

AN EMPIRICAL STUDY OF THE CULTURAL DETERMINANTS
OF PERSONALITY PATHOLOGY

by

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ABSTRACT

MMPI's were administered to over five hundred high school students to determine if any major differences in personality deviation existed between the Anglo- and Mexican-American subjects employed.

The chief area of investigation was sibling position and personality deviation, not only for intercultural variation, but for intracultural variation as well.

Most of the research on ordinal position in the family has dealt with comparisons between first-born and second-born, or other later-born children. More recent research has demonstrated the importance of the first-of-sex sibling position.

The present investigation explored this area further and found that sibling position is a more important factor in determining personality in the Mexican-American than in the Anglo-American culture. First-of-sex Mexican-American females who had older brothers were found to have more abnormally elevated MMPI scale scores than other ordinal position groups. No corresponding differences were noted for the Anglos.

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND

Introduction

The present study is concerned with a comparison of MMPI profiles of Anglo- and Mexican-American cultures, and with intra-cultural differences, especially sibling position within the family.

Since the major focus of the present study is directed toward understanding the Mexican-American culture, background material for Anglo-Americans will be omitted.

The background material which is presented might seem to extend beyond what is necessary for the present study, but it is included in an attempt to evoke a greater understanding of the Mexican-American and the forces that mold him, and in hopes that the present findings might be more easily explained.

The first topic to be discussed centers around the difficulties of making cross-cultural comparisons and generalizing the findings of one section of the country to another.

Next, there is a discussion of the cultural effects on behavior and finally an analysis of acculturation and the resulting adverse effects.

Problems of Cross-Cultural Studies

Kluckhohn (Lindzey, 1959) warned that research investigators interested in the study of different cultures must not assume that what is fully recognized as "need" in one cultural context can be considered a "need" in another. It is justifiable to state that differences exist between cultural groups as long as no unfounded assumptions are made as to what the differences mean. Sapir (Lindzey, 1959) pointed out that the real world is built up of language habits. He further stated that no two languages are similar enough to represent the same social reality. It follows that stimuli of whatever sort may be perceived and interpreted in terms of the individual's particular cultural heritage. In the present study, there was a further complication in that one of the groups tested was bilingual.

Many who conduct research in a particular section of Mexico readily generalize to the broad population. Due to the fact that Mexico has many isolated communities and in many ways possesses inferior transportation and communication facilities, it is difficult to generalize one study to the whole of Mexico.

Many villages and communities remain practically untouched by outside influences and retain their sub-cultural unity and uniqueness.

Most of the Mexican-Americans in the southern part of Arizona emigrated out of northern Mexico (Riggins, 1946). Logically, it would seem that the most accurate description of Tucson Mexican-American ancestry should be confined to this region of Mexico. Regrettably, few studies on the national character of Mexicans have been conducted in the extreme northern parts of Mexico. It has been demonstrated that the representativeness of the image of the contemporary Mexican as described in the literature is dependable only for the central states. Sonora, which has supplied the majority of Mexicans to Arizona, is held to depart in various ways from the basic pattern (Hewes, 1954). However, certain behavior and personality characteristics do seem to recur in the literature regardless of the section of the country. An attempt will be made to confine the discussion to those studies among which there is the most agreement.

Cultural Influences on Behavior

Some of the adverse affects of culture have been pointed out by Nadel (1951), who indicated that if a culture was intolerant of misfits and had fewer available cultural roles, the suicide rate would be higher.

Hrdlicka (1908) found suicide rare in the Southwest and Northern Mexican Indians, especially among the women.

Horton (1943) and Bunzel (1940) have indicated that cultural factors influence drunkenness. Roheim (1939) has indicated that cultural factors influence symptoms of mental disorder. The frequency of schizophrenia has been found to vary with the culture (Kluckhohn, 1959). Paranoid schizophrenia and other forms of paranoia are infrequent in non-literate societies, but whenever schizophrenia does occur, that society is in a process of acculturation (Kluckhohn, 1959). This finding is consistent with the fact that people of Mexican ancestry possess fewer paranoid trends (Stoker, 1963).

Acculturation

Factors which hinder assimilation into the larger society

According to Riggins (1946), a great many of the Mexican immigrants did not come to the United States in single families, but arrived in large groups to work on specific jobs. Employers did nothing to improve the housing or living standards for these people. The pay they received was originally lower than the pay given to an Anglo-American doing the same type of work. The different habits, appearance, and ignorance of the

Mexicans led to their immediate segregation. Their clothing, diet, and inability to speak English slowed their socio-economic and acculturation progress considerably. The depression in the 1930's struck the already poverty-stricken Mexicans a terrible blow. Vitamin and mineral deficiencies, poor dentition, and illnesses were not uncommon.

Support from welfare agencies bred new hostility toward the Mexican immigrant who was now seen as being even lazier than before. With the past several decades, wages and general economic level have been raised, but once attitudes were formed and were perpetuated for several generations, it was difficult for the Mexican to overcome them.

Persistence of the original cultural patterns has been attributed to the propinquity of Mexico, the diet and religion of the Mexican-American, the Mexican movies and newspapers which are available, and the antagonism of the American population (Altus, 1949).

Simmons (1961) studied a Texas bordertown in which the Mexican-Americans lived in a separate part of town. The Anglo-American perceives two types of Mexican-Americans, the "low type" and the "high type." The "high type" is seen as being better than the "low type" and is granted greater privileges, but is still far from being

an equal to the native born Anglo group. The common beliefs are that the Mexican-Americans are inferior, undependable, irresponsible, childlike, indolent, dirty, drunken, criminal, deceitful, and immoral. These unfavorable attitudes are used to justify the exclusion of the group from equal opportunities. The attitudes of the Mexican-Americans toward the Anglo-Americans are not as rigid or intense.

Generally, the lower class Mexican-American does not regard the disabilities of his status as being important. The lower class does not feel that participation in the larger society is necessary. They also feel that the exclusion practices of the Anglos do not affect them directly. The Anglo group often states that they would admit the Mexican-Americans into the larger society if they would incorporate all of the Anglo values and ways of life. The conflict for the Mexican-American is that he wants equal rights, but does not want to lose his cultural identity. The solution has been to keep the "best" of the Mexican ways, and to incorporate the "best" of the American ways. The Mexican-Americans, affected by the attitudes of the Anglos, often feel that they actually are inferior, but compensate for it by fierce racial pride. To the Mexican-American there are two types of Anglos: (1) the cold, unkind, mercenary, and exploitative

type, which comprises a majority, and (2) the friendly, warm, just, and unprejudiced minority. In reference to interaction, the characteristic pattern is separateness except when inter-group contact is absolutely necessary and then the contact extends only far enough to meet the purposes of the interaction. It should be remembered that many Mexican-Americans retain their isolation by choice, not wanting to abandon their present way of life and wanting to avoid the strain of learning a new language. Even the "high type" Mexican-American seems distant and inaccessible to most of the "lower type." Finally, becoming just like an Anglo-American is undesirable since acculturation is not rewarded in any clear and consistent manner.

Spior (1957) has found that Mexican-Americans who have been the most upwardly mobile were the most acculturated. The less acculturated Mexican-Americans interpret social mobility as a betrayal of the ingroup, since it is a threat to group solidarity and cultural survival. The group must have a profound effect on acculturation, for Mexicans who migrated to Detroit individually became assimilated within the larger culture more rapidly than those who migrated with families. Spiro also believes that this group unity tends to reduce emotional disturbances which accompany acculturation. Acculturation

changes the role of the father more than any other family member. His role of authoritarian and disciplinarian loses strength and is assumed by the eldest son, who orients the younger children to the culture of the larger community. Spiro feels that acculturation takes place without concomitant personality changes. It was discovered that Mexican-Americans of New Mexico exhibited cultural behavior changes without corresponding changes in emotional and value orientations.

Adverse Effects of Acculturation

Factors of acculturation which seem adverse to the individual are: the pace of living of the new society, the age at which acculturation begins, the motivation for undergoing culture change, and the extent to which there is rebellion against the new society. Conformity leads to tension states and rebellion leads to a higher incidence of accidents and injuries due to underlying attitudes of aggression and hostility. Even foreign-born Caucasians show a higher percentage of admissions to mental hospitals than they would show in their native country (Ruesch, 1948).

It has been found (Harvey, 1949) that the Mexican-American delinquent is the product of a foreign home background that produces a bilingual handicap, even though

his socio-cultural situation is similar to that of Mexicans.

In 1949, Harvey conducted a study in Los Angeles, California of 12- to 17-year-old juvenile delinquents who had been jailed. He pointed out that the Mexican-American boys had a preponderance of aggressive traits whereas the Anglo-Americans had a preponderance of recessive traits.

A summary of his findings follows:

I. Recessive Traits

A. Habit Disorders

1. Masturbation
2. Nail biting
3. Tantrums
4. Enuresis

B. Personality Disorders

1. Seclusiveness
2. Day dreaming
3. Feelings of inadequacy
4. Nightmares

Out of 75 Mexican-American boys, there were 23.5% who demonstrated recessive traits; of 75 Anglo-American boys, 42.6% demonstrated these traits.

II. Aggressive Traits

A. Stealing

B. Lying

- C. Truancy
- D. Sex offenses
- E. Use of alcohol
- F. Use of narcotics
- G. Profanity
- H. Vagrancy
- I. Obstinance
- J. Malicious mischief
- K. Destructiveness
- L. Cruelty

Using the same samples of 75, Harvey found that 76.5% of the Mexican-Americans and 57.4% of the Anglo-Americans showed aggressive traits.

The Mexican Personality

A compilation of the descriptions of Mexican national character is filled with contradictions (Hewes, 1954).

The dominant Mexican type developed as a result of conquest, contact, indoctrination, and cultural borrowing during the past 430 years. This dominant type is usually called the "mestizo," a cultural blend of Spanish, Indian, and other sources. Others choose the downtrodden "pelado" as the quintessence of Mexican character. The word means "plucked," like a chicken, but it has come to mean "a nobody" (Hewes, 1954). The "pelado" is surrounded by

hostility, toward which he acts with resentment and extreme violence. Overwhelmed by his sense of personal worthlessness, he takes revenge at the slightest provocation. There is a faith that a man who succeeds in life does so because of his sexual potency. In verbal battles, opponents of the "pelado" are accused of sexual perversion or feminine traits.

In reference to the origin of inferiority feelings in the Mexican, there is disagreement. Several trace the feeling back into the pre-conquest civilizations, in which warrior-priest hierarchies kept the masses in semi-feudal subjection. Others blame the conquest of the Spaniards, saying that it gave birth to a national inferiority complex.

Hewes (1954) notes that a product of the Mexican's inferiority is the theme of death in the "pelado's" fantasies. To become a hero or a saint, one must die. Death is the ultimate means to salvage personal prestige. The Hispanic contributions to the death cult can be seen in the highly sanguinary religious images in Mexican churches. There are crucified Saviours with horribly life-like wounds and streaming blood. Jesus can be seen lying in glass sepulchers, wrapped in blood-soaked gauze. The same horror and vividness of death and the morbidity of war and the conquest are revealed in the paintings

displayed in the Palacio de Bellas Artes in Mexico City. There is also an elaboration of funeral rites with special celebrations on the Day of the Dead. On this day, November 2, candies and pastries in the form of skulls, toy coffins, and figurine funeral processions represent some of the macabre aspects of the festival. The bullfight affords another sight of blood and the certainty of death.

Iturriaga (1951) points to the contributing factors of substandard nutrition, the high morbidity and mortality rates, and the short life expectancy. He uses quite a number of adjectives to describe the Mexican. The Mexican is timid and sentimental, but moderates it with an external air of indifference; he is sad, but possesses a definite sense of humor. He is violent, yet artistic, individualistic rather than gregarious. The Mexican's sexual deficit leads to an insistent erotic preoccupation. The Mexican is irrational, inconstant, fatalistic, superstitious, and indecisive. He is blindly patriotic but lacks a clear picture of what his country represents. Jose G. Robreda (1947) found the following to be true of Mexicans whom he interviewed: 34.34% expressed a predominant interest in sexuality and eroticism, 17.7% preferred a mystical, religious life, 11.48% preferred an imaginative life, 8.63% expressed a desire to elevate

themselves economically, and only 5.69% demonstrated love for their families.

Dr. Santiago Ramirez (1957) traces the basic personality type of the modern Mexican to the impact of the Spanish conquest. During the colonial periods, the Spaniards who possessed high prestige made the Indian women their concubines. Because Mexico was the conquered nation, Mexicans necessarily had less prestige, but they also lacked the values to which the Spaniards were accustomed. For this reason, the Indian women were used to satisfy the sexual desires of the men and were then abandoned. The man in Mexico came to be associated with the conqueror and the woman with the conquered. The mestizo, or new culture, formed by Spanish-Indian unions, slowly acquired new associations. Masculinity became associated with social dominance, strength, ability to conquer, and foreignness. Weakness, submission, low social status became associated with femininity. The mestizo and creole child were originally fraught with conflict and problems of multiple identifications. The Indian servant or mother was warm, succorant, and motherly, yet she was resented and was of low social value. The Spanish woman was highly valued, but distant and cold. In Mexico, the child tries to identify with the father, but is rejected. This leads to exaggerated masculinity. To

cover up his insecurity, the Mexican male carries a pistol, appears willing to risk his life at all costs and expresses a need to conquer as many women as possible.

Verification of such behavior was witnessed by this author in December of 1961. A group of Americans were traveling from Estacion Bamoa to nearby Sinaloa. A Mexican man appeared in the middle of the road brandishing two pistols. He demanded a ride to Sinaloa and got in the back of the truck. His young son ran alongside to find out where his drunken father was going. The man replied that he was going to Sinaloa. The man told us he was going to drink and make love to the girls. He waved one pistol around in the air and fired it until it was empty. On reaching Sinaloa, he waved, shouted, and threw kisses to the girls and made obscene gestures to some of them.

When a Mexican child is born, it enjoys a very close, warm relationship with the mother; but on the birth of the second child the first child is completely weaned and ignored. Ramirez (1957) cites this as a traumatic event from which the child never recovers. This neglect leads to ambivalence toward the mother and may lead to the desire to harm women in general. The Virgin of Guadalupe becomes the idealized supportive mother figure. Mexican men avoid delicate sentiments and affection, for they fear it will be construed as being

feminine. Ramirez (1957) found that 70% of the abandonments took place at the time of the wife's pregnancy. Ramirez explains that the birth of a child is a symbolic representation to the father of the sibling who had once stolen his mother's affections from him. To avenge himself and because he fears being rejected again, he deserts. This causes the mother to invest more love in her children. The male, having failed in his love relationship with his wife regresses to the oral stage and often becomes alcoholic.

Wylie and Delgado (1957) conducted a study of twenty boys whose fathers were absent due to divorce or separation. Only a few were absent because of death. The results indicated that: (1) The boys did poorly in school, (2) One-half were enuretic, and (3) One-quarter soiled their clothing. The fathers were looked on by the mothers as "bad" and the boys were viewed by their mother as being like their fathers. This concurs with various statements about the Mexican pattern (Lewis, 1957; Pineda, 1951). The boys were known to assume some of the father's roles; their relationship to their mother was intense, highly sexualized, and hostile. The mothers of these boys were found to be bound closely to their own parents.

Father-separated children produce an idealistic fantasy picture of their father (Bach, 1946). The fantasied father has a good time with his family, gives affection, and there is little marital discord. Girls give more affectionate fantasies and boys more aggressive ones. The affectionate fantasies of girls also appear in the work of Lewis' Five Families (1959). In this book, there is a girl who did not know her father well because he had deserted the family, but she loved him and when teased about him she would stop eating, cry for him, become sad, and fall into bed with one of her attacks. She expressed the wish that he would hug her, and even in her dreams her father hugged her.

Adler (1953) offers evidence that there is a higher frequency of mental illness among the single, divorced, and widowed, than among married individuals. The study was designed to overcome the basic objections to previous research which indicated that differences in mental illness rates were due to the older ages of the married and divorced groups. The findings indicated that marriage does appear to reduce the likelihood of illness in the marriage partner and that the high incidence among widowed and divorced persons is the result of reduced "marriageability."

The evasive, hostile manner in which the Mexican reacts to all forms of authority is carried over from his ambivalent feelings toward his father. The relationships between men and women remain mechanical and superficial due to the conception that woman is only a source of sexual satisfaction. This superficiality is evidenced in the Mexican dances in which there is no conversation and little or no physical contact (Ramirez, 1957).

The Mexican Family

"The family is the basic channel through which all organized activities must flow. The success of any organized activity depends largely upon the degree to which it fits into the pattern of the family group" (Leonard & Loomis, 1941, p. 50). A number of behavioral patterns have been attributed to the Mexican family which may be an artifact of family size. Historians, sociologists, and psychologists have traced the authoritarian role of the father to the conquest, but Bossard and Sanger (1952) have shown that authoritarian figures arise naturally in large families. Moreover, there is a specialization of role-statuses and much sibling-rearing-by-siblings. The practice of older children raising younger children in the Mexican home may stem from the existence of large families rather than from some unique cultural influence. Such a possibility seems tenable if

one compares family sizes between Anglos and Mexicans. In a study by Harvey (1949), the average size of the Mexican family was found to be 6.8 while that of the Anglo family was 4.9.

In Oaxaca (Haynes, 1954), the male role is extremely dominant. "Women are still considered inferior beings, unfit to manage their lives or assume any position of responsibility." Family life in all classes is marked by the dominance of the male. Henry (1957) cites results that indicate that strong disciplinary actions of fathers lead to outward discharges of rage and delinquency. This study was conducted on an Anglo-American population; juvenile delinquency among Mexicans may stem from a similar relationship with the father.

Mexican males of Tepoztlan (Lewis, 1949) also fit into the traditional stereotype of the authoritarian, patriarchal, head and master of the household. The wife is expected to be submissive, faithful, devoted, and respectful to the husband. The man, however, is only the nominal head of the household. The family structure is only outwardly patriarchal (Hewes, 1954), with the usual correlate of a double moral standard, intricate mechanisms to safeguard the chastity of the wives and daughters, and wife-beating. In spite of such patterns, the "inner

family" is truly maternal. The mother provides the only coherence to family unity.

Lewis further indicates that both husbands and wives are becoming aware of the growing assertiveness of the woman and of the husband's continual struggle to keep them under control. In actuality, many women actively try to dominate their husbands rather than conform to passive submission. Nonetheless, she is overwhelmed by self-pity and martyrdom. The husband remains aloof from family members in order to be respected by them. Because of his insecurity, he becomes a violent and fear-inspiring figure. His sense of security depends on how much his wife and children fear him. The male's avoidance of intimacy causes him to lose much of his control over the family. The males also avoid arousing their wives sexually. When they engage in sexual intercourse with their wives, it is without love play, because the women might begin to like it and become prostitutes. Diaz-Guerrero (1955) reports a similar finding in which sex is practiced one way with the wife and another way with a lover.

There does seem to be a definite trend toward a change in the Mexican family life. The patriarchal family and its unity and the uncontestable prestige of the head of the family is disappearing with increased urbanization,

industrialization, and the tremendous growth of the cities (Iturriaga, 1951).

The Revolution of 1910 was the beginning point of such changes. Family members began to migrate to the cities. The social code and family unity were of less importance in the cities and, as a result, the divorce rate began to rise. The introduction of the female to the economic sphere weakened family ties by making the woman less dependent on the male. The misery of some of the rural huts alone was enough to spark the movement of numerous women to the cities where work for domestic servants was plentiful. Disruption of family cohesion was also attributable to increasing juvenile delinquency, free union marriages, and divorce. The delinquents invariably came from poorly educated areas and lived in broken homes. However, these environmental factors do seem to precipitate or predispose one to delinquency in other cultural settings. Caldwell (1931-32) found that more delinquents were from lower income bracket groups, and more had parents in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations than did the normal population.

Iturriaga (1951) reported that in 1948 only 7.6% of two thousand Mexican delinquents came from solid, "normal" homes.

Increasing divorce rates and the loosening of family ties (Iturriaga, 1951) have been partially explained by the increase in the number of civil marriages, as opposed to religious marriages in which divorce is forbidden. The three greatest causes of divorce in Mexico have been unjustifiable abandonment, incompatibility, and mutual consent.

Role Expectations Within the Mexican Family

The birth of a girl earlier rather than after several sons have been born is an emotional tragedy for the family (Diaz-Guerrero, 1955). The virility of the father is questioned if such an event occurs. The birth of a girl under these circumstances means (1) a bad economic break for the family, or (2) an emotional and physical strain on the protection of her virginity. The male infants are taught to be manly or "macho" almost from birth. No signs of femininity are tolerated in young Mexican boys. Male Mexicans learn to be "rough" and look forward to the virility of manhood.

Abel (1951) described the permissiveness with which males are handled. They are given no responsibilities and are allowed to have their own way when they reach adolescence. The signs of adolescence are never removed from the man. He remains impulsive and undisciplined in behavior.

Leonard and Loomis (1941) investigated the roles and role expectations of Mexican-Americans in El Cerrito, New Mexico. The authors discovered that a husband was soon forgiven for a clandestine affair with another woman or for drunkenness, but failure to enact his roles and obligations to the socio-cultural group provoked the ire of the community.

The female returns to the home after completing grade school, as it is not considered feminine to have any higher education (Diaz-Guerrero, 1955). This trend is not consistent throughout Mexico and is changing toward a greater amount of education for both sexes. The major role of the daughter is to help the mother around the house and to help meet the needs of the brothers.

In a study of Mexico City youth who were 18 and over, Diaz-Guerrero (1955) found that 32 per cent of the males and 44 per cent of the females were "neurotic." The difference between neurotics and normals was significant at the .04 level.

In the males, there are problems of submission, conflict, rebellion toward authority, preoccupation and anxiety regarding sexual potency, conflict and ambivalence regarding the double role, and the Oedipus complex. For females, the main area of stress is the inability to live up to the requirements of the culture, i.e. the culturally

prescribed role of complete submission and subservience.

Abel (1951) observed that the sex life of adolescent girls in Tepoztlan was severely suppressed. He postulated that these restrictions led to extreme rigidity. Such trends are not consistent throughout Mexico. In Estacion Bamoa, this author learned that on reaching the age of 14 or 15, each girl is expected to find a lover, regardless of his age or whether or not he has a family.

The Mexicans believe that if the most loved and respected figure in Mexico is the woman, the same must be true in Heaven (Pineda, 1961). The Virgin Mary is like a Mexican mother in that no matter how drunk or criminal a person is, she always forgives him. For this reason, they go to any expense to bring her flowers and deliver orations to her. About the only conversation Jesus and his Mother have is in Heaven; they believe that Jesus would be impotent without the love and respect of his Mother. There are two views of the mother: the forgiving, perfect one who is similar to the Mother Mary, and the other woman who is horrible, abandons, lies, and is an infidel. The Mexican is liberal with hostility toward this second type of woman. She is cold, destructive, cruel, prostitutes herself, and is distant and

inaccessible. This woman is not real. She is a woman about whom stories are told; she is the woman of legends.

The view of women in general is similar to the dual view of the mother. There are "good" women and "bad" women, who are part real and part idealization or fantasy. The "good" woman is a virgin, one who is pure and innocent. It is presupposed that she does not or would not have sexual ideas, impulses or experiences. She must be a source of much affection, love, protection, consolation, hope, ambition, will, and faith. She is the embodiment of all that the Mexican man needs. The "bad" woman has had sexual experiences. These women present themselves for the sexual satisfactions of men. Some have these experiences for money, some for sexual satisfactions, and some for the love they feel for the man. It does not matter what her reason is; she is "bad." Moreover, she is not really a woman, but an object. These women are things to be used, depreciated, insulted, or abandoned. The Mexican male lives this double life in perfect tranquility. He can make love to a prostitute and still retain the purest love for his wife. His love for her is clear and unpolluted by his extra-marital sexual activities.

Mexican males also perceive women differently depending on whether or not they are adolescent girls,

sweethearts, or wives. The adolescent girl, or girl in her youth, is pure, a mixture of human and angel qualities. Nothing is too good to offer her. She is sung about in songs. But this perfect flower of youth is potentially a bad woman. The sweetheart is idealized, and thus a good woman. Yet, when the lover learns that she is truly a woman, then she must, therefore, be bad. Gradually he aggresses until he has seduced her. Then he labels her as bad and criticizes her for having satisfied him sexually. The wife is a synthesis of idealizations. If the wife begs for affection, money, or anything that requires responsibility, the demands are not those of his wife, but of his own mother. This reinstates rebellion against the mother, but in order to defend the picture he has of his mother, he begins to fight his wife. This drives him to the cantina, to lovers and prostitutes, searching for situations in which he can receive without having to give (Pineda, 1961).

Pineda points out that in the last several decades, the intentions of establishing "hogares" and free union marriages have led to earlier sexual experiences of both sexes. But not being bound by marriage laws, desertion is even easier than before. A woman is deserted by two and three men successively. Earlier sexual experience does not lead to earlier maturity, but to greater

pathology. These early unions are fostered by rebellion against antiquated religious and social mores and against parental authority. The result is self-destruction, growing social pathology manifested in an even greater incidence of psychopathy, sex crimes, and other anti-social destruction.

Most Mexican women have a narcissistic element in their love. The child, particularly the female, is like a promise of the perfection she never realized. However, the mother feels more like a mother when she has sons. When she has a daughter she foresees the pain, misery, and suffering which the daughter will bear in the future. The mother-infant relationship has not been systematically studied in Mexico. In the first year of life, the narcissistic pattern is revealed. The mother cares for the infant, especially in relation to physical attention. The female offspring are carefully bathed and are dressed in the brightest colored clothing. These infant girls are not seen as small persons, with needs of their own, but as objects for the use and satisfaction of the mother. The mother often abandons her children for other activities, being much too busy for the child. If the child cries, she says something to the effect of, "Let him cry, so that he will learn to shut up." The mother may one day smother the child with embraces and kisses

and then leave him with a neighbor or a young child for as much as several days, "if she's busy" (Pineda, 1961).

At the end of the first year, the treatment of the sexes also differs. The girl is educated with progressive severity, while the boy enjoys fewer limitations and greater tolerance. Toilet training is begun sooner and is stricter with the girls, with resulting feelings of shame and ideas of morals, manners, and purity. The mother-infant relationship is filled with complexities, especially with the daughters. To spare the daughters some of the shame and misery which the mother has suffered, she magnifies the "bad" man to the "horrible" man, creating even greater anxieties in the child. The mother's fears of destruction cause her to protect her daughters in many ways. One manner is to protect her genitals by keeping them covered from birth onward (Pineda, 1961). In many parts of Mexico, the girls are fully clothed and the boys run nude or wear only a shirt, with exposed genitals.

Pineda notes that infantile masturbation is more severely punished in girls than in boys. The moral and social conscience which develops is rigid and severe. Fixation at the oral and oral sadistic levels are predominant and access to genital maturity is seldom evidenced. From the second year on, the mother educates her daughter to beware of the ways of men. She teaches her that the

relationship with men will lack respect, affection, and confidence, but that submission and inferiority will result. The girls begin to join the mother in verbal attacks against the father.

At preadolescence, changes are noted. The mother strengthens her alliance with the girls to prevent the possible incest from father and brothers. Seeing these girls reach maturity causes the boys and father to feel that they should deflower them in typical "macho" fashion, caring nothing of the resulting shame and humiliation. In all parts of the country, there are customs or rituals surrounding the declining capability of the father as a sexually potent male. In the ritual, the male of declining potency compensates for the imminent loss by having sweethearts or having the opportunity to deflower young girls. The father and sons of the raped girl go in search of the offender (old man) to kill him. In other parts of the country, the young man goes after the old man for the rape of his daughters. These ritual enactments supposedly make the impotence of old age more tolerable.

The mothers, in these situations, teach their daughters to repress every desire for extra-familial heterosexual interests. Because of the misery which the Mexican woman endures, she becomes elevated on a pedestal as a martyred heroine. Due to the father's absence and

the continuous tirade of the mother against the father, the girl identifies completely with the mother. Daughters, from infancy on, are used as mother substitutes, serving the father in many manners. The mother discharges her responsibilities to them, especially to the eldest. The mother forces much work upon them as early as possible and begins to rely upon them. Sometimes these girls are more affectionate and more like a mother to the younger brothers than the actual mother. The younger children identify with the mother (who, like the father, is absent frequently) or with the oldest daughter (Pineda, 1961).

Pineda adds that teaching daughters to care for brothers who have "bad" in them, like their fathers, breeds multiple conflicts among the siblings. The mother also teaches her daughters that they should feel "bad," inferior, and incapable of defending their affective and sexual integrity. She destroys her daughters' faith in their own integrities, telling them that they are also potentially "bad," and that only their mother can protect their virginity.

Manifest homosexuality (Pineda, 1961) is on the rise in Mexico. Latent homosexuality is evidenced in "macho" behavior, partly due to the greater number of abandoned mothers who have children from diverse fathers. A Mexican woman wants to have children not to love, but to

replace the man, and to help her. She often seduces men to bring her new children. The growing class of women workers is no better off than the rest. They are promiscuous and use contraceptives and abortions to avoid pregnancy. They do this in rebellion against parents, hostility toward men, self-destruction, and because of a desire for love.

The author blames the woman for the Mexican's pathology just as much as the man. She selfishly uses her children, uses men for her own good, and is as incapable of responsibility and giving of love as the man (Pineda, 1961).

Incest in American and Mexican Cultures

A Mexican-American nurse related to the present author that she had discovered a number of incest cases among Mexican-Americans while conducting public health work. The incidents had never been reported because the mother feared that the husband would be taken to jail and that the family would be deprived of its major source of income.

Kaufman, et. al. (1960) conducted a study in the United States on the influence of family members on the occurrence of incest. Kaufman concluded that desertion by the father and the reaction to it produced the common source of anxiety which led to incest. Since desertion is

so common among Mexican families, more detailed reference will be made to the article.

Kaufman believes that incest is to be explained by a family pattern in which incest is both stimulated and permitted. He studied incest which occurred in eleven girls from the ages of six to fourteen. The mother had not reported the incest to the authorities, but the girls had been referred to the Judge Baker Guidance Center for treatment. Age at admittance varied from the ages of ten to seventeen. A summary of the major symptoms of these young girls follows:

1. Depression and guilt were universal.
2. The most common somatic complaint was loss of appetite and abdominal distress. The latter appeared to be related to fantasy of pregnancy.
3. Learning difficulties were present.
4. All performed below their ability on the psychological tests given.

The home situation of all the fathers was characterized by poverty, alcoholism, little education, and inadequate housing. These men had received little warmth and understanding from their paternal grandparents. The occupational history of the fathers indicated irresponsibility. All of the fathers and step-fathers had deserted the children at some time. Eight or more of these men were

alcoholic. The maternal grandfathers had also deserted their families and the mothers had in some way also deserted the husbands, leaving the daughters to assume the mother role. The maternal grandmothers were "stern, demanding, controlling, cold" and hostile women "who rejected their daughters and pampered their sons."

When interviewed, the mothers of these female Ss were carelessly dressed, seemed dependent, and appeared content to live in disorder and poverty. They had married because it was expected of them and they considered marriage as throwing themselves away. The maternal grandmothers had rejected the mothers, making them feel worthless. The mothers tried to regain the lost love by promiscuity or masochism. The hostility which the mothers felt toward the maternal grandmothers was displaced onto the daughters. As a result, these daughters were made to help with the other children and do other work. The mother created a situation in which she, in effect, became the daughter and the daughter became the mother. Incest began when both father and daughter felt that the mother had abandoned them, by giving birth to another child, by turning to the maternal grandmother, or by developing outside interests. One of the patients commented that no trouble had occurred until the family moved in with the maternal grandparents. The mother had

left the father at night to go sleep with the maternal grandmother. The girls did not seem to feel guilty about the incest itself, but did feel guilty about the disruption which had resulted. "All the family members appeared to be searching for a mother figure."

The Role of "La Mentira," or the Lie, in the Mexican Culture

The lie is used as a defense and an aggression in the central and southern parts of Mexico; in the northern parts, it is socially accepted in all its forms (Pineda, 1961).

The author traces the origins of the lie to the origins of the self or ego of the person. The ego, being unacceptable to itself, says: "I don't want to be what I am, I want to be like . . ." This can be accomplished by denial and regression when the adult realization is replaced by an infantile one, projection, and sublimation. The author used the term "lie" in its broadest sense. The purpose of the transformation of the ego or self is to present itself in a more tolerable light to the superego. The lie alters reality and presents the person differently than he really is.

The use of the lie (Pineda, 1961) is constant and liberal. It begins in infancy. The mother lies to her children with the greatest of facility, realizing that the

truth can in many ways create problems. Furthermore, the relationship between mother and infant is ambivalent even before the child is able to talk. The mother pretends to love and then becomes distant or lovingly overprotective and faultless. She pretends to love much, but the child is easily abandoned to be by himself, or in the hands of someone else. Later, when there is verbal communication and the child has already been frustrated considerably by the mother, father, and his siblings, the common relationship is filled with frequent lies. The child, on the other hand, is expected to tell the truth, and if he does not, he is castigated and made to feel guilty. The relationship of the mother to her child is especially narcissistic, accompanied by her habitual ambivalence or affective dissatisfaction, especially that of a sexual nature. The child knows little of how to give love. He demands much and gives nothing. For these reasons, the mother resents him. The child is seen as a possession, to be used by the parents for their own good. The mother-infant relationship appears close in the first year of life, but it is inconsistent and not positive. When the child begins to show the ambivalence, negativism, or hostility of the parents, they project the blame away from themselves, saying that the child inherited his "badness"

from such-and-such an ancestor, or by utilizing a fatalistic explanation and ascribing its origins to fate of some sort.

The parents fail to see the relationship between their own lying and that of their children. They expect truth from them, yet if someone comes to visit that they do not want to see, it is not uncommon for them to get the children to tell the company that they are gone, are sick, are in the bathtub, etc. The result is an identification with a sadomasochistic and blame-worthy mother. The child can never escape from lies. He hears them in the market place, on the street, at school among his friends, etc. The various contacts the child has with authority outside the home are replications of the parent-child relationship. The child is treated as an object. In the schoolroom, truth and falsehood are intermingled. Each school is an individual experiment. Each teacher differs from the others, each school differs, and no generation of teachers bears a resemblance to the previous. Within the same school, one teacher exhorts one thing as truth, to be contradicted by another teacher. The teachers teach without a formulated plan, without objectives, and without a common goal or ideal. The situation develops into a battle between the "good" teachers and the "bad" students, again replicating the situation at home. The ethics of

not cheating do not exist. The goal of the student is not to learn, but to copy, to cheat, to appear smarter than the teacher, and to fool him in every way possible (Pineda, 1961).

Lying in Mexico is used to elicit compassion, in which the person speaks of the infirmities which plague him; it is used in every social, professional, and political situation. The author talks of the Mexican who is a terrible liar, who is timid without his pistol, who is full of valor, the machismo alcoholic who is capable of killing anyone as long as he brandishes a .45. The question which the author raises is: "Why the lie and not some other mechanism?" It is because the male needs external reaffirmation, with a touch of surface bravery to cover the humiliation which would result from his fear of being feminine. The masculine lie, in whatever form, is saying: "Believe me, because I can hurt, destroy, kill, rob, because I am a man. Believe me, please, because I don't believe it myself." The mother lies to say: "Please believe that I am an object worthy of love. Believe me, because I don't believe it." (Pineda, 1961).

The author traces this lying to a pregenital fixation, especially the oral stage. In reference to the relationship between mother and child, she is on the one hand overprotective and loving, fostering narcissistic

behavior. On the other hand, her severity and dominance brings out passivity and masochism, and in the males, feminization. The father expects his sons to be extremely manly and masculine. This ultimate goal is so idealized that the resulting ego ideal for the child is unattainable. The Mexican child suffers a great depression in the latent period, for he discovers in this period that his father is far from representing the manhood which he expects his sons to attain. The child must then search elsewhere to find a person with whom he can identify in order to realize his ego ideal. The child learns that the father is not the marvelous hero he was once thought to be. He is not capable, nor dignified, nor good, nor intelligent, nor strong. Love is bad. The father does not know how to give it; it is better to obtain love than to give it. Since the child cannot identify with the father as he now appears, he identifies with the superficial father: the sadist, the aggressor, the dependent, false liar. The child feels somehow closer to the mother due to this identification.

One interesting use of the lie is to evoke attention and sympathy from friends or relatives. Women often complain of imaginary or exaggerated illnesses and ailments to gain attention. Having been habitually disappointed in love from infancy, the Mexican lives for

himself, fearing that he will be abandoned if he dares to let himself love (Pineda, 1961).

Ordinal Position Among Siblings and Personality

Since the influence of ordinal position on psychopathology and personality is a major interest of the present study, a brief introduction by Sears, Macoby, and Levin (1957) will be presented followed by an analysis of specific contributions which favor or disfavor the hypothesis that first-born children are more likely to possess mental disorder than non-first-born children.

The first child always suffers somewhat because of the inexperience of his parents (Sears, Macoby, & Levin, 1957). Furthermore, there is a period which is common only to the first-born child. He is, for a while, an only child. This period of being an only child often lasts for as much as five or ten years before other children are born. The authors point out that this age gap and the size of the family are two very important factors which influence the child. The closer together the pregnancies, the less frequently the mother becomes delighted about them. One factor which continues to contaminate findings is that the size of the age-gap between parent and child varies with the ordinal position of the child. The mother is younger for the eldest child. This contaminates comparison of age peers. If

two five-year-olds are being compared, the mother of a five-year-old who is her oldest child will, on the average, be younger than the mother whose youngest child is five. Some of the older mothers may have had no contact with the concept of demand feeding.

Toilet training is generally not consistent from one child to the next. For the oldest, it is usually stricter and begun earlier. It is more natural for the latter-borns. In reference to breast feeding, increasingly fewer youngest children are breast fed. The middle or youngest child is weaned earlier and more severely. This is sometimes due to a desire for modesty in front of other family members. In reference to quarreling among siblings, the eldest is usually given the most freedom. The oldest and middle child are assigned more tasks than are later-born children. Demands are placed on the oldest child, but he is also allowed to express more aggression toward his siblings than the other children. Perhaps it is because the oldest are older and therefore should be allowed more freedom. The father is more of a disciplinarian with the oldest child than with the other children. The parents are more delighted over the birth of their first child than for the other children. The middle child is praised less often for good that he has done. The youngest child receives the breast less and is weaned

more severely; he is also on a more rigid schedule. In large families, the oldest receives the most punishment and the youngest receives less punishment and more warmth. However, in two-child families, the younger receives neither more warmth nor less punishment. Sears, et. al. reported the following effects on behavior among their subjects:

1. The later the child was weaned, the greater the upset. The oldest were fed the longest and proved to be the most upset.
2. Only and first-born children were slightly more aggressive. Aggression tends to go from the parents to the first-born, from the first-born to the next, and so on down the line.
3. The only child and the oldest child had more strongly developed consciences. They also suffered from more physical punishments and deprivations of privileges. The oldest was given more power and authority than the others. There is more direct training for adult roles for the oldest. This serves to increase the rate of conscience development.

Unfortunately, the authors never make explicit the upset or resulting disturbances from these unfavorable patterns of child-rearing.

To make the research on ordinal position more comprehensible, tables have been devised which contain the methods used and results obtained in the various studies related to this issue. On the basis of the personality of the first-born child, there is some contradiction. Sears, Macoby, and Levin (1957) have indicated that the first-born expresses more aggression than the other siblings. Goodenough and Leahy (see Table I) indicate that oldest children lack aggressiveness, but they seem to be referring to lack of initiative rather than to aggressive acts. Evaluation of these studies is difficult in the sense that no two authors utilized the same method (see Table I). Most of these authors do agree that the first-born child is more aggressive, explosive, more cruel and more easily angered than other siblings. These factors offer a partial explanation of the tendency for first-born children to become delinquent more often. Sears (1951), however, found that oldest children tend to repress overt aggression. This does seem to imply that aggression is present, even though it is not expressed. In some respects, Sears' study is difficult to evaluate. Refer to the Comment section of Table I concerning this study. First-born children are further described as withdrawn, dependent, introverted, lacking self-confidence, and less friendly.

TABLE I

UNFAVORABLE PERSONALITY PATTERNS OF FIRST-BORN CHILDREN, A SUMMARY OF THE LITERATURE

Author	Method	Group	Results	Comment
Good-enough & Leahy (1927)	Observed vs. Expected Frequencies	Patients in British hospitals for the insane	Oldest children lack aggressiveness, self-confidence, seclusive and introverted, and gullible	
Koch (1955)	Teacher ratings based on Fels Rating Scale and the Calif. Behavior Inventory for Nursery School Children, CAT, and interviews. Results analyzed by the F test.	348 five- and six-year-old children from intact two-child families	First born were less friendly, less obedient when there was a male sibling 2-4 years younger	
Koch (1955)	Same as preceding, except for the deletion of the CAT	Same subjects as preceding	First born more given to anger, more cruel, more anxious	

TABLE I--Continued

Author	Method	Group	Results	Comment
Lasko (1954)	Mother's attitude toward children was rated on 21 variables. Analysis of variance was computed.	46 pairs of children who were first and second children in their respective homes	Parents are more restrictive and coercive to first born children. First child is also subjected to a greater amount of verbal stimulation and acceleration. Second child given more affection, rapport, approval, protectiveness, and babying.	
Sears, P. S. (1951)	Doll play aggression. Author calculated mean frequency of aggressive acts for each ordinal position	68 boys & 68 girls fairly well divided for each ordinal position	The oldest children tended to repress active, physical aggression	Father was absent practically an equal number of times, but the author fails to indicate if the distribution is similar for each ordinal position

TABLE I--Continued

Author	Method	Group	Results	Comment
Sears, R. R. (1950)	Child rearing practices and ordinal position. Observation of children under standardized conditions four hours each over a period of a month. Teachers rated children on dependency, and mothers were interviewed on child-rearing methods.	42 three- and four-year-old children in the University of Iowa preschool	First born children are more dependent than second children. The mother of later born children is less frustrating than for the first born.	
Wile & Noetzel (1931)	Frequency with which each subject fell into diagnostic categories. Chance probability was considered.	500 children, ages 2-16 years, from Mt. Sinai Hospital. 355 case records of hospitalized adults.	The first born was more explosive, withdrawn, enuretic, and delinquent	The author attributes the greater incidence of undesirable behavior to the inexperience of the parents. Ordinal position, per se, does not produce these differences.

In reference to parental behavior toward children (Lasko, 1954), parents tend to be more restrictive and coercive with the first-born. Affection, rapport, approval, protection and babying are more often given to the second- rather than to the first-born.

On the basis of hospitalized mental patients and the incidence of behavior problems, there was greater consistency in methodology (see Table II). Most of these studies have presented the expected versus observed frequencies of mental patients for each ordinal position. On the basis of these findings, five studies indicated that first-born children are more likely to be problem children or delinquents. Five studies indicated that first-born are more likely to be hospitalized mental patients than non-first born. To correct for the possibility that hospitalization is due to an age selection factor, Rosenow and Whyte utilized corrected expectancy scores (refer to Table II). There is some evidence (see Table III) that the first-born is less aggressive, less neurotic, better adjusted and more stable.

In reference to incidence of psychopathology, some research indicates that the oldest children are less likely to have functional disorders, and that the youngest male child is more likely to have schizophrenia (see Table

TABLE II

GREATER PSYCHOPATHOLOGY IN FIRST-BORN CHILDREN, A SUMMARY OF THE LITERATURE

Author	Method	Group	Results	Comment
Good-enough & Leahy (1927)	Observed vs. Expected Frequencies	Patients in British hospitals for the insane	First born are hospitalized more frequently than chance	May be an artifact of British child-rearing practices
Henry (1957)	Reported perception of father or mother as chief disciplinarian and the relationship of this perception to aggression	Two samples: 1335 Mass. high school students; 391 college & 226 high school students in Tenn.	Rage and delinquency in the first born as a reaction to father's discipline	
Phillips (1956)	Expected vs. observed frequencies of incidence of childhood behavior problems in relation to ordinal position	635 children referred to public guidance center	Male and female first born were referred more often than would be expected by chance	

TABLE II--Continued

Author	Method	Group	Results	Comment
Raychaudhuri (1956)	Observed vs. expected frequencies	1500 cases from hospitals in India	First, third, and tenth children were significantly more likely to have functional mental disorders	Artifact of culture
Rosenow & Whyte (1931)	Computation of probability of first-born in relation to number of children in family. Comparison was made between observed and expected frequencies of first born among problem children. Added correction factor for age selection.	Problem children at a child guidance clinic	First born patients exceeded the corrected expectancy by more than three times the probable error	

TABLE II--Continued

Author	Method	Group	Results	Comment
Rosenow (1930)	Computation of probability of first born in relation to number of children in family. Comparison was made between observed and expected frequencies of first born among problem children.	Problem children at a child guidance clinic	First born children from small families come to the clinic more often	
Schuler (1930)	Observed vs. expected frequencies for ordinal sibling position	1200 hospitalized mental patients	The incidence of first born is greater than would be due to chance. Second of two children is much less likely to become mentally ill (Sig. at .01 level).	
Sletto (1934)	Case history analysis of delinquents	786 boys and girls, legally delinquent. Control for age, sex, & size of sibship.	Delinquency rate highest for oldest boys. Similar trend for girls.	

TABLE II--Continued

Author	Method	Group	Results	Comment
Wahl (1954)	Calculation of the percentage of total sample which were paranoid, catatonic, simple, hebephrenic, or undetermined schizophrasia. Percentages were calculated on the basis of ordinal position.	392 male and female schizophrasics	Family position and ordinal position are influential in the etiology of schizophrasia	There was no control group, no matching for family size, no statistical techniques
Wile & Noetzel (1931)	Frequency with which each subject fell into diagnostic categories. Chance probability was considered	500 children, ages 2-16 years, from Mt. Sinai Hospital. 355 case records of hospitalized adults.	Oldest children were significantly more explosive and delinquent	Did not clarify or control for different social environments. This was a criticism offered by Stagner and Katzoff who got opposite results.

TABLE III

UNFAVORABLE PERSONALITY PATTERNS FOR NON-FIRST-BORN CHILDREN, A SUMMARY OF THE LITERATURE

Author	Method	Group	Results	Comment
Abernathy (1940)	Bernreuter Personality Inventory; Adjustment Inventory by Bell. Subjects who had marked ab- normality in their home life were omitted.	300 female college subjects from Queens College, North Carolina	First born tend to be less neuro- tic, aggres- sive, and better adjusted in general. The middle child was a less favor- able posi- tion.	
Damrin (1949)	Terman- McNemar Intelli- gence Test; grade aver- age; Bell Adjustment Inventory	156 white American girls, grades 9- 12; median age of 16	Younger chil- dren are more maladjusted. The first and second chil- dren were consistently higher in intelligence, grades, and adjustment.	
Stagner & Katzoff (1936)	Bernreuter Personality Inventory	430 college men	The older of two children was the more stable. The youngest of three or more was the most unstable.	

IV). Different techniques, lack of controls, age and sex variability, and inadequate statistical techniques may account for these discrepancies. The age of the mother was not considered in any of these studies. Furthermore, family size, socio-economic status, and the size of age gaps between siblings were seldom considered. One study (see Schooler, Table IV) indicated that youngest children suffered more often from functional disorders than oldest. It is possible that whether or not first-born children are likely to possess mental disorders is a function of family size. Family size is directly related to socio-economic class, which is in turn related to incidence of schizophrenia. The likelihood that any family member would suffer from mental disorders increases as family size increases and as socio-economic class decreases. Because of these confounding variables for which there have been no controls, it is difficult to draw any sound conclusions other than those presented. There are, however, a greater number of studies which indicate that first-born children are likely to have psychological difficulties than those who offer contrary evidence.

TABLE IV

GREATER PSYCHOPATHOLOGY IN NON-FIRST-BORN CHILDREN, A SUMMARY OF THE LITERATURE

Author	Method	Group	Results	Comment
Kingsley & Reynolds (1949)	Medical history; questionnaire mailed to the mothers; illness history computed on basis of fourteen categories	101 children patients in Fels Hospital	First children did not show the highest mean incidence in any category. They suffered fewer illnesses than singletons or second born.	These were medical classifications, but all could reasonably have had psychological components (respiratory ailments, constipation, etc.)
Malzberg (1938)	Observed vs. expected frequency of patients with dementia praecox	Hospital patients with dementia praecox	Tendency for the third and eighth born to be patients more often than first or second born	
Roberts	42 attributes calculated for schizophrenic patients	Hospitalized schizophrenics	Youngest male child from the lower classes was more likely to be a schizophrenic. The mothers fostered dependency; there was a close and distorted relationship with	

TABLE IV--Continued

Author	Method	Group	Results	Comment
			the mother. This close, dependent relationship put the child at odds with his father. The mother was the dominant partner and a rigid perfectionist.	
Schooler (1961)	Chi square analysis on a survey of the literature	Survey of the literature	The youngest child is more likely to be schizophrenic than the oldest child, .01 level of significance	These differences appear in families with four or more children

CHAPTER II

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

Due to the large number of Mexicans who have migrated to the United States for economic, or other reasons, Mexican-Americans have become an integral part of the socio-culturo-economic structure. This has been especially true of the states bordering on Mexico, such as Texas, Arizona, and California. Due to language and cultural differences, the Mexican-American has retained some of the patterns of Mexico and is still not fully acculturated. The adverse effects of partial acculturation were mentioned in the background section. With growing percentages of Mexican-Americans in many of our school systems each year, it is quite important to determine what factors might effect their adjustment to the larger society. One of the factors which has hindered their adjustment in the past and which may have interfered with testing of the Mexican-American is his bilingual handicap. Carlson (1950) indicated the existence of such a handicap by demonstrating that bilingual groups do more poorly on verbal sections of intelligence tests than they do on performance sections. Mead (Lindzey, 1959) has shown that bilingual peoples show perceptual and

cognitive distortions in the second language, even when they have forgotten the first.

The scope of the present study, however, extends beyond the high school sample tested. The author was interested in determining whether or not personality patterns within the high school group were similar to those of adults within the same culture. The only means of determining whether or not this similarity exists was to compare the findings to those obtained from studies which typify the Mexican-American adult.

Attempts to study ordinal position are often confounded by failure to control for family size and socio-economic class. In the chi square analyses computed in the present study, there was strict control of family size. Socio-economic class differences were minor and practically all of the subjects came from working class homes.

Ordinal position was studied in the present research not only by comparing first-born with non-first-born children but also by comparing first-of-sex children who had older opposite sex siblings with first-born and non-first-born children. Previous experimenters have confined their attentions largely to comparisons of first-born and non-first-born children.

Finally, the choice of instrument was quite difficult. Projective tests may have been more interesting for cross-cultural comparisons of the sort made in the present investigation, but the extremely large sample made the use of such an approach unfeasible. It was for this reason that the MMPI was used, as well as for its ease in administration and scoring.

CHAPTER III

PROCEDURE

Choice of an Instrument

In the past, cross-cultural comparisons have been conducted by using projective tests. Sundberg (1956), however, states that "structured tests are more amenable to statistical treatments, item analysis, etc. than projective techniques." Since the original sample in the present study consisted of over 500 subjects, the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) had the advantage of being easily administered to large groups and of being easily scored. Its scoring keys and numbered profile sheets are another advantage.

Discussion of the Instrument

The MMPI was published by Drs. Starke R. Hathaway and J. Charnley McKinley in 1941. "Nine scales were originally developed for clinical use of the test and were named for the abnormal conditions on which their construction was based" (Dahlstrom and Welsh, 1960, p. 1). The nine original scales are as follows: Hs (hypochondriasis), D (depression), Hy (hysteria), Pd (psychopathic deviate), Tf (masculinity-femininity), Pa (paranoia),

Pt (psychasthenia), Sc (schizophrenia), and Ma (hypomania). Later a tenth scale, the Si (social introversion) scale was added. "There are also three validating scales: L (lie), F (validity), and K (correction)" (Dahlstrom and Welsh, 1960, p. 1). The MMPI represents the construction of a questionnaire on an empirical basis, i.e. the authors decided what they wanted to measure and selected each item on its ability to differentiate between the diagnostic group and the control group.

Previous Cross-Cultural Studies Which Have Used the MMPI

Only three major studies have utilized this technique for cross-cultural purposes. One study was conducted by Torres-Gonzalez (1956), who used a Spanish translation of the MMPI for Cubans. A second study was conducted on Australians (Taft, 1957). In comparison to American groups, both male and female Australians scored more toward the feminine end of the Mf scale. Fifty per cent of the Australians had at least one abnormal score whereas only thirty-three per cent of the Americans had an abnormal score. Australian males were higher than the American males on Pd and Mf by more than one half standard deviation from the mean. Australian females were higher than American females on D and Sc by the same amount. The third study was conducted by Sundberg (1956), who used a German translation of the MMPI.

Choice of Subjects

The author and a colleague met with the principal and the student guidance counselor at Pueblo High School in Tucson, Arizona to discuss the possibility of conducting a cross-cultural study within the school. The MMPI was offered as a possible technique. The administration was familiar with the MMPI and gave clearance for the execution of the study using the MMPI. One large section of sophomore Life Science students was selected for testing. These students were mostly fifteen- and sixteen-year-olds, with a range from fourteen to eighteen. The sophomore class was chosen in preference to junior and senior classes because it was learned that a large number of Mexican-American students drop out after the sophomore year and that students beyond that grade level are quite likely atypical of the Mexican-American population. Again, the sophomore class seemed to be the class of choice, for Dahlstrom and Welsh (1960) have indicated that subjects sixteen years or older who have had at least six years of schooling should have no difficulty with the MMPI. "Hathaway and Monachesi (1951), as part of a series of studies on delinquency, tested about 15,000 ninth-grade students in various parts of the state of Minnesota" (Dahlstrom and Welsh, 1960, p. 5). Most of these protocols were acceptable, but the F scale values of some of

the subjects were higher than the adult norms. As an added precaution, all subjects below fourteen years old were discarded.

The Face Sheet

Each subject completed a face sheet which contained such information as age, sex, occupation of parents, and birthplace of ancestors (see Appendix I).

CHAPTER IV

ADMINISTRATION AND METHODS OF HANDLING THE DATA

All Life Science instructors met with the principal, the guidance counselor, and those connected with the present study to discuss methodology. All teachers were extremely cooperative and all aided in maintaining rapport and monitoring the examination. The author and colleagues personally administered the MMPI and were present at all times while the face sheets were being completed in order to answer any questions which arose.

The final sample consisted of 212 students, all of whom were administered the group form of the MMPI. The administration of the inventory was carefully monitored at all times. Any subject who failed to complete either the fact sheet or the MMPI was omitted from the final sample.

Since the answer sheets were to be machine-scored, all stray marks were erased from the papers and marks which were too light were made darker. Answer sheets were coded for religion, cultural group, ordinal position in the family, and occupational status. Those who were assigned to the Anglo-American group were those subjects whose parents and at least two grandparents were born in

the United States. None had grandparents from Mexico. Bilingual subjects were also eliminated from this group. Colored subjects and those of oriental extraction were eliminated. Subjects were assigned to the Mexican-American category if they spoke Spanish as a first or second language and if they had Spanish last names and Spanish first names, or if those with Spanish last names had English first names which had Spanish equivalents. Subjects were discarded if they had both English and Spanish names, and it was not clear whether or not they might have parents from different cultures.

Next, all scores were recorded on the MMPI profile sheets. These scores were converted to T-scores. The T-scores were used in preference to raw scores, for most of the literature which Dahlstrom and Welsh (1960) cite is based on T-scores. Any subject who had a score of 70 or above on the F scale was omitted from the final sample. This cut-off point is frequently used. Very few students were eliminated on the basis of high F scale scores, and these were evenly distributed for sex, culture, and ordinal position. No subject had L or ? T-scores which reached one standard deviation above the mean. Accordingly, no profile sheet was discarded due to inordinately high L or ? scores. There were no only children among the Mexican-American males and only one Mexican-American female was an

only child. For this reason, all only children were eliminated from the sample.

CHAPTER V.

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

The analysis of variance was one of the statistical techniques employed in the present study. A four-way analysis of variance with weighted means for groups of unequal numbers was calculated. This technique is appropriate ". . . to test the significance of the differences between three or more means" (Edwards, 1960, p. 117). One advantage of this method is its convenience: (1) It brings to the eyes and to the mind a summary of a mass of statistical data in which the logical content of the whole is readily appreciated (Edwards, 1960, p. 117). (2) It is also useful ". . . in facilitating and reducing to a common form all the tests of significance which we may want to apply" (Edwards, 1960, p. 118). Edwards further claimed that the instrument is a powerful, as well as a convenient, tool. The variables used in the present design were: Mexican-American vs. Anglo-American, male vs. female, first-born vs. non-first-born, and sixteen-year-olds and over vs. fifteen-year-olds.

One major problem arises in the computation of an analysis of variance with this type of data. Statistically significant differences among groups are revealed

by this method, but the meaning of such differences is not clear. Descriptive terminology which has been applied to MMPI profiles has been based on whether or not the particular scale was a high point, a low point, or occurred in some particular combination with other scale scores. An alternative method is to use a trend analysis, which is determined by the frequency with which subjects obtain certain score values for each scale or among scales. The disadvantage of this method is that it is not a statistical method and is only used for descriptive purposes. A modified trend analysis was used in which the two high points and the low point for each individual on each scale was computed.

CHAPTER VI

RESULTS

Analysis of Variance

Other students made comparisons using the same data, but the present study will be confined to analyzing differences in ordinal position within and between the two cultural groups. On the complex interaction of group (Mexican-American vs. Anglo-American), sex (Male vs. Female), and ordinal position (First-Born vs. Non-First-Born), significant differences appeared only on the Mf scale. It seemed as though there was a significant difference between Anglo-American first-born females and Mexican-American first-born females on the Mf scale, but inspection of the means revealed that the difference was due to the group variable (Mexican- vs. Anglo-American) rather than being due to ordinal position. This significant difference was due to the extremely low Mf scores of the Mexican-American females (see Table V, Appendix II).

Chi Square

Chi squares for MMPI T scores of 70 or above were computed for each of the following groups:

1. First-born. This was the first child to be born within the family.
2. First-of-sex with older opposite sex siblings. This included children who were the first-born-child of their sex, but who had older siblings of the opposite sex.
3. Non-first-born children. This included all the children who were not included in the first two groups.

This entire sample was fairly well controlled for family size and range of family size within each subgroup. If a profile indicated more than eight children, it was omitted from the sample. Mean family size was kept as close to 4.00 as possible (Table XI, Appendix II).

It has been the practice of many researchers to compare the first child in the family to either the second child or to all other children. Others, who have studied the sexes separately, have put the first born child and the child who was only first born for his sex in one group and compared them to all the other children. As the findings of the present study indicate, one cannot assume that first born children and children who are only first-of-sex but who have older opposite sex siblings will have similar personality profiles, especially when viewed cross culturally. In fact, Mexican-American

females demonstrated differences when the groups were viewed separately, but no differences were found for the Anglo-American groups. For the results of these findings, refer to Table XII, Appendix II. It seems clearly established that first-of-sex Mexican-American females who have older opposite sex siblings have a higher frequency of elevated scale scores than do first-born Mexican-American females. These differences are significant at the .025 level.

To gain a greater understanding of what these differences mean, plotting a modal profile was attempted, but individual differences were too great to make this approach profitable. Mean scale scores also seemed to be misleading. The abnormally elevated scales (T score of 70 or greater) of the Mexican-American females can be found in Table XIII, Appendix II. For an adjective description of the first-of-sex Mexican-American females, refer to Table V, Appendix II.

It will be recalled that first-of-sex Mexican-American females did not differ significantly from non-first-born Mexican American females (see Table XII, Appendix II). It seems rather unusual that among these non-first-born females, nine out of 14 had no abnormally elevated scales whereas one subject had seven elevated scales and another had three elevated scales (see Table

XIII, Appendix II). However, closer inspection of the families of these Ss indicated that in the first case the S with seven elevated scales had only one older sister, who was 29 years old, married, and not living at home. Due to the fact that this sister was approximately 13 years older than the S, the S was for all practical purposes the first-of-sex female. Since the S still has two older brothers, she perhaps should have been grouped with the first-of-sex females who had older brothers. This would have strengthened the statistical support that these girls show more abnormal elevations than any other ordinal positional groups. The female S who had three abnormally elevated scales was in a similar situation. This girl had a sister who was older than she by seven or eight years and who was not living at home. This S also had an older brother, again supporting the major finding concerning first-of-sex Mexican-American females with older brothers. For further information, refer to Table XIII, Appendix II.

The most frequent elevated scales were Ma, Si, and Sc. Those who had peak Ma scales seem to form one small cluster, while the elevated Si and Sc groups form another. The former group can be described as hyperactive, talkative and having the attribute of verbal aggressiveness. The other group is more often described as introverted, shy, socially unaggressive, and withdrawn.

CHAPTER VII

DISCUSSION

A number of findings resulting from the present endeavor remain unexplained. First of all, why were so few differences found between Anglo- and Mexican-American students? The personnel at Pueblo High School indicated that many of the Mexican-American males drop out of school during the junior and senior years. The sophomore class was chosen for the testing sample because of a relatively smaller percentage of drop outs. However, some of the teachers indicated that some of the Mexican-American students purposely stayed away from classes on the days that the MMPI's were given.

During the time that testing was being administered, more Mexican-American males seemed to be marking responses at random than any of the other Ss. At first, an attempt was made to keep an accurate record of the percentage of each group that was eliminated due to faking, but there were so many other factors that were used as criteria for elimination from the final sample (incomplete face sheets, incomplete MMPI answer sheets, dubious number of siblings, unclear national or language backgrounds, age, either first or last names that did not

clearly belong in either cultural group), the task was abandoned. It could be assumed that the most psychologically pathological groups would be those that drop out of school or who failed to appear at the testing session. Although this is a likely possibility, it is not necessarily the case. It is possible that the sample tested was a good representation of both cultural groups, but if this assumption is true, then the question arises as to whether it is because both cultural groups are free of pathology, or whether both have high percentages of emotional difficulties as revealed by the MMPI. The latter assumption is not totally unwarranted, for when the results yielded relatively few differences between the cultural groups, the author had another conference with the Pueblo High School staff. The principal and the school counselor indicated that there are a number of children in the Anglo-American group that are of a low socio-economic class. It was pointed out that these students live in a residential area referred to as "Dogpatch" by some of the other students. There was an implication that delinquents and "children with problems" seemed to come from this area more than from other residential sections. Furthermore, a number of English-speaking people of foreign backgrounds seem to migrate to the Pueblo High School district. Thus, it is possible

that no differences were noted because both groups deviated from the average population, but such a possibility is unanswerable without further information.

It would be valuable to test the same students with other tests to determine the validity of the MMPI in assessing psychological difficulties. Comparing Pueblo High to other high schools would provide some indication of the extent to which the present test sample can be generalized to similar groups. Even though there were no major differences between the two cultural groups, there seemed to be an adequate demonstration that the ordinal position for psychological disturbances in one subculture is not the same as that for the other. The results of the present study may be examined with respect to two further questions.

1. Do the findings for ordinal position at the high school level hold for adults of the same culture, or is this an artifact of the particular age group studied? Is it possible that these ordinal positional differences change between adolescence and adulthood?
2. Has the MMPI been a sufficient assessor of psychopathology?

The first question seems to have no complete answer, but there is evidence which offers at least a

partial answer. David Stoker (1963) found that the percentage of Mexican-American males and females who were first-born of their sex were more often schizophrenic than were those from other ordinal positions. These differences did not occur for Anglo-American patients. Much the same findings were revealed in the present study except that the differences were only found for the Mexican-American female group. It is not known whether the differences hold true for Mexican-American males or whether this is just an artifact of the work of Stoker (1963), the present author, or both. In reference to the former possibility, there may have been some tendency to hospitalize first-of-sex Mexican males more often than other Mexican males. With reference to the present study, first-of-sex Mexican-American males may have been eliminated due to high faking scores, random marking of the MMPI answer sheet, or a higher frequency of school drop outs. It would be both interesting and valuable to find out what percentage of Mexican-American male drop outs are first-born of their sex. At any rate, there is agreement on the fact that first-of-sex Mexican-American females have greater psychopathology than do Mexican-American females of other ordinal positions and that these differences do not occur for the Anglo-American group. This seems to make the finding appear more universal for

this subculture since the findings of Stoker (1963) and the present author were quite similar despite the following differences:

1. Method. Stoker used files in a state hospital; the present author used the MMPI.
2. Degree of normality. Stoker used a psychiatric population, whereas "normals" were used in the present study.
3. Age. The former study used adults, whereas the latter used teenagers.
4. Geographical location. The former sample was statewide, whereas the latter came solely from Ss in Tucson, Arizona.

In answer to the second question, it seems that the MMPI has done quite an adequate job of assessing psychopathology. It has been almost a regular procedure to administer MMPI's to incoming patients at the Southern Arizona Mental Health Center. The agreement between MMPI interpretations and staff diagnoses has been quite satisfactory. Furthermore, the agreement between the present findings and those of Stoker indicates that the MMPI can, at least in part, make a fairly accurate estimate of pathology.

A reexamination of the background material provides some indication of why Mexican-American females

who have older brothers might have greater pathology than other girls within the family. Spiro (1957) states that in the acculturation process, the role of father is altered more than that of any other family member. His role of authoritarian and disciplinarian is assumed by the eldest son. Wylie and Delgado (1957) agree with this hypothesis when they conclude that boys assume father's role and have a sexualized, hostile relationship with their mother. It would seem to follow that this relationship would also develop toward the oldest daughter.

Perhaps this immaturity and lack of experience is tragic for the first girl in the family, who must cater to this boy as a wife would to a husband. Ramirez (1957) states that the Mexican child enjoys a close warm relationship to the mother, but when the next child is born, this child is completely rejected. How would this affect the first girl? Ramirez feels that this neglect may cause the sons to desire to harm women in general. Perhaps they displace this hostility to the first girl that comes along, especially since the first girl often helps with the household and is often surrogate mother and housekeeper. Perhaps the first girl in the family survives better than the first girl of sex due to the fact that the latter also has to withstand hostilities of older

brothers. Perhaps younger brothers seek nurturance and a mother figure, whereas older brothers do not.

The fact that the present study reveals that it is first-of-sex girls with older brothers who demonstrate greater psychopathology would seem to indicate that the presence of older brothers is actually a predisposing factor for mental illness in certain females within the family constellation. It would be interesting to analyze Mexican families with the MMPI to determine whether or not the pattern is shared by both Mexicans and Mexican-Americans. Diaz-Guerrero mentioned the strain on the protection of a girl's virginity with the absence of older brothers. He seems to have overlooked the important possibility that it is the brothers who may be the greatest threat to a girl's virginity, if not in fact, then in fantasy. Guerrero overlooked another detrimental aspect of having older brothers in the home. Even if these brothers are not sexually abusive, they are likely to be otherwise physically abusive. Abel (1951) mentioned that Mexican-American males are handled with great permissiveness, are given no responsibilities, and are allowed to go "their own way" when they reach adolescence. This last comment seems to indicate that having older brothers is more of a trauma when these males reach adolescence than when they are children. Their impulsive and undisciplined

behavior is felt most directly by the oldest girl. Such a view is supported by the work of Diaz-Guerrero (1955) who states that Mexican girls help their mother and try to meet the demands of their older brothers.

As mentioned previously, incest is a greater possibility within this subculture than some might imagine. Crowded living quarters and bedrooms shared by both sexes make incest even more likely. The fact that Mexican girls share sleeping quarters with older brothers or with their father is indicated in Oscar Lewis' Five Families (1958). As pointed out earlier, incest is not as taboo in this subculture as it is in the Anglo-American culture, for Mexican males are not ostracized as much for sexual aggression and drunkenness as for failure to provide for their family and contribute to their community. Furthermore, they view the daughters' approaching adolescence as an opportunity to deflower them, having little concern for the resulting humiliation and shame (Pineda, 1961).

An argument might be advanced that such a practice might be confined to Mexico, but verification of the existence of incest among Mexican-Americans in Tucson, on more than a limited basis, was provided by verbal communication from a Mexican-American nurse who did census work within the Tucson community. The nurse stated that a number of Mexican-American mothers described incidents of

incest in the family, but failed to report these incidents to the authorities out of fear that their husbands would be taken away and their means of support would be gone. Incest would seem to be the misfortune of the eldest girl more often than for other girls within the family.

If this is so, it would be interesting to find out how early psychopathology is revealed in this culture. Does it occur only after the Mexican-American males have reached adolescence, or do the females have to be nearing adolescence? Another valuable question to be answered is whether or not incest is more likely when there is one older brother, or many.

Desertion and heavy drinking have already been established as Mexican-American patterns and it was these very factors that Kaufman (1960) believed were contributory to the occurrence of incest in the Anglo-American culture. Kaufman also pointed out that incest is fostered in homes in which the father abandons the family for this forces the mother to abandon the father, at least psychologically. At this time, the mother transfers her role as wife and mother to the oldest daughter, thus promoting incest.

But there is still another parallel to the Mexican-American family. In the Anglo-American families in which incest occurred, the maternal grandmother had

rejected her daughter, but still played a role in the current family situation. In the Mexican-American family, grandmothers often play important roles in their children's lives as household supervisors and as surrogate mothers for the children. Kaufman believes that mothers react to the rejection by their mothers by rejecting their own daughters, and that in essence the mother becomes the daughter and the daughter becomes the mother; the father and daughter respond to this abandonment by having incestuous relationships. It would seem that incest would occur with the oldest girl in the family, but this would include first-born females and first-of-sex females. But perhaps as has been suggested previously, incest occurs with older brothers more often than with fathers. This could explain the greater psychopathology for this ordinal family position.

However, it is possible that incest or its threat did not occur within the sample for the present study. If so, the problems of the first-of-sex girl may be due to some threat or abuse by older brothers in addition to certain child-rearing practices.

Some of these practices will be discussed below. Bossard and Sanger (1952) have indicated that in the United States siblings rear siblings and that the older raise the younger, but in the Mexican-American culture it

is only the females who raise the younger children. A first-of-sex girl in this culture must not only cater to the demands of older brothers and father, she must also raise the younger children as a mother would. It has been thought by some that it is the responsibilities of having household duties and child-rearing that produces psychopathology, but the present study demonstrated that girls who were first-of-sex with older brothers had a much higher frequency of psychopathology than girls who were first-born or non-first-born in the family.

In 1957, Henry demonstrated that disciplinary measures by the father may lead to rage and delinquency in Mexican-American males. It is quite likely that these males would direct much of this rage toward the first-born girl. However, this female seems to be relatively free of psychopathology, while the first-of-sex female is not.

In trying to explain why mental pathology may exist as demonstrated, Lewis (1949) talked of the expectation that Mexican women be submissive, faithful, devoted, and respectful. It should be pointed out that first-of-sex girls are expected to be respectful and submissive to both the father and older brothers, whereas a first-born girl is only responsible to one male, her father.

On the basis of chi square analyses, the first-of-sex Mexican-American females with older brothers had more elevated MMPI scales than other ordinal position groups. Even within the first-of-sex group, several patterns seemed to emerge. Part of the group appears to be more introverted, shy, socially withdrawn, and schizoid. The other group seems to be more energetic, talkative and expressive. This is especially interesting for in the former group, there is some indication that these women are passive, and meet (at least to some extent) the stereotype of femininity, especially in the Mexican culture. The second group was described on the basis of high Ma scores. This, in a sense, can be interpreted as rejection of such a passive role for Cuadra, C. A. and Reed, C. F. (1954) state that "in women the Ma score has a special significance; it often is one indication that the person is counterphobically denying passivity, and, by inference, rebelling against the culturally prescribed stereotyped femininity."

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The present study was conducted to determine whether or not Anglo-American and Mexican-American high school students would differ significantly in psychopathology as measured by the MMPI. The main emphasis was upon whether or not these differences occurred with greater or less frequency for various ordinal positions within the family.

The original sample consisted of over 500 sophomore students from the Life Science courses at Pueblo High School. Each student was required to fill out a face sheet to determine religion, languages spoken in the home, ages of brothers and sisters, birthplaces of the S and of both parents, and other pertinent information. The MMPI was then administered with careful monitoring and aid by Pueblo High School teachers and other personnel.

Ss who failed to finish either face sheets or MMPI answer sheets were eliminated, as well as those who were caught marking random answers, those not fifteen- or sixteen-years-old, and those of dubious language or national background. After scoring the MMPI's, profiles

were discarded which were considered invalid for any reason.

The next step was to submit the data to the University Numerical Analysis Laboratory for a four-way analysis of variance to determine differences among the following: culture (Anglo- vs. Mexican-American), sex (Male vs. Female), age (Fifteen-vs. Sixteen-Year-Old), and ordinal position (First-Born vs. Non-First-Born). All only children were excluded.

On the basis of these findings, one investigator studied broad differences between the cultures while another investigator dealt with sex differences between the two cultures. The present study was confined to ordinal position differences.

There were no differences which could be attributed to ordinal position on the basis of analysis of variance. Possible reasons for lack of differences were discussed.

Chi square analyses were computed, but there were some new differences between the groups compared and the analysis of variance methods. A new group for analysis was introduced which was not used before; this was first-of-sex group males and females who had older opposite-sex siblings. Also, more rigid controls were made for mean family size, and range of family size. These analyses

were made to assess the frequency with which the various groups differed in reference to the frequency of scale elevations of 70 or above. Both inter- and intra-cultural comparisons were made. No differences were revealed on a cross-cultural basis, but various intra-cultural differences were noted. There were only differences for the Mexican-American group. Refer to Table XII, Appendix II.

For Mexican-American females, the first-of-sex females with older brothers showed greater psychopathology than first-born females and a combination of first-born and non-first-born. No differences were found for the males. For these findings, consult Table XII, Appendix II.

Support of possible explanations of these differences can be found in the work of Spiro (1957), Wylie and Delgado (1957), Ramirez (1957), Abel (1951), Diaz-Guerrero (1955), and Lewis (1958). The implications of these studies for the present research are summarized in Table VI.

The present study was directed toward assessing differences in personality deviation between Mexican-American and Anglo-American high school students on the basis of analysis of variance and chi square. The central interest of the project centered around differences among sibling positions within and between cultures.

No major differences between the cultures were noted on the basis of these two statistical methods, but important sibling position differences were noted within the Mexican-American group. The implications of these findings were discussed.

TABLE V

ADJECTIVE DESCRIPTION FOR FIRST-OF-SEX MEXICAN-AMERICAN
FEMALES WITH OLDER BROTHERS

Group	Birth Order	Peak Scales	Percentage	Adjective Description
Mexican-American females	First-of-sex	Ma	42.85	Same as for non-first-born Mexican-American males & females mentioned previously. Denial of passivity.
		Si	42.85	Introverted, shy, socially unaggressive, & withdrawn
		Sc	28.57	Similar pattern to the one shown for Si

TABLE VI

IMPLICATIONS OF PREVIOUS RESEARCH FOR THE PRESENT STUDY

Study	Implications
Spiro (1957). In acculturation, the role of father, authoritarian, & disciplinarian is assumed by eldest son.	The eldest son would enact this role in relation to the first-of-sex girl in the family.
Wylie & Delgado (1957). Boys have a sexualized, hostile relationship with mother.	This hostility will generalize to the first-of-sex female.
Ramirez (1957). Rejection of child when new child is born causes sons to desire to harm women in general.	Sisters are the most likely object of this aggression.
Abel (1951). Mexican-American males are handled with permissiveness and are given no responsibilities.	The resulting lack of control is often the misfortune of his sisters.
Diaz-Guerrero (1955). Mexican girls help their mother & try to meet the demands of older brothers.	This is likely to produce much emotional strain on these girls.
Lewis (1958). Mexican girls may be subjected to incest. Males & females share sleeping quarters.	Definite contribution to mental pathology.

APPENDIX I

FACE SHEET

Name _____ Age _____ Sex _____ weight _____ Height _____

Birthdate: Month _____ Day _____ Year _____

Religion: Catholic _____ Protestant _____ Other _____ None _____

Father:

Born in U. S. _____ If not, where? _____

Check your father's occupation:

Unskilled labor (gardener, handyman, janitor, farmhand, etc.) _____

Semi-skilled labor (carpenter's helper, truckdriver, etc.) _____

Skilled labor: (mason, plumber, carpenter, etc.) _____

Sales _____

Storekeeper, farmer, or owner of small business _____

Owner of large business _____

Professional _____

Other _____

Describe your father's work _____

My father works:

All but vacations _____ Most of the time _____ About half of the time _____

Seldom _____

My father's father was: Born in the U. S. _____ If not, where? _____

My father's mother was: Born in the U. S. _____ If not, where? _____

My mother was: Born in the U. S. _____ If not, where? _____

If your mother works, what does she do? _____

My mother's father was: Born in the U. S. _____ If not, where? _____

My mother's mother was: Born in the U. S. _____ If not, where? _____

What language other than English do you speak? _____ I speak this
 language: very little _____ a little _____ quite a lot _____
 a lot _____

Check the members of your family living in your home: Father _____
 Mother _____ Stepfather _____ Stepmother _____ Grandmother _____
 Grandfather _____ Uncle _____ Aunt _____ Other _____

List your brothers and sisters:

BROTHERS

SISTERS

Name	Age	Name	Age
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

Half Brothers

Half Sisters

Name	Age	Name	Age
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

APPENDIX II

RESULT TABLES

Preface

Legend for Coding of Variables in Result Tables:

Variable A = Age Factor

- 1 = 15-year-olds
- 2 = 16-year-olds

Variable B = Cultural Factor

- 1 = Mexican-Americans
- 2 = Anglo-Americans

Variable C = Sex Factor

- 1 = Males
- 2 = Females

Variable D = Sibling Position

- 1 = First-born
- 2 = Non-first-born

F was computed on the basis of 16-1 = 15 d.f. in the numerator and 212-16 = 196 d.f. in the denominator. The error term was computed separately for each scale of the MMPI, as follows:

$$\text{Error Term} = \frac{\frac{\bar{X}}{212-16}}{\bar{n}_h}$$

When:

1. \bar{X} = mean scale score.
2. \bar{n}_h = weighting factor for computing analysis of variance for groups with unequal numbers.

$$3. \bar{n}_h = \frac{16}{\sqrt{6} + \sqrt{7} + \sqrt{13} + \sqrt{6} + \sqrt{6} + \sqrt{6} + \sqrt{17} + \sqrt{3} + \sqrt{3} + \sqrt{10} + \sqrt{18} + \sqrt{24} + \sqrt{11} + \sqrt{15} + \sqrt{30} + \sqrt{27} + \sqrt{13}}$$

100% COTTON CONTENT

Bond

Orange Linen



TABLE I
 SCALE 1: HYSTERIA
 Error Term = 9.7773

Source	Variance	F	Significance
A	5.62	.5750	-----
B	5.45	.5574	-----
C	5.59	.5717	-----
D	2.85	.2914	-----
AB	1.65	.1687	-----
AC	9.83	1.0053	-----
AD	7.67	.7844	-----
BC	1.42	.1452	-----
BD	0.06	.0163	-----
CD	8.67	.8867	-----
ABC	1.82	.1861	-----
ABD	0.28	.0286	-----
ACD	0.00	.0000	-----
BCD	0.67	.0685	-----
ABCD	2.16	.2209	-----

TABLE II
 SCALE 2: DEPRESSION
 Error Term = 11.4881

Source	Variance	F	Significance
A	69.14	6.0184	.05
B	2.98	.2593	----
C	45.77	3.9841	.05
D	1.37	.1192	----
AB	10.31	.8974	----
AC	2.07	.1801	----
AD	0.45	.0391	----
BC	9.06	.7886	----
BD	0.34	.0295	----
CD	4.26	.3708	----
ABC	1.48	.1288	----
ABD	13.10	1.1403	----
ACD	7.29	.6345	----
BCD	2.72	.2367	----
ABCD	16.93	1.4736	----

TABLE III
 SCALE 3: HYPOCHONDRIASIS
 Error Term = 9.3363.

Source	Variance	F	Significance
A	0.01	.0010	----
B	32.60	3.4917	----
C	15.60	1.6708	----
D	3.13	.3352	----
AB	0.55	.0589	----
AC	9.12	.9768	----
AD	14.21	1.5220	----
BC	6.25	.6694	----
BD	15.21	1.6291	----
CD	0.58	.0621	----
ABC	3.84	.4112	----
ABD	2.47	.2645	----
ACD	3.06	.3277	----
BCD	0.53	.0567	----
ABCD	2.99	.3202	----

TABLE IV
 SCALE 4: PSYCHOPATHIC DEVIATE
 Error Term = 14.8052

Source	Variance	F	Significance
A	20.84	1.4076	-----
B	37.52	2.5342	-----
C	0.01	.0006	-----
D	1.12	.0756	-----
AB	0.52	.0351	-----
AC	0.77	.0520	-----
AD	26.88	1.8155	-----
BC	0.18	.0121	-----
BD	17.02	1.1495	-----
CD	22.33	1.5082	-----
ABC	15.26	1.0307	-----
ABD	0.01	.0060	-----
ACD	6.97	.4707	-----
BCD	0.02	.0013	-----
ABCD	5.12	.3458	-----

TABLE V
 SCALE 5: MASCULINITY-FEMININITY
 Error Term = 8.8359

Source	Variance	F	Significance
A	14.65	1.6580	-----
B	11.04	1.2494	-----
C	0.86	.0973	-----
D	7.20	.8148	-----
AB	77.66	8.7891	.01
AC	116.26	13.1576	.005
AD	4.46	.5047	-----
BC	8.66	.9800	-----
BD	108.31	12.2579	.005
CD	17.04	1.9284	-----
ABC	27.07	3.0636	-----
ABD	6.80	.7695	-----
ACD	20.14	2.2793	-----
BCD	40.23	4.5530	.05
ABCD	0.43	.0486	-----

TABLE VI

SCALE 6: PARANOIA

Error Term = 11.2848

Source	Variance	F	Significance
A	21.58	1.9123	-----
B	34.87	3.0899	-----
C	0.03	.0026	-----
D	6.08	.5387	-----
AB	7.87	.6973	-----
AC	0.82	.0726	-----
AD	1.50	.1329	-----
BC	18.28	1.6198	-----
BD	2.14	.1896	-----
CD	0.14	.0124	-----
ABC	9.27	.8214	-----
ABD	13.36	1.1838	-----
ACD	15.41	1.3655	-----
BCD	6.48	.5742	-----
ABCD	1.00	.0886	-----

TABLE VII
 SCALE 7: PSYCHASTHENIA
 Error Term = 10.2383

Source	Variance	F	Significance
A	7.62	.7442	-----
B	0.34	.0332	-----
C	79.39	7.7542	.05
D	2.30	.2246	-----
AB	0.38	.0371	-----
AC	8.38	.8184	-----
AD	11.63	1.1359	-----
BC	3.38	.3301	-----
BD	2.48	.2422	-----
CD	19.89	1.9427	-----
ABC	2.94	.2871	-----
ABD	3.84	.3750	-----
ACD	1.89	.1846	-----
BCD	1.64	.1601	-----
ABCD	3.04	.2969	-----

TABLE VIII
 SCALE 8: SCHIZOPHRENIA
 Error Term = 14.7875

Source	Variance	F	Significance
A	24.60	1.6635	----
B	41.73	2.8219	----
C	33.99	2.2985	----
D	0.27	.0182	----
AB	3.06	.2069	----
AC	14.36	.9710	----
AD	24.16	1.6339	----
BC	14.59	.9866	----
BD	9.95	.6728	----
CD	5.22	.3530	----
ABC	0.35	.0236	----
ABD	4.31	.2914	----
ACD	14.26	.9643	----
BCD	18.28	1.2361	----
ABCD	2.90	.1961	----

TABLE IX
 SCALE 9: HYPOMANIA
 Error Term = 15.1138

Source	Variance	F	Significance
A	7.87	.5207	----
B	0.37	.0244	----
C	131.90	8.7271	.01
D	35.64	2.3581	----
AB	0.06	.0039	----
AC	7.15	.4730	----
AD	4.97	.3288	----
BC	0.05	.0033	----
BD	2.69	.1779	----
CD	33.06	2.1874	----
ABC	115.67	7.6532	.05
ABD	6.15	.4069	----
ACD	5.29	.3500	----
BCD	23.04	1.5244	----
ABCD	87.43	5.7847	.05

TABLE X
 SCALE 0: SOCIAL INTROVERSION
 Error Term = 9.9730

Source	Variance	F	Significance
A	0.25	.0250	-----
B	2.64	.2647	-----
C	4.86	.4873	-----
D	0.60	.0601	-----
AB	3.59	.3599	-----
AC	1.26	.1263	-----
AD	25.05	2.5117	-----
BC	3.01	.3018	-----
BD	0.20	.0200	-----
CD	0.09	.0090	-----
ABC	1.71	.1714	-----
ABD	4.95	.4963	-----
ACD	0.26	.0260	-----
BCD	0.79	.0792	-----
ABCD	0.23	.0230	-----

TABLE XI
 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE CHOSEN
 FOR CHI SQUARE ANALYSES

Group	Sample Size	Range	Mean Family Size	Greater than 70
I. Anglo-Americans				
A. Males				
1. First-Born	10	3-7	4.00	6
2. All Others				
a. First-of-Sex with older sisters	7	3-5	4.00	2
b. Non-First-Born	20	2-8	4.250	14
B. Females				
1. First-Born	7	3-5	4.00	3
2. All Others				
a. First-of-Sex with older brothers	11	2-8	4.181	6
b. Non-First-Born	18	2-7	4.166	6
II. Mexican-Americans				
A. Males				
1. First-Born	12	2-8	4.166	8
2. All Others				
a. First-of-Sex with older sisters	6	3-6	4.00	5
b. Non-First-Born	8	2-7	4.00	6

TABLE XI--Continued

Group	Sample Size	Range	Mean Family Size	Greater than 70
B. Females				
1. First-Born	10	2-7	4.2	1
2. All Others				
a. First-of-Sex with older brothers	7	2-7	4.555	6
b. Non-First-Born	14	2-6	4.071	6

TABLE XII
RESULTS OF CHI SQUARE ANALYSES

Group	Frequencies (of 70 or above)	Percentages	Chi Square
<u>Anglo-Americans</u>			
Males:			
Comparison 1:	6 of 10 vs. 16 of 27	60% vs. 59.2%	-----
Comparison 2:	6 of 10 vs. 14 of 20	60% vs. 70%	-----
Comparison 3:	6 of 10 vs. 2 of 7	60% vs. 28.5%	-----
Comparison 4:	2 of 7 vs. 14 of 20	28.5% vs. 70%	-----
Comparison 5:	2 of 7 vs. 20 of 30	28.5% vs. 66.67%	-----
Females:			
Comparison 1:	3 of 7 vs. 12 of 29	42.8% vs. 41.3%	-----
Comparison 2:	3 of 7 vs. 6 of 18	42.8% vs. 33.3%	-----
Comparison 3:	3 of 7 vs. 6 of 11	42.8% vs. 54.5%	-----
Comparison 4:	6 of 11 vs. 6 of 18	54.5% vs. 33.3%	-----
Comparison 5:	6 of 11 vs. 9 of 25	54.5% vs. 36.0%	-----
<u>Mexican-Americans</u>			
Males:			
Comparison 1:	8 of 13 vs. 11 of 15	61.5% vs. 73.3%	-----
Comparison 2:	8 of 13 vs. 6 of 8	61.5% vs. 75.0%	-----
Comparison 3:	8 of 13 vs. 5 of 7	61.5% vs. 71.4%	-----
Comparison 4:	5 of 7 vs. 6 of 8	71.4% vs. 75.0%	-----

TABLE XII--Continued

Group	Frequencies (of 70 or above)	Percentages	Chi Square
Comparison 5:	5 of 7 vs. 14 of 20	71.4% vs. 70.0%	-----
Females:			
Comparison 1:	1 of 10 vs. 12 of 21	10% vs. 57.1%	4.90 (.05)
Comparison 2:	1 of 10 vs. 6 of 14	10% vs. 42.8%	-----
Comparison 3:	1 of 10 vs. 6 of 7	10% vs. 85.7%	5.37 (.025)
Comparison 4:	6 of 7 vs. 6 of 14	85.7% vs. 42.8%	-----
Comparison 5:	6 of 7 vs. 7 of 24	85.7% vs. 29.1%	8.94 (.005)

Comparisons:

1. First-born vs. all other groups
2. First-born vs. all other groups minus first-of-sex with older opposite sex siblings
3. First-born vs. first-of-sex with older opposite sex siblings
4. First-of-sex with older opposite sex siblings vs. non-first
5. First-of-sex with older opposite sex siblings vs. non-first plus first born

TABLE XIII

MEXICAN-AMERICAN FEMALES: FREQUENCY OF SCALE SCORES
OF 70 AND OVER AND THE FREQUENCY OF ELEVATED
SCALES FOR EACH SUBJECT

A. First-of-sex with older brothers

1. Si Scale (0) - 3 out of 7 Ss
2. Ma Scale (9) - 3 out of 7 Ss
3. Sc Scale (8) - 2 out of 7 Ss
4. D Scale (2) - 1 out of 7 Ss
5. Pd Scale (4) - 1 out of 7 Ss
6. Mf Scale (5) - 1 out of 7 Ss
7. Pt Scale (7) - 1 out of 7 Ss

Only one of the Ss had elevations on only one scale.

The elevated scales for each of the female Ss in this group are as follows:

1. Subject 1: scales Ma (9) and Si (0)
2. Subject 2: scales Pd (4) and Ma (9)
3. Subject 3: scales Pt (7) and Sc (8)
4. Subject 4: scale Si (0)
5. Subject 5: scales D (2), Sc (8), and Si (0)
6. Subject 6: scales Mf (5) and Ma (9)
7. Subject 7: no scale elevations

B. First-born

1. Pd Scale (4) - 1 out of 10 Ss
2. Pa Scale (6) - 1 out of 10 Ss
3. Sc Scale (8) - 1 out of 10 Ss
4. Ma Scale (9) - 1 out of 10 Ss

It might appear as though four Ss had elevated scales, but the preceding scale elevations of 70 and over were for the same S. None of the other Ss had scores of 70 or above.

TABLE XIII--Continued

C. Non-first-born

1.	Hy Scale (1)	- 1 out of 14 Ss
2.	D Scale (2)	- 1 out of 14 Ss
3.	Hs Scale (3)	- 2 out of 14 Ss
4.	Fd Scale (4)	- 2 out of 14 Ss
5.	Mf Scale (5)	- 1 out of 14 Ss
6.	Pt Scale (7)	- 2 out of 14 Ss
7.	Sc Scale (8)	- 1 out of 14 Ss
8.	Ma Scale (9)	- 4 out of 14 Ss
9.	Si Scale (0)	- 2 out of 14 Ss

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