

not correct procedure, never before have I heard of a man instructed to consult benge passing on the instruction to another. So I told Gangura all about it and he said, "That is true," and turning to one of his deputies, Banvuru, he said to him, "Listen, you consult benge about his case."

As it was new moon, Banvuru did not at once consult benge, but he waited until the moon should have risen high in the heavens. Meanwhile, my wife had been sick, so I waited until she had completely recovered, then I went to lie down beside her. Oh, it is a thing of shame to speak about! She pushed me away from her; I seized her arm; a struggle ensued; her brother came with a cane in his hand and struck me with it. My brother-in-law's wife also came to pacify us and she was struck. They said that I struck her, but I did not strike her, for it is wrong to strike one's mother-in-law. However, I made her a present to compensate her for the blow. Then I followed after my wife to my father-in-law's hut in the bush, for he was sick and was living in a little grass hut in the bush, as sick men do.

I stated my case before my father-in-law and he approved of it. He asked his daughter what wrong I had done her and she was silent. So he said to me, "Your case is good. You have spoken the truth; I do not at all want to return your spears. But if again there is any disagreement between you and your wife do not beat her but come and make your case before me and I will settle it." I replied, "You have indeed spoken truly, my father, you have spoken well, master, you have settled the case fairly. I have paid attention to your words, master, and in future I will do as you say." So I wiped the ground in front of my father-in-law (in thanks) and said to him, "I came to speak my case before you, now I will return home." He acknowledged my farewell greeting, saying, "Yes, my son, you return home. Your wife will sleep here tonight and then she will follow after you. Meanwhile, I will admonish her." I departed and went home.

After two days, my wife returned to me, but her heart was sore against me and she would not speak a word to me. I waited, and after a few days, I went to a dance. I danced and beat the drum and then returned home. When I arrived in my homestead, I looked everywhere, but I could see my wife nowhere. This was a very bad affair in my eyes.

## METHODS OF STUDYING MEXICAN PEASANT PERSONALITY: RORSCHACH, TAT AND DREAMS

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*This study has two aims. One is to use the Rorschach test, the TAT, and dreams as means to understand the personality of a peasant woman living in Tzintzuntzan, Michoacán, Mexico. The other aim is to compare the methods, their strengths and weaknesses. The results show that while the three methods give a consistent and complementary picture of the personality, each provides material that is not to be found in the other two.*

*The most formal material on endowment and on character forces that block the full development of innate capacities is to be found in the Rorschach.*

*The TAT provides the best material on interpersonal sensitivity. It also shows conscious goals and values more clearly than the other techniques. The dreams express emotions better than the other material. Each of the methods appears to have built-in limitations as well as possibilities.*

### *The Problem*

How does one understand the personality of another person? By "understand the personality" we mean comprehend that person's cognitive process and character, his way of seeing the world, his feelings, hopes, aspirations, strivings, fears, and responsiveness to the experience of life. Ideally, these elements of personality should be integrated or seen as a system in which the relationships between the parts are also understood. By "understand the personality" we also mean the ability to predict, or forecast, at least in a general way, how that person will react



to the varied situations of life. Let us start out by stating that we consider it extremely difficult to know another person, even in one's own culture. Knowing another person is not the same thing as knowing a large number of facts about that person. Nor is knowledge of another the same as being able to describe that person's behavior, although it is through a person's behavior that we ultimately come to know him.

To know another person, the best instrument is one's own self, one's friendly interest combined with trained intuition. A cold, detached attitude limits one's ability to know another person, and it dampens that person's interest in being known. In other words, we come to know others through association, and especially association coupled with friendship, affection, compassion—in a word, empathy. But, because close association sometimes produces ambivalent feelings, and because our own personality determines much of what we see and how we interpret it, complete objectivity in coming to know another person is rarely, if ever, achieved; we have blind spots, passions, prejudices, and other intellectual limitations. We fail to observe certain traits, and don't want to see others. And even with those whom we feel we know well, there are repressed aspects of experience which are hidden away from us.

Whatever our reason for wanting to know a person, formal psychological techniques such as Rorschach and TAT projective tests, and dream interpretation, among many others, add depth to our understanding of another person. But exactly what does each of these three approaches tell us? Do they all tell the same things? Entirely different things? Do they also have blind spots, and thus fail to delineate important aspects of personality? It is to this problem that we direct ourselves in this paper. We do so by exploring the personality of an exceptional Mexican peasant woman whom we shall call Macaria Gomez, comparing the evidence of Rorschach, TAT, and dream interpretation among themselves, and with Foster's impressionistic evaluation of Macaria's character based on friendship covering a span of 25 years. In 1965 Maccoby, who had worked for a number of years with projective measures in the study of social character in another Mexican peasant village, administered Rorschachs to a sample of Tzintzuntzeños that included Macaria. Subsequently, Foster

recorded Macaria's responses to the complete TAT, and transcribed more than 20 of her dreams.

Macaria, a married woman in her early sixties, has lived all her life in Tzintzuntzan, Michoacán, Mexico, and reflects the basic cultural values of her fellow villagers. These values in turn conform to the picture of Mexican peasant personality we have described in other places (Maccoby 1964; Foster 1967), and which seem to be similar to peasant behavior in many other parts of the world. Peasants often reveal an enormous zest for life, an ability to derive enjoyment and pleasure from a wide variety of experiences. They also frequently are characterized by suspicion of the motives of others, by envy, fear and a reluctance either to cooperate, or see others better their position. Most of these characteristics apply to Macaria. At the same time we find her more perceptive and intelligent than most villagers, more curious about the world, more interested in advancing her economic and social position. For this reason we call her "an exceptional woman."

In drawing our composite picture of Macaria's personality we have found that each of the three bodies of formal data used tells us a great deal about her, and often all are in accord on major points. At other times, important areas of personality structure clearly revealed in one body of data may be muted or entirely absent in another. Each set of data has its strong points, and each its weak points. Collectively we find that they tell us more about Macaria than any single instrument, including close friendship over many years. The evidence of each will be considered in turn.

### *The Rorschach*

The interpretation of the Rorschach can be divided into three general areas: cognitive traits (intellectual functioning), emotional expression, and character (dynamic traits).

From the Rorschach materials, Macaria emerges as a highly intelligent realistic woman with the ability to synthesize information and to reason by analogy. She is practical and down to earth in her thinking and does not generally indulge in flights of fantasy. Furthermore, she sees herself as a clever person who prospers by her wits. Given her intelligence, one is surprised to discover how conventional or stereotyped in her thinking she



is. We interpret this to mean that she is a creature of her culture, inhibited by it from expressing the intellectual freedom she might have had if she had been born into a less rigid society. Her intelligence is also qualified by, or underlined by the common peasant suspiciousness which in her case also is combined with strong curiosity.

Emotionally, there is evidence of frustration in her affective life and a blockage in her ability to realize her natural emotional reactivity. Given her character and frustration, one can infer feelings of loneliness. On the other hand, she is also able to experience happiness or pleasure in joyful activities and with others, when she feels secure.

On the level of character, Macaria appears a complicated woman, and we can distinguish a number of dynamic tendencies that might cause conflict. She has a strong love of life and a deep need for affection. However, her spontaneous life-loving tendencies are sometimes blocked and muted by strong self-protective tendencies, by pride, obstinacy, and a drive to dominate others. The need to dominate is shown in her affectionate belittling of those with whom she relates to intimately. She sees sexual relations in terms of domination and submission, and with men she wants to be on top. One result is uncertainty concerning her sexual identity. Indeed, the responses indicate that she rejects the inferior feminine role and is at war with men who will not accept a secondary role. If she does not feel superior, she is then able to express a nurturant, mothering attitude toward others. However, despite Macaria's ability to give of herself and empathize with others, she ends up frustrated, denied the full expression of her capacity to love.

The evidence for this interpretation follows:

### *Cognitive Traits*

Macaria gives 24 responses, well above the mean of the 30 Tzintzuntzeños tested ( $M = 15$ ) which, incidentally is the same mean found for the Tepoztlán villagers studied by Lewis (1951). Her realism is shown in the fact that 91 percent of her responses are accurately seen and described.

She is able to integrate and synthesize her perceptions shown by 5 well-developed whole responses. (An example is Card II

where the color and form are integrated into a total response which expresses empathy and enjoyment as well as intelligence.) And she shows good practical intelligence as shown by 15 common large detail responses. None of her responses have fantastic content. A productive intelligence is indicated by two human movement responses, which are exceptional for peasants to give. That Macaria's self-identity is based on cleverness can be inferred by her identification of herself with a female fox on Card VIII and her comments that the fox is intelligent (*lista*).

Conventionality of thought is demonstrated by the fact that 67 percent of the responses show animal content, which even considering the fact that peasants more than urban dwellers live among animals and are more interested in them, still reflects a stereotyped perception for an individual with Macaria's intelligence and liveliness. This interpretation is supported by her expressed uneasiness about seeing something that other people did not see. (We should note, however, that this is close to the average percent of animal content for both the Tzintzuntzan and Tepoztlán samples.)

Suspiciousness is first shown in the long latency before the initial response (discussed by Oberholzer in DuBois [1944]). It is then combined with curiosity in Macaria's first verbal responses to Card I where she starts out by seeking "hidden" details in the shading. In looking for the secrets, Macaria may avoid the obvious, but once she "cased the situation" in a suspicious-curious way, she was able to respond more easily and openly. It is noteworthy that most of the responses with low form level are related to this suspicious search for the hidden. In other words, this attitude may sometimes cause unrealism.

### *Emotional Expression*

Although she guards her impulse life and does not stray into fantasy (only one FM) there is an indication of an underlying tendency toward more spontaneous emotional responsiveness than is expressed ( $FM: C' + c = 1:4$ ). Furthermore, she has a capacity for feeling ( $\text{sum } C = 3$ ), and she can integrate feeling with thought ( $FC = 3$ ).

Her affective frustration is perhaps best symbolized in the content of Card III where two figures are facing each other, but



there is no human contact. They are both touching hard rock, rather than warm flesh.

Happiness is expressed in her pleasure in seeing colorful images and in discovering local landmarks in the ink blots (such as the statue of Janitzio on Card VIII).

#### *Character (Dynamic Strivings)*

Macaria's love of life is demonstrated by specific content, especially Card II which expresses the playful activity of two little clowns and in her pleasure in seeing colorful images, rare for peasant Rorschach protocols. Her ability to empathize can be inferred also from human movement responses. Nurturant attitudes are suggested by seeing little chicks (Card I and X) and food (Card IX).

The strong need for affection is expressed in shading responses indicating furry sensations.

On the other hand, these same responses that indicate empathy and mothering sometimes imply the need to control and belittle, to rob them of their will in order to be able to express her affections. These tendencies are shown by the fact that she sees people as monkeys, clowns, or as dolls and that she continually uses the diminutive to describe figures. Uncertainty about sexual identification is shown in her confusion about the sex of the figures on Card III. Furthermore, femininity is symbolized by a dog (in Cards VI and VII) which in her world is a submissive, beaten down animal while the male sexual symbol in Card VI is belittled as a "bothersome insect," a dragon fly. Macaria's dominating tendencies are expressed on the Rorschach not only by belittling but also by obstinacy and negativism. At the start, the card is turned upside down and Macaria uses the white spaces, both indications of negativism. Furthermore, she emphasizes the behinds of animals and is drawn to interpret the popular animal on Card VIII as a fox with tail raised as if angry and on the defensive. The fox with upraised tail and the strutting turkeys (Card X) also suggest pride and exhibitionism.

#### *The Thematic Apperception Test*

Macaria's TAT responses reveal the high degree of intelligence as shown in the Rorschach, combined with conventionality, the same intense curiosity coupled with suspiciousness. Macaria's

careful examination of faces and expressions also expresses a kind of intelligence which is more characteristic of peasants than of urban dwellers (Maccoby 1964).

The feelings of affectional frustrations are again suggested in relationship to her inability to experience as close personal relations as she would like. But this feeling is not clearly expressed. However, the loneliness which was only inferred from the Rorschach emerges clearly in the TAT. Lacking in the Rorschach was the expression of Macaria's great fear which is evident in the TAT.

In the area of character, Macaria's strong love of life and nurturant tendencies are expressed, and we see more clearly than from the Rorschach her capacity to empathize with others. However, her drive to humiliate and belittle rivals, and especially men, and to dominate others—amply apparent in her daily life—can only be inferred from some of the TAT stories in the changing of aggressive-dominating content into benign content, and in confusing sexual identity in such a way as to make men weaker and women stronger. The obstinacy seen on the Rorschach is not evident in the TAT.

The evidence for these statements follows:

#### *Cognitive Traits*

Macaria's high intelligence is seen particularly clearly in her ability to reason by analogy and synthesize information. In Card 1, boy with violin, she says he will succeed in becoming a musician. Her reason is not just based on a wish but rather she brings to bear relevant experience. Four young and self-taught youths who live nearby have formed a successful musical group. Therefore, it can be done. In Card 2 she interprets the man with the horse as a plowman because, although she sees no plow, the harness is that which is used to draw a plow. Again, on Card 7BM the youth is identified as the older man's son because he has the same facial features.

Her attention to and perceptiveness about facial expressions is further illustrated in her response to Card 6BM. Before telling a story, she describes the woman looking out the window with an expression of seeing something that does not please her. The man is seen with suffering on his face, "as though he does not

feel good about what his mother is seeing and he is turned to the side as though thinking, saying to himself 'ay, now my mama has seen this.' ”

In spite of her intelligence, Macaria is tied in many ways to the traditional norms of her community, i.e., her responses are those that might be expected from a wide variety of respondents. In Card 6BM the woman with her back to her “son” is displeased because she sees her son’s sweetheart [actually not in the picture] through the window in the patio: “mothers never accept the choice of their sons.” In Card 12F, which Murray describes as “the portrait of a young woman . . . A weird old woman with a shawl is grimacing in the background,” Macaria sees a witch hired by a would-be swain to harm the young girl who is interested in another. Macaria thereby reveals the jealousy patterns common in her society. And in replying to a probe on Card 18GF, Macaria decides the girl will marry, and suffer in her married life, which is the stereotype Tzintzuntzan attitude about what happens to women who marry.

Curiosity, a dominant trait in Macaria’s personality, (and cognitive style as projected in the Rorschach) comes through very clearly in the TAT responses. In responding to Card 5, a woman looking into a room, she uses the word “curious” no less than 3 times: she is a “very curious señorita” who has great curiosity to see what is in the room, and it is the curiosity of the woman who strikes her most forcibly. Clearly, Macaria sees herself in the picture. In Card 13G the boy is trying to find out who are the owners of the house in which he finds himself, and in 17GF the señorita is curious to see the little house.

In real life Macaria is intensely suspicious, always looking for the real meaning behind appearances. Although largely muted in the TATs, this trait can be seen in her initial response to Card 1: the boy is looking at the violin “to see if some of the strings aren’t missing, to see what defects it has.” This, like her opening response to the Rorschach shows a suspicion that all is not what it seems to be, that something may be wrong. However, it does not suggest suspiciousness that others mean her harm.

### *Emotional Expression*

In the TATs there is a stress on loneliness. In Card 8GF the woman has come from an unknown, strange place. “She arrives

at this place, as it is when a person all alone goes on a long trip. And then she feels alone, burdened with preoccupations, overcome.” And in 13BM the small boy on the doorstep has been left alone by his parents. “When will they come to give me something to eat?” he wonders. “He will be happy when he has something to eat, but now he is unhappy and hungry.” In view of the symbolic importance in Tzintzuntzan of food as a symbol of love and affection, discussed in the following section on dreams, this response is particularly revealing. In the latter story, there is the promise that the boy will eventually be fed and happy. A feeling of frustration in needing warmth and understanding is also suggested in a story that illustrates her ability to empathize with others. The creation of happiness that is expressed in the stories also illustrates Macaria’s love of life.

The very real fears that characterize Macaria are not brought out in the Rorschach, but they are abundantly clear in her TAT responses. Card 14 is interpreted as a boy who comes in from the street, a *very dark* street. “Then he opens the door, desperate to enter into his bedroom which has a light . . . he comes, desperate, from the darkness outside to where there is light.” In Card 15 Macaria sees a carpenter who holds in his hands a skull he has fashioned. He is astonished at what he has done, overcome with grief, sad because “what he never ought to have done was to make a skull and think of death. And he is overcome with grief because, of course, as is the skull, so must he be some day.” In 6GF the “boy” [actually a girl] is frightened by the man, and in 18BM the man “has experienced a terrible fright, has fainted because of his fright. He was so frightened that he was senseless.”

### *Character*

Although Macaria’s enormous zest for life is clear in the interest and intensity of most of her responses, this quality is particularly portrayed by Card 16, a blank white sheet. After recovering from her initial astonishment at seeing nothing, she replied “Now I see that this is a *carte blanche*—all that’s lacking is to form anything one wants. It may well be a happy picture, and it may well be a sad picture. It’s according to how one’s heart feels, either a pretty landscape or a picture of affliction—what one wants to put in this blank picture, one can put.” And in



reply to the probe of what she wanted, Macaria replied, "Ay, to form a landscape with a little house with its shed, with its farm animals, with—everything that is a home. Chiefly, a married couple and their children to liven up the landscape. It would be very pretty."

Macaria's empathy with those suffering from grief and who need others is shown in her response to Card 3GF: "This man [actually it is a woman] is very afflicted; he has a great grief. He has opened the door of his house so they will see his great anguish; for that reason he is opening the door of his house and he is weeping, to go out and ask sympathy from someone. This I think. . . . it's my way of feeling when I feel a great sorrow, as he does here. Then I go to the door to see if I can find a person to rest my heart and tell him my grief; this man is like that."

Card 10 indicates that Macaria longs for affection and intimate contact, for love in the full sense of the word. "These are two good friends who met up and who are both asleep. They are dreaming that they are together. And then as they sleep, one touches the other to see that he is there, and they dream, very happy, the two . . . they are resting, *very* happy, content."

Macaria's nurturant qualities come through clearly in her TAT responses. In Card 4 the man is sad or vexed, and the woman wishes to comfort him. In 7BM the older man feels badly because he wishes to but cannot help the younger man, who appears ill or overcome with grief. In 9GF the older girl follows the younger girl "to take care of her . . . the big girl is watching over the smaller girl, and the little girl goes walking along without a thought as to where she is going. For that reason the big girl goes along taking care of the little girl." In Card 13GF, which we will mention in a moment in the context of denial of aggression, Macaria sees a mother holding her daughter, who is asleep or ill in her arms, "from the affection she has for her," worrying about what the future holds for her.

What about the tendencies seen in the Rorschach to dominate and belittle others, especially men? The responses on the TAT suggests that Macaria strongly rejects awareness of aggressive tendencies in herself and that she dominates not through direct force but by being nurturant and maternal. This is consistent with our interpretation of the Rorschach. They show a strong

tendency to make the male into the weaker figure, to put him down, which is related to her confusion of sexual identity. She does not want to see men as strong.

To begin with evidence for the latter point, in no less than 4 cards Macaria confuses or is unsure of the sex of the characters. In three cases, the error leads to changing a weaker person from a woman to a man and in the other case (Card 12M) an obviously dominant man is made a woman. In 3GF the "afflicted" female figure is seen as a man as is the surprised female figure on Card 6GF. In 18GF Macaria is initially uncertain about the sex of the woman whose throat is being squeezed (according both to Murray's and our own interpretation).

Macaria shows a general tendency on the TAT to avoid or reject violent content (deny would be too strong a word from a psychoanalytic point of view). Card 8BM which Murray in part describes as having a "dim scene of a surgical operation" was traumatic to Macaria. With her customary clarity of thought she pondered and then rejected the explanation of an operation, since there were neither surgical nor ether masks visible. She grasped for explanations such as "anger," "a wound" and finally reduced the scene to "a minor operation, nothing more," at which point she regained her composure. In Card 18GF, Macaria does not even consider violence but interprets the scene as a mother who holds a sick or sleeping daughter in her arms "from the affection she has for her." Here it can be inferred that Macaria's tendencies toward anger or violence against her daughters become nurturance by the process that Freud termed "reaction-formation."

#### *Dream Analysis*

Although the dreams do not indicate Macaria's accuracy of perception, her ability to synthesize information, or reason by analogy, they do express her curiosity, interest in knowing and practical intelligence. The lack of fantastic imagery shows the solid underpinnings to Macaria's healthy realism. The dreams also indicate the deep-rootedness of her conventionality of thought. Suspiciousness is suggested in the dreams by her expectation that others will be violent or tricky. In other words, dreams show the basis for suspiciousness.



The dreams, more than either the Rorschach or TAT express the emotions of frustration, loneliness and fear (and in doing so give confirmatory evidence to the interpretation of these emotions in the projective responses).

On the level of character, love of life and the need for affection are strongly indicated. Nurturant traits are suggested. Empathy is largely absent. The tendencies to belittle others and to be dominant are not emphasized. However, there are indications that she sees men as dangerous and that she has a strong tendency to do away with them altogether.

### *Cognitive Traits*

Macaria's basic commitment to her cultural environment is best expressed in a recurrent dream: she is walking along a narrow ridge of land with water on both sides, or crossing a deep barranca on an insecure plank bridge; she recognizes great danger, and fears she will fall and be lost. We interpret this theme, actually wide-spread among Tzintzuntzeños, as reflecting the common peasant fear of deviating from accepted norms. Safety is only found when one stays on the straight and narrow path. This theme would seem to directly contradict Macaria's drive to excel, to better her social and economic position. However, it may be that this tendency to excel makes her all the more concerned that she will step over the limits, lose her footing, and end up in an element where she will be lost and rootless. This would explain why in her thinking she limits her imagination and sticks compulsively to conventional and stereotyped modes of thought.

Her curiosity is expressed in a number of dreams. In one, Mary Foster arrives in a car, and Macaria is curious as to whether she can drive it, and indeed she is successful. In another dream she was in a Tarascan Indian town unknown to her, and her curiosity to see a fiesta in process "was enormous." In still another, her wish to understand a stranger's surname led her through great frustration, and she never achieved her aim. One dream expressing culturally evoked suspiciousness is when she fears to pick up money in the street because it may be a trick to get more from her. Here, we can note that even in dreams she is thinking about all the possibilities and does not let herself be carried away by wishes.

### *Emotional Expression*

Frustration is a common dream experience for Macaria: she eats without gratification, she struggles unsuccessfully to serve food to guests, she seeks unsuccessfully to find the bus from which she has descended to take a look at a fiesta. In a childhood dream still remembered she tried to wash clothes, but the bar of soap and the garments were so large she couldn't hold them and she failed.

A deep loneliness, and self-doubts as to her ability to relate strongly to others, are apparent in many dreams in both symbolic and manifest forms. In Tzintzuntzan, as in many other societies, the offering, accepting, and sharing of food symbolizes the personal ties that are most meaningful. This symbolism is apparent in many of Macaria's dreams. In a recurring dream she is eating, but when the food reaches her mouth she can neither feel nor taste it, and however much she eats, her hunger remains unsatisfied. We interpret this as meaning she feels unable fully to accept the proffered love and affection of others. Conversely, another dream theme reflects her sense of inadequacy in offering love and affection: she is expecting guests, standing over the stove, but the food won't cook. The guests arrive, her husband tells her they are hungry and will leave if not served, but however hard she struggles, the meal will not cook, and finally they depart unfed, Macaria dying of humiliation.

But the emptiness that can never be satisfied is, of course, not due to physical hunger. In another dream she expresses even more explicitly the relationships between lack of relatedness and food that provides neither satisfaction nor sustenance: She was seated at a table eating, and noticed that all of the other people were strangers, who said not a word to her. She felt alone and isolated and puzzled. Although she was very hungry it seemed that the food never reached her stomach; she had no sensation of food going down her throat. Finally she felt she should thank someone for the food, but she had no idea who was serving the meal. The other people then got up in silence, their rebozos held tightly against the sides of their faces. They said nothing, thanked no one, and filed silently out of the house into the distance. Macaria felt alone, frightened, and she awoke with a start.



In other dreams the manifest content express Macaria's loneliness. She was going on a pilgrimage, but the other pilgrims from Tzintzuntzan left her far behind. She found shelter in a small house where she encountered pilgrims from a near-by town. But even this temporary support vanishes, for when she awoke all of those people were also gone.

Symbolic and manifest content express fear, and occasional violence, in many of Macaria's dreams. She fears harm from strangers, she fears falling into barrancas (i.e., straying from the straight and narrow path), she fears she is losing her teeth (becoming old and powerless), she fears the attack of a snake, a theme perhaps related to the ambivalent feelings about men reflected in the Rorschach and TAT. In a violent dream her stepson is badly beaten by a neighbor. In another dream she is "very frightened" when she encounters huge men in the mountain who fit a description she has heard of savages who kill and eat people.

Dreams also express pleasure and happiness as will be mentioned below.

#### Character

Macaria's love of life is expressed in frequent pleasurable and colorful images, and in her many comments on the beauty of her surroundings, and on the pleasure of her experiences. Even in dreams otherwise frightening or frustrating she often senses beauty. "I saw a very high and very beautiful mountain, very green, with lots of little flowers;" "I went down a pretty road;" "I was crossing a lovely green field." And in a dream about selling maize, the maize was in plastic bags "of every color . . . such a variety of colors that the corn cobs and kernels looked pretty . . . I gazed and I said, 'Ay, what pretty-colored sacks, I don't want to empty them.'" And Macaria still remembers with pleasure a childhood dream in which she looked at a cloud which resolved into the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and she called her mother to come and share her joy.

We have mentioned that the dreams do not clearly indicate the tendency to dominate others. What the dreams indicate as most important in her interpersonal relationships is the need for affection. Yet, obviously in the dreams she is frustrated both in giving and receiving affection. The dreams do not tell us why

directly. However, we can note that the dreams show men as generally violent and untrustworthy. (We have already given examples of male violence. Another dream deals with the fact that a woman is left with an illegitimate child and there is a suggestion of revenge.) There is a further suggestion that Macaria tends to banish men totally from the world of affective giving, for in the highly symbolic dream where everyone is eating in isolation from each other, and where the food never goes down her throat, all of the guests at the table are women. There are no men.

#### Conclusions and Summary

By way of summary, we offer the accompanying chart which recapitulates which traits are absent, suggested, or strongly indicated by each body of material. It is clear that all three techniques provide complimentary material on Macaria's personality, but that each has a particular value:

(1) The Rorschach provides the most formal material on her endowment (intelligence, capacity to respond) and on the character forces that block the full development of her innate capacities. It also shows how she approaches a new and strange task, one which demands that she create meaning from a minimal set of cues.

(2) The TAT provides the best material concerning her interpersonal sensitivity and on her capacity for compassion and empathy. Since it provides pictures of human expressions, there is an objective reality to judge accuracy of perception. It also shows her conscious goals or values, of intimacy and family, more clearly than the other measures.

(3) The dreams express her emotions better than the other material. They have a sense of immediacy, and they allow us to understand the frustration and loneliness her conflicts make her experience.

More can be said about dreams in general. For the psychoanalyst, they provide the most direct road to the dreamer's deepest passions and feelings, which may be unconscious. However, the anthropologist cannot rely on dreams alone to understand



the dreamer's personality. Besides the fact that they do not generally indicate certain aspects of personality, the fact is that people often forget dreams (some remember few or none), and they may hesitate to admit dreams with strong sexual or destructive content. While the individual may eventually tell these dreams to a psychoanalyst within a growing relation of trust and because of an urgent need for health, the anthropologist seldom will develop this kind of a relationship. In probing for traits of character and the deepest emotions, he must rely on the Rorschach, TAT and other projective measures to supplement the set of dreams given by most individuals. These other instruments also provide material which is seldom found in dreams, such as cognitive traits and conscious ideals.<sup>1</sup>

One may ask whether we would place the same value on the different bodies of data in other cases, or whether it depends on the individual. On the basis of our experiences, we consider that there are built-in limitations as well as possibilities in the Rorschach, TAT and dreams, even though in some instances a particular instrument will give us particularly rich data and in others the data will be sparse. In any event, the possibility will always be great that one instrument alone will not be enough.<sup>2</sup>

In the introduction to this paper we suggested that perhaps the best way to come to know a person is through friendship. Foster, as previously mentioned, has known Macaria well for 25 years. What, if anything, did he learn from the three instruments here discussed, not previously known to him? In general the composite picture that emerges from the three bodies of data conforms very closely to Foster's impressionistic description of Macaria. She obviously is exceptionally intelligent, endowed with an I.Q. which, in a more open society, would have permitted her to go far. At the same time, her urge to conform to village

<sup>1</sup> Another extremely useful instrument to probe for character traits is the interpretative questionnaire used by Fromm and Maccoby (1970). This questionnaire also provides information on the individual's attitudes toward work, child-rearing and allows interpretation of the degree to which he is fixated to parental figures.

<sup>2</sup> It should also be understood that after one sees a trait expressed very clearly in one body of data it is sometimes possible to discover indications of it, before overlooked, in another protocol. For example, we overlooked indications of nurturant tendencies in the Rorschach until after observing them in the TAT. Yet, images of little chicks are considered by Schafer (1954) to be symbols of nurturance.

COGNITIVE AND CHARACTER TRAITS OF A MEXICAN PEASANT,  
AS REVEALED BY THREE PSYCHOLOGICAL METHODS

	<i>Methods</i>		
	<i>Rorschach</i>	<i>TAT</i>	<i>Dreams</i>
<i>Cognitive Traits</i>			
Ability to Reason	++	++	+
Practical Intelligence	++	++	+
Synthesis of Facts	++	++	+
Conventionality of Thought	++	++	+
Perceptiveness of People	○	+	○
Curiosity	++	++	++
<i>Emotions</i>			
Fear	○	++	++
Frustration	+	+	++
Happiness	+	+	+
Loneliness	+	++	++
<i>Traits Rooted in Character</i>			
<i>Dynamic Traits</i>			
Love of Life	++	++	++
Empathy	+	++	○
Drive for Affection	++	++	++
Nurturing Tendencies	+	++	+
Suspiciousness	++	+	+
Obstinacy	+	○	○
Need to Dominate	+	+	+
Belittling Tendencies	++	○	○
Sexual Identity Confusion	+	++	○
Rejection of Men	○	+	+

○ = trait not apparent  
+ = trait suggested  
++ = trait clearly revealed

norms (in most ways), and her fear "of what people will say," if she does not, is clear from her daily behavior. She herself recognizes and comments on her overwhelming curiosity, but she is not aware of the depth of her suspicion of the motives of others, high even by Tzintzuntzan standards. Her zest for living is clear to all, even after short exposure, as is her non-typical dedication to the prestige-competition game, which conflicts with

her conformity drive. Deep fears, a craving for intimate ties with others, but lack of confidence in her ability to achieve these ties, are less apparent, but with longer close hand association, they emerge.

In the sense that he did not fully appreciate their importance, or strength, Foster feels that the evidence on sex confusion, empathy, nurturance, and avoidance confronting her own violence has been most important in broadening his understanding of Macaria. This observation, of course, is as much a commentary on Foster as it is on instruments concerned, reflecting in him blind spots which another ethnologist might not show. He believes that, because of the evidence of the three bodies of data, he more clearly perceives Macaria's character than would otherwise be the case.

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THE UNASSIMILATED GREEKS OF DENVER<sup>1</sup>

JAMES PATTERSON  
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*The Greek community in Denver began around the turn of the century. As it grew and prospered, the majority of its members moved out of the original Greek Town and today there is only one Greek coffee house left in the area. This kafeneion serves the remaining 40-50 unassimilated old men and the few younger new arrivals. The old men have been largely unsuccessful financially, maintain strong emotional orientation toward Greece, are ambivalent toward U.S. culture and are a source of embarrassment to the dominant Americanized middle class Greek community. The study focuses on the habitués of the coffee house and their peripheral relationship to the larger Greek community and church. It also looks at the conflicts and factionalism within their group and makes some predictions for the future.*

This paper will discuss a group of Greek immigrants in Denver, Colorado. It will trace the history of their immigration in the U.S., the reasons for their lack of assimilation and their persistence in remaining culturally Greek in spite of pressures for them to become Americanized, and make some predictions regarding the future of the group. Their relationship with the larger more Americanized Greek community in Denver will be considered, and some comparisons with other Greek communities will be made. The data and findings for this paper come from an ethnographic study I began in September, 1968 and concluded 13 months later.

<sup>1</sup> This study is more fully described in my Ph.D. dissertation with the same title at the University of Colorado (1969). A variation of this paper was read at the America Anthropological Association meetings, New Orleans, Louisiana, November, 1969. This research was supported by grants from the Temple Buell College Faculty Research Committee and the Colorado Consortium on Research Development. I am indebted to Drs. Gordon Hewes, Dorothea Kaschube, Patrick Morris, Omer Stewart and Robert T. Anderson and to Miss Penny Blyth and Miss Leslie Theye for help with the study. I also appreciate the suggestions regarding this article from Drs. Russell Bernard, David Seaman, Michael Kenny, and Miss Evoni Kantzali.

\* On leave, at the University of Bucharest, 1970-71.



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