifically those who had written an autobiography. The resulting selection bias means that our sample may be especially introspective or reflective. However, this bias does not negate the differences obtained between the creative and the control group of achievers on neuroticism and its facets. Autobiographical research is open to the criticism that subjects may omit important aspects of their life experience. Future studies could combine the assessment of autobiographies and biographies to ensure that creative achievers were relating accurate accounts of their lives.

Another possible concern particular to this study is the depressive personality style and impulsiveness found here to be typical of the creative achiever do exist well within the
domain of normal personality. Scores for these facets were not extremely high or even rated as quite characteristic for the creative achievers; however, the scores were significantly higher than those of the control achievers. Our evidence suggests that, in general, both types of achievers are fairly well adjusted but if either did experience psychological distress, the creative achiever would be most likely to suffer from dysphoria or hypomania. Also, the creative achiever, as evidenced by the higher neuroticism scores, does appear to be more likely than control achievers to experience psychological distress.

Does society create some of the distress experienced by creative achievers by labelling them as different? Briggs (1988) suggests that creative works are, by definition, different from what society generally observes. Perhaps society labels creative people as neurotic, depressed or pathological because they do things differently from most other people. The self-critical, moody, hypersensitive individual that we label depressive could be a creative person trying to cope with a world that censors him or her. The present study did not examine the possible role played by society’s response to the creative works produced by the artistic individuals included in this study. It would have been interesting to assess the general reception that such works received and consider whether this served to moderate the relation of creativity to neuroticism and depression.

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Appendix A
Bibliography of Subjects’ Autobiographies

VISUAL MALES

Movie Directors


Painters


Sculptors


VISUAL FEMALES

Painters


Sculptors


Photographers
LITERARY MALES

Novelists


Poets


LITERARY FEMALES

Novelists


Poets


CONTROL MALES

US Army Generals


Senators


Presidents


Social Activists


Labor Leaders


CONTROL FEMALES

Suffragists


Jill E. Adamant
Paul H. Blaney

The Effects of Musical Mood Induction on Creativity

ABSTRACT

A music mood induction was used to induce either elated, depressed, or neutral mood in 71 college undergraduates. The elated group scored significantly higher than the depressed group on mood ratings. Creativity measures administered to each group revealed that subjects in the elated and depressed groups showed significantly greater creativity than subjects in the neutral group. Findings were interpreted in light of existing research on the relationship between mood and creativity.

Most of the research on mood and creativity has involved mood disorders found in creative individuals. In early empirical research on the subject, Juda (1949) found an increased prevalence of Type I bipolar disorder among artists. Andreason and Canter (1974), in studying the prevalence of various types of psychopathology in a sample of creative writers and their relatives, found that writers had a higher rate of affective disorders (primarily depression) than did controls. A similar pattern of psychopathology was found among the parents and siblings of the creative group.

Andreason (1987) examined rates of mental illness in 30 creative writers, 30 matched control subjects, and the first-degree relatives of each group. The writers showed a significantly higher rate of mental illness, primarily affective disorder, with a tendency toward the bipolar subtype.

Richards, Kinney, Lunde, Benet, and Merzel (1988) compared the creative accomplishments of seventeen manic-depressives, 16 cyclothymes, and 11 normal first-degree relatives with 33 controls. Creativity was found to be