INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 3 we discussed how some anthropologists have attempted to show differences among the characteristic modal personality structures of cultural groups. These differences are frequently said to result from the varying types of enculturation to which children are exposed, and enculturation in turn has been linked by some to maintenance systems (Chapter 4). How can we discover differences in the typical personalities of adults except by inferring them from cultural data?

As we consider the methods of personality assessment, we must keep some basic questions in mind. How can we speak of personality differences among groups without constructing stereotypes or basing our descriptions on ethnocentric judgments and evaluations? Such problems are not unique to anthropology. They have also troubled psychologists in their efforts to construct personality concepts and tests based on them (for example, Holtzman 1964). Anthropologists, it must be remembered, have established neither their own theories of personality nor, for the most part, their own tests. One part of the answer to the problem of stereotyping must lie in the language used in setting up our questions and in describing our results. Another lies in the methods of research we choose. As we saw in Chapter 1, much of the terminology in the first culture-and-personality writings was derived from clinical psychology and psychoanalysis; it therefore contained many overtones of pathology. Is it possible to use a “neutral,” nonevaluative, or nonclinical language? Should the anthropologist maintain a relativistic, value-free stance? What research methods allow for unbiased cross-cultural comparisons?

A related question deals with the problem of generalization. Can a single modal personality structure be identified for each society, or would it be more correct to speak of a number of personality structures, each typical of a particular cultural subgroup within a society? This may depend on the type of society being studied. The least successful of the investigations that have been conducted appear to have been the national character studies. They have suffered from a number of handicaps and have been criticized severely, as we have seen. Among these difficulties have been the political motivations underlying much of this work and the limited access to first-hand data that characterized many of the situations in which the research was conducted. On the other hand, a difficulty also resulted from the level of complexity of the societies with which the national character studies dealt. Certainly the research problems associated with the investigation of personality types characteristic of societies that include millions of people, and that are stratified in social and economic terms, are quite different from those that confront the anthropologist who studies the inhabitants of a village of several hundred individuals, or fewer.

Yet another problem we must keep in mind in the following discussion concerns the definition of personality, or the aspects of personality researchers wish to investigate and the aspects of personality functioning their research instruments are capable of identifying. Because students look for different features and employ methods that reveal different aspects of psychological functioning, their studies are not comparable. We cannot ask, on the basis of the studies that have been carried out, how the societies in a sample of, say, fifty compare with regard to some specific psychological parameters. As Margaret Mead has remarked:

Cultural anthropologists suffer from an occupational disease which demands that the results from studying each culture yield a new vocabulary and some insight that can be claimed as a major theoretical contribution (Mead 1975:639).

Anthropologists have attempted to assess personality primarily in two ways, which we may call the inferential and the direct. In the first case, certain cultural behaviors, usually termed “projective” or “expressive,” are taken to be indicators of a group personality, which is inferred or deduced from them. In the second case, some attempt is made to describe or measure the personality of individuals in a given population, and a general picture is derived from these specific cases.

INFERENTIAL ASSESSMENT

We have already noted the roots of the inferential approach in the work of Abram Kardiner in his collaboration with such anthropologists as Ralph Linton and Cora Du Bois (Chapter 4). It will be remembered that Kardiner spoke of a basic personality structure (bps), which, according to him, results from child training (primary institutions) and gives rise to the projective system (secondary institutions). When no direct evidence of personality was available to Kardiner, as in the data reported by Linton and several other anthropologists, he inferred the basic personality structure from these two types of institutions. When direct evidence was available, as in the work of Du Bois on the Alorese, the inferential approach was relegated to the background, and Kardiner’s analysis focused on...
Comanche and Cheyenne: A Comparison

Since the early work of Kardiner, the inferential approach he developed has had a number of applications. For example, among the societies he discussed were the Comanche Indians, buffalo hunters of the Great Plains, whose way of life Linton described (in Kardiner 1945a:81-100). Thomas Gladwin (1957) observed that the tribes of the plains shared a common way of life at the end of the nineteenth century—a recent development, since they had all come to the Plains from other areas. The specific way of life of the buffalo hunters had become possible only as a result of the acquisition of horses. This observation led Gladwin to ask: “Did they shed their old personalities at the same time as they abandoned their old ways of life?” (Gladwin 1957:113).

The Comanche are relatives of the Shoshoni and Paiute of the Great Basin. Before becoming buffalo hunters, they lived, like them, by simple hunting and gathering. They had the same simple band structure, and brought with them an informal style of life. Gladwin contrasts them with the Cheyenne, who came to the Plains from quite a different ecological and sociocultural background. The Cheyenne moved into the Plains from the eastern edge of the region and were related to the peoples of the Woodlands. They had been sedentary agriculturalists, with more complex social, political, and religious structures than those of the Comanche.

As a result of a new, common cultural emphasis on warfare as well as on the buffalo hunt, the Comanche and the Cheyenne shared, as Gladwin points out, a stress on “masculine vitality and courage.” Although there were many similarities in child training, there were some major differences that centered about the expression of emotions, especially with regard to sexuality and aggression. Among the Comanche, there was great freedom in these respects, particularly for boys and men, whereas among the Cheyenne there was a great emphasis on moderation and even repression. Furthermore, a great social distance and a stress on respect between children and parents, and adults in general, existed among them. The emphasis on moderation went so far that the ideal couple would wait as long as ten years before having a second child, continence being considered a high virtue. Moreover, a young man could not marry until he had proven himself in battle, so that sex and warfare became necessarily linked. Among the Comanche, on the other hand, both boys and girls enjoyed great sexual freedom, there was no emphasis on virginity or continence, and there was no linkage between sexuality and warfare. Among the repressed Cheyenne, it may be added, unfaithfulness in a wife was punished by gang rape by the offended husband’s soldier society.

All these differences with regard to sex, aggression, and self-expression are evident on the overt level. Gladwin argues that they appear on the covert level as well. For example, sorcery, which is clearly an expression of aggression and of the anxiety surrounding it, was treated differently in these two societies. The Comanche, who freely expressed their aggressive impulses, had little fear of sorcerers; occasionally, an individual suspected of sorcery might be killed. Among the Cheyenne, on the other hand, there were a few powerful sorcerers, greatly feared, against whom no defense was believed to exist. Such blocked aggression, Gladwin suggests, may be turned inward against the individual. For example, in the vision quest the Cheyenne tortured themselves and received little support from their spirits, while the Comanche, whose quest was far less painful, acquired reliable power in their contacts with guardian spirits. It is also not surprising, then, that self-mutilation in the Sun Dance reached its peak among the Cheyenne. In other words, the psychological pressures created by the buffalo-hunting, war-centered cultures of the Plains were largely directed outward by the Comanche and inward by the Cheyenne.

Both cultures represent the cultural patterns developed in their previous areas of adaptation. For example, the differences in handling aggression are consistent with a more recent finding by Edgerton (1971) and his collaborators, working in East Africa, who confirmed that witchcraft or sorcery is more likely to occur in sedentary agricultural communities than among nomadic (in this case, herding) peoples who are more openly aggressive.

Although societies share subsistence techniques, some other aspects of the maintenance system, such as social organization and certain specifics of child-training patterns may vary, as may some aspects of the projective system, for historical reasons. Consequently, these two societies, adapted to the same ecological niche, differ significantly in basic or modal personality structure, in the ways in which they handle and control impulses, and develop and respond to stresses. Gladwin infers a basic personality structure involving anxiety surrounding sex and aggression among the Cheyenne from cultural data. No reference is made to specific individuals or to differences among individuals.

Some Holocultural Studies

More recently the inferential approach to personality assessment has been used primarily in holocultural studies. The first of these studies, using an elaboration of the Kardiner model, was Whiting and Child’s 1953 study of child training and personality, which we discussed at some length in Chapter 4. It must be remembered that in studies of this type, in contrast to the work of Kardiner and of Gladwin, the basic personality structures characteristic of individual societies are not assessed or discussed. Rather, we have here the testing of hypotheses concerning the relationship between certain aspects of child training and certain aspects of the projective system. In the case of Whiting and Child, the hypotheses being tested dealt with five behavior systems, their socialization in childhood, and their relationship to curative practices and theories of illness. Such questions are quite
different from those that deal with personality constellations that might typify some particular group, Haitian peasants, say, or Saulteaux Indians.

A number of such studies have been conducted over the past twenty-five years, many of them growing directly out of the collaboration of Whiting and Child and their associates. In Chapter 4 we considered several such studies dealing with the maintenance system and its effects on child training. We shall now consider briefly several that test hypotheses concerning relationships between child training and the projective system. Here child training is seen as the antecedent of a modal personality that is not present directly but is expressed in the projective system. It is interesting that, for the most part, these studies historically precede those dealing with the effects of the maintenance system.

For example, a number of studies have tested the hypothesis that parental treatment in infancy or early childhood is related to a perception of spirits and the dealings of adults with them. Spiro and D'Andrade (1958) confirmed the hypothesis that in societies where infants are highly indulged, adults are likely to believe that the behavior of gods can be controlled by compulsive rituals. That is, there exists an analogy between the behavior of the infant who fantasizes having control over the behavior of caretakers, and the behavior of the adult who fantasizes having control over the behavior of spirits conceived in the image of the indulgent parents.

A number of other studies also have dealt with a possible relationship between the treatment of children and the view of the supernatural. For example, Lambert, Triandis, and Wolf (1959) found a relationship between the harsh treatment of infants and a belief in aggressive gods. They also discovered a correlation between strong pressure placed on boys for self-reliance and independence, and a belief in aggressive gods. In contrast to most of the authors of cross-cultural studies dealing with the relationship between childhood and adult institutions, who treat religious beliefs as projections resulting from stresses set up by childhood experiences, Lambert, Triandis, and Wolf argue that beliefs in aggressive gods lead people to train their children for self-reliance and independence, for such traits are necessary in a world that is viewed as hostile. It must be remembered that correlational analyses do not allow us to identify causes, but only to confirm hypotheses about associations among variables.

At an earlier point (p. 64), we discussed Rohner's complex study of parental acceptance and rejection. In a test of his own, Rohner (1975:107-108) finds a relationship between parental rejection and a belief in malevolent gods, and parental acceptance and a belief in benevolent gods. Rohner (1975:109) is, furthermore, able to show that in societies where gods are viewed as hostile, adults are more likely to be hostile, whereas in societies where gods are viewed as benevolent, adults are more likely to be cheerful and nonhostile.

Other types of cultural products also have been studied by means of cross-cultural, statistical investigations seeking to relate them to childhood experiences. For instance, G. O. Wright (1954) found confirmation for his hypothesis linking severe socialization of aggression to the typical handling of themes of aggression in folklore. J. M. Roberts and B. Sutton-Smith (1962) found that the presence of games of strategy in a society is related to the society's complexity and to an emphasis on obedience training. In a follow-up study Sutton-Smith, Roberts, and Kendon (1963) showed that folktales the outcome of which involved strategy were found also in societies that had games of strategy. In contrast to theorists, who consider folktales, as well as religious beliefs, as representing projections and displacement of emotions derived from childhood experiences, these authors speak of a "conflict enculturation hypothesis." This hypothesis holds that obedience training leads to emotional conflict in childhood. This conflict is expressed in games and tales which constitute a type of learning or enculturation adaptive both for societies and for their individual members. In other words, games and tales are said to represent an imaginary reflection of the real social world.

Herbert Barry III (1957) has approached the subject of the graphic arts through holocultural research. He established a correlation between severity of socialization for independence and complexity of art styles. Barbara Ayers (1968) related stress in infancy to polyphony in musical styles and absence of stress to monotonic styles of singing.

Although, as we have seen most of the holocultural studies that take child training as the antecedent variable have concerned themselves with the expressive projective system, that is, with indirect indicators of personality, at least one has attempted to use descriptions of behavior to assess personality. To do so, M. G. Allen (1967) established a seven-point scale of ego strength, ranging from a minimum of passivity and ineffectiveness to a maximum of activity and effectiveness in meeting problems of everyday living. Allen rated cultural behavior reported in the ethnographic literature along this scale and then investigated its relationship to the societies' physical environments and to the child-training variables rated by Whiting and Child (1953). He found that variations of ego strength were unrelated to the harshness of the environment, but were indeed related to childhood training. Specifically, high average socialization satisfaction was related to it positively.

There are a number of difficulties with this study. As is the case in many such investigations, we have here a single rating for a whole society. Groups within the society, such as men and women, specialists in certain activities, and so on, are not differentiated, so that ego strength is not an individual but a collective characteristic. Also, we may ask how adequate ethnographic reports are for that kind of judgment. Finally, although harshness of environment is rated, other possibly relevant factors are not treated: specifically, one would like to know what bearings the level of technological complexity and of subsistence economy might have on ego strength.

Personality Seen Through the Arts

The folklore of individual societies frequently has been utilized in intensive culture-and-personality studies as a source of information on psychological themes
of importance. The graphic arts have been used more rarely in this context by anthropologists, and musical styles least of all. A number of assumptions are generally made when cultural products are employed in this manner about the relationship of the products, their authors, and their audience. It is assumed that a narrative or a graphic style expresses basic psychological themes shared by its creator and the community, and that the appeal of the product lies precisely in the symbolic expression of themes or feelings that are not acknowledged explicitly. Such analyses work best when basic ethnographic and psychological information about the cultural group is available to provide independent confirmation for the interpretations based on the cultural products. Only a small number of such studies can be mentioned here.

In Chapter 4 we discussed Malinowski's writings on the absence of the Oedipus complex in the Trobriand Islands. In his book on the subject, Sex and Repression in Savage Society (1927), he uses myths, along with other kinds of information, to buttress his argument for the existence of what he termed the "mistrialineal complex," which involves incestuous attraction between brothers and sisters and the hostility of the nephew toward the maternal uncle.

Still on the subject of the Oedipus complex, we referred earlier to the work of M. J. and F. S. Hershkovits. In their book, Dahomean Narrative (1958), they show how the myths and tales of this West African people contain many references to hostility and rivalry among brothers. Also, they note frequent reference in the tales to the fearfulness of fathers and their hostility toward their sons, rather than the hostility of sons towards fathers one might expect from Freudian theory. They suggest that these themes reflect conscious as well as unconscious conflicts in Dahomean society.

In what he himself calls "the first anthropological monograph written from a psychoanalytic point of view" (1964:xvii), Jules Henry tells us that the Kaingang Indians of Brazil, among whom he lived in the 1930s, express "their psychic structure constantly and clearly" in stories of feuds and murders. The stories deal with "murder committed in every imaginable way and on all relatives except sons. Stories begin with murders committed for no reason and rehearse over and over again the whole wearisome theme of treachery and retaliation . . . The one elaborate art form that the Kaingang have, their folklore, is overwhelmingly concerned with their own destruction" (Henry 1964:62). The stories represent realistically the events of their social world and their own feelings. "Kaingang feud stories," says Henry (1964:126), "are direct expressions of the fear-wish-to-kill-guilt obsession that drives them constantly to acts of violence and panic."

As our final example of folklore analysis we shall take a brief look at the case of the Haitian peasants. These people have a rich body of oral narratives, which are told by skilled storytellers in a special setting. In addition, however, there are a great many anecdotes of supposedly real and recent events. Among the most popular of these are accounts involving zombis. cannibalism, werewolves, and other evil beings. Zombis are believed to be people who have died and have been incompletely revived by sorcerers. To keep them from knowing that they are dead and indeed who they are, the sorcerers do not allow them to eat salt and supposedly keep them away from the area where they lived and where they might be recognized. Some sorcerers, it is held, turn zombis into animals and sell them for meat. That is how a link is established between zombis and the thought of eating human flesh.

In an analysis of such anecdotes and the beliefs expressed in them, I have shown (Bourguignon 1959) how they are interrelated with the Haitian peasants' general world view and also with their patterns of interpersonal relations. Specifically, these beliefs reflect a strong fear of others, particularly of strangers. After all, some strangers may be sorcerers, zombis, demons, werewolves, and so on. Much of this fear, however, is expressed in terms of oral concerns: eating, feeding, ingestion of magical substances, oral spells, and so on. Oral concerns are also a major theme of the vodou cult, where gods must be fed and cared for, if one is to have their protection rather than be the object of their wrath. At the same time, the oral concerns involve expressions of aggression: whether through gossip or through magic, attack is likely to be expressed in oral terms. This emphasis on the oral, it is suggested, is related to childhood experiences such as irregular and unreliable feeding and harsh weaning. It is also related to realistic fears of hunger, if not outright starvation. Moreover, much of the fear and hostility that is felt against strangers and frightening figures, such as sorcerers, werewolves, demons, and the like, may be best understood as having its roots in a strictly hierarchical social structure; it is displaced from authority figures onto such more or less imaginary beings. The vodou cult, which in part codifies some of these fears, may also be seen as a bulwark against them by providing rituals of protection.

Compared to the psychocultural study of folklore, the use of music or graphic works of art in this manner is far less systematized, and it has been much more rarely utilized by anthropologists. An interesting exception is a study of Mayan art by A. F. C. Wallace (1950). Wallace used the methods and concepts of drawing analysis developed by such experts as Schmidl-Waehner, and the categories employed in the analysis of the Rorschach test. The method is ingenious, and the resulting psychological picture fits well with what we know of the Maya, both from historical sources and from modern ethnographic studies.

**DIRECT ASSESSMENT**

For the most part, two approaches have been used for the direct assessment of personality cross-culturally: the "life history" or "personal document," and personality tests. The most widely used of the tests, the Rorschach test, and the Murray Thematic Apperception Test (TAT), are referred to as "projective tests," because they do not seek specific answers but allow the subjects to interpret relatively unstructured stimulus materials, "projecting" personal thoughts and feelings in their responses. Historically, the growth of the field of cultures and personality coincided with the development of personality tests in clinical psy-
psychology, which had an important impact on the work of anthropologists. In fact, in numerous studies involving the use of such tests anthropologists collaborated closely with psychologists, either receiving training from them or obtaining interpretations from them, as we saw in the case of The People of Aor. There, it will be recalled, Cora Du Bois brought back Rorschach records to be interpreted by the Swiss Rorschach specialist Emil Oberholzer, while Alorese children’s drawings were interpreted by another specialist, Trude Schmidt-Waehner.

Life History

Of these approaches, the use of the life history is, in some respects, the oldest. The first such documents were collected not from an interest in assessing either the impact of culture on personality, or of personality on culture, or even in delineating the personality of non-Western individuals. Often they were published for their intrinsic interest and as such obtained a sizable popular appeal. In recent years, for example, the life story of Ishi, the last survivor of a California Indian tribe, was written by Theodora Kroeber (1961) and drew much attention among readers of all kinds of backgrounds. As L. L. Langness (1965b) has pointed out, numerous such accounts have been published, and even more have been collected from individuals in all parts of the world, but only a modest beginning has been made in the cultural and psychological utilization of these documents.

Perhaps the first full-length American Indian biography published by an anthropologist was Paul Radin’s Crashing Thunder (1925), the autobiography of a partially acculturated Winnebago Indian. This influential work stimulated other anthropologists in the United States to collect lengthy personal narratives from other Native Americans. Many years later, Nancy O. Lurie (1961) met Crashing Thunder’s sister, Mountain Wolf Woman, obtained her autobiography, and published it.

Radin’s primary interest was cultural; in using informants to reconstruct a waning culture, he wanted to get as full a picture as possible of this old way of life through the remembrances of a typical, middle-aged individual. Certainly this resource is important, particularly in the case of so-called “memory cultures,” where the anthropologist does not have the opportunity to observe the details of the life of an ongoing culture. Individuals who are willing to talk frankly about their lives may offer important insights into how the rules actually operated. For example, Crashing Thunder told Radin that when he went out, as a boy, to fast for a vision, and the vision did not come, he made one up. This anecdote perhaps shows the breakdown of the old values. But how general were such practices? We cannot know on the basis of a single report. And if this was a rare occurrence, what made Crashing Thunder different?

Part of the difficulty, then, with understanding and utilizing life histories has to do with placing the individuals in their society, as typical or deviant. Often enough, our information is too limited to allow us to do so. When we have more than a single life history, they are likely to be shorter and more fragmentary. Moreover, by virtue of the circumstances under which they are collected, the majority of detailed life histories, including those of Ishi, Crashing Thunder, and Mountain Woman Wolf, deal largely with the impact of social and cultural change on the lives of the individuals and their communities. It is much more difficult and rare to obtain insights into the relationship between individual and society in a stable traditional group.

Life histories collected by anthropologists, and sometimes psychologists and psychiatrists, from non-Western informants partake of a number of literary genres; they are part biography, part oral history, part autobiography, and part case history. They are not true biographies in the sense in which that form is understood in Western tradition, for only rarely does the anthropologist have access to, or even interest in, documents and sources other than the narrator. There is rarely any attempt or opportunity to confirm or disconfirm the informant’s accounts.

In some respects, the enterprise is similar to that of the oral historian, but it precedes the age of the tape recorder. In reading such reports, we often do not know how much of the narrative results from the questions and the promptings of the investigator, or even how much of the final document has been edited. Nor are these oral accounts true biographies. This fact is partly due to the role played by the collector, and partly to the fact that a tradition of autobiography may not exist in the culture under study. Also, particularly when the aim is a psychological analysis of some kind, the account may resemble a case history, in that the questioner seeks certain kinds of information and is interested in other types of reminiscences. In short, the anthropological life history presents itself in many forms and does not neatly fit into any one category.

It may help us to understand one aspect of this problem when we remember that the “autobiography” is a relatively modern phenomenon even in the West, and that it has evolved over time. Thomas Cooley, in a study of its development in the United States, points out that well over one-third of all autobiographies written in this country before 1850 were religious narratives, including spiritual autobiographies, reminiscences of missionary work, and the life stories of clergymen . . . . In autobiographies and journals, the pious could record lives of soul-searching for the enlightenment of others and, at the same time, take inventory of their spiritual stock (1976:4).

Some popular autobiographies of the period were “confessions,” accounts of the sins, suffering, and redemption of the narrator. Others were stories of adventures, often of captivity among American Indians. These stories were full of thrills and excitement, offering rich entertainment for their readers. Only in the second half of the nineteenth century did writers of autobiographies in this country center their attention on a search for personal identity.

The writing of autobiographies and biographies implies, as Cooley notes, a theory of human nature; it also contains a conception of the world in which
human beings move and live, although this conception is often taken for granted, as a series of shared tacit assumptions. Indeed, writers or speakers may not be conscious of the views and motives that underlie the picture of the self that they present or wish to present. There is also, of course, the intentional distortion, based on the wish to offer a particular view or on the speaker's interpretation of the anthropologist's questions.

All of these difficulties bring us back to a subject we broached earlier: the culturally constituted behavioral environment, which varies from society to society, from period to period. Hallowell (1974 [orig. 1954]) has pointed out that the conception of the self is culturally defined and culturally variable. Here we need to add that, as a consequence, there will be differences in what individuals of different cultural backgrounds include or exclude from autobiographical statements. Furthermore, there will be differences in how they view the course of life.

For example, we saw that some presentations deal with life as a spiritual progress, as a striving for redemption, or, as an adventure. The purposes of telling the tale—which influence the manner in which it is told—may be just as diverse: to instruct, to convert, or to entertain. Quite another purpose in autobiography may be to carry on an exploration of one's life and to seek a clue to one's identity. In some psychoanalytically oriented accounts, the search may be for therapy by facing one's past and coming to terms with it. In other societies, other perceptions of self and of life may be evident. Although it has not always been done explicitly in the anthropological analysis of personal narratives, it is clear that the delineation of a culturally defined concept of "life" and of "self" are important first steps in an attempt to understand what the narrator is telling us. That is, placing the individual in a social and cultural context requires not only a definition of the social structure and religious beliefs, for example, but also an attempt to understand how the narrator's own conception of self and of life structure what we were told. Some examples may help to clarify this discussion.

Khady Fall and Her World. Andras Zempleni (1977) reports the life history of a woman named Khady Fall, a priestess among the Wolof people of Senegal. The story consists of a series of episodes, told without concern for chronological sequence. Her "entire story is organized," as Zempleni remarks (1977:120), "like a destiny tenaciously held to myth, and not like a psychological or family novel." This destiny or fate is the result of the behavior of family spirits, who indicate that they want her to renew their relationship by sending illnesses and disasters. However, to discover the will of the spirits, and which spirit is responsible for a particular event, is often complicated, and alternative interpretations are available. The entire account, with its many episodes, falls into three periods: at first Khady Fall refuses her fate, then she is subjected to a series of trials, and finally she submits and accepts.

In this life, a great many "persons" other than the self play a role. There are a number of living individuals, who belong to the several ethnic groups of the region around Dakar. They are matched by spirits of these same groups, ancestors and others, who play an important part in her life: some appear in dreams, some are said by healers and diviners whom she consults to have an influence over her, and some possess her during trance states. In other words, the dramatis personae of her story extend beyond the living people she encounters. Her self is structured, as is her behavioral world, to include the significance of dream experiences, possession trance, omens, the mystical explanation of illness, and so on. Illness and disaster are perceived and interpreted in special spiritual terms. They may be seen as due to conflict with spirits, intentional or unintentional disobedience on her part, her willingness to accept her spiritual inheritance, and so on.

When we want to interpret such a life history, our primary concern clearly cannot be to verify the events reported to us, or, in an attempt to make sense out of what we are told, to deal with them as if they had been told to us by a member of our own society. We must attempt to find out what the events mean to the narrator and to others among whom she lives. How much of this story happened in the waking world, and how much of it was dreamed or fantasied or reconstituted in the telling, is perhaps only of secondary importance. More importantly, what is the effect of having such dreams? How do they influence the behavior of the narrator and others? Unless we can place the individual in a culturally constituted behavioral environment, and unless we can delineate the concepts of self and other in such a context, we cannot hope to make sense of a personal narrative.

In the case of Khady Fall, Zempleni suggests that her history is both symbolic and typical of the history of her people. The spirits she deals with represent four ethnic groups whom she can identify among her ancestors, as well as the foreign, European element with which her people must deal. Also, the cult of the spirits was at one time men's business. However, since the men have increasingly turned to Islam, the spiritual inheritance has become women's responsibility, so it is not surprising that this woman has inherited the care and worship of the spirits of her several family lines. In exchange, as it were, she has become a priestess and healer.

What Individual Lives Can Tell Us About a Society. The autobiography helps us to see the world through the eyes of the narrator, and to see how cultural and social constraints are brought to bear on an individual's experiences. In this benefit lies one of its major advantages as a research instrument. It has been utilized in a number of different ways. Zempleni's approach, which we have just reviewed, is only one.

In a study entitled The Psychosocial Analysis of a Hopi Life-History, David F. Aberle (1967 [orig. 1951]) used autobiography differently. For this analysis, he utilized the life history of a Hopi Indian, Don C. Talayesva, which had been published by Leo W. Simmons in 1942 under the title of Sun Chief. Rather than attempting to assess the personality of the narrator or to place primary stress on
how his development was influenced or determined by society, Aberle wishes to gain information from the life history of this one individual about Hopi society in general. He tells us that

only by seeing the individual in the social network, only by understanding the range of individual reactions, can we advance to an encompassing view of Hopi society in operation (Aberle 1967:130).

He concludes:

Although in many respects Don is a unique person, the beliefs with which he operates, the social system in which he lives, and the human and nonhuman environment he faces are those which our analysis of Hopi society would lead us to expect. It follows that whenever Hopi face certain situations, then certain typical problems arise for them. From the ethnological materials and from Don's own life a fairly satisfactory picture of the range of possible alternative responses to chronic features of Hopi life can be derived (Aberle 1967:129–130, italics in original).

In analyses such as Aberle's we may discover the subjective view of behavior we have observed and about which we are able to make broad sociological statements. The aim of such research is to throw light on the society and its functioning. The life history is the tool by means of which we may achieve this goal.

A similar goal is pursued in the best known life history studies, those of Oscar Lewis. Using the tape recorder, Lewis and his associates conducted extensive and intensive studies of families first in Mexico City and later among Puerto Ricans, both on the island and in New York City. The result is a stunning series of books, which critics have compared to the best of the works of the great Russian novelists. *Five Families* (1959) portrays a day in the life of each of several members of each of five families at several levels of the social structure. A full-scale portrait of one of these families is presented in *The Children of Sánchez* (1961). Here five persons tell their own accounts, which often overlap, so that the same events are illuminated from different perspectives. In *La Vida* (1965) we get the picture of a Puerto Rican family.8

These books make excellent reading; they are often dramatic and highly colored, and the narrators emerge with great clarity and individuality. Yet there is virtually no analysis, and to interpret these stories, readers are left to their own devices. It is true that the life history volumes are only part of a series of much larger research projects from which Lewis drew, at least in part, his concept of the "culture of poverty." His introductions to the various volumes allow us to follow some of the development of his thinking. Specifically, Lewis is interested in families, rather than in the individuals of which they are made up; to him, "whole family studies bridge the gap between the conceptual extremes of culture at one pole and the individual at the other; we see both culture and personality as they are interrelated in real life" (Lewis 1965:xx).

In an example on a much smaller, more highly focused scale, Marjorie Shostak (1976) reports the childhood memories of a fifty-year-old !Kung woman, which she obtained through taped interviews. The author selected the principal topics. For example, the woman describes in some detail how angry and unhappy she was when her mother had another baby and refused to let her nurse. The childhood resentment of this woman appears not to have been overcome, for she blames what she considers to have been early weaning and inadequate feeding for her physical shortcomings as an adult. Shostak is able to make interesting point-by-point comparisons between her subject's reports of her memories of experiences in early childhood and contemporary observations by Draper (1976) of corresponding situations in the rearing of children. Thus, we know that among the !Kung children are nursed for a long time and weaned only at three or four years of age when the mother is again pregnant. Although the informant's detailed report seems to be more a reconstruction than a memory, it also corresponds to the observed behavior of newly weaned children. It is important here that in the almost fifty years since the informant's childhood, little had changed in the !Kung's way of life and in the way they were rearing their children. This consistency is an exceptional situation; at the time of the study many changes were beginning, and the life of the !Kung is currently undergoing drastic transformations. Such cross-checking between memories and observations is possible only in stable societies, which are now rare.

**Problems of Method.** It is important to remember in reading such memories, or other personal narratives, that collecting such documents is an interpersonal transaction that reflects on both the investigator and the subject. When questions structure the interview, the investigator can be sure that certain topics will be covered, as Shostak made sure of getting information on specific stages of childhood and youth. On the other hand, even if the questions are as nondirective as the interviewer is able to make them, the fact of the undertaking is still stimulated by the investigator and does not proceed from a special desire of the subject to recount the events of a meaningful life, tends to structure the situation in important ways. Subjects interpret the situation, the questions, and the interviewer's motives in ways that are not always evident. On the other hand, subjects interpret questions in terms of how they see themselves and the world, what they consider significant and important experiences, and what they censor as not to be revealed to a stranger.

This problem is illustrated by the Alorese life histories collected by Cora Du Bois and analyzed by Kardiner. The guiding principle in collecting these accounts was to obtain information suitable for Kardiner's psychoanalytic interpretations. The life histories, it will be remembered, were intended to provide data for the construction of a model, the basic personality structure of the Alorese, and to show how this model was reflected in specific individuals. This purpose meant a concern with childhood, with dreams, and with an attempt to encourage free association on the part of the informants. As H. Powdermaker (1945) pointed out
in her criticism of this approach, the accounts given to Du Bois by the several Alorese individuals and those given to a psychoanalyst by Western patients are not comparable, and the materials therefore cannot be treated in the same way.

In the one case, it is the patient, motivated by a wish to get well, who seeks out the analyst and who, to gain release from suffering, is willing to try to obey the rule not to hold anything back. In the other case, it is the anthropologist who initiates the relationship, who is taken up by some, often deviant, individuals who are willing to talk about themselves in exchange for money or other compensation. The informant, moreover, is in no way motivated not to hold anything back but, to the contrary, is likely to present a self-portrait that withholds certain information. The resulting accounts are a mixture of more or less censored or elaborated memories, influenced by various distortions, rather than "true" accounts of events that did occur.

Du Bois is well aware of this distortion. She points out, for example, that Alorese accounts, as well as their institutions, are greatly concerned with food and hunger, quite beyond what one would expect from the realistic conditions of their existence. She relates this concern to their childhood experiences, their unreliable nursing, and later, the fact that preadolescent boys, in particular, are largely on their own in scavenging for food (Du Bois 1941).

It is important to remember that the significant events in an individual's life depend on several factors. As indicated in the Alorese case, they may be events that, for psychocultural reasons, have a particular emotional loading. Also, the cultural definition of what is real may vary importantly. Great significance may be attached to dreams, visions, or the power of certain individuals.

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**In this painting by the Haitian artist Hector Hyppolite, who was himself a voodoo priest, we see in their imagery, as well as in their dreams, Haitians represent the spirits in the form of human beings. (Courtesy Centre d'Art, Port-au-Prince).**
In cultures in which dreams are considered real, they may also be used by the anthropologist as the royal road to the understanding of the culturally constituted behavioral environment. Not only can they tell us about the unique narrator of a life history, but by using the manifest content of a large collection of dreams, we may discover or confirm cultural preconceptions, expectations, and perceptions. We may get indications of how culture is built into the individual, and how in turn the individual makes personal use of cultural materials.

Dreams, therefore, may be valuable as part of life histories both for their unconscious, latent content and for their manifest content. Several aspects of this problem have been treated in the anthropological literature. However, since they have been treated for different societies, we cannot generalize effectively from these studies. They do raise some important questions, however, that should be followed up; findings in one society should be tested in others to see how widespread some of the phenomena are.

How are dreams experienced? A Haitian informant on one occasion told me about a dream she had had, in which a female spirit had asked her to return to the city from the rural hamlet where she was staying with me. It occurred to me to ask her what the spirit had looked like. This question was prompted by the fact that many of the spirits are represented as Catholic saints in chromolithographs that are sold in the marketplace. Also, the spirits are believed to possess people during vodou rituals, so that for a time, any man or woman present may embody a given spirit entity. In response to my question, I was told that, in fact, my informant had not seen a female being in her dream at all, but rather a man. She explained that the spirit, Erzilè, had sent another, the male spirit St. Jacques, and since this spirit was known to be a warrior, he was dressed in a military uniform. When I asked whether the man in the dream was known to the dreamer, the answer was yes. In short, a woman has a dream of a man she knows, who asks her to return to the city; she tells it as a dream of a female spirit.

What is one to make of such an account? To understand it fully, it is important to know that the woman had a shrine for both the female and the male spirit in her small room in town, and that the dream included the request that she attend to the shrine. Moreover, the woman explained to the spirit that she (or he) would have to wait a while because I was keeping her away in the country. We also have to remember that, through the mechanism of possession, spirits may appear in any human or other form they choose, so that in this context, seeing an individual's bodily form is not sufficient to know what personality one is dealing with.

It seemed to me that in this interview there was a discrepancy between the imagery of the dream and how that imagery was experienced. That is, the experience involved a translation from the visual context of the dream to its meaning for the dreamer. The interpretation, in other words, was not simply the secondary elaboration that occurs in the telling of the dream. I would never have known about it if I had not fortuitously asked about the spirit's appearance.

There is, of course, also a rather thinly disguised unconscious, latent meaning in this dream, the message to the anthropologist that says: "Let's go back to town, I'm tired of being here." This latent content was made explicit, but discretely, in the discussion that followed the account of the dream. It must be remembered that Haitian society is highly hierarchical in nature, and the young peasant woman would not have dared to tell me directly what the dream made so very clear.

There is one more point that should be made here: the dream has the same truth value as a waking experience. It was not necessary for my friend to make an offering at her shrine now that she had had her conversation with the spirit in her dream.°

Dream Imagery. Another question one might ask about dreams deals with their imagery. Dorothy Eggan (1961) collected more than 650 Hopi dreams, 362 of them reported to her by Don Talayesva, whose autobiography we discussed earlier (Simmons 1942, Aberle 1967). This individual, although he is, in many respects, not a typical member of his society, makes much use myths and ritual symbols in his dreams (Eggan 1955).

In another article, Eggan (1966) analyzes a group of dreams from several informants in which there is reference to beliefs and rituals centering about a particular spirit, the Hopi water serpent. The water serpent is a figure concerned with fertility, and as such, says Eggan it is "a conscious sexual symbol" for the Hopi. This spirit condemns "sexual misconduct, gossip, quarrels and physical aggression" (Eggan 1966:260–261; italics in original). Therefore when he appears in a dream the Hopi interpret it to mean that either the dreamer or the person in the dream are guilty of some transgressions. Now, it is important to remember that among the Hopi a "bad" dream must be confessed, and "Hopi rules about dream discussion thus start a frequently successful probing of the dreamer's situation" (Eggan 1966:251). Therefore, says Eggan, "when a Hopi hikwai (psyche) researches through dimoki—the 'bundle' of his dream thoughts—he finds it richly populated with cultural images that act as a rudder to push a demanding self back into the coercive tide of social process" (Eggan 1966:263).

To understand the "meaning" of dreams, then, we must know a number of things: the cultural sources of dream content, the place dreams have in cultural life, the complex of behavior surrounding dreams, and so on. Eggan's analysis of dreams confirms much that has been written about the Hopi elsewhere, for example, in general cultural analyses and in the life history of the Sun Chief, Don Talayesva. It is this cultural information that is summed up in Eggan's remarks: gossip, quarrels, and physical aggression are bad, as are sexual transgressions. All of these acts must be confessed, when they appear in dreams, for not only are they wicked in waking life, but dreaming about such behavior is wicked. The "coercive tide of social process" allows little room for "a demanding self." Social and cultural controls are exerted not merely on behavior but also on private thoughts and impulses.

Another interesting example of such internalized controls comes from a study of dreams of a group of Australian aborigines. In the 1930s, Lauriston Sharp
collected 149 dreams from 51 individuals among the Yir Yoront. More than thirty years later, these dreams were published with an analysis by David Schneider (Schneider and Sharp 1969). Schneider analyzed the manifest content of the dreams under a number of headings: sex, aggression, death, and contact with whites. It is interesting that in dreams involving sexual themes, the complex kinship system, which specifies who is and who is not a potential partner, is clearly reflected in the majority of cases (56 percent), the dreamer is the victim of aggression. The dreamer is the aggressor in less than one-fifth of the cases (19 percent). That is, the dream is move frequently an expression of a fear of being attacked than of the wish to attack others. It is particularly revealing of the social reality of these people, and of the feelings associated with it, that the men’s mothers’ brothers and their own elder brothers are most often seen as the aggressors in the dreams. On the other hand, wishful thinking occurs most clearly in death dreams in which the dreamer dies, for here death is often followed by resurrection, the death is not “permanent.” This fantasy occurs in spite of the fact that, we are told, there is no cultural belief in resurrection in this group. The dreams in which whites appear seem to be more realistic, for in them, says Schneider, the Yir Yoront see themselves as “playing subordinate, passive roles” (Schneider and Sharp 1969:53).

In analyzing the manifest content of these dreams, Schneider has shown us how the universal themes of sex, aggression, and death are characteristically handled in the fantasy life of one particular group. With the exception of personal death, the Yir Yoront appear from this analysis to be quite a realistic people, who face the frustrations of their kinship system, in the dominance-submission relations between maternal uncles and nephews, older and younger brothers, and relatives who stand in such classificatory relations to each other. They have internalized the sexual prohibitions, and they recognize their position as a dominated group. The manifest content of their dreams does not offer them much escape from these realities.

If we compare Schneider’s use of the manifest content of dreams with that of Eggan, we see that their concerns are quite different. Schneider uses the dreams of one group to discern its typical treatment of universal themes. Eggan, on the other hand, identifies the use individuals made in their dreams of culture-specific myths. These, however, are not the only possible approaches to the subject. For example, R. A. LeVine (1966) in a rather complex study, hypothesized differences in achievement motivation among three Nigerian ethnic groups on the basis of ethnographic evidence. He tested his hypothesis by the use of the manifest content of dreams.

LeVine predicted differential achievement motivation on the basis of the precolonial status system of the Hausa, the Yoruba, and the Ibo. Among the Haussa there was, traditionally, little personal mobility, with the best chances being open through the role of subservient follower of the powerful. Among the Ibo, on the other hand, groups were small, and the diligent, energetic person was able to achieve a place through independent efforts. The Yoruba fell somewhere in between in their traditional systems.

LeVine assumed that young people in the 1960s would reflect in their personality orientation the social structure of their grandparents’ generation, due to the existence of sociocultural lag. Reports of dreams were collected in the form of classroom essays and were scored, by someone not acquainted with the ethnic differences, for the frequency with which achievement imagery appeared in the dreams. LeVine’s hypothesis not only was confirmed, but also was supported by the use of another method, the analysis of an essay on a related subject. Significantly enough, group differences were not influenced by westernization as shown by the amount of Western education of the parents. The subsequent history of Nigeria, including the ill-fated attempt at independence by Biafra under the leadership of the Ibo, clearly supported LeVine’s findings.

The use both Schneider and LeVine made of dreams in their studies is similar to the employment of projective techniques for personality assessment, in that they treated dreams like other fantasy products of individuals. In fact, LeVine’s research was modeled on the work of the psychologist David McClelland, who analyzed stories subjects told when presented with the picture cards of the Murray Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) (McClelland 1961). However, in contrast to test responses, dreams may be considered spontaneous fantasy products. They differ from fantasy products such as folktales and myths, however, as we have seen, which also have been used for psychocultural analysis, in that they are products of specific, identifiable individuals and not, like folklore, the result of contributions by many persons over time; they express personal rather than collective fantasies. Yet it is apparent that dreams are as characteristically revealing of the central personality dispositions of a group as is the content of folklore or the style of artistic production.

For the optimal utilization of dreams in psychocultural research, then, it is desirable to have, on the one hand, a series of dreams of a single individual, together with life history materials and other relevant data. On the other hand, it is valuable to obtain a large number of dreams from many persons in the community, so that the individual might be placed in the larger context. Dreams then may be analyzed from all three of the perspectives we have discussed.

Projective Techniques

As early as 1938, A. I. Hallowell began to experiment with the cross-cultural utilization of the Rorschach inkblot test, under the influence of the psychologist Bruno Klopfer. At about the same time, a number of Japanese investigators began parallel studies, which were then not known in this country (for example, Fujisawa 1953; for a summary, see Huzioka 1968).
The particular appeal of the Rorschach lay in the nature of the test: it was unstructured and therefore thought to be culture-free. The inkblots were accidental shapes and did not represent anything. The forms were vague and there were no "correct" answers to the test. Moreover, the emphasis in the test analysis—in which lay the true originality of the test's inventor, the Swiss psychiatrist Hermann Rorschach—did not rest primarily on the content of the responses. That is, although subjects are asked to look at the inkblots and to state what they see in them, the analytic procedure focuses on the way in which the unstructured stimulus material is organized perceptually. Personality implications are drawn not principally from what is seen but from how it is seen. The test protocols are scored to determine how much, and which parts, of the blots are utilized, what elements of the blots determine the response (form, shading, color), and whether forms are perceived as static or in motion. The specific content is grouped into categories (human, animal, inanimate, and so on). Responses, moreover, are grouped into those that are frequent in a given population (populars) and those that are not. The productivity of the subject and the complexity and organization of the responses are also significant elements of the analysis.

All of these features contrast with picture tests, which, first of all, require experience with pictures, perception of perspective, and recognition of the objects represented. The Rorschach, therefore, had an important appeal for anthropologists. When Hallowell and others began to try them out on American Indians, and Du Bois on the Alorese, it became plain that cultural differences did not represent an obstacle to obtaining test protocols.

However, the Rorschach also has one major disadvantage: it requires a considerable amount of training, not only for interpretation, but also for proper administration. The very idea of testing is alien and even threatening in many societies. Also, it may be difficult to find individuals alone to take the test and to obtain answers that are not influenced by the comments of bystanders and observers. The test situation, the way in which the test is presented and administered, and how the subject interprets the situation as well as the test, all, it has been claimed, play a role in the results.

In the early years, projective tests acquired a rapid and extensive popularity among U.S. anthropologists. For one thing, it was felt that here was something tangible that could be brought back from the field and that could be used as an objective validation of the claims of the fieldworker, particularly if these materials were to be analyzed by someone else. Perhaps, too, the peculiar U.S. taste for gadgets played a role in this development. At any rate, projective tests, for a while, became a fad, with every student, whether adequately trained or not, feeling compelled to take test cards along as part of the required research equipment. As is the case with much in U.S. culture, overdoing made the enthusiasm for projective testing burn itself out rapidly; projective testing became somewhat discredited, and only a small percentage of the large number of studies carried out produced a significant legacy. At the same time, clinical psychologists began to raise questions concerning the reliability and validity of the tests. The fads in anthropology now grew elsewhere, and all these factors, taken together, led to a great decline in the use of projective tests in the most recent period.

Anthropological uses of projective tests have been reviewed by several authors (see in particular Hallowell 1956b, Lindzey 1961, Spain 1972). The most extensive of these reviews is Gardner Lindzey's book-length study. His conclusions are worth citing:

There is enormous variation in personality even within apparently homogeneous, nonliterate societies.

Varying degrees or levels of acculturation are accompanied by varying personality attributes and perhaps by variations in general level of adjustment.

Individuals representative of different socialization practices and different cultural backgrounds respond differently to most projective techniques.

Personality inferences based upon the widely used projective techniques appear consistent with parallel inferences derived from ordinary field work methods (Lindzey 1961:311–312).

Among the studies that Lindzey praises is one by Thomas Gladwin and Seymour Sarason (1953) dealing with the people of the Micronesian atoll of Truk. This study is a replication, with some improvements, of the researches on the Alorese by Du Bois and Kardiner. In addition to the collection of ethnographic data, Gladwin obtained life histories, Rorschach records, and TAT stories. In doing so, he made a specific attempt to draw a representative sample of the population. Sarason, a clinical psychologist who analyzed the test protocols, was given no access to the ethnographic information and life histories; he knew only the age and sex of each individual. In contrast to the traditional methods of scoring and evaluating the tests, he treated the responses as samples of behavior in novel situations. On the basis of these samples, he formed hypotheses about how a given individual would act in specific life situations. As Gladwin reports in a separate paper on this research, Sarason found, to Gladwin's surprise, "that the men were notably more anxious than the women and would tend to respond less adequately to any situation of conflict or doubt." Moreover, according to Sarason's analysis, the women used food production, food distribution, and sexual activities, in which the men hold dominant positions, "as a means of subtle aggression toward men and as media for expression of their assertiveness" (Gladwin 1953:307). Upon reanalysis of his data, however, Gladwin revised his own views.

His summing up is worth citing:

Dr. Sarason's conclusions, based exclusively on his analysis of the projective tests, provided a substantially more economical and inclusive explanation for the data I had collected on the roles of men and women, in spite of the fact that, after four years of contact with the Trukese, I continued to assume that the superficial dominance...
scoring enabled him to establish indexes for the expressions of feelings such as men and women at each of the four levels were also found to exist in the sociocultural context.

G. Spindler (1958). We shall come back to this important investigation in another context.

Hallowell (1974 [orig. 1951]) compared three groups of Ojibwa Indians representing stages in acculturation. The least acculturated were the Berens River Saulteaux in Canada, the Lakeside Saulteaux were intermediate, and the Lac du Flambeau Chippewa, in Wisconsin, were the most acculturated. This last group showed significant signs of poor psychological adjustment. Hallowell also compared these American Indian groups with a sample of white Chicagoans, and here too he found the Wisconsin group more poorly adjusted than the whites. On the other hand, a comparison between the Chicagoans and the two Canadian groups of Ojibwa led him to conclude that “while the Indian pattern is distinctive, it is certainly no less healthy than the American one” (Hallowell 1956b:528). He goes on to point out that the sociocultural data he had gathered concerning these American Indians provided “empirical validation of the inferences drawn from the Rorschach data.”

In the study of a single community of Menomini Indians, G. Spindler (1955) identified four levels of acculturation, using religious identification as an important criterion. He found that these groups also differed by a whole series of sociocultural features. When he administered the Rorschach to a sample of male subjects, he found statistically significant differences among the four groups with regard to this test as well. L. Spindler (1962) tested a sample of women, and here too differences among the four groups appeared. Finally, differences between men and women at each of the four levels were also found to exist (L. Spindler and G. Spindler 1958). We shall come back to this important investigation in another context.

Other group comparisons are offered by G. A. De Vos, who developed a system of scoring Rorschach responses for their emotional or affective content; this scoring enabled him to establish indexes for the expressions of feelings such as hostility, anxiety, dependency, bodily preoccupations, and so on. In one interesting study, De Vos (1961) compared a number of cultural groups and subgroups (Americans, Japanese-Americans, urban and rural Japanese, urban and rural Algerian Arabs) along these lines. He found, among other things, that groups exposed to acculturation, such as immigrant Japanese-Americans and urbanized French-influenced Algerian Arabs, showed much greater evidence of psychological stress in their test responses than comparable rural groups. He concludes:

Fear, hostility, dependency, positive feelings and mental mechanisms described by Freud as the basic mechanisms of the human mind in handling the relationship of feeling and cognition are probably represented in the production of Rorschach percepts in surprisingly similar terms from culture to culture (DeVos 1961:362).

It is the existence of such basic similarities in mechanisms and processes that makes it possible for us to establish comparisons between groups, as well as to see that the differences that exist fall within a limited range. The relation between feelings and thinking, between perception and behavior, are among these basic universal factors in human psychological functioning.

The Rorschach as an Interview. At times, the Rorschach test situation may function as a specialized interview situation, in which subjects tell us things that are on their minds that we might not have learned about, at least not so characteristically, in another context. Such a situation occurred in my work in Haiti, and it offered me some important insights. I have presented the full case with my analysis elsewhere (Bourguignon 1969), and I shall summarize it here briefly.

A young man of the Haitian upper class—I shall call him R. J.—agreed to take the test at the suggestion of a friend, a psychiatrist, from the United States. This man was present during the test, and it seemed clear that R. J. wished to impress him by his performance. He gave a total of one hundred responses to the ten cards; of these, however, forty-four were not percepts—things that he could recognize in the inksblots—but associations to his percepts. For example, in Card 1 his first response was “a bat.” This response, together with “bird” or “butterfly,” is frequent among Haitians, as it is in most groups that have been tested. To this response he presented four associations: a house in which he had lived; a story of demons told about this house; a young girl who was unwell, who played a role in this story; and, finally, verses by the French poet Mallarmé. The second thing he saw in the card was a tattoo the psychiatrist was said to have; this image reminded him of a spirit of the vodou cult. So it went throughout the ten cards. In this small sequence R. J. drew both on Haitian traditions and on French literature. He continued to do so throughout the protocol, but he also referred to Africa and the United States, both to help him interpret the forms and to fill out his associations. He thought of Africa and of Haitian vodou religion as mysterious and frightening, but also as heroic. As soon as he spoke of one or the other of these topics, he was drawn immediately to France or the United States. In fact, Haiti, Africa, France, and the United States represented four poles of attraction.
and repulsion to him. His fantasy constantly pulled him away from Haiti and back to it. In short, both the general content of the protocol, and the specific sequence in which the materials are presented, revealed a high degree of ambivalence in this young man.

M.J. Herskovits (1937a:295) coined the term socialized ambivalence with regard to the Haitian personality, and observation suggests that it is particularly characteristic of the upper class, or élite. Ambivalence is reflected in the simultaneous holding of contradictory attitudes toward and evaluations of the same situations, institutions, persons, or other objects of feeling and opinion. This ambivalence, however, is not the unique characteristic of a particular individual; because it is such a widespread typical emotional disposition, it is referred to as "socialized." In expressing such ambivalence in response to the ambiguous stimulus offered by the Rorschach cards, R. J. shows us a picture of the relationship between the upper-class Haitian and the various cultural sources of contradictory teachings and attitudes to which he is exposed.

I have attempted to understand this pattern of socialized ambivalence as resulting from what Ruth Benedict (1938) has called a "discontinuity of cultural conditioning" or socialization. In the case of the child of the Haitian élite, the early years of training are largely in the hands of servants, who are members of one cultural tradition. Later socialization, particularly in the context of the schools, emphasizes a second cultural tradition. Servants are Creole-speaking members of the peasant class, with a strongly vodou-based tradition. The schools teach French, and the French tradition plays an important role there. The Creole language is therefore associated with a private world of intimate relationships, the French language with formal relations and the public domain. This discontinuity is important for the life of individuals and for the development of their picture of themselves and the world. The upper-class world rejects the practices of the peasants as ignorant and superstitious; yet there is a strong nationalistic identification with a black tradition and with African roots. Yet again the élite see themselves as a group of modern, Western people. Each point in this sequence sends the individual back to the opposite pole for a contrasting and contradictory evaluation.

This analysis received strong confirmation from a comprehensive study of Haitians living in France, by Bastide, Morin, and Raveau (1974). These authors show clearly how socialized ambivalence plays an important role in the personality of these transplanted Haitians and in the problems of adjustment they face in a different kind of society.

Although Haiti may represent a special case, as a result of its unique history as the first independent black nation, such conflicts are not rare today in many parts of the developing world, where radical transformations are taking place and where individuals and groups are forced to cope with incompatible orientations and teachings.

This discussion of methods of personality assessment has led us to deal with a matter of much contemporary importance—culture change and accultur-
cards on the atoll of Ifaluk. According to a note by Hallowell (1956b:487) Spiro’s subjects saw canoes shown not as being in the background, behind figures in the foreground of the drawings, but above them. They therefore interpreted what they saw to signify that the men, appearing to be placed beneath the canoes, were carrying them. H. Silverthorne (1951), who used specially drawn TAT pictures among Haitian peasants, had a similar experience. He found that subjects frequently interpreted forms in the foreground of pictures as either standing or sitting on the feet of persons lying in the background; persons in the background appeared to them to be placed higher than those in the foreground and therefore to be lifted or carried by them.

It may also be asked whether the use of different pictures, adapted to varying cultural situations, produces comparable results. However, unlike those using the Rorschach, investigators employing the TAT and its variants often pursue quite different goals; the non-comparability of the results may therefore reside as much in their research aims as in their experimental tools. In any event, few systematic comparisons of results obtained through diverse TAT-type pictures have been attempted.

French-English Bilinguals: A Test of a Hypothesis. The number of applications of the TAT and its various modifications has been very large. One particularly interesting and well-designed study may be cited here both for its approach and its results. The study in question was conducted by Susan Ervin (1964) with a group of French-English bilinguals living in the Washington, D.C. area. On the basis of the descriptive literature on culture the author hypothesized that subjects from France and the United States would express themes of aggression differently in their TAT stories. Specifically, the former would deal with aggression as expressed in verbal exchanges, whereas the latter would deal with physical expressions of aggression.

Ervin further hypothesized that when bilinguals speak English they may be expected to tell U.S.-type TAT stories, whereas when they speak French, their TAT stories would conform to the French model. This hypothesis, indeed, was confirmed. The TAT stories, told by the same subjects in two different languages, appeared to reveal two distinct personality patterns, coherent with the culture that is associated with the language being used. The author interprets this to mean that, for subjects who have learned each language in a different cultural context (they are termed “coordinate bilinguals”), each language acts as a system of cues, conjuring up associations linked to that particular cultural system.

The implications of these findings are of major significance for an understanding of multilingual societies, for our analysis of culture change and its psychological implications, and for anthropological fieldwork. Anthropologists working with bilingual informants or interpreters must be aware of the psychological complexities that are involved in such multiple levels of participation and personal involvement.

This point is also underscored by a further example: Leonard Doob (1957, 1960) reports on research in three African societies. He tested bilingual individuals, asking them to agree or disagree with a series of statements in each language. He found that there were important differences of opinion, depending on the language in which the statement was presented.

Intragroup Differences. Ervin’s study, as we have seen, does not attempt to construct the modal personality of a group, but seeks to test some psychocultural hypotheses. In this respect it resembles the numerous TAT studies in Western societies dealing with achievement motivation, aggression, and other specific themes. In fact, such a tendency toward focused research has become increasingly evident in psychological anthropology.

Another trend has also become evident, based on the greater awareness that even relatively small groups, undifferentiated with regard to sociological variables, include a range of individual personalities. Lindzey, as we saw earlier, drew this conclusion from a study of research utilizing projective techniques. Therefore the practice of testing hypotheses that relate personality differences to some antecedent variables, which is common in studies in complex societies, has been extended to research in traditional societies.

This practice is well illustrated by the research of Ralph Bolton among the Qolla, an Indian group of the highlands of Peru, in the region of Lake Titicaca. Among these people, Bolton found a high degree of aggressive behavior, a characteristic that had been noted in much of the literature on the Qolla and their neighbors, the Aymara of Bolivia. His original research aim was to discover the roots of this behavior in social and cultural factors, but he was unable to do so. He therefore proceeded “to an examination of the possible biological factors which might be responsible for the apparently irrational aspects of Qolla agonistic behavior” (Bolton 1973:228–229). He was particularly struck by the fact that their aggressive behavior is in contradiction to their moral code, which values and demands “charity, compassion, and co-operation with all men” (Bolton 1973:229).

Although the community as a whole is characterized by high homicide rates and other indicators of aggression, not all individuals are equally aggressive. It is then possible to ask why some individuals are more aggressive than others, that is, to find correlates of aggression that distinguish some people from others. On the basis of the literature in the field of physiology, Bolton proposed a relationship between mild hypoglycemia (abnormal blood glucose levels) and aggressiveness. His interesting study did in fact confirm that in this population more than half of the men in his sample had hypoglycemia, a condition that appears to exist in only a small fraction of the population in the United States. Moreover, he found a statistically significant relationship between aggression and hypoglycemia (Bolton 1973).

Among the psychological instruments used in this study was the Sentence Completion Test. Here Bolton (1976) discovered differences in the responses of hypoglycemics and individuals with normal blood sugar levels. Not only were
hypoglycemics more likely to give aggressive responses to the test, but they did
so more frequently when the sentence stems dealt with certain specific subjects,
such as money, women, figures of authority, male relatives, and land.

This study is important in the context of our present discussion in a number
of respects. First of all, it is an example of a type of investigation in which
personality assessment is not an end in itself, but is part of a larger research
design. In this instance, an attempt is made to link personality traits and behavior
with physiological states. Secondly, this study is also important in that the projective
test findings are consistent with other data, such as evidence of aggression
in the form of homicide rates, statistics on litigation,7 and so on. Where projective
tests are the only source of information on personality traits there is always the
question whether the results are in part a function of the specific test and whether
another instrument might have produced different results, or whether the investiga-
tor is, in some way, responsible for the results of the study. In this study, there
is considerable supportive evidence for the claim that the Qolla are highly aggres-
sive and that some individuals are much more aggressive than others.

Bolton's research is of importance in another respect, also. There is, at the
present time, a greatly increased interest in the possible relationship between
psychological functioning and physiological states. Two aspects of Bolton's work
must be considered in this context: hypoglycemia is found to be frequent among
the Qolla (and possibly other Andean populations), and it is associated with high
levels of aggressive behavior. A large number of individuals experience this
physiological condition and respond to it by certain types of behavior and certain
types of feeling states. Also, individuals who are hypoglycemic experience this
condition with greater intensity at certain times, which appear to be the periods
when their behavior is most likely to be aggressive. We shall return to this matter
of a possible relationship between physiology and psychology when we discuss
altered states of consciousness (Chapter 7). Here, however, we need to point out
that Bolton's research among the Qolla indicates that personality features typical
of a given group may be considered not only in relation to such antecedents as
child training, which we have discussed at length, but also in terms of physiological
states that may result from particular ecological adaptations (or maladaptations).
Moreover, these ecologically derived factors appear to act on behavior
directly, without the mediation of childhood training variables.

Photography

Let us turn to a different kind of direct approach. Both still photography and films
have been used in cultural anthropological fieldwork, specifically in psychological
anthropology, primarily to provide illustrations of behavior and to document
-cultural differences. These documentary still photographs and films are important
 instructional tools. However, only relatively rarely has photography been used as
a true research instrument. There are a few important examples of such use, to
which we may now turn briefly.

One of the most important examples is the work of Bateson and Mead in Bali.
Their book, Balinese Character: A Photographic Analysis (1942) represents a
landmark in psychocultural research. In it, they note in the introduction, they
wished to show in photographs how the Balinese, as individuals, embody their
culture in their characteristic behaviors. Bateson (1976:58) describes the book in
these terms: "The plates, each with from five to nine pictures, were built accord-
ing to what we thought or felt were cultural or characterological themes . . .
Every plate is a complex statement, illustrating either different facets of some
quite abstract theme or the interlocking of several themes." Mead, referring to a
plate in this book, representing a sequence labeled "sibling rivalry in Bali," notes:

It is during scenes of this sort that the field worker often develops new insights about
the culture, and, if these are recorded on the spot, then later one can go back to the
exact visual situation which gave rise to the insight. Furthermore, if a large number
of sequences of interpersonal relations are shot immediately upon entering the field,
it is possible to check the effect of a developed hypothesis in the distortion of the field
worker's perception, by going back to the photographs which were taken before the
insights were articulated (Mead 1956:85; italics in original).

In a study influenced by the work of Bateson and Mead, Walter Goldschmidt
(1976) used photographs as data in research among the Sebei of Uganda. What
is methodologically interesting about this particular article is that an impression-
istic observation about mother-child interaction was confirmed by systematic
review of a series of photographs that were not originally taken to document this
observation. The pictures of mothers carrying or nursing small children show the
mother "disengaged" from the child: in most instances neither her eyes nor her
hands are on the child. In fact, in no instance are both hands on the child, and
in less than one-fourth of the pictures is one hand on the child. In this case, lack of
emotional involvement of the mother with her child.
Goldschmidt goes on to suggest that this behavior on the part of the mother constitutes
a form of communication to the child, a socialization for low affect.

Goldschmidt's pictures of the Sebei are strikingly different from pictures of
mather-child interactions among the Fore of New Guinea, presented by E. R.
Sorenson in The Edge of the Forest (1976), a volume based on a series of research
films.8 The book contains almost 150 plates of photographs, most of which
present a behavioral sequence. One major focus of this research is child develop-
ment and interactions of adults with children and of children with peers. The rich
data, however, are not analyzed fully.

As part of this research, Sorenson wished to study the expression and recogni-
tion of emotions among the Fore. He did so in part by showing them a set of
pictures of Western subjects expressing a series of emotions, which had been used
Psychological Anthropology

The expression of emotions: Young Haitian woman poses, relaxed, pleased to have her picture taken.

Her facial expression and posture change to show anger at a nasty remark by a neighbor.

previously among college students in the United States. The emotions represented were happiness, sadness, anger, surprise, disgust and contempt. The author remarks: "the most striking result was that the Fore saw anger more often than did Westernized subjects, particularly in the pictures representing sadness or fear" (Sorenson 1976:142). Moreover, when a Fore individual was asked to pose for a picture looking angry, the expression seemed to Sorenson to look more like sadness than anger. Other Fore, however, agreed that the man looked angry.

Sorenson argues that emotions are neurophysiological human universals that, to some extent, are shared with other animals. However, he wonders to what extent culture is relevant to the manner in which emotions are expressed. With regard to what seems to him to be an "atypical" response of the Fore—their contamination of fear and sadness with anger—he suggests the following: Fore traditional social organization is "affiliative," that is, it is informal and based on personal rapport. It is therefore fragile and precocious, and vulnerable to anger. Anger thus represents a danger to the stability of the group. Because they are, presumably, aware of this danger, the Fore have become sensitive to the element of anger in any expression of sadness and fear.

The Study of Affective Reactions

Sorenson's research on the Fore leads to interesting questions concerning the relationship of emotions to their physiological substrate and their bodily expressions. Cultures clearly vary both in the level of affective intensity and in the types of emotional expressions that are sanctioned. They appear also to differ to some extent in the emotions associated with specific facial expressions or bodily symptoms. The first point is clearly illustrated by Goldschmidt's study of Sebei photographs, mentioned earlier. In fact, a large proportion of the culture-and-personality literature argues this difference in affective level, beginning with Mead's (1927) study of Samoan girls. She explained their conflict-free adolescence, it will be remembered, as related to the lack of intense emotional involvement in Samoan interpersonal relationships. Benedict's concept of a Dionysian personality addresses the same subject. In contrast to the low affectivity of the Samoans, we have the high emotional intensity of the Dionysian Plains Indians. Also, groups may be said to differ in the choice of emotions that are repressed while others are given intense development. We have seen in Gladwin's (1957) discussion of the Cheyenne how sexuality and in-group aggression are repressed, and are compensated for by warfare and aggression turned inward against the self in the self-mutilations and tortures of the vision quest and the Sun Dance.

LeVine (1973) has suggested the usefulness of a comparative study of affective experiences for the cross-cultural study of personality dispositions. Following the lead of psychoanalysis with its concern with the emotions, he remarks:

The expression of fear, rage, sadness, surprise, joy, disgust, shame or sexual arousal, in situations where they are culturally inappropriate; ... is an indication that a personal motive of some strength and depth is affecting the individual's adaptation in his sociocultural environment (LeVine 1973:226-227).

Specific bodily symptoms of the emotions can be used, he suggests, as "anchor points" for research on affective states, since their investigation may lead from the "social surface of individual behavior" to unconscious strivings. Such comparative research is possible because the symptoms, such as weeping, blushing,
and trembling, exist in all human groups, and they are everywhere related to affective states. The specific emotions to which they are linked, however, may vary. In fact, whether or not they vary and how much is in itself a significant research problem. (It must be recalled that Darwin believed in a continuity in the expression of the emotions in animals and man, and many ethnographers have taken such a continuity for granted. It would be better to investigate it in the framework of possible cultural differences.)

It is well-known that specific bodily symptoms may be associated with a wide variety of emotions in a single culture. In a small-scale experimental study, a group of my graduate students found that people in the United States report that they weep with grief, rage, joy, disappointment, relief, frustration, fatigue, pity, or self-pity, or when they feel "moved" (as by a film or a musical selection). This list suggests that a limited bodily repertoire of physiological reactions is associated with a much larger repertoire of felt emotions.

There is also reason to believe that an element of learning may intervene between a physiological state of arousal and its subjective interpretation as a particular emotion. The psychologist A. Bandura (1973:106) goes so far as to assert:

> Whether people experience their emotional arousal as fear, anger, euphoria, or some other state depends not on internal somatic cues, but on a number of external defining influences.

Such a social learning position receives strong support from various experimental studies. For example, Stanley Schachter (1964), in a discussion of the "interaction of cognitive and physiological determinants of emotional states," reports on some of his own experiments in this area. In one instance subjects were injected with a drug substance. Some were told they would experience certain side effects, and they did. Others were given no information on the sensations they might experience. Of these subjects, some were exposed to a confederate who behaved in a hostile fashion. These experimental subjects, modeling their interpretations of their aroused state on the confederate, experienced aggressive feelings. Others, exposed to confederates who were cheerful, experienced euphoria. The implication for the anthropologist appears to be that such a patterning of subjective emotional states on models exists not only in individuals in specific, perhaps aberrant, situations, but that socialization may lead to culturally patterned emotional states and behavioral responses to physiological arousal. The evidence for such cultural learning, however, is much less clear than the great quantity of ethnographic materials that illustrates the cultural patterning of the expression of emotions.

LeVine suggests that "public displays of affective reactions with bodily symptoms are usually inconsistent with cultural norms concerning the maintenance of composure in adults" (1973:228). Therefore, the occurrence of such symptoms is a temporary, more or less serious breach of these norms. The investigation of instances of such behavior may lead to the discovery of the norms and of how individuals cope with their infractions. We may also observe that sanctions may be applied to those who violate these norms.

Note, for example, that in the United States we use the expression "to break down" to mean both "to weep" and "to confess." Men, in particular, are expected to show strength of character by exhibiting self-control, and not weeping. It is therefore not surprising that in the 1968 presidential primary campaign Senator Muskie was vigorously criticized for shedding tears in public in responding to the attacks of an opponent. Indeed, this incident was widely believed to have been directly responsible for his losses in that campaign.

Traditionally, norms of emotional expression have differed for men and women. Although weeping was taboo for men and boys in this country, it was acceptable and "to be expected" in women and girls. As the roles of women here are changing, it is not surprising that attitudes toward weeping on the part of women are changing also. This change is illustrated by the story of the female graduate student who, when her work being criticized by a male professor, "broke down." Reportedly, the professor went on to criticize her for her "unprofessional behavior." The implication appears to be, "if you want to have a professional career, like a man, you must live up to male norms of self-control."

The converse of LeVine's assertion is also true, for there are rules that govern when certain bodily symptoms of affective reactions are expected to be displayed. Failure to display them on these occasions may also be considered a breach of norms. Therefore, an investigation of what emotional expressions are considered culturally required in given situations is also psychologically revealing. Examples are readily available: well-bred Victorian young ladies in this country and in Europe were expected to blush at the mention of "delicate" subjects, and an inability to blush might cause the offender to be considered to be lacking in "purity" or "shame." Women of the "better classes" were expected to faint in shock or grief rather than to cope matter-of-factly with certain situations. Painting in the face of emotional stress represents one way of removing oneself, quite literally if only temporarily, from a difficult situation. Other dissociative reactions may also offer a way out. In societies where a belief in spirit possession exists, a spontaneous possession trance (which is a type of dissociative reaction) represents a possible response to a difficult situation. In Haiti, I heard a number of accounts from vodou cult members of situations in which they were frightened and where, they said, a protective spirit took over, as it were, by "possessing" the individual at the critical moment.

A comparison of funeral customs clearly shows different requirements placed on emotional expression. For instance, William Douglass, describing funerals in the Spanish Basque village of Murelaga, observes: "Overt grief is carefully controlled. Immediate female kinsmen (sic) may weep, but men are denied this outlet for their grief, and are expected to remain stoic" (1969:23). This behavior may be contrasted with the description of a funeral maoing the Tiwi of Australia by Jane Goodale. Here mourners wail, beat their bodies, and cut their heads with vigorous blows of knives, shovels, and other instruments:
The close relatives directed their grief toward the grave, and they had to be restrained from doing real bodily harm to themselves ... The others were given knives and clubs, which they used on themselves without restraint while facing the immediate family of the deceased (Goodale 1971:249).

Goodale goes on to suggest that the bloodletting by nonrelatives indicates their feelings of guilt and that:

all the self-injury in the ritual expression of grief is to show the deceased ... that they are sorry if they had anything to do with his death rather than to encourage real nonritual tears and wails (Goodale 1971:249).

On the one hand, wailing and weeping may be expressions not of grief but of guilt. On the other hand, ritual requirements of shedding tears may lead to mimed expressions of emotions. Although we cannot always be sure of the subjective feelings of actors in ritual situations, we observe that among the Tiwi value is placed on intense public demonstrations of emotions, which is quite the opposite of the situation in Spain or the United States. Clearly, societies differ in the degree to which they value self-control, or, to the contrary, open and intense expressions of emotions. These values have implications for the ways in which individuals judge their own feelings and behavior as well as those of others. The Basque may judge the Tiwi to be "hysterical," excessive, and lacking in restraint or respectability, while those who value demonstrative behavior may consider the others to be cold, selfish, emotionally unresponsive, and so on.

E. L. Schiefflin, in his small book The Sorrow of the Lonely and the Burning of the Dancers (1976) provides a fascinating example of how emotionally expressive behavior is culturally patterned. The book centers about the Gisaro ceremony of the Kaluli people of Mt. Bosavi of Papua, New Guinea. Like the Fore, these people remained isolated from the outside world until quite recently; they were contacted by Europeans barely forty years ago.

The Gisaro ceremony takes place at night. It is performed by guests, acting as dancers and singers, for their hosts. The dancers are splendidly decorated with paints, feathers, and shells. The songs are specifically prepared for the occasion and deal with the past locations of gardens and houses and with the deaths of the loved ones of the hosts. It is the specific aim of the dancers and their songs to provoke the grief of the hosts, who, in anger, burn the dancers with torches. The burning relieves the hurt feelings of the hosts, who weep and wail, but it does not compensate them for their pain. At the end of the ceremony, the dancers pay compensation to their hosts for having made them weep. The author notes that there is in this ceremony a "painful tension between grief, anger, intimacy and violence" which "becomes visible when someone from the audience angrily thrusts the torch out at the dancer's shoulder and then throws his arms around him, hugging him affectionately and wailing uncontrollably" (Schiefflin 1976:190). The Kaluli feel not only that the ceremony provides them with com-
child training, and cultural products that are interpreted as consequences of these antecedents. A number of the studies of this type that are reviewed in this chapter employ the holocultural method.

The direct methods of personality assessment are techniques of fieldwork. They involve administering specific tests or instruments to a sample of the population under study. Because the tests, for the most part, were developed in Western societies, some modifications in procedures of administration and interpretation may be required. The methods used vary from informal, unstructured interviews to formal, highly structured testing procedures. Among the methods we discussed are the life history, the analysis of dreams, projective techniques (Rorschach, Thematic Apperception Test, Sentence Completion Test), photography, and the study of affective reactions. Although dreams are products of individuals, their content has at times been treated in the same way as folklore.

A number of methods have been used in research with children that are not found or only rarely, in work with adults. In particular, the highly focused time sample observations of behavior, used both by the Whittings and their associates and by Caudill, do not have a major place in work with adults.

It must be stressed that, when any or all of the methods mentioned are used in the field, they are only a portion of a larger enterprise. The basic methods of the anthropologist are always participant observation and the interview. The tests may then constitute only a special type of variant of the basic interview.

A number of conclusions emerge from this rapid review of various methods utilized in cross-cultural research on personality. First, for the most part the several methods yield noncomparable results; that is, they do not yield the same kind of information. Some investigators are primarily interested in certain dimensions of personality, such as the levels of emotional intensity, whereas others wish to discover the typical intrapersonal conflicts encountered in a given culture; still others are concerned with the goals towards which people direct their energies (such as achievement motivation) or the characteristic patterns of interpersonal relationships. Given a sufficiently broad scope of research, it may be necessary to utilize a number of different methods that complement each other. In selecting our methods, then, we must take care to choose those that will yield the information we seek.

Caution is required also in deciding which language we use in our investigation. This fact was shown in the work of Ervin and Doob with bilinguals. As we shall see in our next chapter, language is not only a system of cues that may influence responses. It is also a system for codifying reality, and the realities presented by different languages to their speakers may differ considerably. How these differences influence what people see and hear and how they think about the world is a matter of considerable interest in itself. It may also affect test performance to an important degree.

We shall also mention some of the personality tests discussed here in Chapter 9, in the context of cultural change. As we have already seen, a number of the studies we have reviewed briefly are, in fact, investigations of the effects of acculturation and of the adaptation of individuals and groups to social and cultural changes. The tests reported on in this chapter have been important tools in such research.

NOTES

1. Most of the life histories or autobiographies discussed in this chapter are based on unstructured interviews. Some investigators have obtained life history materials for specific purposes and therefore provided some direction to the reminiscences of their informants. For example, Louise Spindler (1962) used the technique of the “expressive autobiographical interview” in working with a sample of sixteen Menomini women. This study of the adaptation of women to culture change will be referred to again in Chapter 9.


3. The complete text of Nelly’s life history is in Bourguignon (1956).

4. Whether psychoanalytic interpretations of symbols in dreams can be useful in the analysis of non-Western dreams has been discussed by Seligman (1924), Röheim (1947), Kluckhohn and Morgan (1951), and Honigmann (1961), among others. Bruce (1975) discusses dream symbolism among the Lacandon Mayas of Chiapas, Mexico, and shows both the interpretational system of the Lacandon and an application of Freudian principles.

5. This dream and dreaming in Haitian culture are discussed in Bourguignon (1954).

6. A number of anthropologists have noted over the years that the Rorschach Test is a valuable interview device for the fieldworker, yielding a great deal more than merely a set of scores. See G. Spindler (1978c) for an interesting discussion of this point.

7. The Boltons have shown the importance of adultery in much of the violence and litigation among the Qolla (Bolton and Bolton 1975).


10. Psychologists have devised a broad range of testing methods, many of which, however, have not found cross-cultural applications. Much current personality research in this country is carried out in a laboratory setting, under controlled experimental conditions. For a review of the field, see Blass (1977).