

METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS IN THE STUDY
OF AREA PERSONALITY: AN EXAMINATION
OF A KROEBERIAN PROPOSITION

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
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1962

ABSTRACT

METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS IN THE STUDY OF AREA PERSONALITY: AN EXAMINATION OF A KROEBERIAN PROPOSITION

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This thesis is concerned primarily with an examination of the utility and relevance of Kroeber's "area personality type" in culture and personality studies. Area personality is defined as consisting of "the dominant value orientations that characterize the behavior patterns of a given set of individual human beings, sharing a given geographical locality; these value orientations being persistent enough that they characterize the major socio-cultural unit."

The writer's sole concern is the existence or non-existence of areal personality and whether or not the data supports the hypothesis: In certain well-defined, historically related and geographically limited culture areas a systematic investigation of character traits should reveal an area-wide ethos, or modal personality.

Several studies in the areas of Spanish America, Peru, Guatemala, and Columbia are then reviewed and value orientations discussed therein are abstracted. Value orientations which are evident in four of the ten studies examined, provide the core of the Mestizo American Ethos by which all countries are then re-evaluated. Eight "core" value orientations are presented; viz., personalism, kinship, emotion, status hierarchy, national orientation, fatalism, age, and spiritualism. More specialized value orientations, those which are found in three or less studies,

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relevant to specific areas include; non-manual labor, manipulation of words and idea, materialism, centralized action, traditionalism, dramatism, gaining advantage on an opponent, in-group solidarity, witchcraft, religion and enjoyment, paternalism, sanctity of the home, security, distrust of other individuals, being a correct person, and liquor as a pre-requisite to social functions.

Lewis's Children of Sanchez is examined as a recent comprehensive study of Mestizo psychological orientations and cultural ethos. The majority of the "core" value orientations are found to be present, in addition to other specialized value orientations.

The data presented and examined support the presence of the Kroeberian concept of area personality type or ethos for the Latin American culture area, and affirm the hypothesis stated by the writer.

The methodological problems in cross-cultural studies of culture and cognition are discussed and the ambiguity in the literature is partially attributed to the lack of a meaningful and universally applicable analytical approach. Formal Analysis is presented and briefly discussed as a possible solution to the problems incurred in investigating phenomena along these dimensions of culture and personality.

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By

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A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

G 23247
11/2/62

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Drs. Herbert P. Phillips and Richard N. Adams who provided the initial stimulus for this study. Their suggestions and criticisms, along with those of Dr. William Faunce, Dr. Iwao Ishino and Dr. John Donoghue, have added appreciably to its content. It should be understood that the above named individuals are in no way responsible for any misconceptions contained herein, and that the opinions expressed are explicitly those of the writer.

Above all, I would like to thank my wife Barbara whose devotion and understanding have always been an inspiration.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Nature of the Problem

This study will be concerned primarily with an examination of the usefulness of A. L. Kroeber's concept of "area personality type." This concept is only one of a number of such constructs to be found in the anthropological literature on culture and personality.¹ The data to be examined will be drawn from a critical review of selected culture and personality studies from a geographically and historically consistent culture area, that of Latin America. These studies will be reviewed with the primary purposes of:

- 1) examining whether there are certain psychological and/or cultural variables which appear consistently enough to indicate the existence of an area personality type within the culture area being investigated;
- 2) examining the methodological problems involved in doing empirical research involving culture area and area personality;
- 3) evaluating the usefulness of such a concept, and
- 4) suggesting an approach which might further enhance the cross-cultural validity of such studies.²

I have selected this problem for the following reasons:

- 1) The culture and personality studies that have been done in these two areas are relatively few, and those that are available are widely scattered throughout the anthropological, psychological, and sociological literature. The unification of these studies under a single analytical framework will further both our understanding of the cultural areas per se, and also our understanding of the psychological dispositions of the individuals involved in these cultural systems.
- 2) The primary stimulus for undertaking this study comes from a set of statements made by A. L. Kroeber. (Kroeber, 1955: 302-05.) Because of Kroeber's great influence on the nature of contemporary anthropological thought,³ it is necessary that his propositions and implications be tested whenever possible. This paper will be addressed to this task.
- 3) Scientific concerns with cross-cultural relations, that fifteen years ago would have been faced only by a few individuals other than anthropologists, are now the concern of many non-anthropologists, e.g., government officials, peace corp workers, exchange teachers, businessmen, etc. With the many recent advances in communication and transportation, as well as increasing interests in the so-called "underdeveloped countries," the notion of a "world community" is becoming even more realistic.⁴ However, a world community

is not built through cross-cultural contacts alone; there must be some understanding of a respect for very different ways of life. One problem that individuals encounter in their contact with members of a foreign society is that of generalizing from one society to others that "seem to be similar," a generalization that is often arrived at from the fact that these societies are contiguous to one another. Often this "blanket approach" to human relations has led to trouble for Americans in foreign cultures.⁵ Hence we are faced with the question, "How much can we generalize from the psychological predispositions of a particular people to those of their neighbors?" Here we are faced with an "applied" problem of the usefulness of areal personality types; and further knowledge on the subject would seem to be potentially quite valuable.

In general, the methodological procedures will involve (1) a review of the culture and personality studies done in the selected area, (2) a comparison of the results of these studies within the area, (3) the identification of personality consistencies evident from these studies, (4) a discussion of the methodological problems involved in doing empirical research centered on problems involving culture area and area personality, and (5) the suggestion of a more uniform approach that might be used in future studies. The next section will deal with these procedures in more detail.

The Analytical Techniques

The available data on character structure in the selected area comes from a wide variety of sources. The investigators have differed in, among other things, amount of professional training, familiarity with the culture being studied, techniques used, and ultimate goals or purposes of the investigation. These four factors, as well as others, must all be taken into consideration when evaluating these studies. Following this tendency toward diversity, the majority of these studies may not make plain any existing areal ethos. Each society will, at least at first glance, naturally appear to be quite different from any other society.

However, as we will see, Kroeber's definition of ethos is quite general, and based primarily on descriptive materials as was the greater part of his other work. Therefore, the results of specific psychological techniques are only one source of data for the testing of this particular hypothesis; the other being the more general ethnographic description of the community under study.

Another methodological problem that must be faced concerns getting an adequate representation of societies throughout each cultural area. Within the area chosen for examination the available data seems to be limited to a few societies; e.g., there is a wealth of data from Peru and Mexico. Certainly some societies are much more accessible and less dangerous to get into, but these rationalizations do not alleviate the fact that the material at hand by no means presents a valid picture of the entire area. It is assumed that once

into the data a number of unforeseen problems will also arise. These will be dealt with as they come up.

Before getting into the specific analytical techniques to be used, there are two concepts that will be referred to throughout this study and which should be defined before we go any further; those being culture area and area personality. By culture area, I mean, essentially as Kroeber did, "a geographically defined area that has historical continuity in the cultural content of the human groups residing within." Personality is a much more difficult concept to define theoretically, let alone operationally. It is one thing to conjecture what may be the nature of human personality and an entirely different thing to put some aspect of this highly evasive concept to empirical test, which is what this writer is attempting to do. Moreover, as has already been demonstrated, Kroeber himself was highly ambiguous about what he considered to be the empirical elements of personality. He defined his version of the concept (i.e., areal personality) in terms of an "ethos," or "the system of values that dominate a culture." Following from Kroeber's characterization, for the purposes of this study, I will define area personality to consist of "the dominant value orientations that characterize the behavior patterns of a given set of individual human beings, sharing a given geographical locality; these value orientations being persistent enough that they characterize the major socio-cultural unit." It should be remembered that any theoretical imputations that are made from this study will be based on these two definitions.

The following procedures will be adhered to in the analytical section of this section:

- (1) It will first be demonstrated that Latin America may legitimately be referred to as a culture area. The relevant literature pertaining to this culture area will be reviewed and the criteria used for making such a delineation will be evaluated.
- (2) A selected sample of studies dealing with psychological phenomena will be drawn from the literature on the area;⁶ the criteria for selection being (a) the over-all completeness of description,⁷ and (b) the number of studies available for each community. At least one, but hopefully not more than two studies will be drawn from the work of each author in any one community, the object being to obtain as representative a sample of each culture area as the available data will permit.
- (3) Each study thus selected will be reviewed in terms of this writer's previously stated operating definition of areal personality (p. 6). Then, I will extract the dominant value orientations for each of the communities under study and compare them, attempting to demonstrate that the culture area has a consistent personality type.

If we can find an apparent consistency in the value orientations delineated within each culture area and an apparent difference in value orientations between culture areas, then we can accept our

hypothesis. If not, we must reject it. However, it must be remembered that should we reject this hypothesis for one or both of the culture areas we happen to be concerned with here does not mean that the concept of areal personality type is completely void. It would only mean that it does not hold for this area, but might be perfectly correct for some other area as yet not tested.

Another consideration to be kept in mind is that the authors involved have differed in many respects regarding how they approached the data; e.g., the express purpose in doing the study, the theoretical assumptions the study is based on, and the field techniques used. If these investigators were not looking for the same kinds of psychological phenomena one would hardly expect them to come out with highly comparable results. It should also be noted that within any area defined solely in geographical terms there may be found social groups belonging to different cultural traditions. In Latin America, for instance, there are many Indian groups that do not belong to the Latin America culture area, the reason being that they have not been influenced to any great extent by the Spanish American value system, traditions, etc. Hence these groups that do not conform the dominant cultural standards of the area will not be considered to be within the range of this study.

It may be recalled that Kroeber suggested some variables that might be used in the study of cultural ethos; e.g., competition, degree of tension, timemindedness. (Kroeber, 1955: 305.) The value of using variables of this nature lies in the fact that they would

seem to be applicable to any culture, or culture area and thus would be of great value to any study aimed along the same lines as the present one; ie. variables of this nature would be much more amenable to use cross-areal and cross-cultural comparison because of their relatively objective nature. The closing section of this paper will, in part, be concerned with recent developments in this direction by anthropologists and with the possibility of the further extension of these techniques into the area of cultural psychology.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON CULTURE AREA AND AREA PERSONALITY

The Etiology of the Problem

The interest of American anthropologists in areal typologies of culture began in the late nineteenth century. They were then faced with the problem of classifying the vast collections of materials housed in the American museums. The original concept applied primarily to North America since there existed little documentary history for the American tribes and also since there was relatively less cultural variation and complexity in the Western hemisphere, hence making the task much easier than it might have been in some other area.

Clark Wissler was one of the first American anthropologists to attempt to clearly define a concept of this nature,⁸ although it appears that his construction of the "age-area" hypothesis stemmed directly from Sapir's statement of the problem of interpreting a "continuous distribution from the culture centre" and his ideas on culture-area were mainly derived from various earlier sources. (Herskovits, 1948.) Wissler defines culture area as "an aggregation of tribes conforming in whole or in part to a type of culture defined in terms of specific culture traits." (Wissler, 1929: 352.) He was concerned, then, with classifying certain geographical areas in terms of certain traits which are functionally related to a complex. As such, a complex radiates from its point of dispersal (culture centers) it becomes more attenuated. The "age-area" concept referred to "a method of inferring relative time

sequences of stages of culture-trait or culture-complex developments from the more or less concentrically zonal distribution of phases of such developments." (Kroeber, 1931.) Kroeber published a paper concerned with culture areas in 1904, two years earlier than Wissler; however, he does not appear to be seriously concerned with the matter until after Wissler had formulated his point of view. His early concerns dealt with the classification of sub-cultural areas in California and later, of the Northwest Coast. The theoretical comments made by Kroeber are much like those he and Wissler developed later.

Of course any culture-area or ethnographical province is relative. It rarely has sharply defined boundaries. To hold that what is important about it is not its external limits, but its internal center of dispersion, is good doctrine, but impracticable, in most cases owing to lack of historical material. (Kroeber, 1908: 281-90.)

In the introduction to a later paper, Kroeber made a crucial methodological point. In essence, he noted that in gaining new insights a student often utilizes both specific facts and imagination, and one must never confuse the two.

The requirement which integrity imposes on these ventures is that knowledge and fancy, fact and fabrication, be kept as distinct as possible, least one come to pass for the other. (Kroeber, 1923b: 125-42.)

This point would seem to apply to all constructed types, of which culture area is only one of many used in the social sciences. Kroeber sums up his characterization of culture areas as a

non-philosophical, inductive, mainly unimpeachable organization of phenomena analogous to the natural classification of animals and plants on which systematic biology rests. (Kroeber, 1923a.)

In summarizing Wissler's point of view he notes that

Wissler has done a broad piece organization where chaos or indecision prevailed before, and perhaps should not be held too heavily responsible for failing to carry his pioneer work into greater detail. The danger is in stopping with his often sketchy and diagrammatic formulations, when they ought to serve as a stimulus for revision and surer knowledge. (Kroeber, 1931.)

Kroeber in 1939 published a book that put an end to the extreme deterministic conceptions of culture area. In Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America, Kroeber, by carrying the culture area argument to its logical limits, demonstrated that although there may be such things as culture areas in terms of specific traits, there was generally as much diversity among many of the so-called areas as between them.

In this work he makes three important points:

- 1) While it is true that cultures are rooted in nature... they are no more produced by nature than a plant is produced or caused by the soil in which it is rooted. The immediate causes of cultural phenomena are other cultural phenomena.
- 2) The concept of a culture area is a means to an end. The end may be the understanding of culture processes as such, or of the historic events of culture.
- 3) ...the present study deals with culture wholes, and not, except incidentally, with culture elements or "traits," nor with those associations of elements which are sometimes called "culture complexes" but which always constitute only a fraction of the entirety of any one culture. (Kroeber, 1939a.)

By culture wholes he means, apparently, patterns or configurations. We will return to Kroeber and his concerns with culture area concept in the latter part of this section.

Following the apparent lack of interest in psychological phenomena that characterized the formative years of anthropology, interests in

the relationship between culture and individual personality began to develop. Between 1920 and 1935, the ideas inherent in such an approach were not only actively discussed, but "field research was undertaken and collaboration between anthropologists and psychiatrists was begun." (Singer, 1961.) During this period Margaret Mead made her initial field expeditions to Samoa and New Guinea; Ruth Benedict wrote her widely read Patterns of Culture, and Edward Sapir published his highly stimulating articles on the relationships between anthropology and psychiatry.⁹ It was also during this period that Malinowski challenged Freud's postulation of the universality of the Oedipus complex in his classic work The Father in Primitive Psychology.

During the late thirties and the forties the number of social scientists involved in studies of this nature increased both in quantity and in quality. Hence, we find Kardiner, Linton, DuBois and West collaborating first in a theoretically oriented Seminar, and later in the analysis of field data gathered by the latter three. It was also in this period that anthropological field workers such as Clyde Kluckhohn, Alexander and Dorothy Leighton, John Dollard, A. I. Hallowell and Jules Henry began to employ psychological techniques (e.g., Rorschach's Test, T. A. T., Life Histories, etc.) as the important tool in their studies of non-western culture and personality.¹⁰

Following World War II the "projective fad" was tempered by concentrated efforts on the part of some anthropologists to increase the "objectivity," i.e., the validity and reliability, of their studies.

Notable for contributions of this nature have been Melford Spiro and A. F. C. Wallace, along with Kluckhohn and Henry from the pre-war era. (Cf., Kluckhohn 1953, Spiro 1954, Wallace 1961a, 1961b, 1962.)

In its conception culture and personality theory was largely based on psychoanalytic theory. The conceptual framework outlined by Freud, was by and large, the only psychological theory of the time that was amenable to reformulation in terms of cultural processes. LaBarre, in commenting on Freud's influence on anthropology, has written that, "culture is not a mere descriptive congeries of 'traits' that mechanically 'diffuse' geographically, but is rather a configuration of dynamically meshed and significantly interrelated parts operating always in individual human beings--that culture in short has psychological dimensions and psychiatric meanings--is here to stay, a revolution accomplished." (LaBarre, 1958: 275-328.) Although culture-personality studies are still largely concerned with the same kinds of things Freud emphasized the scope of these studies has been expanded much beyond the limited range of Freudian interests.

Singer has outlined five major problem areas for culture-personality researchers to concern themselves with. (Singer, 1961.) The first three sound very much like the three logical possibilities postulated by Kluckhohn and Murray.¹¹ That is, (1) the relation of culture to human nature, (2) the relation of culture to typical personality, and (3) the relation of culture to individual personality. In addition, Singer proposes (4) the relation of culture change to personality change, and (5) the relation of culture to abnormal personality.

These five categories would seem, in general, to cover the logical relationships between culture and personality.

When doing any scientifically based investigation one must necessarily begin with certain assumptions concerning the nature of the phenomena to be studied. A lack of such preconceived notions would imply a random rather than a systematic approach; and in most cases such a random approach would not appear to be too fruitful. In the early days of culture and personality studies the basic assumption was that homo sapiens were completely "plastic," i.e., their behavior patterns could be and were molded by the pressures of the cultural norms.¹² This view has prevailed until recently when some anthropologists (e.g., Hallowell, Spiro, Kroeber, Wallace) have taken another look at the age-old conception of "human nature." (Cf. Spiro, 1954; Kroeber, 1955; Hallowell, 1954.) Wallace stresses the importance of the biological capacities of homo sapiens in relation to "the psychic unity of all men." "For human nature," he writes, "is far from being a constant parameter of cultural events; indeed the biological mechanism upon which culture depends is exquisitely variable in response to genetic and ecological processes which in part, are radically independent of culture per se." (Wallace, 1961c.)

The aims of contemporary culture and personality studies, and in varying degrees of past studies, can be seen, then, as attempts to systematically relate the human organism's biological capacities with super-organic cultural processes in such a manner that the relative weight of each on the formation of personality patterns can be assessed.

Once this relationship is understood it will be much easier to make some meaningful statements about the five problem areas that Singer delineated.

Methods of Culture and Personality Investigation

The methods of investigating the relationships between culture and personality vary greatly. Some investigators try to use as many different "tools" as possible (e.g., DuBois), while others seem to use few, if any. The most widely used techniques have been the various and sundry types of projective techniques.¹³

There are a number of problems which are involved in the selection of the appropriate test. The test must, ideally, satisfy the following requirements: (Henry and Spiro, 1953.)

- (1) It must measure the personality "as a whole."
- (2) The test must not be culture-bound.
- (3) It should allow the investigator to study a much larger number of persons than he would normally be able to do.
- (4) The test should be relatively short, relatively easy to administer, and be capable of analysis by persons other than the investigator.

For the most part, projective tests seem to approach meeting these criteria. However, many anthropologists seem to have gotten the idea that projective tests are a necessary part of any field situation, regardless of the nature of the problem being investigated or the investigator's understanding of the use and meaning of the test. Some of the projective tests that have been used in culture and personality studies are:

- (1) The Rorschach Test
- (2) The Thematic Apperception Test
- (3) Free Drawings

- (4) Doll Play
- (5) The Bender Gestalt Test
- (6) The Goodenough Draw-A-Man Test
- (7) Sentence Completion Test

Other methods that might be used to collect data that might be used in this type of study include (1) life histories, (2) naturalistic observations and (3) essay writing. Each of these methods can be; useful if the investigator understands their limitations and does not try to read more "out of them" than is warranted.

A. L. Kroeber had the advantageous position of being able to observe the growth to the culture and personality movement from its inception until, at the time of Kroeber's death, it was a fundamental concern of contemporary anthropology. Kroeber himself took no active part in the development of culture and personality theory. Indeed, among his five-hundred and thirty-two publications one finds no more than a dozen which have any remote concern with psychological problems, and of these, most were highly critical reviews of other's attempts to psychologize culture.

Kroeber's first reaction to psychological interpretations of culture is seen in his highly critical 1920 review of Freud's Totem and Taboo. This set of essays was Freud's attempt to explain the birth of culture; i.e., "that primitive man lived in small bands, from which the strongest male drove off all the less mature males, normally; his sons, so that he might have all the women to himself; the sons banded together, killed and ate the father, and took the women for themselves; later they had feelings of remorse and guilt and therefore set up a totem animal, symbolizing their father, that must not be eaten, and

also denied the women to themselves; hence, we have the beginnings of religion and the initiation of the incest taboo." As Kroeber puts it, "In condensation, Freud's own theory is that 'the beginnings of religion, ethics, society, and art meet in the Oedipus complex.'" (Kroeber, 1948a.) Kroeber laid out eleven distinct points on which this theory could be attacked using known anthropological evidence. In closing, Kroeber casts a warning to psychologists that may follow in Freud's footsteps to the effect that "there really is a great deal of ethnology not at all represented by the authors Freud discusses," (e.g., Frasier, Goldenweiser, and Robertson Smith). (Kroeber, 1920: 55.)

In 1939 Kroeber published a second review of Freud's work which is a little less harsh. (Kroeber, 1939.) In this second review Kroeber notes that Freud's argument is ambiguous as between historical thinking and psychological thinking. If one subtracts the historical aspect, he is left with the proposition that certain psychic processes tend always to be operative and tend to find expression in widespread human institutions. This version of Freud's thinking, says Kroeber, is acceptable, and is worth serious consideration. However, in spite of all his verbal "jockeying," Kroeber remains unconvinced as to the usefulness of Freud's theoretical foundations.

In 1935 Kroeber reviewed Ruth Benedict's Patterns of Culture. The review is, essentially, highly laudatory. This might seem paradoxical to anyone who, with the advantage of hindsight, knows Kroeber's ambivalence concerning "cultural psychology." However, Kroeber did not see Benedict's book as primarily a study of culture and personality per se;

he saw it as dealing with "culture patterns psychiatrically-delineated 'configurations' which she discussed some years ago in the American Anthropologist." (Kroeber, 1935.) Seen in this light, Benedict's presentation would be much closer to the historically-oriented interests of Kroeber than most works generally classed as dealing with culture and personality.

Again in 1946, Kroeber reviewed another of Benedict's books, this time The Chrysanthemum and the Sword, her post-war study at-a-distance of Japanese culture and personality.

Kroeber seems to review "around" the book, failing to question either the approach or the results, except for the last paragraph of the review where he says "on the whole, Benedict stresses strongly those aspects of Japanese culture and character which are reciprocal, have to do with the interrelations of persons. She passes much more lightly over those which are primarily expressions of the self. Perhaps that is why there are only transient illusions to the obtrusive and compulsive Japanese cleanliness, neatness, frugality, economy of means, finish: these are primarily self-satisfying qualities, as shame, obligation and hierarchy are turned toward others." (Kroeber, 1947b.) Other than this one "reminder" as Kroeber called it, the review is again full of praise.

Thus far it would seem that Kroeber had no real differences with the culture and personality approach, or possibly he didn't consider the movement strong enough for him to concern himself with. However, in his 1948 review of Geogfrey Gorer's The American People: A Study in National Character, Kroeber started to clarify his position. (Kroeber, 1948b.) His fundamental concern with this book, although he admits it

is, in general, reasonably convincing, is that "alternative causal explanations of prevalent attitudes have not been sufficiently considered." (Kroeber, 1948b.) The book is written with a heavy psychoanalytic orientation which, needless to say, does not appeal to Kroeber. But, above this fact, Kroeber bases his attack on the fact that Gorer fails to consider important historical factors. Gorer explains American Character as being due to limited number of variables; e.g., the "rejected fathers." Kroeber points out certain historical factors that may also play a part in the formation of the American character saying,

The strength of these historical factors can be estimated somewhat variably, and there may be others equally influential. But they cannot all be essentially left out in favor of the psychoanalytic father and his pathetic failure: that is the basic criticism to be made of Gorer's book as a scientific study. (Kroeber, 1948b: 554.)

Later on in the review he concludes that:

When it comes to national psychology, the historical factors simply cannot be left out, because every culture is in its essence a historical product with a long and ramifying root system. A national temperament is just one facet of such a historical product. One can concentrate, if one prefers, on the merely contemporary aspects and immediate mechanisms of such a product, wholly suppressing the time dimension. But in that case a serious study would mention the suppression and would give indication of awareness of what was being omitted thereby. Just as it is axiomatic that because of its uniqueness and complexity no history can be reduced to a formula (even though Freud did try to supersede the whole of the history of culture by a single stab of formula), so even a momentarized cross-section of any one culture cannot be adequately explained by any one mechanism. (Kroeber, 1948b: 555.)

Thus we again see Kroeber's historical emphasis permeating his approach to the study of human behavior.

In his 1949 review of Kluckhohn, Murray and Schneider's Personality in Nature, Society and Culture, Kroeber finally makes clear his position on culture and personality as a scientific endeavor. (Kroeber, 1949.) This book, was thought, at the time, to be the most systematic and comprehensive approach to human psycho-cultural behavior yet prepared, and is still considered in that light by many contemporary behavioral scientists. The majority of Kroeber's review is purely descriptive. However, in the concluding paragraph he asks the question, 'What are the underlying interests that have led and lead to development of the field of personality?' He answers himself in the following manner:

One factor undoubtedly is the unprecedented growth of psychiatry largely set going in turn by the insights as well as the excesses of Freudianism. Another is the attitude of formal psychology, much of which willingly accepts heavy sterility if only it can be scientifically correct. Anthropology contributed recognition not only of the variability and reality of culture but of culture as a determinant--and then in turn personality offered an outlet to those anthropologists who might be uneasy or resistive at concerning themselves with the formal and historic aspects which bulk themselves so large in actual cultural considerations. But there is obviously something more at work than all these factors, something that might be called an affective climate in which it is pleasant both to live and to function. To this climate the "field approach" certainly contributes, with its stimulus interaction and the multiplication of conceptual categories. Clarification and order may temporarily recede, but there is a sense of great things burgeoning the press and welter of ideas. The phenomena largely lie in the familiar light of here and now, but of their determinants many come from afar and are new and fascinating. To the zest of recognition there is thus added the zest of discovery; and expectation of early and useful application comes to hover in the air. To those accustomed or addicted to the more closely channeled ways, such a field approach may savor also a field day, and its bustle suggest that of a market place. But the activity is stirring, and infectious, and eager; and one cannot but watch its progress with interest and sympathy. If its sponsors realize half of what they envision, they will accomplish much. (Kroeber, 1949: 118.)

Kroeber seems to be casting a warning, saying that although the culture and personality advents were numerous at the time, they were dealing with problems much too complicated to handle scientifically.

In the introduction to the brief "psychologically slanted" section of his collected writings, published in 1952, Kroeber makes the analogy that the relationship of psychology to anthropology is similar to the relationship holding between paleontology and genetics, admitting the two formerly mentioned fields are much less developed than the latter. He notes that

...psychology is apparently less developed than anthropology. At any rate, very few of its findings are of a nature that can be specifically tied to with profit by students of the emergent outlines and principles of the history of culture. The recent "culture-and-personality" movement represents an effort, or at least a hope, to supply just such a genetic or ultimate explanation of culture in psychic terms. The endeavor is surely warranted; but it has so far been marked by more enthusiasm than clarity, and it seems to have achieved little in the way of either specific method or definite results: psychology has just not yet got enough results to differ...my negativism toward "culture and personality" is the result of disillusionment rather than pre-judgement. (Kroeber, 1952: 299-300.)

Kroeber's chief criticism of the culture and personality movement, one that is evident throughout all of his comments on the discipline, is that it completely lacks any notion of historical perspective. It naturally follows that one would expect to find an attempt to consider historical influences as a major tenet in each of the few Kroeber papers concerned at all with cultural psychology. This is exactly what one finds. Kroeber's main, if not his only theoretical statements which are in any way psychological, concern his conception of "regional" or "areal" personality types. The congruity of this notion with a historical orientation will soon be apparent.

Kroeber's first evident concern with the possibility of an areal personality type appears in his 1947 paper "A Southwestern Personality Type." Throughout the majority of the paper he contrasts a small number of autobiographies of southwestern American Indians, primarily his Kuni, a Walapai, and Kluckhohn's Mr. Moustache, a Navaho. It is only toward the end of the paper that Kroeber raises any important theoretical questions.

At any rate, the rather striking similarity of the untutored, unguided self-depiction of a particular Navaho and a particular Walapai raises the question whether the likeness is a coincidence (which I do not believe); or mainly due to a regional though supertribal resemblance of culture; or whether perhaps it is generally expectable in folk cultures as a recurrent type definable in social-psychological terms, although varying somewhat in its outer cultural dress. In the latter case the essential recurring element would probably lie in the attitude of thorough acceptance of one's parents, kin, society, and their cultural values and standards. (Kroeber, 1952: 113.)

In his classic Anthropology (1948) Kroeber includes a section on cultural psychology.¹⁴ In it he compares some of the work done on national character, specifically Geoffrey Gorer's attempt at describing Burmese character and Ruth Benedict's wartime study-at-a-distance of Thai Culture and Behavior. In his closing remarks on national character he concludes that:

...the psychologies seem in part to vary independently of the cultures. If this is correct, then recent attempts to assign each culture a strict counterpart in a "basic personality structure" or "modal personality" type go too far. There can be little doubt that some kind of personality corresponds to each kind of culture; but evidently the correspondence is not one-to-one: it is partial. (Kroeber, 1948.)

Writing in W. L. Thomas' Current Anthropology on the "History of Anthropological Thought," Kroeber devotes a comparatively large section

of his discussion to "culture and personality." (Kroeber, 1955: 302-05.)

Using Honigmann's Culture and Personality as his main point of reference, he states that:

It is evident from Honigmann's volume that what culture and personality studies pre-eminently lack is a large corpus of coherent informational fact. (Kroeber, 1955: 303.)

He seems to feel that there is no consistence among the studies presently being conducted in this area of anthropological investigation. Kroeber then suggests an overall plan to remedy the seemingly unfortunate state of affairs that presently exist in the study of culture and personality. His argument consists of the following points:

Culture is one component of the culture and personality field and most of what we know about culture is organized by classifications on a spatial basis...characteristics of native cultures of areas like the American Southwest, American Northwest, Plains, and Mexico are well recognized; a productive procedure would be to define corresponding ethoses or modal personalities, from which as a body of systematized findings it would be profitable to take off both to more extended comparisons and to further "testing" of the principles revealed. A beginning has been made by Benedict in her first comparison of Pueblo and Plains tribes as "appolonian" and "dionysian" respectively... Devereaux (1951), as Honigmann points out, has emphasized a "plains area ethos" which embodies and historically underlies the ethos of a Plains tribe. Honigmann himself recognizes that a "relatively homogenous personality" can be discerned throughout the subarctic coniferous forest belt of North America

...With the perspective derivable from characterizations of two or more such ethoses, it would then be possible to go on to look for definite correlations with environment, food supply, population density, and settlement patterns. This information would provide not only descriptions but reliable partial explanations. (Kroeber, 1955: 303-304.)

Kroeber uses the Yurok-Yuki-Yokut-Mohave-Walapai-Navaho-Zuni-Arapaho complex as an example. He points out that one can differentiate clearly

between those groups that have a surplus food supply and those that must constantly be concerned with the quest for food; and one can see dichotomous groupings in terms of both culture and personality; e.g., the hungrier cultures in this complex had colorless, drab personalities.

Continuing his suggestions Kroeber states that:

The present need is for a steady step by step extension of observations over geographically (or historically) coherent areas. (Kroeber, 1955: 304.)

Assuming that he has established the need for and the feasibility of such studies, Kroeber goes on to specify the techniques that might be used. He criticizes Levinson and Inkeles' suggestion that the study of national character should be drawn from the "psychological study of an adequate sample of persons studied individually."¹⁵ Kroeber thinks this kind of analysis is dependent on an adequate theory of personality, of which there is none so far. He suggests that perhaps the best thing to do is to consciously limit efforts to "psychocultural studies" of Mead's type. (With this suggestion Kroeber casts a word of warning, saying that Mead often goes too far, making assumptions and drawing conclusions that the data just doesn't support.) Kroeber mentions LaBarre's studies of Japanese and Chinese culture,¹⁶ two cultures which are generally thought to be very similar, but which differ in, among other things, "degree of tension." "Degree of tension" is one of a series of polarities which Jakobson and associated modern linguists have recently set up as a frame within which to define the variety of phonemes in human language, some others being duration, tonality, and

voicing. Kroeber suggests that:

The possible character axes would of course be quite different for personality than those from speech, but, for descriptive and organizing purposes, might not a series of them be useful? I think for instance of polar qualities like order and organization, or cleanliness and finish (both of which might bracket with tension or again might not); or competition; or retractility, timemindedness, verbalization, etc.... This suggestion rests on the assumption that organized, analytic description ordinarily must precede causal-functional determination, and that we have had a pre-mature excess of attempts at the latter in this and related fields of psychic and cultural inter-impingement. (Kroeber, 1955: 305.)

The essence of these three discussions by Kroeber seems to contain the following points:

- (1) Anthropological data would seem to suggest the existence of geographically and historically based "cultural personality types."
- (2) The acceptance or rejection of the existence of these constructs should be based on studies of cultural ethoses within a given geohistorical cultural area.
- (3) These studies should employ systematic variables (e.g., competition, timemindedness, etc.) based on observable psycho-cultural characteristics.

In attempting to construct a workable hypothesis from the many implications contained in Kroeber's work, one must resort to paraphrasing him; so much of the essence of Kroeber's writings is like the iceberg, lying for the most part beneath the surface.¹⁷ However, the hypothesis suggested by Kroeber in the preceding discussion is as follows:

In certain well-defined, historically related and geographically limited culture areas a systematic investigation of character traits should reveal an area-wide ethos, or modal personality.

Kroeber, in his 1948 Anthropology, attempted to define the rather amorphous concept of "ethos." He used this term with reference to a society to mean:

Their ways or customs, corresponding nearly to the Latin "mores." Like that term, it carries an implication of what is sanctioned or expected...We refer not so much to the specific ethics or moral code of the culture as to its total quality, to what would constitute disposition or character in an individual; to the system of values that dominate the culture and so tend to control the type of behavior in its members...The difference between Western, Indian, and Far Eastern civilizations obviously consists of more than a diversity of content as exemplified by items of the order of eating with forks, fingers, and chopsticks respectively. Beyond these concrete facts, there is a pervading difference of character and outlook in the three cultures. This is what is meant by ethos. (Kroeber, 1948a: 293-94.)

Although Kroeber never did define his use of "modal personality," it seems evident from his discussion of it and related topics that he was using the term in the same manner as Cora DuBois, who is generally given credit for coining it. For DuBois, modal personality referred to a modification of Kardiner's "basic personality type." (Kardiner, 1939, 1945.) In The People of Alor, she notes that:

It is quite possible that some societies permit the individual less leeway and pattern him more highly than do other societies. But in Alor both the results of test material and my own impressions indicate a wide range of variations. Ranges, however, are measured on a common base line. On such a base line data will show central tendencies that constitute the modal personality for any culture. (DuBois, 1944.)

This concept, then, is used in a statistical sense; it does not refer to any crucial underlying factor in the character structure of a people, only to those traits which are numerically most prevalent.

As has been shown above, Kroeber was extremely cautious about making any statements concerning psychological phenomena. From his discussions of areal personality, and the hypothesis that has been constructed from them, one can clearly see that he was not interested in making any causal statements relating culture and personality; his sole proposition concerned the possible existence of certain broadly defined, yet empirically determined, types of character structure within a given geo-historical area. In the same tradition, this writer cares not one whit how these types came to be there, the sole concern is whether they are or not, and if the available data does not support the hypothesis, a question arises as to why such types are not evident; i.e., isn't the data accurate, is there no such thing as an areal personality type?, etc.

CHAPTER III

AREAL PERSONALITY TYPES IN MESTIZO LATIN AMERICA

Latin America as a Culture Area

When referring to the Latin American culture area one must designate clearly just what are the boundaries and what are the criteria for making such a distinction. In speaking of "Latin America," in a very general sense, many writers confuse the culturally defined entity with the geographical and the national. It should be made clear that this writer is referring to an area defined primarily in cultural terms, secondarily in geographical terms, and with references to national alliances being used only for purposes of grouping the data.

A number of writers¹⁸ have made attempts to delineate some sort of cultural continuity in those parts of the American land mass which lies, more or less, south of the United States-Mexican border. As it shall be shown though, this dividing line may in some instances be moved further north.

In the closing section of a monograph on a Peruvian community, Gillin attempts to identify what he calls "creole" or "criollo" culture. Gillin argues that students of Latin American society must recognize that here we have a distinctly unique complex of culture elements. In fact he notes that

...one of the reasons for the failure of North Americans to understand completely the Latin Americans is our failure to recognize or identify properly the cultures of Latin America as cultures in their own right. (Gillin, 1945: 151.)

Gillin criticizes other authors for using the term "Mestizo" culture saying that this term has too much of a biological connotation;¹⁹ that there is no reason to believe that biological fusion does or will proceed at the same rate as cultural fusion and development. He states that one can see pure Indians, pure whites and Mestizos participating in the "development and performance of creole culture."

Throughout the Central and South American countries he sees a common general cultural framework which allows individuals adhering to this framework to be spoken of collectively as belonging to the creole culture.

These similarities, says Gillin, are due to the Spanish elements which are common to their composition and which were involved in their development during three centuries or so under Spanish Colonial rule. (Gillin, 1945: 153.)

He points out, for example, such cultural consistencies as:

- (1) all individuals are nominally catholic,
- (2) the prevailing ideology is humanistic as opposed to being puritanical,
- (3) the Spanish language is a necessity to participate in the culture,
- (4) manipulation of symbols (as in argument) is more cultivated than the manipulation of natural forces and objects (as in mechanics),
- (5) in town planning, the "plaza plan" is typical rather than the "main street" plan,
- (6) in family organization, male dominance, a double sex standard, and patterns of ceremonial kinship prevail, and so on.

In general, this creole culture is a synthesis of elements from many sources (e.g., indigenous cultures, Western European culture,) and the Spanish stamp gives to this general mode of life a certain external

uniformity. Gillin expresses the fact that areal, regional and local forms of creole culture vary and are distinguishable among themselves, but all follow this same general framework.

Writing four years later, in Ralph Linton's Most of the World, Gillin expands and modifies his thinking on Latin American culture. He now reverts to the very term he earlier had refuted, that of "Mestizo culture." In this paper Gillin defines Latin America to include:

...all of the politically independent territory of the Western Hemisphere outside of Canada and the United States that was originally colonized by either Spaniards or Portuguese. (Gillin, 1949: 157.)

Again he mentions the trend toward "Mestizolization," with the ultimate extinction of the Indian (both culturally and physically) as being definitely possible, if not probable. Mestizo culture has, as Gillin points out, sometimes been called Modern Latin American culture, or "creole" culture, or "criollismo" culture, or "Latino" culture. The usage varies with time and place and, for purposes of this paper, may be thought of as equivalent, with the exception of "creole" or "criollo" culture, which, according to Gillin, is a specialized form of the more general structure.

In commenting on the continuity prevailing through all of Modern Latin American culture Gillin notes that

To the casual visitor or the tourist, it is difficult to see much similarity between the culture of, say, a mestizo settlement in the jungle and a mestizo town at an altitude of 12,000 feet on the cold intermountain plateau. But residence in the various types of mestizo communities will convince one that a strong common fabric of belief, attitude, and patterning of activity runs through all of them. (Gillin, 1949: 170.)

In 1956 Richard N. Adams published a paper that was an attempt to deal explicitly with the cultural components of Central America which, judging from Gillin's statements, could be postulated to be representative for much of Latin America. Adams drew his material from a set of cultural surveys he had completed in five Central American countries. For the purposes of this paper it will be necessary to consider only a portion of Adams' article.

Adams equates the previously mentioned concepts of "Mestizo," "creole" and "Modern Latin American" cultures to what he calls the "Spanish American Cultural Tradition," which incidently, he breaks down into three regional traditions. A cultural tradition is defined as

a class of cultural components which are distinguished by historically similar cultures. (Adams, 1956: 883.)

It should be noted that a cultural tradition does not presuppose a unilineal heritage derived from a single source. Such traditions generally have common cultural origins but "these origins may in themselves be diverse." When cultural components of distinct cultural traditions become more similar through acculturation, as have some Colonial Spanish components and some indigenous Indian components, they become part of the same cultural tradition, i.e., in this case, the "Mestizo" cultural tradition.

It should be clear by now that what has happened in Latin America is the following: two distinct cultural traditions, i.e., the Colonial Spanish and a rather heterogeneous indigenous Indian complex, have come together and become intertwined, the result being, (1) an all but

complete loss of the pure Colonial Spanish tradition, (2) a vast complex of culture traits that contains many new components as well as innumerable borrowings from the two original traditions, and (3), scattered throughout the new "Mestizo" complex, small "pockets" of surviving Indigenous traditions, only minimally affected by the Spanish heritage.

The secondly named group, i.e., the Mestizos, pervades so much of modern Latin America that, for all practical purposes,²⁰ it may be deemed representative of the area as a whole.²¹ Within this large complex, however, one may distinguish a number of sub-groups. One might visualize a continuum running from the minimally Mestizoized Indian groups, on the one hand, to the group of descendents of the Colonial Spaniards who have been minimally affected by Indigenous culture, on the other. The vast majority of groups will lie somewhere near the center of the continuum, the number of groups being completely dependent upon the criteria used by the investigator.²²

The important point to remember is that Indians, descendents of the Colonial Spaniards, and descendents of unions of the two original groups are all racially represented in the Mestizo cultural tradition.

The crucial distinction is between cultural, not racial, genetic, biological, or physical, entities. As Gillin has noted in one of his earlier discussions of Latin America,

The most important distinction is that between Indian cultures and those of Latinos, Mestizos, or whatever one wishes to label the carriers and practitioners of Modern Latin American Culture or civilization.

The question may now be asked, "What are the geographical boundaries of Latin American culture?" There has been some dispute concerning the "marginal" regions, e.g., the Caribbean islands and the Spanish-speaking groups of the American Southwest. However, taking the term "Latin" in its broadest sense, I will take the area to include "all politically independent territory of the Western Hemisphere outside of Canada and the United States that was originally colonized by either Spaniards, Portuguese or French."

With the purpose in mind of getting as representative a sample as possible, the data will be drawn from four spatially separated areas. These are:

- (1) Spanish America,
- (2) Guatemala,
- (3) Colombia, and
- (4) Peru.

A major factor in the choice of these four areas was the relative availability of data as compared to other Latin American countries.

Ethos Components in Latin American Culture

"General"

In accordance with the hypothesis that has been offered, i.e., the existence of an areal personality type, it would seem wise to delineate some frame of reference within which to structure the analysis of any specific society. Fortunately, there have been several attempts to describe the "Latin American Ethos" or some comparable entity. (Gillin, 1952, 1960; Whyte and Holmberg, 1956; Smith, 1956.) These attempts, in agreement with the formulation offered by this investigation,

have been structured around various value orientations that are hypothesized to characterize Latin American ethos.

We will first examine the major components of the Latin American ethos, as determined by these studies, and then will review the selected studies with the purpose of determining whether these value orientations apply to the four selected areas. It may well turn out that other orientations come out that are also characteristic of the Latin American culture area as a whole, or there may in fact be no dominant value orientations. The purpose of using these predetermined components as a frame of reference is purely for guidance; they are not in the least meant to be confining or deterministic.

The selected value orientations have been grouped according to the following classifications:

- (1) "predominant value orientations": those specifically delineated in two or more studies, and
- (2) "lesser value orientations": those not specifically delineated in two or more studies, but implied or otherwise suggested.

Each such orientation will be characterized before getting into the actual data.

"Predominant Value Orientations"

- (1) Personalism: this concept emphasizes the inherent uniqueness of each human being; each individual has his unique inner worth regardless of status. Often this inner essence is spoken of as the "soul," or sometimes as "dignidad de la persona," or, literally, dignity of the person. Consequently, any insult to the individuals inner worth is taken seriously, and may result in physical violence.

Various types of admired or idealized personalities are related to 'personalism,' e.g., the 'macho' (literally, 'male') type is highly valued. The 'Macho' is expected to show 'sexual prowess, zest for action, including verbal 'action,' daring, and, above all, absolute self confidence.' (Gillin, 1960: 31.) The 'macho' may become a 'caudillo' (leader) if he is fortunate and shows enough 'macho' qualities:

Also related to personalism is the tendency to limit one's trust to those he shares an intimate, personal relationship with. This element carries into the religious sphere where one does not pray to God, an ambiguous entity with no personal characteristics, but to various saints who have names and individual characteristics. In essence, the individual outranks society.

- (2) The Strength of Family Ties (kinship): It is generally the case that one's intimate personal relationships are limited to his extended family and only a very few close friends. The average Latin American has close personal ties with relatives several generations removed, affinal as well as consanguineal. Even those 'outsiders' with whom one has close personal contact are often brought into the family circle via the 'compadrazgo' (co-godparenthood). If one is ever in any sort of difficulty he always can turn to his family for help; a families responsibility for their children ends only with death.

- (3) Importance of Hierarchy: In Latin American culture all things seem to be grouped in a stratified sequence. Latin Americans do not believe that all men are born equal; they, in accordance with the 'personalistic' value already mentioned, see each human being as 'unique.' Therefore, it is easy for them to view some individuals as being 'above' them in the social hierarchy and others as 'below' them.

The 'Patron' system, and its modern variants seem to be an extension of the paternalistic orientation of kinship groupings. It should be noted that a 'patron' is not to be considered an equal of those he supports; rather the relationship is like that of protector, the protection being granted for some reciprocal obligation, e.g., faithful service from an employee. Small 'Patrons' usually have 'patrons' of their own; political leaders are expected to play the 'patron' role toward their constituents--thus there exists a network of reciprocal relationships connecting the various social strata within Latin American societies.

Even in family affairs there is a definite hierarchical structure. Different values are applied to each sex, e.g., men are idealized as being free, romantic, fearless and authoritarian; women should be sacred, subordinant and pure. A definite double sex standard operates which protects women from outsiders' immoral desires, but allows men to roam in

search of sexual pleasures with single women or married women of a lower class. There seems to be a universal acceptance of the social inequality of human beings.

- (4) A Variant of Materialism: Gillin terms this variety of materialism as "tangible materialism," i.e., they seem to value only that which they can '...put their hands on.' (Gillin, 1960: 38.) For example, most Latin Americans view stocks and bonds as mere pieces of paper, they are not tangible. Among all classes "land and buildings are regarded as the most tangible types of property. Investments are few, regardless of the rate of interest returned to the investor. This seeming lack of incentive to "play the market" has been largely responsible for the domination of Latin American business opportunities by foreigners.
- (5) Interest in Spiritual Values: For Latin Americans the universe and human experience is held to have a deeper, sometimes ambiguous, meaning. Life is perceived as having an aesthetic tone; a deep humanistic cloud pervades the cultural atmosphere. One writer has characterized Mexicans as valuing "truth, goodness, justice, beauty, and saintliness."²³ Newspapers may lack stock quotations, but will devote a full page to literature. Gillin has concluded that "it is surely these values that in large measure make life worth living for many Latin Americans of middle status." (Gillin, 1960: 42.)

- (6) Emotion as fulfillment of the Self: One of the few truly Spanish heritages that remains in Modern Latin American culture is value of free emotional expression. A Latin American's feelings may range from deep depression to high euphoria. Certain institutionalized occasions, such as fiestas and "death wakes" serve as outlets for the Latin Americans highly emotional states. Latin Americans seem to value, at appropriate times, the extremities of human emotional experience.
- (7) A Sense of Fatalism: A value that seems to cross-cut the other values held by the Latin American is a fatalistic acceptance of whatever experiences he may encounter. Gillin sees this value as taking two general forms, (a) heroic defiance, and (b) passive resignation. Each person must live and die with dignity, whatever the odds, and yet one's fate must be accepted as preordained and beyond the control of man. "The elaborate cult of death, funerals, and graveyards are further expressions of the value attached to this fatalism." (Gillin, 1960: 46.) In each instance where a Latin American has "done his best" and failed, the failure is attributed to "fate," or "the will of God," not to the individual.
- (8) Disdain for Manual Labor: The Mestizoized Latin American, for the most part, places a very low value on manual labor, at least as far as he is concerned. He is quite willing to let the lower classes take care of the physical drudgery while

he looks after the "thinking." Those individuals successful in this "break from the soil," whether through education or some other means, usually holds what will probably be called a "middle-class" occupation, or higher. This level of existence signifies a certain minimum "decency" beyond the lower class standard of living. It should be noted that all Mestizos do not reach this level, but practically without exception they strive for it.

- (9) Importance of Words and their Manipulation: There seems to be a high value placed on the ability to "convince" another individual through long elaborate arguments, which are sometimes centered on insignificant points. Ideas are emphasized over things, abstract theory over empirical research, arm-chair speculation over precise experiment, and deductive reasoning over inductive thought.

"Less Obvious Value Orientations"

- (10) Respect for the Aged: As in most extended family systems, the aged command the respect of the entire household. As it is the parents' duty to care for their young children, so also is it the grown childrens' duty to take care of their aged parents. Thus, if an individual has any family left at all, he will have no use for any social welfare plans.
- (11) Centralized Action: In any matter that involves conflict, or decision making, the Latin American prefers to pass the

responsibility on to a higher authority. This value is consistent with the 'patron' system which provides a source of support in such matters to most individuals.

- (12) National Orientation: Latin Americans, as opposed to Indians, feel themselves as a part of a National group, not just a local community or village. They know there are other areas of the world and understand, for the most part, that through education and hard work (non-manual) that they may one day see such places. They are interested in national political affairs and usually operate local elections in a serious manner.

The preceding concepts characterize what, from the available literature, seem to be the important value orientations for Mestizoized Latin Americans. These values provide a way of looking at the world and at people. They form a frame of reference into which experience can be ordered and life thus made comprehensible.

The next task is to examine a set of studies for each of four areas and see if the previously mentioned value orientations apply to specific social systems within the Latin American culture area.

"Spanish America"

Charles Leslie on Mitla

In 1960 Charles Leslie published a monograph concerning the world view of Mitla, a community of Mestizoized Indians living in North-central Mexico. (Leslie, 1960.) The purpose of this study was to discern the world-view (sometimes known as "ethos") of this group.

The Mitlenos had been studied some twenty-five years earlier by Elsie Clews Parsons. Thus there was reason for Leslie to concern himself to some extent with social change, which he does in a rather unsystematic way. The first chapter of the monograph is devoted to a brief survey of recent Mitla history. The Mitlenos, according to Leslie have gone through an extensive cultural change between 1929 and 1953. The townspeople changed their collective self conception from a poor, humble village to that of "a commercially oriented community of urbane townspeople capable of asserting and protecting their interests." (Leslie, 1960: 17.) Another index of change was the local inhabitants application of doubt to traditional myths and folktales.

However, as was stated, the primary purpose of this study was to get at the world view of the Mitlenos. From the way in which the material is presented, it is very difficult to establish which variables Leslie concluded to be focal to the world view of this community. His methods, and this is not necessarily a criticism, were completely intuitive and impressionistic. It seems that one must conclude that Leslie was primarily concerned with beliefs rather than values; however, it is possible to extract a limited set of value orientations from the ethnographic description.

For instance there seems to be a high value placed on being a member of the national community. In many instances Leslie quotes the villagers as comparing the contemporary village community with the one of past generations and concluding "now we are civilized." A value that seems to be highly protected concerns Mitla as a peaceful

community. The Mitlenos see themselves as being characterized by industry, patience, indurance, honesty, and above all they perceive their social relations as involving no interpersonal conflict on a community level; all conflicts are particular and personal, and are usually caused by some individual from another village. Leslie, however, notes that there is a great deal of community conflict and that the Mitlenos "humanistic" characterization of their peaceful little community is completely false. Related to the preceding rationalizations is an apparent value on the manipulation of words. Elaborate lying is characteristic of the entire community, as well as a constant stream of gossip that pervades the social atmosphere.

Personalism is represented in a limited form. It is not evident that human beings are thought of as being particularly unique, but each person has a soul and every soul has unique characteristics which are quite evident after the individual has died. Elaborate preparations are made after death for providing the soul with all he needs for his journey to the afterworld and once each year on "All Souls Day" food and drink are provided for all returning souls.

Fatalism is evident in the usual form, i.e., any misfortune is explained away by saying "thus is life," or "it was god's will." There is also evident a modified value on centralized action. Leslie quotes Parsons as saying "the townspeople...are...unwilling to take responsibility contributes to the fact that townspeople refuse to take any action on civic matters, even very serious ones. They pass the responsibility up to the appropriate level, e.g., the town officials,

even when they know that no action will be taken. The town officials demonstrate the same characteristic, except in their case they won't even pass the trouble to a higher level, they just do nothing about most matters.

Examples of the value placed on emotional aspects of life are seen in the many fiestas that are undertaken, as well as the deep reverence that is shown toward the "saints" and "souls."

The materialistic values shaped by members of this community are discussed by Leslie in his chapter on the "Acquisitive Society." He notes the extremely high value given to money and all things that it can purchase. Leslie states that

...the townspeople strove to acquire wealth simply because they enjoyed material well-being, and because prestige was gained by wearing clothing that was stylish as well as decent, by maintaining a household that was well equipped, and by lavishing one's means on festivals. (Leslie, 1960: 69-70.)

The Mitlenos considered the scramble for advantage in the market place to be a dominant element in their lives.

One other dominant value that Leslie focused on concerned the Place of witchcraft in the life of the Mitlenos. Outwardly, the majority of townspeople scoffed at such practices and made fun of those who did believe, but in privacy they protected themselves against any chance of being afflicted by such afflictions as 'mal ojo' (evil-eye) or 'espanto' (soul loss).

Thus for Mitla we find most of the predetermined value orientations Present, at least in modified form. The lack of presence of the others, and the presence of some not included in the general description of

Latin America, may be accounted for as resulting from (1) the idiosyncratic nature of every village, and (2) the fact that Mitla was only partly Mestizoized, as evidenced by the fact that Spanish was only spoken by about 60% of the towns adults.

Ethyl Albert on Atarque

As a part of the Harvard University Cross-Cultural Values Study, Ethyl Albert did a study of the value system of the Spanish Americans of Atarque in the American Southwest. (Albert, M.S.) Her methods are not explicit but the results of the study are in large agreement with the general value orientations outlined previously for Latin America.

Albert designates three focal value premises, (1) tradition, (2) in-group solidarity, and (3) religion and enjoyment.

Under "tradition" we may examine several value orientations.

(1) There is a definite social hierarchy. Interpersonal relations are always between "patron" and villager, "jefe politico" and constituent, and so on. Male and female are thought to be by nature different and to have different social roles and functions. The female must remain close to home, display good manners, and be the "foundation" of the family's religious life. Males, on the other hand, express a dual morality. It is the familiar pattern of the faithful husband and conscientious father in the local community, as opposed to the "macho," the philandering "man about town" when outside the native village.

(2) The spiritualistic, humanistic nature of life is also a part of the Spanish American tradition. "Beauty, sadness, humility and

exhilaration intermingle in religion and in life." The belief that "good will triumph over evil" is a noticeable aspect of local folk tales, hymns and poetry.

(3) The high value placed on age is evident in supreme

authority given the advice of elders. The greatest prestige is attached to the "veijo," the oldster. The respect awarded the aged, especially males, is a traditional element of the Spanish American value system.

Under "in-group solidarity" is included the great value given to "closeness" of family and community. Close human relationships appear to be the chief or sole basis of whatever security is enjoyed. One of the greatest sins imaginable in this society would be for a parent to fail to provide for a parent in need, or visa versa. Here too the compadre system is a fundamental element of the social system. The most important commandment for these people is "Honor thy father and thy mother."

"Religion and enjoyment" encompasses three different value
Orientations.

(1) Emotional expression plays an important part in the lives of these people. "The emotional life, rather than the spiritual, is the primary object of concern." The fiestas with their excitement, pleasure and celebration, typify this side of the value system. Enjoyment includes, aside from mere conversation and visiting, the excitement of both the tragic and festive aspects of life, sadness, drama, romantic love, in short, highly-charged experience.

(2) Related to this value for emotional experience is a disdain for work just for its own sake. Work is clearly a necessity, not a virtue. One works because he is obligated to support his family, for no other reason. It is not surprising that work is easily laid aside in favor of other, more pleasurable, activities.

(3) Religion is given a central position in the value system. When one is in difficulties of any sort he reverts to prayer to see him through the crisis. All celebrations are centered around some religious event.

There are three other value orientations that have not been subsumed under these three focal values. A major value is concerned with the "personalistic" nature of human relations. According to Albert, "it is through the personal and emotional bonds that continuity and solidarity are achieved in family and village..." For example, even the dashing "macho" would never think of sleeping with a young maiden from his own village; he would have too much respect for the girls' fathers.

In this society the "person" is the locus of free will. Each individual is seen as unique and having a dignity of his own, no matter what his position in life may be. "The dashing young man is valued essentially for what he is, not for the outcome of his actions." Men especially, take very seriously the individual pride and honor of themselves, their friends and their families. It is one thing to kill a man, but it is quite another if a matter of honor was involved. The

saints are spoken of and to in a very personal manner. One must be very careful not to offend a Saint lest he be stricken with misfortune.

To a certain extent the manipulation of language is also valued. There is a low level of concern for proof and evidence; arguments are often based on the "logic of the heart." Arguments are concluded with statements such as "it has always been so," or "Parents know best." An individual who is clever is very often a man of high prestige.

The preceding discussion has concerned certain values that seem to be central to the Spanish American social system. However, the value orientation that pervades all aspects of life and apparently is a factor in all human action is that of "fatalism." All events are seen as uncontrollable and unpredictable. Chaos rather than orderliness prevails. Each and every human being is subject to some greater force, and the fate of any person is a matter of chance. Both good and bad happenings are expected and accepted. A very appropriate summary of this fatalistic attitude is evident in a much repeated Spanish American phrase, 'what will be, will be.'

The Spanish Americans, then according to Albert's study, lack only three of the general value orientations, and display only one extra, the high value placed on strict adherence to the religious beliefs. This group may be a little atypical of Latin America because of the strong influence of Anglo-American culture. However, the data does not show any major disruptions of the areal personality pattern.

Munro Edmonson on Rimrock

Another study done in conjunction with the Harvard Values Project

was carried out by Munro Edmonson. (Edmonson, 1957.) This study, like the preceding one, was done in the American Southwest, this time in the Rimrock area of New Mexico, Arizona and Colorado.

Although the majority of the monograph is relegated to outlining the content and structure of "Hispano Culture," Edmonson states his primary aim as being an analysis of the "value configurations implicit in the culturally distinctive social structure of the rural Spanish Americans of New Mexico." (Edmonson, 1957: 7.) Most of his data was gathered through participant observation over a twelve month period in the field. He adopts Kluckhohn's definition of value, that is:

A value is a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action." (Kluckhohn, 1951: 395.)

In the interest of defining values empirically Edmonson used institutions as his units of analysis, describing the resulting configurations as Institutional values.²⁴ Edmonson goes on to say that,

Having thus decided to 'hold institutions constant'... I needed an element which would vary from culture to culture but which would nevertheless provide a reliable means of surveying the distinctiveness of culture. After some consideration I selected status... I do not believe that another investigator who elected to follow my procedures would arrive at the same words I have used to describe Spanish American values, but I do believe he would come close." (Edmonson, 1957: 9.)

In essence, what Edmonson has done is to select some empirical referents against which he can document those systematic choices made by Spanish American culture in handling the problems of human experience. Although the descriptive coverage of Hispano culture is interesting and

illuminating, it is not of central concern to our problem and will therefore be omitted; rather, what are crucial to this study are the value dimensions that are arrived at.

Edmonson states three criteria that "served as indices to the general importance of the orientation under study:" (Edmonson, 1957: 53.)

- (1) pervasiveness: the regularity with which a given orientation appears in different institutional contexts,
- (2) Intensity: judged from the appearance of strong affect or the provision of strong rewards and punishments, a kind of "economic" criterion of value importance, and
- (3) elaboration of cultural forms: an indication of long term value emphasis on the form.

He notes six general value orientations that stand out with some degree of consistency and clarity. They are:

- (1) Traditionalism: traditionalism may be seen in almost every institutional sphere of life. It may be seen in the persistence of generalized behavior patterns such as diet, song tradition, and patterns of curing and witchcraft. It is equally strongly expressed in the value placed on age seniority. The traditional "dual sex standards," i.e., faithfulness and obedience on the part of women, and promiscuity and authoritarianism on the part of males, are strongly resistant to change and provide bones of contention between conservatives and radicals, and between men and women. Traditionalism in family organization is strong, so strong says Edmonson that "three centuries of separation have resulted in no major differences between this institution in New Mexico and in rural Spain." (Edmonson, 1957: 54.) Loyalty to the

extended family, prearranged marriages, and the intense "compadrazgo" system are still highly salient aspects of life. In the religious sphere the reason for performing a ceremony in a particular way, or indeed for performing it at all, is that "it has always been: it is the custom." Although there is greater pressure for change in the economic sphere, there has been enough resistance to cause serious value conflict for many Spanish Americans.

- (2) Familism and Paternalism: A prime example of the familistic nature of Spanish American culture is seen in the Spanish language.

The Spanish terms which are derivatives of the Latin "pater" are like a summary of the key positions in the social structure and ethos: "padre" (father, priest, God), "papa" (daddy), "Patron" (boss, mayor, employer, political leader), ... "compadre" (co-parent, co-godparent, "buddy," friend). (Edmonson, 1957: 55.)

Another source of evidence is the prevalence of arranged marriages. Marriages are not seen as the union of two individuals, but as the beginnings of new families. A man's position in status structure depends in large part on his success as the head of a household. Strangers entering a Spanish American community soon become aware of the value given kinship ties; the Spanish American's reaction to strange non-kin usually varies somewhere between shyness and outright hostility. The patron system may be attributed to the value placed on familism and the respect accorded to the "pater-familias." Closely related to the patron system is the value placed on "having a relative in the right place" in order to get a job or receive a political favor.

- (3) Dramatism: Dramatism, too, may be evidenced from an examination of the Spanish language. Such forms as "valiente" (brave, hero), "morena" (dark, brunette), "es muy hombre" (he is very much a man) and many others indicate a dramatic representation of people and things. Edmonson notes that,

Within the limits apparently imposed by other value orientations, Hispano culture is dramatic. (Edmonson, 1957: 57.)

Each Spanish American must inevitably experience important life crisis rituals, from baptism to mourning. Each of these is tinged with emotion and dramatics. The nature of the definition of sex roles is dramatic; e.g., the "coquettish and naive girl, the proud macho boy." It is in the religious rituals that the true dramatism characteristic of the Spanish American comes out. The bystander is awed by the pagentry of the church, and the highly emotional behavior of the participants. Even the behavior of the "patron" seems a little dramatic in his display of wealth and the pride he takes in his position. Thus, to the newcomer, Spanish American life may seem to be a little mysterious and more like a melodramatic stage production than real-life.

- (4) Personalism: Spanish Americans think of loyalty on a personal basis, i.e., to a particular person, rather than to some amorphous entity such as "the state," or "the company." It is this individualistic orientation that Edmonson refers to as personalism. It is based on the notion that each human being has a distinctive integrity of his own, a dignity that commands respect from other

human beings. In the business world the Spanish American prefers to deal with "freinds," i.e., people he can know and trust. Leaders in business and industry are expected to display their power and authority. Every individual in this culture is conditioned to believe that his personal dignity will be respected in his relations with other people of whatever station in life.

- (5) Fatalism: Fatalism may be capsulized as essentially a willing acceptance of whatever experiences may happen to befall the individual. Again the language structure provides a hint of this notion. In Spanish we find a number of impersonal passive reflexive verbs such as "se rompio" (it broke itself), and "se perdeo" (it lost itself), indicating a lack of responsibility for the causes of such events. Also evident in Spanish American attitudes is complete acceptance of such things as illness and death, sexual intercourse between unchaperoned boys and girls, floods and droughts, and crooked politicians. All of these events are explained away as being natural occurrences of fate, or the will of bad; it is expected that every individual will have his share of good and evil, and no amount of interference on the part of human beings will change that which is inevitable.

These, then, are the value dimensions that Edmonson has delineated for the Spanish Americans. It should be noted that under his six classifications are several of the value orientations previously defined by Gillin and others. In this case the differences are undoubtedly affected by the amount of contact with the Anglos. It is also evident that

Edmonson was using a distinctive approach, and thus was probably asking questions of a different nature than previously mentioned investigators. However, it is remarkable that the degree of agreement obtained with the "pilot" frame of reference is as high as it is.

Arthur Rubel on the Mexican-Americans in Texas

Arthur Rubel, in 1960, published a paper based on his two-year study of concepts of health and disease among the Mexican Americans of Hidalgo County, Texas. He focused on five diseases that were peculiar to the Mexican Americans who comprised three-fifths of the population of Mecca, the largest and most heterogeneous of the three communities studied.

Although the Anglo population "controlled" the social life of the community, the Mexican-American group had been able to retain their Spanish-American culture. The five diseases involved: "caida de la mollera," "empocho," "mal ojo," "susto," and "mal puesto" are integrally linked to the Spanish American value system. Although much of Rubel's paper is superfluous for purposes of the present study, he does include a section on the Spanish American value system.

In the section on "cultural values" Rubel deals with those values that seem to him to be most influential on concepts of health and disease. The value dealt with at the most length is "kinship." Rubel points out the great inclusiveness of the Mexican-American extended family, and the tightly woven unity that pervades the group.

In Mecca the importance of the relationships found to obtain in the three generation family is only equaled by the bonds between an individual and his baptismal sponsors--

"padrinos de pila"--or by the relationship between ones' self and the sponsors of one's childrens baptisms--
"Compadres de pila" (Rubel, 1960: 809.)

The values of age and male dominance are also quite evident. As a Mexican-American housewife put it

In "la raza" the older order the younger, and the men the women." (Rubel, 1960: 810.)

The Mecca patriarch acts as judge, jury and policeman within the confines of his home. Related to these age and gender values, is the value placed on the sanctity of the home. In Mecca, a man's home is truly his "castle."

Rubel also comments on the prevalence of the double sex standard. The female is relegated to the home for the great majority of her activities, while the male is expected to encounter his social activities outside the home, these activities often consisting of brief sexual liaisons. Rubel notes that within this culture the greatest emphasis is placed upon the differentiation between the expected behavior of male and female.

Again, here is an instance of a study that clearly portrays a set of cultural values, but only a limited set. The main limiting factor again seems to be the specialized nature of the goals of the research.

For Spanish America there seems to be a consistent patterning of value orientations throughout our small sample, and thus, by definition, we can postulate the existence of an area ethos, or, in Kroeber's terms, an areal personality type. More will be said on this matter in the concluding section of this chapter.

"Guatemala"

John Gillin on San Carlos

In Guatemala the great majority of the work that is aimed along the lines in which we are interested has been done by John Gillin and his students. Two monographs have been selected as representative of these efforts.²⁵

The majority of Gillin's Guatemalan work was done in the small village of San Jilotepeque, although his 1951 publication concerned life in a village called by the pseudonym of "San Carlos." Since the San Carlos volume contained quite comprehensive descriptions, it will be used as the basis for establishing value orientations, the "Magical Fright" paper being used for supplementary purposes.

San Carlos' population is made up of both Indians and Latinos (Mestizos) who are culturally distinct, but yet share a great number of culture patterns, both material and valuational. Gillin feels that San Carlos, as a whole, is somewhere near the middle of the acculturational continuum, i.e., between "pure" Indian and "pure" Latino, the major distinction between the two participating groups being one of social class. Essentially, this distinction is made on the basis of certain social situations that are open to Latinos but not to Indians.

Following an extensive description of the inhabitants of San Carlos in terms of habitations, food preferences, social structure, political and control structure, formal religion fiesta patterns, and folk psychiatry, in which local value orientations are implicitly presented, Gillin elaborates on the ethos components that distinguish Indians from Latinos.²⁶

"Personalism" is quite evident as a Latino value orientation. Man is seen as controlling the universe rather than being a passive agent in the man-nature relationship. The forces of the universe, including the supernatural, may be manipulated by human beings; i.e., God and saints have "personalities" and can be handled on a "personalistic" basis. Individual uniqueness is held in the highest regard; the group exists to promote individual interests.

Kinship is also strongly valued. Individuals are often assisted by their families in the various enterprises they may undertake. Children are dependent on their families for wealth and status.

A social hierarchy exists within the Latino social system. The social structure is ordered into classes and castes. Individuals dominate those who occupy lower status positions. There is a definite sex standard.

There is also a 'materialistic' orientation present. Things are used as instruments or objects of control. For example, land is seen as a means of acquiring wealth, not, as with the Indians, as something one is morally committed to work.

A value of the emotional qualities of life is seen in the fiesta system. Plays, musical events, and the other events that compose a fiesta are often either very sad or very happy. Routine events are seen as boring; struggle and oscillation of power is seen as being zestful.

"Fatalism" is not stressed in the San Carlos monograph nearly as strongly as it was in Gillin's later works. Although he implies such

a value orientation for the Indians, he says very little about it in the Latino material. One cannot tell from the data presented in this monograph whether "fatalism" is a strong value orientation or not.

Manual labor is seen as disgraceful. A Latino never carries a burden, never walks, and never works with his hands if it can be avoided.

Again, age plays an important part in the control structure. Older men control politics and are accorded the highest respect.

The national orientation is quite evident. Latinos wish to achieve status and power on the national scene and even in the United States, Europe and other parts of the world. The home town is merely a stepping stone to something bigger and better.

Thus, as expected, Gillin's coverage of the value orientations, or ethos, of the Latino population of San Carlos is very similar to his later generalizations of the Latin American culture area. The major question concerns his omission of "fatalism" as a dominant orientation. The only other orientation that one might pick out from the data is the striving for security that Gillin emphasizes for both the Indian and the Latino inhabitants of San Carlos. Gillin presents a number of "threats and anxieties of life" and shows how security is preserved through cultural means of handling such threats.

Guatemala has been represented by only one monograph on the assumption that since John Gillin is the primary ethnographer to concern himself with value orientations, or cultural ethos, and since his work has been previously represented in the general orientation to

Latin America as a whole, it would be tautological to attempt to characterize this society any further.

'Columbia'

William Sayres on the Popayan of Southern Columbia

In the Columbian material we encounter a condition that exists for our knowledge of many societies in Latin America, i.e., the ethnographic research which has been done has been done by a single investigator. Hence, the four papers that have been selected as examples differ only in specifics, the general cultural plot being the same for each one.

William Sayres carried out field work in the Popayan district of southern Columbia between 1951 and 1953. He dealt with three communities: (1) A community of Indians: the 'parcialidad' (reservation) of Coconuco, (2) A community of Mestizos tracing descent from Mestizos: the pueblo of Coconuco, and (3) A status-transition community of Mestizos tracing descent from Indians: Zarzal. It is noted in each of the four papers selected that communities (2) and (3) share the general culture pattern described by Gillin for Latin America. Thus these are the communities with which we shall be concerned.

In an early paper Sayres concerned himself with the transition process by which Indians became Mestizos, and the relationship of this process to the phenomenon of 'magical fright' or 'susto.' (Sayres, 1955.) The aim of this paper is to present data from rural Columbia that indicates that although magical fright is generally thought of as a 'common Indian ailment,' there are certain types of status situations in which non-Indians are more susceptible to those beliefs than Indians.

This seems to be the case in the Zarzal community, where the population has only recently completed the transition to Mestizo, and many indigenous beliefs, e.g., 'magical fright,' are still held as very real.

In another paper Sayres concerns himself with the changes and individual's 'philosophy of life' undergoes as he makes the change from Indian to Mestizo. (Sayres, 1957.) The small group of 'thinkers' in Zarzal have pondered over the question of man's intellectual development, and have come to see the process as consisting of three stages: (1) a 'pure Indian' stage, (2) a 'civilized Indian' stage, and (3) a non-Indian stage. They see the process being affected by two forces, (1) the indigenous culture and (2) Hispanic influences. This process is seen as unidirectional, irreversible, and progressive. It also features elements of 'predestination, natural growth, and cosmic regularity.' (Sayres, 1957.)

Another Sayres paper deals with patterns of consumption of alcoholic beverages among these three Columbian groups. (Sayres, 1956b.) Drinking is institutionalized in a number of sacred and ritual contexts, with the qualification, however, that consumption be limited to one or two glasses. Supplementary drinking patterns are not nearly so uniform, with the 'pure' Mestizo group outdrinking the 'pure' Indian group and in turn being surpassed by the transitional group. The conclusions seem to be that the Indian group has fairly close adjustment between levels of aspiration and levels of achievement; the Mestizo group has aspirations that cannot be achieved in the present cultural situation; and the transitional group cannot settle on which aspirations are desirable,

i.e., the Indian values or the Mestizo values. Sayres' data supports Horton's hypothesis that there is a direct correlation between the level of anxiety in a society and the pattern of insobriety. The evidence also serves to question Bales hypothesis that ritual drinking may inhibit alcoholism.

The fourth paper to be considered deals with problem of "trastorno" (literally, "derangement") in the transitional Zarzal community. (Sayres, 1956a.) "Trastorno" is characterized by symptoms such as wild, irregular frenzy and dull, passive withdrawal. An individual afflicted with "trastorno" may alternate between these two states for anywhere from a few days to a few years. Sayres set about testing the relationship between status change and the incidence of trastorno. He compared the traditional Zarzal community with the other two more regular communities, which had not undergone the Indian-Mestizo status shift. Again he found that the discrepancy in value orientations postulated for the Zarzal community could well be responsible for psychic stress among community members. The other two communities did not seem to harbor any "trastorno" individuals.

Thus it would seem as if the majority of Sayres' concerns have been directed at assessing the psychological stress placed on individuals who undergo a status change, such as was the case in Zarzal. His limited concerns have also confined his coverage of dominant value orientations, but since it is the closest thing available for this particular group, it will have to do.

The "personalistic" value is evident in each of the Sayres papers. Both Mestizo communities place high value on man's right to personally deal with the universe, i.e., to change what he can and to do it through personal communication with the saints. Personal ambition is held desirable and not improper.

The "fatalistic" orientation is characteristic of the Zarzal "thinkers" ideas concerning the change from Indian to Mestizo. They felt this transition to be part of "el destino del hombre," the destiny of man. They feel that the change may be likened to the process of human growth and is "all part of the business of growing up." (Sayres, 1957.)

A nationalistic orientation seems to be an identifying trait among Mestizo communities. They know the difference between "socialismo," "comunismo," and "capitalismo." They do not really understand the three systems but are able to identify, for example, "capitalismo" with the United States and "comunismo" with the Soviet Union.

Most of the other general value orientations are implicitly but not explicitly stated in the Sayres papers. It is reasonable to assume, since in each case he commented on the cultural similarity to Gillin's general description of Latin America, that only a concern with highly specialized problems excluded the mention of other important value orientations.

"Peru"

John Gillin on Moche

Peru has been the locus of a number of studies which have, in

varying degrees, dealt with cultural ethos. One of the earliest of these studies was John Gillin's work in Moche, a small community on the norther Peruvian coast. (Gillin, 1945.) Moche's population is composed largely of 'mestizolzed Indians,' the influence of the indigenous culture being seen only in a very minimal sense. Moche, at the time of the study, was rapidly being absorbed into Peruvian national life.

The Moche study is one of the more difficult to assess in terms of value orientations. The majority of the book is phrased in terms of Murdock's Outline of Cultural Materials. However, a number of such orientations do appear in implicit form in the categorical descriptions.

The section on religion clearly points out the 'personalistic' orientation. As we have seen in the other studies, the saints are approached on a 'personality' basis. In another section it is noted that regardless of status, each individual is credited with possessing a unique quality of his own that deserves the respect of other human beings.

Kinship is probably the most evident value, the stress again being placed on those aspects of the kinship system that other writers have concerned themselves with. As Gillin notes

...the fact that one can call by name without difficulty a certain number of relatives may be taken as a rough indication that his social relationships with the individuals named are fairly frequent and meaningful to him.
(Gillin, 1945: 103.)

Gillin especially stresses the importance of the 'compradazgo' or 'ceremonial kinship' relationship. Of all social relationships,

including "blood" relationships, the ceremonial type are the most enduring. The extended family does not exist as a functioning group in Moche.²⁷

In his discussion of fiestas Gillin brings forth both their "spiritualistic" (i.e., aesthetic, humanistic) nature, and their "emotional" qualities. For instance, in describing the celebration of the Fiesta de Ramos (Palm Sunday), through the eyes of a true Mochero, Gillin points out the intricate ritual, the alternate gaiety and reverence, the pageantry, the crucial role of the music fitted appropriately to each situation and tendency to forget one's troubles for the time being. Following the fiesta comes Holy Week, with "its mantle of grief (which) will cover the town with an aching pain, silence, and sadness." (Gillin, 1945: 148.) Gillin's description of funerals also points out the truly dramatic nature of life in Moche.

Other value orientations are hinted at (e.g., fatalism, age), but it would be reading too much into the data to posit them as definitely being present.²⁸ Moche, as Gillin points out in his introduction, is only in the latter stages of becoming "Mestizoized." Although the culture of Moche is definitely not Indian, it is also not "pure" Mestizo. Gillin's comments on the social organization of Moche may be applied to many other aspects of culture.

It would not be fair to suggest that in social organization Moche is necessarily typical of all the small rural communities of Peru. Its proximity to the city, its rapid and recently established communications with the outside world, its peculiar land problems, and probably certain imperfectly known features of its cultural development are all factors which combine to form a configuration the details of which may be unique to Moche. (Gillin, 1945: 115.)

Moche is a prime example of a community which, at a glance, is phenotypically Mestizo but, on closer examination, still displays traces of its Indian genotype.

Ozzie Simmons has a good deal of field work in Peru, both in Lima, the capitol, and in Lunahuana, a small community located 125 miles south of Lima in one of the river valleys that periodically interrupt the Peruvian coastal desert. For purposes of this study, his most important paper deals with the "criollo outlook," or modal personality, of the inhabitants of coastal Peru; two supplementary papers on drinking behavior will also be covered. (Simmons, 1955, 1959, 1960.)

Ozzie Simmons on Lima

Simmons' 1955 paper deals with a rather limited set of components that characterize "Criollo" culture, primarily in Lima. His main objective seems to be to distinguish the Criollo outlook from those of the other cultural groups in the area. Simmons sees the Criollo cultural pattern as being a sub-set of the Mestizo pattern as outlined by Gillin in 1949; i.e., the criollo pattern consists of a modification and specialization of the more basic Mestizo configuration. Simmons points out that some writers have attempted to limit the criollo outlook to upper-class culture.²⁹ He terms this position as mistaken and, quite rightly, points out that a given cultural group will vary in class affiliation depending on the structure of the regional sociocultural

context. For example,

while Criollismo is associated with only lower- and middle-class status in Lima, it is a mark of upper-class status in the rural mestizo communities. (Simmons, 1955: 115.)

This interpretation is in essential agreement with the view advanced earlier in the present study which placed Mestizo culture near the center of a continuum, varying somewhere between the extremes of "pure" Indians and "pure" Colonial Spanish. The point is that Mestizo culture always contains elements of both "parent" cultures, and in doing so, gives rise to unique value orientations.

Simmons dwells on the value aspect of criollo culture summarily. One orientation he clearly brings out concerns the value given verbal manipulations. One of the qualities attributed to the "true" criollo is the ability to "palabrea," to be very good at verbal suasion. The epitome of this quality is seen in the individual who "gets away" with something, e.g., the politician who "talks his way into office," or the lover who overpowers a young lady with his smooth verbal facility.

The aversion to physical labor is also seen as being a dominant value orientation. Leisure time activity is far more important than any occupational task. One example of a highly valued criollo is the

"comechado" (literally, one who eats lying down), who can, through one artifice or another, draw salary by obtaining a sinecure in the state bureaucracy or, more rarely, in private enterprise, or who can get by successfully with only a minimum expenditure of effort on the job. (Simmons, 1955, 111.)

It is little wonder that graft and bribes are characteristic of criollo politics.³⁰

According to Simmons criollismo is a source of, and at the same time reflects, nationalistic orientations, and in this right, differentiates the Mestizo most sharply from the "Indigena." Simmons' emphasis is laid on those aspects of cultural and institutional life that are concerned with the use of leisure and largely ignore what the Mestizo regards as the "grim business of getting a living." Where work is inevitable, techniques for assuring minimal effort are prescribed.

Personalism is implicitly evident in the descriptions value given to such individual characteristics as "a quick and brilliant mentality; a facile creative talent and a profound sense of humor." "Viveza" (shrewdness), "Ingenio" (Ingenuity) and "picardia" (rogueishness) are qualities attributed to the Mestizo thought to be very criollo. A value on "Dramatism" is also evident in the bullfighter or trainer of fighting cocks, i.e., any individual who triumphs through sheer skill, in a dramatic way against great odds, is hailed as very criollo.

Pervading the entire value structure of criollo culture, at least in the truncated form presented here, is the value placed on gain or advantage over some opponent (defined in its broadest terms) through trickery, ingenuity, shrewdness, etc. Whether this is a specialized element of Mestizo culture that is unique to the criollo outlook is not clear, but would form the basis of an interesting study.

Ozzie Simmons on Lunahuana

The two Simmons papers concerned with drinking patterns were based on research done in the Lunahuana community. The main village is inhabited largely by officials and merchants with the agricultural laborers

populating the ten "barrios" which surround it. Although the Lunahuanenos are predominantly Indian in physical type, they in no way identify with Indian culture, their culture being entirely Mestizo.

In the earliest of his "drinking" papers Simmons laid out the general patterns of drinking behavior in Lunahuana. Simmons has characterized Lunahuana society as possessing a great deal of intragroup tension and hostility for which land disputes are a prime but by no means the only cause. Hostility is characteristic of relationships between immediate and extended family members, neighbors and ritual kin. Drinking is highly valued as a means of venting aggressions and, even more so, of promoting social cohesion, i.e., since each individual mistrusts practically every other individual, drinking bouts serve as a means of "knowing where the other fellow is." It is not socially acceptable to turn down a drink once it is offered and, once drinking, all individuals are expected to "stay even," the theory being that a sober individual may take advantage of his inebriated fellows.

Women do not participate in the male drinking pattern, nor do boys under the age of about eighteen. The only two kinds of deviate drinkers are those who drink alone and those who go on extended sprees punctuated by long dry spells. Lunahuaneo drinking behavior then performs the following functions: (1) it narrows the gulf between various social classes, (2) it reduces personal anxieties, and (3) it produces a facsimile of group cohesion where, evidently, it does not normally exist.

In the 1960 paper Simmons dwells on a point he made briefly in the previous paper. This point concerns the ambivalence toward drinking deriving from the shameful consequences that may result, i.e., a drunk may engage in "incorrect" behavior which may create a scandal. Specifically, this paper focuses on the learning of drinking behavior by the Lunahuana male as he grows up. It was previously pointed out that boys were not allowed to participate fully in the male drinking pattern although they could drink "moderately" under "socially obligating" circumstances. The primary reasons advanced for limiting drinking among adolescents were

- (1) They were too vulnerable to the effects of excessive alcohol intake, and
- (2) by virtue of this vulnerability they were much more likely than adults to engage in "incorrect" behavior.

Paradoxically, it seems that adolescents do not want to drink but are often forced to imbibe by the adults. How then, do adolescents become the hardy drinkers of the adult generation?

Simmons, in attempting to answer this question, notes that

From early childhood on, the act of drinking is symbolically and emotionally identified with the significant persons and the important situations in the community so that the idea of drinking itself becomes internalized as a normal cultural pattern in which all males should participate. But Lunahuanos are apprehensive about engaging in "incorrect" behavior as a consequence of drinking and are likely to feel ashamed if they actually do so. Hence the charter attempts to set limits to the frequency and amount of adolescent drinking so as to minimize the threat such drinking would pose to the proper observance of respect relationships that are highly valued in the society. Once adults begin to drink, however, they themselves take the lead in violating the charter. The consequent inconsistency between attitude and action may contribute to the development of the same ambivalent feelings about drinking in the new generation of drinkers. (Simmons, 1960: 1026.)

Thus there seems to be a fairly close relationship between the adult attitudes of ambivalence toward drinking, and the inability to gain access to this behavior as adolescents. More clearly, this relationship seems to be founded on the essential distrust that characterizes the Lunahuana value system, i.e., the lack of trust for one's 'fellows that is a crucial factor in the very existence of such drinking patterns and, secondly, the lack of trust in the adolescent's ability to control his behavior in a drinking situation.

The two preceding studies have been emphasized primarily because they indicate value orientations that have not yet been covered, but are essentially supplementary to the other Latin American data. The value of being a "correct person" is consistent with the moralistic influence of the Catholic church in Metizo culture. This value also indicates a "personalistic" orientation in that

one must never provide an occasion for others to think he is pretentious or considers himself better than they.
(Simmons, 1959: 107.)

The social hierarchy is predominant, at least in drinking patterns, as evidenced by the fact that men do drink, adolescent males may drink, and females don't drink. The value of kinship is implicitly evident, as children are taught to keep constantly to one's self and to one's family, that strangers are dangerous, and are punished severely for breaking these rules; obviously this value is related to the more obvious one of essential distrust. The value of shrewdness or trickery is noted by Simmons as he writes that although considerable aggression is built

up as a result of the indertimate status of the adolescent,

...Indirect courses for its release are available in the competitive activities of the ubiquitous soccer matches and of seeking to outwit each other as well as watchful mothers in sexual conquests of girls. (Simmons, 1960: 1025.)

A value which may be unique to this community, or others like it, is the importance placed on liquor as a prerequisite to any important social occasion. It is true that this pattern is manifested in the fiestas throughout Latin America, but there is no evidence to indicate that one finds liquor as a prerequisite for all social gatherings in many other Latin American communities.

Thus Lunahuana, although evidencing a few basic components of the Mestizo ethos, seems to be basically characterized by modifications and specializations of these underlying elements. Once again, the studies presented have been rather specialized and necessarily do not attempt complete coverage of all value orientations.

William Mangin on Lima

A very brief paper by William Mangin deals with mental health problems of immigrants who move from outlying Peruvian Mestizo communities to the urban centers. (Mangin, 1960.) Some individuals migrated because of a change in the level of aspiration, others were forced to under economic or political pressures. The study was performed in the "barriodas," squatter settlements in the hills surrounding Lima. These "barriodas" are characterized by such qualities as (1) residents who came from Lima rather than directly from the rural areas, (2) a feeling of separateness from the city, (3) a fairly cohesive

orientation among residents, and (4) a number of "barrioda" associations, guided by self-appointed leaders. Numerous changes are seen in these original characteristics as time passes and the area gradually becomes "urbanized" and blends into the city. Due to the limited nature of this study few value orientations were evident.

A variant of "emotionalism" is evident in the descriptive words used frequently in the interviews. Mangin noted the high incidence of such words as "depressed," "sad," and "pitiful." He states that

the humble, passive, tranquil, modest individual described by many informants as the ideal personality type is not strong and forbearing but rather frightened and ineffective. (Mangin, 1960: 915.)

There seems to be a perversion of the usual kinship value, probably a result of the psychological stress resulting from the changing social environment. Respondents were highly ambivalent about the desirability of marriage, the value of having children, and the perceptions of one's mother.

The value of this study seems not to be in its coverage of a **g**reat number of value orientations but rather in being an example of **t**he effect situational factors can play in the cultural ethos. The **v**ast majority of examples presented so far have placed high value on **k**inship, but under much more secure circumstances. It might be **h**ypothesized that, under severe conditions of psychic stress, those **e**thos components that are most highly valued will be the first to be **c**hallenged, the underlying reasoning being that when one evaluates his **p**resent status it will be in terms of those aspects of human experience most highly valued, and thus these will be the most convenient conditions

to blame for the present difficulties. The affect of psychic stress on ethos structure is an area that needs a good deal more study before this relationship may be explained scientifically.

Latin American Ethos: An Overview

The tables on the following page present a superficial, though useful, picture of the results of our examination for consistencies in Latin American ethos components. Before summarizing these components, and attempting to delineate an "areal personality" for Mestizo America, it may be wise to discuss some of the reasons for the rather irregular picture presented by these tables.

Initially, one must remember that all of these studies were not concerned specifically with value orientations. Thus, it would be wildly unlikely that those values that were discussed would be consistent through all of the studies covered. For instance, an investigator concerned with religious beliefs or concepts of disease will be more likely to discuss values than one interested in a very specific topic such as techniques of manufacturing or even uses of alcohol.

Secondly, there is a great difference in techniques used by many investigators, ranging from simple conversations and life histories to Rorschach's and Thematic Apperception Tests. Even if one is specifically concerned with values, he will arrive at variant, though usually not conflicting, results depending upon the instrument used to elicit the information.

Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, it is rarely that two or more investigators will agree to what is meant by "ethos," or "value."

TABLE I

A SAMPLE OF ETHOS COMPONENTS IN
LATIN AMERICAN CULTURE*

Spanish America

Study	Value	Personalism	Kinship	Status Hierarchy	"Materialism"	"Spiritualism"	Emotion	Fatalism	Non-manual labor	Manipulation of words	Age	Centralized Action	National Orientation
Leslie, 1960		+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+
Albert, MS.		+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
Edmonson, 1957		+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-
Rubel, 1960		-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
Totals, N=4		3	4	3	1	3	3	3	1	2	3	2	1

+ = value present as indicated by data,
- = value not present as indicated by data.

This sample is structured in terms of the predetermined value orientations previously mentioned.

Guatemala

Study	Value	Personalism	Kinship	Status Hierarchy	"Materialism"	"Spiritualism"	Emotion	Fatalism	Non-manual labor	Manipulation of words	Age	Centralized Action	National Orientation
Gilllin, 1948, 1951		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
Totals, N=1		1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1

TABLE 1 -- Continued

Colombia

Study	Personalism	Kinship	Status Hierarchy	"Materialism"	"Spiritualism"	Emotion	Fatalism	Non-manual labor	Manipulation of words	Age	Centralized Action	National Orientation
Sayres, 1955, 1956a, 1956b, 1956c	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
Totals, N=1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1

Peru

Study	Personalism	Kinship	Status Hierarchy	"Materialism"	"Spiritualism"	Emotion	Fatalism	Non-manual labor	Manipulation of words	Age	Centralized Action	National Orientation
Gillin, 1945	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
Simmons, 1955	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
Simmons, 1959 1960	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mangin, 1960	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Totals, N=4	3	2	1	0	1	2	0	1	1	0	0	2

Total Sample

	Personalism	Kinship	Status Hierarchy	"Materialism"	"Spiritualism"	Emotion	Fatalism	Non-manual labor	Manipulation of words	Age	Centralized Action	National Orientation
All studies, N=10	8	7	5	2	4	6	4	3	3	4	2	5

Inevitably these concepts are defined in terms of the investigator's culture and applied randomly to what ever culture is being studied. This lack of agreement on what is the nature of the phenomena being studied is, in the view of this writer, a significant factor in the lack of agreement on the nature of such phenomena in any one society, culture area or other social unit. It was evident in the present study that some investigators were subsuming, for example, what one writer would term values A, B, and C under one heading and calling it value D. The confusion caused by situations such as this is quite apparent. The need for an unbiased frame of reference in the study of any cultural behavior is crucial to the advancement of contemporary social sciences.

Fourthly, it would seem that some dimensions of the value structure would be more likely to be noticed and commented on than others. For example, those values which the informant feels least anxious about would probably be more easily "tapped" by the investigator. Values that caused some degree of insecurity for the informant would probably have to be obtained by implication, or by a "projective technique," all at the cost of some degree of validity.

From the foregoing discussion it should be apparent that a high degree of agreement between investigators should not necessarily be expected at the present time. The particular level of agreement to warrant significance would seem to be entirely dependent on the judgment of the individual evaluating the studies under discussion. In the present case, this writer has decided to attribute significance to those value orientations that are evident in at least four of the ten

communities studied or, in other words, a level of agreement of .4.³¹

Thus the core of the Mestizo American Ethos would contain the following value orientations:

- (1) Personalism
- (2) Kinship
- (3) Emotion
- (4) Status hierarchy
- (5) National orientation
- (6) Fatalism
- (7) Age
- (8) "Spiritualism"

These would be supplemented, in specific areas, by the following more specialized value orientations:

- (1) Non-manual labor
- (2) Manipulation of words and ideas
- (3) "Materialism"
- (4) Centralized action
- (5) Traditionalism
- (6) "Dramatism"
- (7) Gaining advantage on an opponent
- (8) In-group solidarity (avoiding community conflict)
- (9) Witchcraft
- (10) Religion and enjoyment
- (11) Paternalism
- (12) Sanctity of the home
- (13) "Security"
- (14) Distrust of other individuals
- (15) Being a "correct" person
- (16) Liquor as pre-requisite to social functions

It must be remembered that these are modal value orientations.

The first group are "basic" only in the sense that they appear more frequently in our sample than the others. Within any Mestizo group

One may find only a few of these ethos components present, but the

Probability is that most of the first group and some of the second group

can be detected if the appropriate questions are asked.

We have drawn together a number of small studies, and a few larger ones, to arrive at a characterization of the Mestizo, or Latin American, cultural ethos, or in Kroeber's original terms, areal personality type. However, these studies have been phrased in the terms of the North American investigator. It would seem quite advantageous to examine a reasonably comprehensive study that has been published, essentially, in the words and thought patterns of the people being studied. The next section will be addressed to this task.

The Children of Sanchez: A Case Study in Mestizo American Ethos

The purpose of this section will be to examine Oscar Lewis' The Children of Sanchez in terms of the various value orientations we have isolated as characterizing the Mestizo American ethos. (Lewis, 1961.) In this book Lewis has attempted to capture the thoughts, feelings, attitudes, and values of four members of a lower class Mexican family. His technique involves letting each individual tell his own life story in his own words. As Lewis notes,

...I hope that this method preserves for the reader the emotional satisfaction and understanding which the anthropologist experiences in working directly with his subjects but which is only rarely conveyed in the formal jargon of anthropological monographs. (Lewis, 1961: xii.)

This study was chosen for two primary reasons: (1) it contains Comprehensive descriptions of the psychological orientations of a Mestizo family, and (2) these descriptions are structured in terms of the informant's cultural ethos, with minimal interference from the North American investigator.

The main subjects of this study are four young Mexicans, Manuel, Roberto, Consuelo and Marta, ranging in age from twenty-five to thirty-two. Lewis met the family in 1956 while conducting field work for Mexico City. Gradually he came to know them and arranged to have each one tell him his life story, which was recorded on tape.

The Sanchez family is caught up in that growing world phenomenon, the urban poor, or as Lewis terms it, "the culture of poverty." This condition is the result of two major social forces: Industrialization and rural displacement. The basic peasant culture is modified to some extent by urban conditions, but, as will be seen, the value orientations are not much affected.

I will attempt to extract several examples of the modal value orientations we have delineated for Latin America as they appear in the Lewis study. Again it should be noted that, even in a study carried out as "objectively" as the one in question, a "perfect congruence" with the value structure already outlined is not expected nor even hoped for.

The value placed on "personalism" is evident for the most part. The individual dignity attributed to every other human being seems to have been largely lost in the urban context. However, each individual still valued his own dignity and, as evidenced from all four respondents, was willing to resort to physical violence to protect it. For instance, in response to the accusation of being impotent Manuel slapped his female accuser. He reasoned, "my male pride didn't let me admit what really happened." (Lewis, 1961: 364.) The "personalistic" orientation

toward religion is also quite evident. Consuelo, when threatened with instant death, prayed not to the ambiguous power of God, but rather to "my mother...and the Virgin of Guadalupe, too." (Lewis, 1961: 283.) That aspect of personalism which is most evident is the value placed on conforming to an idealized personality type. In the case of Roberto and Manuel the stress is on being "macho" (male), characterized by their great emphasis and pride over their many sexual conquests. In a lesser sense the "macho" ideal is represented in their self-confidence when involved in fights and the seemingly relentless daring typical of many adolescent and young adult behaviors. Almost equally evident is that aspect of personalism dealing with the tendency to form close personal relationships of a trusting nature only with one's actual and ritual kin. Recall that the one close personal relationship Manuel had was with his "compadre," Alberto. In essence, then, personalism is clearly a central value orientation.

Of all the value orientations covered, the Lewis volume most explicitly covers kinship. The prime example is seen in the way that Jesus Sanchez, the father, continually cares for, houses, protects and supports his grown children and grandchildren. The example of this emphasis on the part of Jesus are so numerous it would be redundant to specify even a few. His entire life, as he notes in the epilogue, has been devoted to caring for his children. The paradoxical nature of the kinship relationship is crystallized in the statement by Jesus that "I am a person who bears grudges and I have a lot against three of my children, Manuel, Roberto, and Consuelo." (Lewis, 1961: 481.) Even yet,

this man continues to heed his moral obligations to these children that he dislikes so strongly. The "compadre" system is an integral element of the kinship system, providing a rationale for extending close personal relationships to include non-kin.

The status hierarchy is distinguishable in many of the descriptions Lewis presents. For instance, the father, Jesus, is the dominant influence on the lives of his children; his influence is even stronger than his children's spouses'. An example of this patriarchal influence would be the time Jesus convinced Consuelo to leave her husband, Mario, and return to Mexico city. (Lewis, 1961: 413.) One might read a patron-like character into the army officer who, rather than having Roberto prosecuted for insubordination, gave him twenty "pesos" and let him escape. (Lewis, 1961: 364.)

The "spiritualistic" orientation has also somehow been reduced as a key facet of the cultural ethos. The aesthetic tone is gone from life, leaving even the children with a realization of the hard, cold facts of life. It is highly probable that the absence of this value is characteristic of the extremely difficult existence individuals live in the "culture of poverty."

Emotion is clearly portrayed as a central characteristic of the Latin American ethos. Each informant vacillates between limited states of intense, momentary happiness, and much more extended and frequent states of deep sadness and remorse. The orientation toward sex seems to emphasize the highly emotional, almost ecstatic nature of the relationship. But it is in the helpless submission to the "culture of poverty"

that each of these individuals seems to "pour his heart out" and yet to give the impression of passive acceptance of this status.

Fatalism is closely related to the subject of the preceding statement. Each of the informants, when faced with a tragic situation, seems to accept their lot with few complaints. It is most evident in Jesus' complete acceptance of the many misfortunes that befall him, especially when he finds he has a few more mouths to feed and house. Manuel, upon failing to "have" a young lady of his choice expresses his feelings very matter-of-factly. He reasons, "Well, who knows. Maybe God didn't want her touched by me." (Lewis, 1961: 364.) Quite often these rationalizations pass the responsibility on to God or to some saint.

Age is obviously related to dominant role the father plays in the Sanchez family life. No matter how roughly he treated his children, and no matter how big they were, they rarely talked or struck back. Even in the case of a conflicting allegiance, e.g., a man being torn between his wife and his mother, as in the case of Crispin, the older woman often wins out.

The national orientation is really superfluous in this context as Mexico is the center of national life as it is. However, one does find the international orientation, as in the case of Manuel going to the United States to work.

Thus the evidence in this particular study clearly brings out the role of these "modal" or "central" values in the total social system. Summarily, the more specialized values that are in some way evident

are: (1) manipulation of words and ideas, (2) traditionalism, (3) Dramatism, (4) religion and enjoyment, (5) sanctity of the home, (6) paternalism, and (7) Distrust of other individuals. In essence, then, The Children of Sanchez, aside from being a captivating piece of literature, is a uniquely accurate representation of not only the Mexican ethos, but that of all Mestizo America.

The Area Personality of Latin America in Retrospect: Conclusions

There seems to be little doubt, as indicated by the data from this study, that A. L. Kroeber's definition of area personality type, or ethos, seems to be supported for the Latin American culture area. We have demonstrated that a Latin American culture area does indeed exist, and that there are consistencies in cultural ethos throughout the area. Thus our hypothesis may be accepted. However, as mentioned previously, the "boundaries" of this ethos are none too clear. The distinction we have been making here has been between Indian culture and Mestizo culture. But it has also been shown that there is a tendency for Latin American Indian cultures to become gradually Mestizoized, and the question arises as to where the dividing line actually is. Surely these values that we have delineated give a clue to major distinctions, but the lines are still fine.

The nature of the empirical data provide the biggest and most dangerous stumbling block. In the first place, values are an amorphous concept to say the least. It seems that each investigator has his own idea of what they consist of and how one goes about measuring them. This situation is evident in the fact that only one ethnographer (Edmonson)

came out with any specific statement as to what he meant by the term "values." What is sorely needed in the area of cultural psychology is a method of operationalizing just such abstract concepts as values in order that we may compare such studies on comparable levels of contrast. Although we accept Kroeber's hypothesis, we must conclude that there is need for further research in Latin America as well as other areas in order that we may determine more clearly and accurately the nature of area personality.

There are still other unanswered questions. Is this concept a useful component of contemporary social science theory? How valid is this concept as defined by Kroeber? Are there potential methodological techniques that will implement a more consistent approach to the study of culture in general, and specifically the study of value orientations? These questions will be explored in the brief concluding chapter of this paper.

CHAPTER IV

A FINAL EXAMINATION OF AREAL PERSONALITY TYPES:

THEORY AND TECHNIQUES

Theoretical Foundations of Areal Personality Types

It was demonstrated in the preceding chapter that A. L. Kroeber's conception of area personality types could be verified in the Latin American culture area. However, let us examine the concept once again, as Kroeber defined it.

Kroeber defined areal personality type in terms of a cultural ethos, i.e., the system of values that dominate a culture. This seeming equation of culture and personality by Kroeber should be no surprise in light of his conception of the nature of culture as being "superorganic." Kroeber, as well as a few others (e.g., Leslie White), has pictured culture as being the "sine qua non" of human behavior. Thus, when these individuals do concern themselves with individual personality, it is highly likely that it will be with reference to individuals as carriers of human culture and will be defined in what are typically thought to be "cultural" terms. Some social scientists (e.g., Melford Spiro) have argued that we are making a needless distinction between culture and personality, and are actually only putting different labels on the same phenomena. (Spiro, 1946.)

The majority of social scientists seem to favor a distinction between that which is culture and that which is personality, but there has been little agreement on exactly what are the components of each.

However, it is only in theory that one can separate these two concepts; in the real world of human behavior both are abstracted from the actions of living human beings, or from the records of such actions. Questions arise as to how to classify certain phenomena, i.e., are we observing culture or personality? The answers to these questions often seem to be resolved in terms of (1) the theoretical orientation of the investigator, learned in his own culture's terms, and (2) the nature of the problem being investigated. However, as yet, there seems to be no empirical justification for drawing rigid boundaries between culture and personality, especially in such a hazy area as that of "human values." One must conclude that Kroeber was no more wrong, or right, than most proponents of contemporary social science theory. He defined his concepts in terms of his theoretical orientations and the nature of his problem.

The fact that our hypothesis was accepted seems to demonstrate that there is a correspondence of some kind between culture area and some aspects of individual personality. But the question arises as to how accurately this correspondence has been described. The task of science is to refine its concepts so that they are describing, as accurately as possible, the empirical phenomena under observation. In the preceding chapter it was pointed out that few of the investigators whose work was covered were using the same techniques to gather their data. Hence, it was not too surprising to find their descriptions overlapping in some respects, completely different in others. Each investigator was segmenting the culture, and corresponding ethos, in terms largely

conceived in his own culture. One of the pressing problems in contemporary social science is the need for a technique of investigating cultural and cognitive systems, differing from our own, that will allow us to derive dimensions of behavior that are cognitively meaningful to the individuals being studied. The concluding section of this paper will be devoted to a discussion of some recent research that seems to hold some promise of resolving this problem.

The Formal Analysis of Behavior

In the past seven years there have been a series of theoretical formulations directed at describing the rules which actors employ, or attempt to employ, in the organization and execution of their behavior. (Pike, MS.; Wallace, 1962; Adams, MS.)

These approaches have been stimulated primarily by linguistics, and secondarily, by symbolic logic and set theory. Formal (or componential) analysis was initially used to delineate the meaning of kinship terms, color categories, concepts of disease, and folk botanical taxonomies.³² More recently the concern has been with phenomena of greater generality such as cognitive systems and "total behavior." The techniques of formal analysis consist of identifying the behavioral dimensions recognized by the people under study. As Wallace has noted,

The commitment to describe the psychological reality of culture requires that not just any model which predicts some overt class of action be accepted, but only that model which is used as a system of reckoning by the actor. (Wallace, 1962: 356.)

Any overt behavior may be the result of any one of a number of covert plans; the goal of formal analysis is to find out exactly which plan is being employed by a person or a group.

It is suggested here that if the studies reviewed in the previous chapter had been organized in terms of distinguishing the formal attributes of the cultural systems being studied there would have been far more agreement among the various writers, although the resultant value dimensions would not necessarily have been the same. Again borrowing from Wallace,

...the formal analysis of other aspects of culture, such as values, the program of behavior released in particular situations, and folk science, is also a promising area of work. The principles of the metacalculi to which the diverse cognitive structures of individuals sum in stable social systems are, then, to be regarded as principles of sociocultural organization itself. (Wallace, 1962: 356.)

This writer is well aware of the fact that formal analysis is only in its infancy, and has yet to be proven useful for most social scientists. But, assuming that the ultimate goal of science is accurate description, formal analysis offers a potential tool that could be of use to almost any social science. A final evaluation of this technique must await further empirical investigation and theoretical refinement.

NOTES

¹Other examples of such concepts are "configurational personality" cf. Ruth Benedict, Patterns of Culture (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934) ; "basic personality structure" cf. Abram Kardiner, The Individual and His Society (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), and The Psychological Frontiers of Society (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945) ; "national character" cf. Alex Inkeles and Daniel Levinson, "National Character: the Study of Modal Personality and Sociocultural Systems," Gardner Lindzey (ed.), Handbook of Social Psychology. (Reading, Mass.; Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Inc., 1954) ; and "social character" cf. David Reisman, et al, The Lonely Crowd, 1950 .

²For examples of recent work along these lines see Richard N. Adams, "Formal Analysis of Behavior: A Working Paper on Procedure," MS.; Charles Frake, "The Ethnographic Study of Cognitive Systems," MS.; Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Culture and Cognition," Science, CXXXV (1962), 351-57.

³F. M. Keesing, in his introductory text, has stated that "at the time of the writing of this text, Kroeber is the dean of living American anthropologists. Belonging to no one 'school', his mind moves boldly over the whole range of theory. His writings contain many highly individual insights which a serious student cannot afford to miss, as in his Anthropology (1948) and collected writings (1952). (Keesing, 1958: 179).

⁴See Ralph Linton's introduction to Most of the World, Ralph Linton (ed.), pp. 3-10 for one of the initial anthropological treatments of problems of this nature.

⁵By this statement I mean that if one accepts unconditionally the premises of the areal personality type concept (i.e., the psychological homogeneity of the individuals living within this geohistorical area) he very well may attempt to treat them all the same regarding value orientations. This position does not allow for sub-area value differences. Mistakes of this kind have been documented by Margaret Mead in her Cultural Patterns and Technical Change, and by William Lederer and Eugene Burdick in The Ugly American.

⁶Kroeber (1931:) notes that both the concepts of "culture-area and "age-area" had previously been used by the biological sciences in relation to the location and history of particular species.

⁷Of the three contributions mentioned here, Benedict's is probably the most widely known in popular circles, and, paradoxically, is the least useful. The book was written from an essentially humanistic point of view (e.g., she characterizes the representative cultures as being "appalonian" or "dionysian" in nature) and contains a number of

tautological statements, as well as misuses of western psychiatric terms, e.g., paranoid, megalomania. The book was an important contribution in its time, but must be read with care by contemporary readers.

⁸It should be noted that only studies published in English will be considered. This restriction will affect the data from each of the two areas a little differently; there is virtually no culture and personality material available in languages other than English for Southeast Asia (cf. Herbert P. Phillips, n.d.), while there is an increasing source of data on Latin American culture and personality being published in Spanish (cf.

⁹By "over-all completeness of description," I am concerned with the degree to which studies offer psychological data as well as adequate general ethnographic descriptions.

¹⁰Cf. Clyde Kluckhohn, "Southwestern Studies on Culture and Personality," American Anthropologists, vol. 56 (1954) pp. 685-707; John Dollard, Criteria For the Life History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945); A. I. Hollowell, "The Rorschach Technique in the Study of Culture and Personality," American Anthropologist, Vol. 49 (1945), pp. 195-210.

¹¹i.e., that "every man is in certain respects like all other men, like some other men, and like no other men" (Kluckhohn and Murray, 1953), p. 53.

¹²Some of the first important evidence to support this position was provided by Margaret Mead in her Coming of Age in Samoa (1928), which, incidentally, was her Ph.D. dissertation. Mead went to Samoa to test the hypothesis that all adolescents do not in fact go through the psychological stress and strain that American teen-agers do. This Samoan evidence supported her hypothesis which helped lay the foundation for the "internalization" concept of personality formation.

¹³The theory lying behind the use of tests of this nature is, generally, that by presenting the informant with an unstructured situation the investigator will be able to get him (the informant) to project his unconscious cognitive "sets" into the situation.

¹⁴Incidentally, in the 1923 edition Kroeber failed to include any reference to psychology at all.

¹⁵Daniel J. Levinson and Alex Inkeles, "National Character: The Study of Modal Personality and Sociocultural Systems," Handbook of Social Psychology, Gardner Lindzey (ed.), (Reading, Massa.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc. 1954).

¹⁶Weston LaBarre, "Some Observations on Character Structure in the Orient: The Chinese," Psychiatry, Vol. IX, (1946), pp. 375-95. Also, Weston LaBarre, "Some Observations on Character Structure in the Orient: The Japanese," Psychiatry, Vol. VIII, (1945), pp. 319-42.

¹⁷Julian Steward, writing Kroeber's obituary in the American Anthropologist, also points out this characteristic of Kroeber writings. He notes that "...he did suggest crucial hypotheses in several papers. These contributions have received far too little attention, partly because his repeated disavowals of interest in delimited problems and in causality obscured the implications of his work, partly because his positive formulations and hypotheses were usually stated as highly provisional and often submerged in the raw data of great substantive monographs, but mainly perhaps because he was disinclined to be argumentative and rarely indulged in sufficient forensic zeal and repetition of a thesis" (Steward, 1961: 1053).

¹⁸Cf., John Gillin, Moche: A Peruvian Coastal Community (Washington: Smithsonian Institute, Institute of Social Anthropology, 1945); "Mestizo American," Ralph Linton (ed.), Most of the World (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), pp. 156-211; Richard N. Adams, "Cultural Components of Central America," American Anthropologist, Vol. 58, (1956), pp. 881-907.

¹⁹The term "Mestizo" generally refers to the offspring of a Spaniard or Portuguese and an American Indian.

²⁰By this phrase I mean purposes that may have some affect on other areas of the modern world. Mestozied Latin America, for the most part, represents the locus of Latin American politics, economics, education, etc. The two exceptions are (1) Bolivia, where Indians play a significant role and (2) the Spanish American minority of the Southwestern United States. Cf., John Gillin, "Some Signposts for Policy," Lyman Bryson (ed.), Social Change in Latin America Today (New York: Vintage Books, 1960), pp. 14-62.

²¹Gillin has estimated that only 10,000,000 of the 180,000,000 inhabitants of Latin America are, culturally, truly Indians, ibid.

²²Jacob Fried has attempted to demonstrate that Peru is best represented by neither the Indian nor the Mestizo, but rather by the "Cholo", a "middle group" of persons who can be confused as either kinds of Indians or kinds of Mestizos. Jacob Fried, "The Indians and the 'Mestizaje' in Peru," Human Organization, XX (1961), pp. 23-26.

²³José E. Iturrigoga, La Estructura Social y Cultural de Mexico (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1954), p. 237.

²⁴The problems involved in the empirical definition and study of values will be discussed in the concluding chapter of this study.

²⁵John Gillin, "Magical Fright," Psychiatry, Vol. 11 (1958), pp. 387-400; Gillin, The Culture of Security in San Carlos (New Orleans: Modelle American Research Institute, Tulane University, 1951). It should be noted that there are other studies dealing with personality that were not included because they were too specific and either did not have enough ethnographic description or, more frequently, were not concerned with value orientations to any extent. Cf., Otto Billog, John Gillin and William Davison, "Aspects of Personality and Culture in a Guatemalan Community: Ethnological and Rorschach Responses," Journal of Personality, XVI (December, 1947), pp. 153-187.

²⁶It is not surprising that the ethos components delineated by Gillin for San Carlos Latinos are very similar to those previously outlined for Mestizo culture in general. It should be remembered that Gillin's later work formed the basis of this set of components, and as Gillin notes, the San Carlos material provided much of the data for these more theoretical presentations. Hence a problem is posed concerning the objectivity of this section of the study, i.e., it seems we are testing Gillin's work in terms of Gillin's categories. This situation is unavoidable without more studies from Guatemala.

²⁷This incongruity with the usual Latin American extended family tradition seems to be a folk survival, i.e., one component of the cultural system that has changed more slowly. (Gillin 1945.)

²⁸Mention has already been made (p.) of Gillin's coverage of the concept of Creole Culture, outlined in the last section of the Moche study. Here he suggests the existence of these other value orientations.

²⁹Harry Tschopik Jr., "On the Concept of Creole Culture in Peru," Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences, X (1948), pp. 252-261.

³⁰Cf., Abelardo M. Gamarra (pseud. El Tunante), Cien Anos de Vida Pertudaria (Lima, 1921).

³¹It should be noted that this table is purely descriptive and has no statistical meaning in the usual sense.

³²Cf. A.F.C. Wallace and John Atkins, "The Meaning of Kinship Terms," American Anthropologist, LXII (1960), pp. 58-80; Harold C. Conklin, "Hanunoo Colon Categories," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, XI (1955), pp. 399-44; Charles Frake, "The Diagnosis of Disease Among the Subanun of Mindano," American Anthropologist, LXIII (1961), 113-32.

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