Practical Recommendations for Considering Culture, Race, and Ethnicity in Personality
Psychology

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Memoona Arshad¹

Joanne M. Chung²

¹Department of Psychology, York University

²Department of Psychology, University of Toronto, Mississauga

Author Note

Memoona Arshad <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0704-3156>

Joanne M. Chung <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2191-9644>

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Correspondence regarding this manuscript may be directed to Memoona Arshad. Email: arshad.memoonaa@gmail.com.

Abstract

Personality science is the study of the individual. It aims to understand what makes people similar to others, different from some, and unique to themselves. However, there is room for research in personality to more thoughtfully consider culture, race, and ethnicity in order to better understand individual differences in people's patterns of thinking, feeling, and behaving. High impact personality journals rarely include such factors into the interpretation of results, and cross-cultural and ethnic minority publications are limited within the discipline. This paper offers a brief, non-exhaustive overview of how culture, race, and ethnicity are examined in relation to personality, showing that: 1) social structures continue to be neglected in the research, 2) we can learn from research being conducted in neighboring areas, and 3) valuable work is already being done within personality psychology. We offer recommendations that emphasize community based participatory research methods, combined etic-emic approaches, and contextualizing research findings to improve the consideration of culture, race, and ethnicity in personality research.

Keywords: personality, culture, race, ethnicity, combined etic-emic approach, daily life, community based participatory research

Practical Recommendations for Considering Culture, Race, and Ethnicity in Personality Psychology

Personality science seeks to understand what makes people similar to others, different from some, and unique to themselves. These questions require looking at the range of people's experiences, including factors related to culture, race, and ethnicity. This is to not only increase the generalizability of our research, but also to understand *human* personality from a lens that does not prioritize the mainstream majority (King, 2021). Yet, studies that carefully consider these factors are relatively rare within personality psychology. This is a problem that is not exclusive to personality psychology, as psychological science in general has tended towards excluding people from underrepresented groups (Espinosa & Verney, 2020; Hall, Yip, & Zárate, 2016; Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010; Saucier & Thalmayer, 2012; Syed et al., 2018). There have been calls for research that more carefully considers culture, race, and ethnicity in personality psychology, and this has been viewed as a much needed avenue for scholars to engage with real world issues (Dupree & Boykin, 2021; King, 2021; Roberts et al., 2020), especially because resources are more widely available (e.g., open materials and data, frameworks for conducting collaborative research, and funding geared towards addressing societal problems).

Additionally, a raised consciousness about injustices that marginalized people have experienced and continue to experience (e.g., global protests in response to the killing of George Floyd; King, Lee, & Kaleem, 2020; Nguyen et al., 2021) further highlights the need to address these factors in personality psychology. Debates about who should conduct research focused on communities of colour and other underrepresented groups often place the responsibility on researchers from those groups (Dupree & Boykin, 2021; Milner, 2007), or those who already

recognize the importance of such research. However, all researchers should work to acknowledge their own positionality and awareness of culture, race, and ethnicity to circumvent harmful stereotypes or misconceptions of individuals and communities, regardless of whether they explicitly study these factors in their research (Milner, 2007; Cheon, Melani, & Hong, 2020; Roberts et al., 2020). We think that personality psychology especially should and can grow in this regard. In this paper, we briefly review some approaches from neighboring areas within psychology, highlight work that is already being conducted within personality psychology, and provide initial, practical recommendations for researchers who are interested in incorporating a consideration of culture, race, and ethnicity into personality science in meaningful ways.

What is Culture, Race, and Ethnicity?

The idea that psychology has centered the experiences of WEIRD (Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic) people (Espinosa & Verney, 2020; Henrich et al., 2010; Saucier & Thalmayer, 2012) is not new, however it remains an issue today. Furthermore, people from multicultural and minority populations, including racial and ethnic minorities, have been historically excluded from research studies in psychological research (e.g., Hall et al., 2016; Syed et al., 2018). Race and ethnicity are closely related to the concept of culture, and while often used interchangeably in the research literature, are distinct from each other (Causadias et al., 2018; Hall et al., 2016). Although some people hold the lay belief that race is biological (e.g., as examined in Plaks et al., 2012; Williams & Eberhardt, 2008), we refer to it as a social construct that groups people together via shared physical characteristics, such as skin colour. Racial differences between people are often created by dominant groups in a society to denote worth or hierarchy of minority group members. In turn, this categorization can have profound effects on the psychology of people, because it includes others' perceptions of them, through

generalizations and stereotypes, which can then influence their racial identity development positively or negatively (Betancourt & López, 1993; Roberts et al., 2020; Utsey et al., 2008). Ethnicity, in contrast, is a social grouping of individuals that share common nationality, language, history, traditions, and cultural practices (Betancourt & López, 1993; Golash-Boza, 2016; Markus, 2008). Race and ethnicity are integrated into the idea of culture, as they all operate at individual and group (e.g., societal) levels and are used by people to organize and distinguish communities (Causadias et al., 2018; Betancourt & López, 1993; Markus, 2008). As such, culture is defined as a learned and shared system of meanings (i.e., beliefs & values) that are transmitted through shared activities, change over time, and are shaped by people to construct, define, and interpret the world around them (Markus, 2008; Matsumoto et al., 1996; Rohner, 1984).

Culture, Race, and Ethnicity Matter for the Understanding of Personality

People's cultural, racial, and ethnic heritage can impact their access to resources, their socioeconomic status, and prospects for social mobility (e.g., Feinstein, 1993; Manstead, 2018; Williams et al., 2010) via experiences with social structures. Social structures refer to relations between individual members and societal institutions (e.g., political and educational entities, social services) that organize and assign value to social categories, such as race, ethnicity, gender, and class (e.g., Cortina, Curtin, & Stewart, 2012). These variables interact hierarchically to create systems of privilege and disadvantage (Cortina et al., 2012; Mullings & Schulz, 2006). Racial and ethnic stereotypes, upheld through dominant institutions in society, including the government and media, can negatively impact people's access to educational (Manly et al., 2002), occupational (Emerson & Murphy, 2014) and health care (Glymour & Manly, 2008) resources. In turn, different aspects of people's personalities can be affected through forces of

racism and oppression (e.g., Chávez et al., 2008; Cortina et al., 2012). Because social structures affect people (e.g., Cortina et al., 2012), including samples of people that have been historically excluded in personality psychology is essential for understanding individual differences and personality processes. This is becoming increasingly important as the number of those who identify as racial and ethnic minorities grows; for example, in Canada, racial and ethnic minorities are expected to make up between 35% to 38% of the population by 2036, and in the United States, over 50% of the population by 2044 (Espinosa & Verney, 2020; Morency et al., 2017)¹.

Additionally, focusing on social structures in personality psychology creates an opportunity for researchers to explicitly consider the role of contextual factors in relation to individuals' personalities. For example, some studies indicate that individuals' expression of their personality and self-views differ across different relationships and positions in society (e.g., Clifton, 2014; Roberts, 2007, Suh, 2002). In other studies, social contextual factors of socioeconomic status (SES), family environment, and discrimination have been shown to be important for the development of Mexican American adolescents' self-regulation and life satisfaction (e.g., Atherton, Lawson, & Robins, 2020; Willroth, Atherton, & Robins, 2021). Findings also indicate geographical variations in Big Five personality traits, highlighting how contextual factors, such as racial diversity, community development, and crime rate, are

¹ Here, we specifically focus on providing recommendations for increasing considerations for race, ethnicity, and culture in personality psychology, while acknowledging that there are other factors that continue to be understudied in personality psychology, and psychology more generally. Low-income individuals, people from 2SLGBTQIA+ communities, and people with disabilities are some examples of people that have been historically excluded (Espinosa & Verney, 2020; Henrich et al., 2010; Syed & Kathawalla, 2020). It is important to note that these factors often interact. For example, an individual can simultaneously identify or be perceived by others as belonging to several groups (e.g., a cisgender, heterosexual, Asian woman), resulting in having different advantages and disadvantages in society, referred to as intersectionality (Combahee River Collective, 2005; Crenshaw, 1989; Henderson, 1997). We hope that in improving our consideration of culture, race, and ethnicity, and thus acknowledging social structures, that intersectionality in relation to personality processes may be attended to in the future.

negatively (i.e., low racial diversity, high crime rate) and positively (i.e., established community centres/resources) associated with how people think, feel, and behave within and across countries (e.g., Rentfrow, Gosling, & Potter, 2008; Rentfrow & Jokela, 2016). These examples show that the examination of many constructs examined in personality research can benefit from the consideration of factors related to culture, race, and ethnicity (e.g., Lui et al., 2016).

A Consideration of Culture, Race, and Ethnicity Can Improve Personality Research

Incorporating a consideration of culture, race, and ethnicity in personality psychology can help researchers improve their research because it helps to contextualize it. One benefit to doing so is that it can appropriately constrain researchers to be careful about making blanket statements about their findings, for example, about the adaptiveness of certain aspects of personality over others and the universal applicability of Big Five personality traits, by making sure readers are reminded of sample characteristics, rationale and assumptions behind the methods used, and any other constraints on generality (Simons, Shoda, & Lindsay, 2017). Moreover, considering these factors also allows us to revisit the generalizability of previous and current personality research. Including samples of underrepresented people challenges personality researchers to justify their samples and make clear the relevance of their findings to people from the group in question instead of providing vague, general statements about a larger unrelated population. For example, with the implicit assumption that American samples are White (Devos & Banaji, 2005), studies on non-White American samples are labeled as “cultural” studies and are seen as less generalizable (Cheon et al., 2020). This serves the assumption that research on White Americans is more generalizable than research on non-White Americans (Cheon et al., 2020), and challenges researchers to be more explicit about the replicability and credibility of their findings. It is important to note that this is an issue related to race within a country, and that issues related

to representation across countries may present themselves differently (e.g., van de Vijver, 2013). While personality psychology has been at the forefront of the credibility revolution (Atherton et al., 2021), the relative lack of regard for culture, race, and ethnicity within the field is an issue for replicability as well. The ways in which researchers recruit and study individuals should ensure findings can be generalizable because generalizability influences the perceived impact and credibility of the research (Cheon et al., 2020; Simons et al., 2017). Moving forward, improving the representation of underrecruited samples in personality research should be just as important to researchers as are open science approaches and preregistrations, especially as generalizability constraints are not limited to “cultural” studies but apply to Western research as well (Cheon et al., 2020).

Personality Psychology Currently Lacks Research on Culture, Race and Ethnicity

Personality psychology has historically focused on a narrow population, as part of its beginnings was focused on assessing the intelligence and ability of White men in the military (e.g., Gibby & Zickar, 2008; Winter & Barenbaum, 1999). Personality psychology has broadened in its scope, yet, culture, race, and ethnicity are still understudied.

In a recent commentary, Atherton et al. (2021) reported a search of the 50 most cited articles that use personality as a keyword, and the results showed that studies used samples predominantly composed of American undergraduate students, and were authored almost entirely by individuals in the Western world. These results suggest that researchers in personality psychology should orient themselves towards more meaningfully addressing culture in their work by conducting and prioritizing work that uses non-Western samples.

Additionally, in a notable commentary on the current state of personality psychology that in part motivates the current work, Syed (2021) highlights the relative absence of race, ethnicity,

and culture in personality research, specifically identifying the exclusion of structural considerations (e.g., power, privilege, and context) in understanding personality. In doing so, Syed (2021) emphasizes that personality encompasses more than just traits and should include a consideration of structural contexts and social structures, concepts that are relatively rare within personality psychology.

For example, in one important review Cortina et al. (2012) examined the number of empirical articles in three leading journals in personality psychology (i.e., Journal of Research in Personality (JRP), Journal of Personality (JP), and Journal of Personality and Social Psychology: Personality Processes and Individual Differences (JPSP) section that focused on race, ethnicity, and other variables such as gender, class and sexual orientation. Among these journals, only three percent of the JPSP articles acknowledged race or ethnicity in the interpretation of results (and none in either JRP or JP; Cortina et al., 2012). This neglect of social structures was not reflected in psychology journals that have a special focus on race and ethnicity (i.e., Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, The Journal of Black Psychology, and The Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences). Cortina et al. (2012) found that the majority of articles in each of these journals examined social structures in the study of personality. This suggests that although advances in understanding the relations between personality and social structures are being addressed, they are not reaching a larger audience (i.e., mainstream personality psychologists) who might greatly benefit from this work (Cortina et al., 2012).

Broadening to Other Areas of Psychology

Others who have reviewed the literature have shown that a consideration of culture, race, and ethnicity is lacking more generally in psychology (e.g., Arnett, 2008; Hartmann et al., 2013; Roberts et al., 2020; Thalmayer, Toscanelli, & Arnett., 2021). These reviews investigated the

presence of diverse research samples in prominent psychology journals (Arnett, 2008; Thalmayer et al, 2021), trends for ethnic-minority and cross-cultural publications indexed in PsycINFO (Hartmann et al., 2013) and the frequency of research publications highlighting race, with an additional focus on race of authors and editors (Roberts et al., 2020). Research samples in psychology continue to be predominantly from Western, English-speaking countries (Arnett, 2008; Thalmayer et al., 2021), publications using cross-cultural and ethnic minority perspectives are limited in APA journals (Hartmann et al., 2013), and the majority of articles published in high impact psychology journals do not highlight race as an issue of interest, while the ones that do are mostly edited and written by White people who recruit fewer participants of colour in their participant samples (Roberts et al., 2020). This suggests that considerations of race, ethnicity, and culture are not seen as important in mainstream, high-impact journals, and works to further devalue the work of researchers who highlight these issues.

Conceptualizations of Personality Already Include Culture, Race, and Ethnicity

A pervasive view of personality psychology is that it is restricted to the Big Five personality dimensions where traits are evidence of one's personality. However, in addition to our recommendations about contextualizing personality, there are other approaches to studying personality, including the three-level organizational system (McAdams, 1995, McAdams & Pals, 2006; see Syed, 2021 for a more detailed treatment of this approach). This approach makes room for an examination of personality in relation to culture, race, and ethnicity, for example, with regard to characteristic adaptations as they are situated in specific contexts and are shaped by social experiences, and life narratives because they allow individuals to share how they make meaning of their cultural experiences in their own words (McAdams & Pals, 2006).

Furthermore, there has been a recent increase in research focused on personality dynamics, which examines processes, mechanisms, and changes that are integral to the expression of and changes in personality (e.g., Kuper et al., 2021). One of the reasons for the renewed attention on personality dynamics is the increased availability of technology (e.g., smartphones and wearables) related to daily life methods. Daily life methods (Bolger, Davis, & Rafaeli, 2003) have typically been lauded for being more ecologically valid than other methodologies such as questionnaires and interviews because they allow for people to engage with a research study *in situ* over time (Allemand & Mehl, 2017), for example, by responding to a push notification on their smartphone. Although not often specifically discussed in this context, daily life methods hold special promise for examining how personality processes are related to different aspects of culture, race, and ethnicity via the structural contexts individuals exist in. We can learn from work that is already being done on the relations between daily experiences of racial discrimination and well-being outcomes in ethnic minority individuals (e.g., Seaton et al., 2018; Seaton, 2019), highlighting the utility of daily life studies for offering a unique window into the effects of racial discrimination in everyday life, as well as in the long term (Hoggard, Byrd, and Sellers, 2012 and 2015; Ong, Burrow, Fuller-Rowell, Ja, & Sue, 2013; Ong, Fuller-Rowell, and Burrow, 2009; Seaton & Douglass, 2014).

What is Already Being Done in Other Areas of Psychology?

Personality psychology can make improvements in considering culture, race, and ethnicity by looking at how neighboring areas have done so. In Table 1, we provide a broad and simplified overview based on our knowledge of these areas.²

² We provide a basic overview while recognizing that the lines among these areas are often fuzzy. We also emphasize these specific areas while acknowledging that each area interplays with social psychology.

Table 1.

Broad Overview of How Neighboring Areas in Psychology Consider Culture, Race, and Ethnicity

Area in Psychology	How culture, race, and ethnicity are considered	Example(s)
Cross-cultural psychology	Explicit consideration of culture in relation to thoughts, feelings, and behavior; focus is on similarities in 2 or more cultures (van de Vijver, Leung, & Leung, 1997)	The extent to which there are similarities on linguistic, functional, conceptual, and metric criteria in different cultural groups that are being compared (e.g., Leong, Leung, & Cheung, 2010) Etic approach: import construct and measure from one cultural context to another (e.g., Berry, 1989; Cheung, van de Vijver, & Leong, 2011; Cheung, 2012; Fetvadjev & van de Vijver, 2015)
Cultural psychology	Explicit consideration of culture in relation to thoughts, feelings, and behavior; comparison is not the primary goal	Emic approach: consider construct and measure within cultural context of interest (e.g., Berry, 1989; Cheung et al., 2011; Cheung, 2012; Fetvadjev & van de Vijver, 2015)
Ethnic minority psychology	Focus on psychology of people from historically marginalized racial and ethnic groups (e.g., Hall et al., 2016)	Examining instances of racial discrimination (e.g., Seaton et al., 2018) using experience sampling studies (e.g., Bolger et al., 2003)
Community psychology	Joint consideration of person and community factors (including to promote positive social change)	Community based participatory research: Proactively assessing community resources, structures, and power dynamics in combination with partnering with community members at each stage of the research process (e.g., Collins et al., 2018; Espinosa & Verney, 2020)
Developmental psychology	Examination of culture, race, and ethnicity as proxies of important contextual factors for change (e.g., Quintana et al., 2007)	Integrative model: Examine institutional racism, positionality, cultural practices in relation to risk and resilience factors in ethnic minority children (García Coll et al., 1996)

Table 1 includes a description of areas in psychology already doing work that emphasizes culture, race, and ethnicity in thoughtful ways. Personality psychologists can acknowledge and learn from this work to expand their own theoretical and methodological toolboxes.

Another approach for improving personality psychology's treatment of culture, race, and ethnicity is to take a closer look at studies that are being conducted within the realm of personality psychology. See Table 2 for a summary of five studies that we think meaningfully highlight the link between culture and personality in different ways.

Table 2.

Summary of Recent Studies in Personality Psychology That Meaningfully Consider Culture

Citation	Purpose of the study	How culture is considered	Why it is important
Khwaja, Vaid, Zannone, Harari, Faisal & Matic (2019)	Examine extent to which mobile sensing data could be used to predict people's standing (e.g., low or high) on self-reported Big Five traits in sample of participants from the United Kingdom, Spain, Chile, Peru, and Colombia	Used machine learning to specify personality classification models based on smartphone data features (i.e., accelerometer, pedometer, battery usage, ambient noise, etc.). Specified: 1) a model that was trained on all possible combinations of data from four countries, and then tested on data from fifth country; 2) a model that was trained on a subset of data within each country, and then tested on the other part.	Illustration of how etic and emic approaches can be used in combination with behavioral methods used to study daily life
Thalmayer, Job, Shino, Robinson, & Saucier (2020)	Examine personality descriptors in the Khoekhoegowab language in people living in Sub-Saharan Africa and test the universality of the Big Five and other proposed universal models in a culturally distant sample of community members in southern Africa.	Examined Khoekhoe descriptors that came from a dictionary in combination with descriptors from studies conducted in North America. Asked participants to report on someone they knew on advice of local collaborators who shared that people who spoke Khoekhoegowab might not typically describe their own qualities. Teachers of Khoekhoegowab helped to recruit participants, and also administered the questionnaire in a face-to-face setting to allow for participants who were not fluent in reading and writing the language to be included. Used semi-structured interviews to follow up on quantitative results. People's open-ended responses featured in the manuscript. Preregistration, open materials, and transparent reporting about procedures were also used.	Illustration of combined etic-emic approach. Demonstration of how collaboration can occur with people who are members of the community. Illustration of how the research team was able to clarify and update interpretations of meanings of descriptors that seemed ambiguous based on their definition in the English language. Illustration of how open science methods can be used in combination with careful consideration of culture.
Cheung, Kube, Tay, Diener, Jackson, Lucas, Ni, & Leung (2020)	Examine impact of the Syrian conflict on well-being of Syrian people residing in and outside of Syria between 2006 and 2016	Provide details about the events in Syria, including the Arab Spring and the civil uprising that followed, and the loss of life, internal displacement, and forced migration that has occurred since then. Compare measures of social support and well-being in Syrian people (pre-and-post conflict) to well-being in people across the rest of the world.	Example of how authors can effectively situate the sample into historical, social, and cultural contexts. Illustration of combined etic-emic approach to show that the decrease in well-being is most significant for Syrian people relative to the rest of the world.

Chung, Meijer, Zonneveld, Sawaf, Alajak, Moopen ... Laceulle (2021)	Examine emotions and personality change in Syrian young adults who have resettled in the Netherlands	Included Syrian people and bilingual Arabic-English speakers in research team. Consulted with a Cultural Advisory Board to ensure appropriateness of methodology and research materials.	Example of how people from the community can become involved with psychological research.
		Translated and adapted research materials using a back translation process. Coding open-ended and behavioral data in Arabic.	Example of using research methods that allow for discussions about constructs that emerge in Arabic language and Syrian culture
		Created additional opportunities for participants (e.g., newsletters with accompanying small gifts following each data collection, celebratory event facilitated by team members, workshop series for participants, electronic book of participants' artwork to be shared with Dutch and international communities).	Illustration of how participation can be enriched beyond monetary compensation.
		Plan to create summaries of scholarly output in Dutch and Arabic to allow participants to engage with the findings from study.	Example of how scientific findings can be communicated to the community.
Atherton, Lawson, & Robins (2020)	Examine developmental antecedents of stability and change in the construct of effortful control from late childhood to young adulthood in Mexican-origin youth living in the United States	Considered cultural systems specific to sample of Mexican-origin youth, such as nativity status, perceived ethnic discrimination, and Mexican cultural values.	Illustration of how social contextual factors are important for studying personality development.
		Applied Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory, examining multiple environmental factors to provide a holistic view on personality development.	Importance of examining environmental and cultural variables in relation to effortful control of ethnic minorities.
		Used culturally specific questionnaires in combination with measures not tailored for Mexican-origin youth.	Illustration of combined etic-emic approach.

Table 2 includes descriptions of studies that have meaningfully considered culture within personality psychology, but also indicates the relative absence of considering race and ethnicity within the field (e.g., Syed, 2021) raised in our earlier discussion of the current state of personality research. Thus, future research in personality psychology might use these extant studies as examples for more deeply considering culture, but more work is clearly needed regarding race and ethnicity.

Recommendations for Considering Culture, Race, and Ethnicity in Personality Psychology

After reviewing what is being done in neighboring areas of psychology and within personality psychology, we have a few recommendations for researchers who are interested in more carefully considering culture, race, and ethnicity in the planning, implementation and reporting of their work³. We group recommendations by study phase in Figure 1.

³ We also acknowledge that researchers serve in multiple roles in the field, e.g., as stakeholders, editors, and reviewers, and hope that our recommendations can stimulate thinking about how to increase representation in these roles in the future.

Figure 1.

Recommendations for Considering Culture, Race, and Ethnicity in Personality Psychology

Figure 1 includes our recommendations for meaningfully considering culture, race, and ethnicity in personality psychology. In our recommendations we emphasize connecting and collaborating with people from the group and/or community of interest. Community Based Participatory Research (CBPR) methods have been used in indigenization of psychology movements in South America, Africa and Asia, in addition to applied settings within social and organizational psychology. CBPR methods work as a tool to foster community action (Collins et al., 2018) and provide an approach that allows for a more horizontal exchange between researchers and community members (e.g., Balls-Berry & Acosta-Pérez, 2017; Espinosa & Verney, 2020). CBPR methods can be used at any stage in the research process, including building important relationships with people from the community of interest before designing the study (e.g., using focus groups), providing opportunities for feedback throughout the data collection process (e.g., through frequent meetings with the research team), and interpreting study results with the team to facilitate appropriate interpretation before sharing them with both the scientific and layperson communities. For an excellent overview of CBPR methods in psychology, see Collins et al., 2018. One implementation of CBPR is to use an advisory board, where individuals who have lived experiences being part of the community of interest are included and can provide guidance on issues such as the appropriateness of the study materials, participant recruitment, and the study procedure. In general, a benefit of having community members involved in the research process is that research protocols can be piloted and/or altered based on feedback, likely increasing the study's reach.

Our recommendations also advocate for the use of mixed methods that can address both universal and culturally specific aspects of psychological constructs (e.g., Cheung et al., 2011; Silan, 2020; Thalmayer et al., 2020). For example, with regard to questionnaires, both close-

ended and open-ended questions can be administered, with open-ended questions allowing participants to provide feedback on their experience with the task, and to share any additional information they feel is important. Daily life methods (Allemand & Mehl, 2017; Bolger et al., 2003) can also be used to further assess how people encounter social structures in everyday life (e.g., Seaton et al., 2018). We also recommend that where translation of items is needed, researchers use a multi-step process including expert panels, in addition to methods such as forward-back translation (e.g., World Health Organization guidelines on translation; http://www.who.int/substance_abuse/research_tools/translation/en/). Additionally, providing information regarding the cultural context of the sample, regardless of the assumed representativeness of the sample, can help to change norms for how mainstream personality psychology considers culture, race, and ethnicity. For example, what is the population that the sample is drawn from like with regards to norms, beliefs, and cultural practices? What historical, social, and cultural factors should the reader know about to contextualize their interpretation of the study results (e.g., Muthukrishna, Henrich, & Slingerland, 2021; Sullivan, 2020)?

Discussion

Overall, our recommendations provide some avenues for researchers to carefully consider race, ethnicity, and culture in their work. However, there are also larger, systemic factors at play that must be acknowledged in the goal to improve personality research. For one, incentives for academic publishing and job security in the field can discourage researchers from incorporating a consideration of race, ethnicity, and culture into their research. The work researchers conduct on racialized topics is less likely to be funded and publicized, contributing to fewer studies that use this approach being published in higher impact journals (Dupree & Boykin, 2021).

Moreover, the majority of researchers who write, edit, and publish work that highlights race tend to be White, despite authors of colour being more invested in communities of colour and racial diversity (Roberts et al., 2020). These factors combined can contribute to the lack of diverse representation in psychology, as people who want to conduct meaningful research on race, ethnicity, and culture may not find value in their work, or feel able to progress through academia with research that is seen as niche and specialized. However, opportunities can be created here to promote diverse work in psychology. Including people in the research team who are members of the group we are interested in learning about can lead to opportunities for training, opening doors for them to pursue scholarly research in the future. We recommend that editors, grant panelists, and those in other positions of power, work to improve racial diversity in psychological research (e.g., Roberts et al., 2020) and develop practices to reduce racial inequality in academia (e.g., Dupree & Boykin, 2021) to increase representation of these issues more broadly across the area of personality psychology. For example, editors of personality psychology journals could initiate special issues devoted to culture, race, and ethnicity in personality psychology. Additionally, grant agencies could create funding opportunities for such research. Furthermore, professional societies that focus on personality psychology could create awards that recognize scholarship in these areas.

Finally, we want to acknowledge that not all researchers will be particularly interested, or able to, incorporate the provided recommendations to their work. We encourage those who claim to be uninterested to think about how their positionality (e.g., with regard to the researcher's gender, race, SES, social status, and life experiences) can impact the way they approach their own research activities (Milner, 2007). Additionally, we urge those individuals that hold positions of power to interrogate how their disinterest may shape or hinder certain research

programs focused on culture, race, and ethnicity within personality psychology. For those who do not have access to resources (e.g., diverse samples, funding, data), we encourage reflecting on tasks that are attainable, such as reporting demographic characteristics in data, and making use of online repositories. For example, the Personality Development Collaborative (<https://www.personalitydevelopmentcollaborative.org/>) is a tool for researchers that allows one to share and use existing longitudinal data to study personality development. There are also additional panel datasets that allow for the examination of personality using non-Western samples (Atherton et al., 2021), for example, the Survey of Midlife Development in Japan (Markus, Coe, Ryff, Karasawa, Kawakami, & Kitayama, 2009-2010), the Indonesian Family Life Study (RAND, n.d.), the Chinese Family Panel Study (Institute of Social Science Survey, 2015), and the Korean Longitudinal Survey of Women and Families (Joo, 2007-2016). These resources provide opportunities to those without access to diverse samples or funding to incorporate a consideration of culture, race, and ethnicity, in their work.

Personality psychologists have much to do to improve their consideration of race, ethnicity, and culture. This paper has provided a brief, non-exhaustive overview of the current state of personality science, as well as psychology more broadly. However, this is not to say that culture, race, and ethnicity are missing in personality research. Rather, when they are considered, many researchers do not adequately address people's lived experiences and community needs. Without contextualizing our work, or including historically underrepresented people in the research process, we are unable to appropriately conduct and interpret our research. Individuals exist in contexts, and identities across gender, class, race, ethnicity, and culture, (often working simultaneously) can shape the experiences of people in unique ways. If we are interested in individuals' identities, lived experiences, and personality processes, but continue to neglect

including the experiences of people from some groups in our research, we are doing our field a disservice. The future of personality research must be developed with contributions from researchers with unique perspectives and a commitment to including underrepresented minorities, in order to improve research and make it applicable to more people.

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