Culture Conflict as it Relates to a Psychocultural Therapeutic Model for Chicanos

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CULTURE CONFLICT AS IT RELATES TO A PSYCHOCULTURAL THERAPEUTIC MODEL FOR CHICANOS

by

Armando Tena

A Thesis
Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts
Department of Psychology

Western Michigan University
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December, 1980
CULTURE CONFLICT AS IT RELATES TO A PSYCHOCULTURAL THERAPEUTIC MODEL FOR CHICANOS

Armando Tena, M.A.
Western Michigan University, 1980

Since the Chicano culture is the synthesis of the Mexican and Anglo/Saxon cultures that meet in the American society, social and behavioral scientists have developed the idea of how the concept of culture conflict can be utilized in the psychological assessment and treatment of Chicano clients.

The authors reviewed in this work have expounded on the concept of Culture Conflict to develop a psychocultural mode for the Chicano population. This clinical strategy is based on the premise that the Chicano individual, because of his life experiences in this society, will find himself in situations where his cultural identity is not clear or is ignored, thus placing the individual in a state of sociological marginality or anomie. This state will, according to social scientists, leave the individual vulnerable to psychological dysfunctions which many times are manifested by "abnormal" behaviors.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis has been a synthesis of my academic and life experiences up to this stage of my life, and I thank Doctors Cheryl Pouche, and Christopher Kornakos for their guidance, encouragement, and inspiration which they provided me with. I feel specially indebted to Doctor Malcolm Robertson who without his assistance, guidance, and encouragement this work, perhaps, would have not been realized.

No less indebted I am to the University's supportive system where people such as Doctors Gill Montez, and Syd Dykstra greatly assisted me in supporting my efforts demanded in my academic work. Also, I thank the Psychology Department which exposed me to new and challenging fields of my profession.

I am grateful to key people who influenced my practical experience such as Doctor Donald Sloat who supervised my clinical work, and Mr. Fernando Munoz, who through the agency Hoy, exposed me to that side of my being which was not fully developed and made this work possible; namely, La Cultura Chicano (The Chicano Culture).

I thank the person who gave me the strength, emotional support, and encouragement in the difficult times of the development of this work; my wife, Nancy. With all my love I thank her for her patience and sacrifices.
Finally, I could not complete my thanks and appreciation without mentioning Mi Raza y Mi Cultura (My Race and My Culture) because I feel that through my race the spirit will express itself. "Por mi raza hablara el espíritu".

Armando Tena
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WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY, M.A., 1980
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CHAPTER I

CONFLICT BETWEEN TWO DIFFERENT CULTURES
MEXICAN VS ANGLO/SAXON

Introduction

In the context of this paper, the author will address the psycho-social status of the Chicano (Mexican-American who has been born in the USA) population in the United States insofar as the cultural and environmental variables must be taken into account before attempting to help the Chicano client when he is in need of psychotherapy.

Since the United States of America is primarily Anglo Saxon country in people, culture, etc., the author finds it imperative to analyze the life experiences of the Chicano individual in a basically Anglo Saxon society. The reason is that the American is English in origin, while the Chicano is Mexican, and these two particular cultures are representative of a sociological and anthropological evolution of different cultures. Thus, the Spanish and Indian cultures (Aztecs, Mayas, Toltecs, etc.) are fused into what is now the Mexican culture. On the other hand, the English speaking people who first migrated to America, and later were joined by peoples from Northern Europe, were basically of Germanic or Teutonic stock, which is the fundamental race of the Anglo Saxon culture.
In order to better understand the fundamental difference between the Mexican and Anglo (the White culture of this society, specifically the Anglo/Saxon who lives in the southwest of the United States) cultures, the author will describe some basic characteristics in order to better appreciate the origin of the different phenomenological world which members from the aforementioned cultures perceive; hence, the shaping of their modus vivendi, as well as modus operandi.

**Origins of Anglo and Chicano Differences**

Arthur Campa (1973) explained the whys and wherefores of some of the sociological discord that exists in the southwest of the United States concerning the race relations between the Anglo and the Mexican. The southwest area of the United States is where the two cultures meet.

**Language**

To begin with, language is a basic cultural variable which helps the communication as well as the cohesiveness among members of a culture. Nonetheless, language accounts for a drastic difference; one language being Spanish, whereas the other is English. Even though they both belong to the Indo-European branch, one is Teutonic in origin, whereas the other is Latin.

**Race**

"Racially", the English and Spanish are both European. However, even before these two groups set foot in America, their attitudes and characters differed because of the different environmental adjustment that
these two races had to attain for their survival. For instance, the English were insular, separated from the rest of Europe. The Spanish, on the other hand, were more peninsular. A geographical circumstance that made Spain a catch-all for the Mediterranean area, Central and Southern Europe, as well as Northern Africa. Hence, we find that the Phoenician, Greeks, Visigoths, Vandals, Romans and the Moors all occupied Spain at one time or another. Therefore, so many ethnic groups were involved in the formation of the Spanish people that we can understand why the Spaniard did not find any reservations in mixing with the American Indian. This was not so with the Anglo colonizer, namely, the English. He kept isolated from Indians physically as well as culturally. The difference in orientation may be made clearer if we analyze the objectives that these two groups, the English and the Spanish, had when they adventured into the new world. The Spaniard was basically looking for richness for the Spanish crown, whereas the English were running away from religious prosecution – one was a soldier of fortune who came here without his family, whereas the other was bringing his family along to escape the religious-political hardship imposed on his by his government.

**Cultural Traits**

Some cultural traits are of utmost importance in the way that the individual relates to his psycho-social environment. These cultural traits may be considered fundamental cognitive concepts such as:

a. Concept of Individualism  
b. Concept of Time  
c. The Sense of Being vs. Doing
These basic cultural traits of self-reference are only a few of some fundamental differences between the Anglo and Mexican cultures.

Concept of Individualism: A very much misinterpreted characteristic of the Hispanic people is their deeply "ingrained" sense of individualism in all walks of life. It seems that throughout history, it can be taken as an historical fact that the Spaniard has revolted against collectivism. Believing that his "being" is fenced in by the incursion of any collective standards results in a deficiency in those social qualities which are based on collective standards. However, the Spaniard does not consider this attitude as a negative characteristic because it manifests a resistance to standardization in order to achieve a measure of individual freedom. Point in hand, the Nordic countries find it easy to adapt to forms of governments which require a collective participation, namely, democracy. In contrast, we find the strong monarchial government of Spain which, even though it seems to be an anachronism in Western Europe, is very well and alive today. The hardships that Latin American countries have had toward maintaining a stable Democratic government, which usually degenerates into dictatorships, can help us gain insight into the Hispanic self-concept. In contrast, the Anglo American tries to achieve a measure of success and security through institutional guidance, which are rules that have been spelled out by their collective efforts. In other words, an Anglo American not only does not mind a few rules, but he demands them. The lack of concerned plan of action, whether in business or in politics, appears unreasonable to Anglo Americans. They have a sense of individualism, but they achieve it through action and self-determination. Spanish
individualism is based on feelings, on something that is the result not of rules and collective standards, but of a person's momentary emotional individualism. The Anglo American strives for objectivity when choosing a course of action or making a decision. Analyzing this concept of individualism further, we gain insight into a possible course of culture conflict between two cultures.

The Concept of Time: A century of association has inevitably acculturated both Hispanos and Anglo Americans to some extents, but there still persists a number of cultural traits that neither group has relinquished all together. Nothing is more disquieting to an Anglo American who believes that time is money than the time perspective of Hispanos. They usually refer to this attitude as "manana psychology". Actually, it is more of a "today psychology" because Hispanos cultivate the present to exclusion of the future; because the latter has not arrived yet, it is not a reality. They are reluctant to relinquish the present, so they hold on to it until it becomes the past. To an Hispano, nine is nine until it is ten, so when he arrives at nine-thirty, he jubilantly exclaims: "Justo!" (right on time). In the United States, our future-orientated civilization plans our lives so far in advance that the present loses its meaning. For instance, January magazine issues are out in December; 1979 cars have been out since October; cemetery plots and even funeral arrangements are bought on the installment plan. To a person engrossed in living today the very idea of planning his funeral sounds like the tolling of bells.

The Sense of Being vs. Doing: The dichotomy seems to be being versus doing, even when trying to be individualistic, the Anglo American
achieves it by what he does. During the late sixties and early seventies, the young generation decided to be themselves, to get away from standardization, so they let their hair grow long, wore ragged clothes and even went barefoot in order to be different from the establishment. As a result, they all ended up doing the same things and created another stereotype. The freedom enjoyed by the individuality of being makes it unnecessary for Hispanos to be different.

This point was psychologically explored by a team of psychologists from the University of Guadalajara in Mexico, and the University of Michigan. They compared seventy-four upper middle class students from each university. Individualism and personalism were found to be central values for the Mexican student. This was explained by saying that a Mexican value as a person lies in his being rather than, as in the case of Anglo American, in concrete accomplishments.

Efficiency and accomplishments are derived characteristics that do not affect worthiness in the Mexican, whereas in the America it is equated with success, a value of highest priority in the American culture.

Hispanic people disassociate themselves from material things or from actions that may impinge the person's sense of being, but the Anglo American shows great concern for material things and assumes responsibility for his actions. This is expressed in the language of each culture. In Spanish, one says, "se me cayo la taza" (the cup fell away from me), instead of "I drop the cup." In English, one speaks of money, cash, and all related transactions with frankness because material things of this high order do not trouble Anglo Americans. In Spanish, such a materialistic
concept is circumvented by referring to cash as efectivo (effective), and when buying or selling something, all contado (counted out), and when without it, by saying no tengo fondos (I have no funds). This disassociation with material things is what produces sobriedad (sobriety) in the Spaniard according to Miguel De Unamuno, but in the Southwest, the disassociation from materialism leads to dejadez (lassitude) and desprendimiento (disinterestedness). A man may lose his life defending his honor, but is unconcerned about the lack of material things. Desprendimiento causes a man to spend his last cent on a friend, which when added to lack of concern for the future, may mean that tomorrow he will eat beans as a result of today's binge.

It was that way and to some extent now. Many of today's conflicts in the Southwest have their roots in polarized cultural differences, which need not be irreconcilable when approached with mutual respect and understanding.

Graphical Representation of Culture Conflict

In order to give this exposition a graphical representation of the different cultural values that comes into play when the Mexican and Anglo cultures meet, I have chosen a ven diagram to depict the psycho-social dynamics that are involved. We will start with:
Assuming that the following are cultural values which are part of Anglo and Mexican cultures, these two groups have come together and, as a result, a third culture has evolved as a synthesis of the two cultures, namely, the Chicano culture.

**Figure 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEXICAN</th>
<th>VALUE</th>
<th>ANGLO/SAXON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a = Catholic</td>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>a₁ = Protestant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b = Spanish</td>
<td>Language</td>
<td>b₁ = English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c = Extended</td>
<td>Family</td>
<td>c₁ = Nuclear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d = Individualism</td>
<td>Self-conduct</td>
<td>d₁ = Collectivist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e = Rigid</td>
<td>Sexual Roles</td>
<td>e₁ = Flexible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f = Machismo</td>
<td>Male Image</td>
<td>f₁ =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g = Marianismo</td>
<td>Female Image</td>
<td>g₁ =</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ A = a, b, c, d, e, f, g \]  \[ F = a₁, b₁, c₁, d₁, e₁, f₁, g₁ \]

\[ AUB = a, a₁, b, b₁, c, c₁, d, d₁, e, e₁, f, f₁, g, g₁ \]
AUB = Synthetization of the two cultures, Anglo/Saxon and Mexican to form the Chicano culture.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Catholic/Protestant</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Spanish (Tex-Mex)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Extended</td>
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<tr>
<td>Self-Concept</td>
<td>Individualistic/Collectivistic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sexual Roles</td>
<td>Flexible</td>
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<tr>
<td>Male Image</td>
<td>Machismo</td>
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<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Marianismo</td>
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Sociological Theories on the Dynamics of Coexistence of Different Ethnic and Cultural Groups

Once one has explored the reasons and factors which must be considered then one can venture into the analysis of the relationships that exist between two distinct cultures; the Mexican and Anglo culture. However, it must be taken into account that in the United States there exists a large amount of ethnic diversity. Had the United States been sociologically a homogenous society, such as Sweden in Northern Europe, perhaps much of the social changes and transformations would not have occurred. The fact of the matter is that in spite of the strong Anglo/Saxon background which this country is characteristic of, many other ethnic groups have joined to form what social scientists used to think of as the social characteristic of this country, namely, the Melting Pot.
Unfortunately, this Melting Pot concept has not been materializing. Utopistic social scientists envisioned this sociological phenomena to take place at the last evolutionary stage of this society on its way to social stability. As it will be seen later in subsequent accounts, various factors are ignored by this kind of social scientist which causes him to rule out this concept from ever being achieved in this country (Newman, 1973).

From the times of the early Anglo/Saxon colonizers of this country up to the times of the 19th century, most of the immigration to the United States arrived from Northern Europe, namely, the Germanic or Nordic countries. Consequently, many cultural similarities are shared by these groups of people, except for a few language variations and probably other slightly different cultural traits, the basic ethnic composition was the same. It must be briefly interjected, even though it will be expounded later, that at the time of these "nordic" migrations to the United States the Spanish and Mexican people were already occupying the vast southwest portion of this country, as they first settled here in the 1600's.

**Heterogenous Population in USA**

Toward the end of the 19th century when this country, which was one of the main advocates of the modern industrial revolution, was expanding tremendously, a new wave of immigrants began to show up on our shores in order to satisfy the avid hunger for man power caused by this country's industrial production. This time it was not the usual Nordic immigrant, but the Southern and Eastern European such as the Italian, Polish, Czechoslovakian, Greek, Yugoslavians, etc. This major twist to the
current ethnic composition of this country, no doubt, caused major social adjustments which many social scientists have tried to give some sound and scientific meaning; hence, the advent of various sociological theories that explain the dynamics of the relationship of different ethnic groups within the context of a large society. We shall explore these theories so that we can better appreciate the social dynamics of the conflicts between the Mexican and Anglo ethnic groups.

Historically, American sociologists have employed distinct theoretical interpretations of social pluralism, as it occurs in this country, due to the events mentioned earlier. The theories of assimilation, amalgamation, and cultural pluralism have each, in turn, provided answers to the question, what kind of long term social process emerges in a pluralistic society? Now, it must be made clear that these theories did not originate from the rigorous scientific process (Glazer, 1954; Gordon, 1961).

Assimilation, amalgamation and cultural pluralism have appeared as successive ideological interpretations of the meaning of American history. Each of the three views has served, to use Walter Lippman's (1922) apt phase, as a picture in our heads of where America is going. The question of what distinguishes scientific theories from ideologies is an important issue in the branch of sociology that examines the relationship between ideas and society. Both Weber (1904) and Mannheim (1929) were correct in arguing that complete objectivity is rarely, if ever, possible in the sciences. Both men realized that science is an institution in society and that scientific act involves choices and values. Every interpretation of social life is "one sided" to the extent that it is formulated according to
the scientist's class position and interest, to his social values and life style, and as to whatever happens to interest him as an individual. It is for this reason that Mannheim and Weber speak of "approximate truth" and meaningfulness as the goals of social science. Having explored the intentions of the scientific community in the social sciences, one can begin to look into the various theoretical versions of the sociological composition of this country.

Assimilation

The theory of Assimilation is of majority-minority relationship, and may be expressed in the formula, \( A + B + C = A \) where A, B and C represent different social groups and A represents the dominant group. Regardless of the number of groups involved, the theory of assimilation is a theory of majority conformity. The basic contention is that over time, all groups will conform to the mores, life styles and values of the dominant group.

Both the ideology of assimilation and the sociological theory of assimilation maintain that group relationships in pluralistic societies evidence a tendency for minority groups to assume the culture of the dominant group. Yet, the sociological theory does not rely upon race and cultural myths to explain why the majority prevails. There are no scientific criteria for determining whether a given culture is good, bad, inferior, or superior. These kinds of ideological assertions are not scientifically testable. No truly scientific theory can be based upon myths of group superiority. Rather, by definition, majority groups are power-holding groups in society. Hence, the sociological theory of assimilation
maintains that the distribution of social power plays a major role in determining the direction of assimilation, if and when it occurs. For assimilation to occur, it is presumed that the majority wants minority groups to assimilate, and that majority groups will not resist. Neither of these conditions are guaranteed in any situation, least of all in the United States.

**Amalgamation**

The central proposition of the theory of amalgamation may be expressed in the formula \( A + B + C = D \) where \( A, B \) and \( C \) represent different social groups and \( D \) represents an amalgam, a synthesis of three groups into a distinct new group. In terms of American society, the theory of amalgamation maintains that Englishmen, Germans, Italians, Irishmen and Russians, over time, all become Americans; a new group that is different from any of the original groups, but is also a hybrid or combination of them all.

Again, social doctrine must be distinguished from sociological theory. While the ideology of assimilation began as a majority interpretation of American history, the idea of amalgamation was a minority response to the meaning of the "Atlantic migration", or the doctrine of amalgamation is frequently expressed in the term "the Melting Pot". The basic idea is that the different cultures will eventually merge and create a new social and cultural phenomenon. The ideology of the melting pot was one way in which the immigrants were able to (import) positive meaning to an otherwise chaotic and unpredictable situation.
While the doctrine of amalgamation argues that different cultural stocks will blend into a new culture, it also contains the important corollary proposition that the new amalgam will represent only the "best" qualities and attributes of the different cultures that contribute to it.

Just as a majority group may develop prejudice and antagonism toward other minorities, so minority groups may develop prejudice and antagonism toward other minorities. Furthermore, minority groups may develop stereotypes about both the majority and other minorities. While groups prejudice and stereotypes emerged on all sides of the United States, it is also true that every group has been recognized, if not admired or envied, for its own distinctive cultural values and achievements. The ideology of amalgamation resolved the crossroads very nicely; while no group would remain the object of prejudice, all groups would be able to boast of their unique contribution to the new cultural stock.

**Cultural Pluralism**

The meaning of the phrase "Cultural Pluralism" may be expressed in the formula A + B + C = A + B + C, where A + B + C represents different social groups that over time maintain their own unique identity. Cultural Pluralism is often viewed as a peaceful coexistence between groups. The theory contends that after some (unspecified) period of adjustment, different groups will make their peace with one another and live side by side.

While theories of assimilation and amalgamation began as social ideologies and were later modified by scholarly students of American
society, the theory of cultural pluralism has followed a somewhat different path. The author of this view of American pluralism was a Harvard educated philosopher of Jewish immigrant stock named Horace Kallen (1924).

It seems that cultural pluralism was more a theoretical effort of American sociologists to justify the different kinds of ethnic groups that were arriving toward the end of the century, namely, the Southeastern European, and as noted previously, the most vocal sociologists to advocate for this theory were ironically from Southern European background. Furthermore, this ideology would give meaning and justification to the new cultural groups that were migrating to the United States, and would reaffirm the principles of democracy spelled out in the American Constitution; that everybody is created equal; therefore, proclaiming that a utopic stage would be arrived at.

Beyond the Melting Pot

The sociology of minority groups evidenced two outstanding limitations. First, there was a relative absence of comparative studies. No major study has attempted to analyze at the same time the experience of different ethnic, religious, and racial groups in the United States. Second, and very much related to comparative studies, there remained no unified theoretical perspective for explaining American pluralism. Glazer and Meyniha (1970), in their work Beyond the Melting Pot, attempted to address both of these problems. Their treatise is, in every sense, a synthesis.
While it builds upon past theories, it also offers some important new insights.

Although the authors recognize that the theories of assimilation, amalgamation and cultural pluralism, each fail to explain American society; they also attempted to salvage the more accurate parts of the three theories. Beyond the Melting Pot was not intended to explain everything about majority-minority relationships in the United States. Rather, it was an explanatory case study based upon the history of several groups in that remarkable human-relation laboratory, New York City. While the study did not encompass all of the minority groups in New York, it did compare some of the larger ones, specifically Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and the Irish.

Since New York City is the nation's largest commercial and industrial center, as well as the port of entry for most immigrant groups, it seems reasonable to expect that such a study could offer some basic insights into the nature of American pluralism.

This theory may be expressed in the formula $A + B + C = A_1 + B_1 + C_1$, where $A_1$, $B_1$ and $C_1$ represent groups that are distinct from one another, but also different from $A$, $B$ and $C$. In other words, an Italian in Italy is different from an Italian-American, and an Australian Jew is different from an American Jew of Australian origin. A Black African is different from an Afro-American. Likewise, in this study, a Mexican from Mexico would be different from a Mexican-American.

Glazer and Moynihan explain how it is possible for both assimilation and cultural pluralism to have occurred in the United States.
Each ethnic, racial and religious group assimilates into American society at different rates and times. On the other hand, ethnic, racial and religious differences remain distinct, but also assume new social meaning. Glazer and Moynihan stress two important ways in which existing groups' differences acquire new meanings. First, each minority group becomes a community or membership, but not in the manner that Strongquists (1937) and others had observed. Minority group membership is not so much a marginal existence removed from the larger society, but rather a form of social identity, a way of knowing who you are, within the large society. Second, each of the so-called American minorities (Italian-Americans, Mexican-Americans) represents a politically organized group in order to acquire its society's rewards.

Beyond the Melting Pot moves from this general theoretical perspective to a detailed examination of the differences and similarities between the major racial, ethnic and religious minority groups in New York city.

Glazer and Moynihan discuss the various cultural, economic social-structural, political differences between the several groups, as well as these forces and events in the history of the city that have shaped group life generally. In the last chapter of Beyond the Melting Pot, the authors attempt to predict what the future will bring. This prediction takes the form of two major assertions. First, they argue that while ethnicity provided the most important dividing lines between groups prior to the 1960's, race and religion will dominate the 1960's and 1970's. Secondly, they predict that Blacks and Puerto Ricans will climb the ladder of success.
in the same way that the European immigrants have done before them. To what extent have these two predictions proved true?

Glazer and Moynihan were correct in predicting that racial and religious differences have not disappeared. They now suggest in the revised edition (1970), ethnic factors will still play a part in the life of New York City.

The original editions of *Beyond the Melting Pot* seems to err in the direction of the triple Melting Pot hypothesis of Kennedy (1944, 1952) and Hergberg (1955). While Glazer and Moynihan were correct in predicting a diminishing role of ethnic differences, their analysis clearly does not provide for the re-emergence of ethnicity as a divisive factor between groups. Thus, their theory provides little understanding of the way in which the way the ethnic communities of the city have been transplanted to the suburbs or of the way in which ethnic conflicts have gained renewed prominence in American life in the late 1960's and 1970's. Similarly, the prediction that Blacks and Puerto Ricans would "climb the ladder to success" has also not proven true. How could the insightful theoretical framework with which they began produce such erroneous prediction?

While Glazer and Moynihan discuss various cultural economic, socio-cultural and historical aspects of the different groups, their central focus is upon minority groups viewed as political interest groups.

In summary, *Beyond the Melting Pot* offers both an important theoretical departure as well as some serious theoretical limitations. The central contribution of the study is the theme that both assimilation and pluralism have prevailed in different ways. The process through which
minority groups, as political interest groups, represent a pluralistic trend. On the other hand, the assumption that all minority groups enter the political arena in the same way is a serious shortcoming. It provides little understanding of groups like Black Panthers, the Young Lords, the Chicano Movement, the Black Power Movement, and the Jewish Defense League. While Beyond the Melting Pot still retained the limited focus upon racial, religious and ethnic minorities, it is the first major attempt at a comparative study of these kinds of minority groups.

**Cultural and Structural Assimilation**

Gordon's work, *Assimilation in American Life* (1964), represents a fifth approach to the study of American pluralism. While Gordon's primary concerns are prejudice and discrimination, he also argues that majority-minority relationships require a scrutiny of the problem of the "nature of the group life itself within a large, industrialized, urban nation composed of a heterogenous population", (1964:1). Gordon's work is one of the first major attempts to correlate the study of minority groups with the study of society per se.

According to Gordon, racial, religious and ethnic groups all posses "subcultures" that are existing between "subsocieties". He also assumes that assimilation is taking place within economic, political and educational institutions because subsocieties are maintained in the institutional areas of religion, family and recreation. Therefore, Gordon sees both assimilation and cultural pluralism occurring. Moreover, while race, religion and ethnicity are important determinants of these subsocieties,
these three variables are intersected by three others: social class, urban rural residence, and sectional residence. These variables and their combinations are what Gordon calls ethnic classes. Examples of such groups are southern, lower-class Protestants; rural Blacks; northern upper-class white urban Jews; and northern, lower-class white urban Catholics.

The main theme of assimilation in American life is that assimilation is not a single social process, but a number of different subprocesses, or dimensions. The two most important forms of assimilation are cultural assimilation and structural assimilation.

Cultural assimilation refers to the fact that all incoming minority groups will learn, to some degree, the modes and ways of the host culture. In other words, Glazer and Moynihan contended that group differences will take on a different meaning in a new host society. Thus, cultural assimilation is the process through which Italians become Italian-Americans, Poles become Polish-Americans, and the Irish become Irish-Americans. However, Gordon maintains that even though some degree of cultural assimilation always occurs, the process may continue indefinitely and may be complete (1964:77).

Structural assimilation refers to the degree to which minority groups attain entrance into the major institutions of society, especially on primary group level. In addition to these two important types of assimilation, which may occur at many different rates, Gordon presents five other ways of measuring assimilation. These are:

(1) Group Intermarriage of Amalgamation
(2) Identification Assimilation
(3) Absence of Prejudice

(4) Absence of Discrimination by the Majority Group

(5) Absence of a Power or Value Conflict Between Groups

In summary, there are at least seven different measures of assimilation in pluralistic societies. Amalgamation is, in effect, one particular aspect of the overall assimilation process.

History of the Anglo-Mexican Culture Conflict

Even though culture entails not only history, but also language, fine arts and literature, the topic that we will develop here concerns the history of the Chicano. Hopefully, after this brief account of the Chicano history, one will be in a better position to understand the present.

Chicano cultural heritage initiated long before the settlement of Plymouth Rock in 1692. Civilization of the highest order developed throughout Mexico, reaching its high level of culture some nine hundred years after Christ. Namely, the Aztec and Maya cultures are the cultures which form part of the pre-Columbian history of Mexico. For instance, long before the European people had the Gregorian calendar, the Mayas had already designed a system whereby time could be measured. Furthermore, they had developed the concept of zero in order to make their calculations more accurate.

Focusing on perspectives closer to the present, the Meztizo, which resulted from the joining of Spaniard and native inhabitants, has been going on since 1519. Some four hundred and fifty years have elapsed since then. Here is where one can begin to see a hint of what can develop into a
conflicting situation which was already taking place in the Mexican people by the fact that they were being born out of the merging of the two distinct groups; the Spaniard (European) and the Indian, further down in the history of Mexico. One finds this country besieged by other European countries in their attempt to make Mexico a colony. This, of course, created another source of cultural conflict in itself. At any rate, it was toward the end of the eighteenth century that culture conflict started to appear in Texas. Thus, history of the Chicano must always be brought up, as he can be understood only within his historical context.

Castaneda (1974) maintains that the development of Texas opened up to exploration when Captain Alonzo de Leon was greeted by the native Texas Indians in 1687. After a series of expeditions, the Spaniard explorers started to colonize the land and, by 1730, countries had evolved. Territorial change came after the Spanish acquisition of the Louisana Territory in 1763. The withdrawal of troops from the Texas region increased the hostility of the Indian and caused missions and settlements to be abandoned.

After 1810, the decline became even more pronounced. Mexico was encouraging immigration into Northern Mexico because of fear of colonization by France, England and the United States. During these years, Mexico was struggling for its independence from Spain, which they began in 1810, and were finally independent in 1822. In the meantime, the Anglo-Americans living east of the Mississippi fabricated an ideology which would give them the rationale for any further expansion or colonization of Western territory. This ideology, called the Manifest Destiny or intrusion.
into the Texas territories by means of land grant, started with Moses Austin, though he died before he could carry out his scheme. His son, Stephen F. Austin, brought over 300 Anglo families in 1825 in Texas.

Rivera and Meir mentioned the following about the Anglo-Americans who were requesting land grant in Texas.

The government of Central Mexico expressed resentful feelings, knowing that the loss of Texas would eventually mean the loss of territory of New Mexico and California. This latter one was already very much desired by the American government, as word of rich gold mines in this territory had spread to the Anglo pioneer. Texas was finally annexed by the United States government in 1845.

In 1846, the United States declared war on Mexico as a result of the clash in the disputed triangle between the Nueces and Rio Grande Rivers.

Since California had already succumbed by 1847, New Mexico was taken without a fight by Colonel Stephen Kearney. New Mexicans and the Californian people were granted respect for civil and property rights.

The American army ventured deep into Mexican territory, as they had disembarked in Veraacruz port and, by mid-August, they were already in Mexico City, where a handful of Mexican cadets heroically tried to defend their citadel at the Chapultepec Hill in Mexico City.

Birth of a Chicano Nation

On February 2, 1848, the Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty of 1848 was signed by both Mexico and the United States, ending the United States-
Mexican War. This treaty created the international imaginary boundaries between Mexico and the United States. The Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty of 1848 guaranteed the following for the "Mexicanos" who lived in Northern Mexico (Southwestern United States):

(1) Property Rights
(2) Linguistic Freedom
(3) Cultural Identity

The following are some results of the Treaty of 1848:

(1) The Mexicans remaining in America were labeled Mexican-Americans.
(2) Identified as a "Minority".
(3) Mexico lost one-half of its natural territory.
(4) Mexicanos became foreigners in their own land.
(5) Continuation of cultural conflict between two very distinct cultures.
(6) 1848-1977, or Chicano existence and expression.

Although the treaty provided guarantees of individual rights to former citizens, it failed to take into consideration their rights as a distinct cultural identity. Finally, years of misunderstanding and conflict between the two groups led to the situation in which the Mexican-American found his land gone, his religion seriously challenged, and himself a citizen of a country whose language, laws and social customs he did not understand. Meir and Rivera wrote about the conflict that could eventually affect the almost 80,000 Mexican citizens living in the United States.
As the only minority apart from the Indians ever acquired by a conquest, the Mexican-Americans have been subject to socio-economic and political discrimination, as well as a great deal of violence at the hands of the Anglo conquerors. "There were more Mexican-Americans in the Southwest lynched during 1865-1910 than Black Americans in the Southwest", (Jasso & Acosta, 1977) while the racial tension and discriminatory practices continued. Mexicanos also gradually continued to move into Texas and the rest of the country. Between 1890-1960, three different migratory movements from Mexico came to the United States. Listed below are three different migratory periods.

(1) 1890-1910.

(2) During the Mexican Revolution 1910-1939.

(3) World War II - Bracero Program

World War II created a shortage of manpower in the United States, and both governments again agreed to contract the Mexican immigrant. As a result of this immigration, the Southwest and especially Texas became the reservoir of cheap labor that could be exploited by the American agriculture and industry.

The transition of the Chicano from rural status came right after World War II. From the 1930's onward, Chicanos became an integral sector of the expanding movement to the urban cities, so that by 1970, only 15% could be described as rural. The reception of minorities into the urban areas for better economic security was discouraging and extremely difficult. Anti-Mexican feelings were widespread and overt throughout the Southwest. One would see signs reading:
"Only White labor employed and no Niggers, Mexicans or Dogs allowed," which were evidenced of the feelings and attitudes that the Anglo society shared. The perpetuation of cultural conflict erupted into the "zoot-suit race riots" at Los Angeles, California, on June 3, 1943. Even though the Bracero Program had been instituted for the benefit of the American economy, the clash of cultures again left a stinging impact on both sides after the riot. The zoot-suiters were considered "Chicano juvenile gang members" who were viewed as being genetically criminal. This action only reinforced that the Melting Pot concept, which had been fabricated for the European immigrant minorities only. The riots generated the "Pachuco stereotype", which is presently still misunderstood by Chicano and Anglos.

Some Demographic Characteristics

There are approximately 9.2 million persons in the United States who are of Spanish origin. Of these, about 57 percent, or 5.3 million, are of Mexican origin. Most Mexican Americans (Chicanos) live in five Southwestern states: Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas (Maes and Rinaldi, 1974). These figures are borne out by the statistics compiled by Table 1.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State and City</th>
<th>Number of Persons of Spanish Heritage</th>
<th>Percent of Persons of Spanish Heritage</th>
<th>Total Population of State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>States</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arizona</td>
<td>264,770</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>1,770,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>2,369,292</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>19,953,134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colorado</td>
<td>225,506</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>2,207,259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Mexico</td>
<td>308,340</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>1,016,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>1,840,648</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>11,196,730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Major Cities</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albuquerque</td>
<td>96,465</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>243,751</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brownsville-San Benito</td>
<td>99,668</td>
<td>71.0</td>
<td>140,368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corpus Christi</td>
<td>110,746</td>
<td>38.8</td>
<td>284,832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dallas</td>
<td>97,197</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>1,555,950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denver</td>
<td>103,032</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>1,227,529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Paso</td>
<td>181,705</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>359,291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fresno</td>
<td>93,502</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>413,053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houston</td>
<td>182,129</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>1,985,031</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laredo</td>
<td>56,530</td>
<td>77.6</td>
<td>72,859</td>
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TABLE 1—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State of City</th>
<th>Number of Persons of Spanish Heritage</th>
<th>Percent of Persons of Spanish Heritage</th>
<th>Total Population of State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles-Long Beach</td>
<td>1,051,409</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>7,032,075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phoenix</td>
<td>112,225</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>967,522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacramento</td>
<td>57,633</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>800,592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Antonio</td>
<td>323,770</td>
<td>37.4</td>
<td>864,014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Diego</td>
<td>121,485</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>1,357,854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. F. Oakland</td>
<td>231,453</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>3,109,519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Jose</td>
<td>129,010</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>1,064,714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuscon</td>
<td>64,136</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>351,687</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Socioeconomic Characteristics

The majority of Mexican-Americans living in the United States, particularly in the Southwestern region, can readily be classified as being well below the poverty level, as currently defined by U.S. government standards. Hernandez (1973) reviewed the literature with respect to socioeconomic aspects of the Mexican American in the Southwest and arrived at the following conclusions:

(1) The majority of the 1,750,000 primary, elementary, and secondary school Mexican-American students are classed in the low socioeconomic stratum of society.
(2) Job opportunities for the parents of these children are greatly limited, and the jobs available are usually for manual labor or semi-skilled work.

(3) Jobs that do not provide for economic stability, coupled with responsibilities for large families, greatly impaired the Mexican-American parents' social mobility.

(4) These people are not motivated to work toward middle class oriented goals, since within the urban status system they are socially excluded, economically depressed and politically powerless.

(5) Mexican-Americans hold the poorer jobs inside most broad occupational classifications, and even if the representations were equal, Mexican-Americans would still get lower pay for similar work than their Anglo peers.

(6) The educational system is not responsive to children of a low-socio-economic status, particularly Mexican-Americans (pp. 2-4)
CHAPTER II

PSYCHOLOGICAL CONSEQUENCES OF OPPRESSION
OF THE CHICANO PEOPLE

Introduction

Our theme of culture conflict, in spite of the marked differences that exist between the Mexican and Anglo cultures, is not as crucial to the mental health of the Chicano individual because individuals do have the capability to adapt to their environment, provided that this environment offers little resistance for adaptation. However, culture conflict becomes critical when the members of this society, in their race for attainment of the social and economic rewards, become cognizant of the physical differences that exist among different ethnic groups found in this society. More so when non-caucasian groups exist and form part of a minority population. Then, this sociological phenomenon becomes entangled with the concept of racism, which is very pervasive in the ethos of this society. Therefore, culture conflict, in so far as the Chicano individual, takes places in a racist scenario. From this perspective, it is important to analyze to what extent this racism, combined with marked cultural differences, has affected and still affects the lives of the Chicanos in this country.

30
Therefore, one must be aware of the social forces which play a decisive role in the shaping of the Chicano individual's behavior.

**The Chicano and Black Social Experience**

**Dehumanization**

The process of dehumanization is characterized by the systematic stripping of an individual's human qualities by ruthlessly depriving him of his value system; hence, drastically altering the individual's personality.

This process of dehumanization of the Chicano people seems to have its beginnings at the time that the Southwest was taken over by the American armies. Professor Acuna (1968), in his article on "Occupied America", analyzes the Chicano condition in the Southwest of the United States, and he concludes that the Chicano has been colonized by the Anglos, and the psycho-social consequences of this historical event can often be detected in the behavior of the Chicano individual, which Acuna has coined as a colonized mentality. The Anglos in the Southwest have made efforts to obliterate the Chicano's history of his past by completely dislocating him culturally from the rest of Latin America. This is clear in the way that the United States government totally disregarded the treaty of Guadalupa Hidalgo, which could have guaranteed the conversation of the Chicano culture in the Southwest.

This process of cultural deprivation has always been the method par excellence used by conqueror toward the conquered, Carlton and Hayes (1958). For instance, the Spanish conquistador completely obliterated the Indian culture in Latin America in order to implement an entirely new
culture; namely, the western Christian European culture. The British method of subjugation if the African continent where the attitude of colonization was to westernize the conquered. African people are another example of the obliteration of the native culture. (Ironically, the British Empire met great resistance in India, where the well established cultural values of the Hindu people were impermeable to the influence of the west.)

The objective is obvious: take away values which have been the pillars for the survival of the individual and his culture and substitute them for the conqueror's value system to which he is used to and master of. Naturally, the subjugated individual cannot function with new values that are foreign to him, incongruent with his being, and not used to. At this point, the relationship of master and servant is established because the conqueror, or colonizer, will dictate to the conquered how to behave and the concept of good and bad from his own point of view. This method of dehumanization, in its most severe form, was found to take place with the Black slaves, who were brought to this country. The unfortunate slave was uprooted from his home environment. Then he was shipped in inhuman conditions to the American continent. By the time that he arrived to his new "house", he had lost not only his family, his people, his culture, even his own language and his name. In short, he was completely stripped of his past identity so that he could be given a new one; that of a servant to his master. The crucial point of this process of dehumanization is that in the case of the slave, and to a lesser degree, the Chicano people of the Southwest, both of these groups were precluded from establishing any meaningful links with their past, with their heritage, with their history or,
perhaps, as Carl Jung called it, their archtype. In the case of the Chicano, there was complete disregard of the treaty of Guadalupe, whereas in the case of the Black, there was strong opposition of the slave owners to allow their Black slaves to learn how to read or write.

**Slave Mentality and Colonized Mentality**

In this process of dehumanization, both the slaves and the colonized would be psychologically ready to learn a new behavioral repertoire so that they could survive in a new social environment; hence, resulting in what Silberman (1966) calls the slave mentality, and Acuna (1970) terms it the colonized mentality. No doubt, massive extinction and punishment procedures of established behaviors is essential for behavior change to take place. As recently as thirty-five years ago, this process of systematic dehumanization was put into practice by the Nazis in Germany on the Jewish prisoners in the extermination camps of Auschwitz and Buchenwald, etc. The behavioral results closely parallel what occurs with oppressed sociological groups. Silberman (1964) explains that the Jewish prisoners were so severely oppressed by the Gestapo captors to the point that their psychological submission was complete. Perhaps this explains why the Jewish prisoners in these extermination camps showed hardly any signs of uprising and rebelliousness, or any attempts to escape their captors during the six years that the extermination camps operated. Instead, the author Silberman says, "They would behave as docile as children and without great resistance would march to their deaths in the gas chambers. This childlike behavior is frequently manifested in situations of mass
behavior control into an oppressive state" (p. 83). Silberman speaks of the White people's attitudes toward the Black slaves as if they were helpless and dependent on the White folks, "just like children". Armando Rendon (1971) also describes an incident where a White person, a mine superintendent from deep in the Southwest, who would say of his Mexican workers, "It is physically impossible for the Mexicans to worry, (they) are like children" (p. 51). It is childish not to worry, (they) have an inclination to be lazy. On the other hand, if one looks into the relevancy of this child-like behavior's dynamics, one finds that it is an important survival mechanism that is part of the behavior of the oppressed, Silberman (1964). This behavioral repertoire is basically the outward appearance that the individual wants to give to his oppressor, or master. He wants to tell him what he wants to hear. Therefore, in this type of communication, the master is always "right", thus reinforcing his false sense of superiority to the extreme that he doesn't believe that the oppressed can survive without his guidance and protection. Robert R. Morton, who succeeded Booker T. Washington as head of Tuskegee Institute, wrote in 1929, "Much of what is regarded as racially characteristic of the Negro is nothing more than his artful and adroit accommodations of his manners and methods to what he knows to be the weakness and foibles of his White neighbors. Knowing what is expected of him, and knowing also what he himself wants, the Negro craftily uses his knowledge to anticipate opposition and to eliminate friction in securing his desires" (p. 97).

Indeed, Negroes take enormous pride in the fact that while Whites boast that they "know" the Negro, it is in reality the Negro who knows the
Whites. Whites rarely know what Negroes are thinking, for the latter have learned to hide their true feelings behind a mask of submissiveness, or pleasure, or unpassivity, or humility.

Conquered People

Drastic psychological changes must take place in an oppressed individual and his group in order to survive under a different role. The oppressed knows that he must agree with the oppressor and his system of social control. Otherwise, he will have to suffer the consequences; therefore, submissive behavior seems to be the only alternative of discriminated individuals in order to live with the minimum of social friction. However, this behavior will mask the underlying effects of frustration, anger, bitterness and hatred for the oppressor. In the history of the Black and Chicano minorities in this society, this anger has been manifested in the riots of the Blacks in Detroit in 1942 and later in the race riots that took place throughout the country during the late sixties. The Chicano people rioted in East Los Angeles, California, during 1943 in what is known as the Zoot suit riots of the Pachucos and, most recently, in 1978 during an uprising of the people in the barrio in Houston, Texas. This sociological phenomenon is clearly an indication of what the sociologist Gordon (1972) postulates: that the greater of social reward disparity between two social groups, the more intense and violent the clash between the dominant and submissive groups within a society. This, Rodolfo Alvarez (1974) writes about the process of oppression which dehumanizes the individual and his group. However, this process is never fully
completed, for a man cannot physically accept the status of non-human. Dehumanization is attempted through the invalidation of the Chicano's culture, and thus his group as a whole. It is an attack upon the core of his being, and he responds defusely. On the other hand, he cannot accept the status of a non-person for he cannot accept the invalidation of the core of his "sanidad mental" and his culture. Thus, he refuses to be socialized exclusively into the dominant culture. He refuses to reject his culture, values and norms, for to reject his culture is to reject himself.

This attitude of aggression and defiance by the Chicano people is clearly indicated in the Southwest, where the Chicano has stubbornly clung to cultural values of his primary group, the Mexican. As a result, the Spanish language is the main mode of communication among the Chicanos, and they have fearlessly withstood the persecution of the system in its attempt to eradicate the Spanish language, Salvador Ruiz (1969). P. Carter (1970) has pointed out how the Chicano child, in his stubbornness to defy the system, undergoes severe physical punishment whenever he is caught using the Spanish language. This situation prevailed in the state of Texas' school system as late as five year ago.

In spite of their covert hostile behavior that the Chicanos and Blacks have been able to vent out, the effects of oppression have been very pervasive in the lives of the individuals belonging to these two minority groups. A. De Vos and Wagatsuma (1966) produced a study of a former Japanese outcast group, the Burakumin. Surprisingly, the conclusion of their study paralleled very much to what has occurred to the Chicanos and Blacks in this country. These two groups, as well as the groups studied by
De Vos in Japan, show various forms of social deviancy and relative failure in the race of occupational success. These three groups suffered social disadvantages and debilitation that result from the direct effect of discrimination; and more important, De Vos found (1966) that in his study, the Burakunins, like the Chicanos and Blacks, show internal debilitation resulting from the mark of oppression. However, these circumstances would have been different if the Chicano people had maintained intact an awareness of their past, origins, roots, and cultural heritage. Because the Chicano's precarious knowledge of his past, his history, cultural heritage, etc. still renders him vulnerable to acts of discrimination, humiliations, and loss of self-esteem, he then suffers at the hands of the dominant society. This shallow and unsystematic knowledge of the oppressed's own history, in its extreme form, is found with the Blacks. This condition is eloquently expressed by James Baldwin, the American Black writer, who went through an inner turmoil and has written movingly of the enormous tale extracted by the efforts to discover his own identity. Self-hatred is a logical consequence in an identity problem suffered by a non-White individual in this society. Because not knowing his own identity, insofar as his past, this individual takes as a point of reference what he learns from the White man, De Vos, (1966) which is many times incongruent from what the individual is physically, as well as culturally. As a result, non-Caucasian such as Blacks will suffer what Elijah Muhamed, late head of the Black Muslims said, "The Negro wants to be everything but himself. He wants to be White man. He wants to integrate with the White man, but he cannot integrate with his own kind. He wants to lose his identity
because he does not know his own identity." Such is the case of culture conflict among Chicano individuals, especially in the cases involving sociopsychological and cultural marginality, or anomie. These will be explored later.

Psychological Consequences

It seems that common consequences from social oppression can be identified among different social groups, even at a transcultural level. The results of marked oppression are highly noticeable. Some means of self-references must be made available to an oppressed individual in order to learn his social self; however, this will mostly be influenced by the individual's immediate social milieu. Self-identity, is shaped and supported by the nature of the social reference group, as well as by a basic continuity in the modified functioning of the ego mechanisms, which were developed within the primary family (De Vos, 1966). Differential socialization occurs within the primary family group and within the infinite social group. Differences in basic socialization can radically influence how the social world is perceived, and how the individuals are able or unable to cope with the socially sanctioned demands of the majority group about intellectual and motor behavior. Coping mechanisms, or defense mechanisms, are part of the basic ego structure, or personality structure, of the individual, so these things also vary from one group to another depending mostly on the method of child rearing and family systems, which it will be identified as one of the basic strengths of the Chicano culture to cope with environmental stresses. Consequently, the influence of the "reference
group" (in this case, the dominant culture) on the individual depends on a number of complicated identifications which occur early in childhood socialization, including the degree to which moral structures are internalized early. No doubt this early internalization which helps determine the person's character also determines the degree to which the person will be vulnerable to influence from the immediate social reference group. Clearly, the probability that the majority within the minority group will be spared from any psychological scars left by discriminatory practices is very low. Rober Cole wrote "Children of Crisis", which is an excellent study of Black children in the South. In this work, Robert Cole shows that by the time he reaches school age, the Black child's self-image is already shaped by the racist attitudes to which he has been exposed. Cole's Black children view themselves as small, ugly and generally inferior to their White peers. Rejected minority status has an unquestioned detrimental effect upon the personality of children. No systematic study or theoretical article dealing with this problem suggests that a human being subjected to prejudice, discrimination, or segregation benefits thereby. There is convincing evidence that the personality damage associated with these social pressures is found among children subject to the discrimination without regard to race, nationality or religious background. The resulting personality distortions, therefore, must be understood as the consequences of social pressures rather than as reflections of inherent group characteristics (Salvador Ramirez, 1964). Perhaps personality damage on account of an adverse psycho-social environment must be analyzed when trying to determine the reasons why Chicano children at the junior high
level are maintaining a high rate of drop out. As a matter of fact, the drop out rate of Chicano children is more than twice the rate of the national average, and estimates of the average numbers of school years completed by Chicanos (7.1) are significantly below figures for Anglo children (12.1) and Black pupils (9.0), according to Ortega (1971) and Richard R. De Blassie (1976). The higher drop out rate among Chicano students, however, is not indicative of their educational aspirations and motivations. On the contrary, Chicano pupils usually come from families which emphasize the value of education, as do families of other ethnic backgrounds. Studies by Anderson and Johnson (1971), Johnson (1970), Juarez and Kunlesky (1969) and Trijillo (1971) strongly suggest that Chicano adolescents have goals and ambitions as high or higher than those of Anglo and adolescents of other ethnic origins. The writer, working as a counselor in a small southwest Michigan community has been witness to comments from children referred to him for counseling about their aversive experiences in the school environment that they have to face, i.e., hostile remarks from their classmates, hostility or indifference from their White teachers, lack of Chicano representation in the schools, teaching as well as counseling staff, etc. Clearly, it takes a superhuman effort to maintain a healthy level of self-esteem and good intellectual work in school in the midst of all of this adversity, especially when it concerns children of grammar school and junior high school ages.
Perpetuation of Oppression

Social Institutions

In order to change behavior and to insure that this new behavioral repertoire is maintained, a system of rewards and punishments must be established so that the extinctions of the acquired behavior never takes place. Such a simple psychological principle is the basis for what perpetuates the behavior of the socially oppressed. However, in dealing with groups, the social reinforcers which maintain the collective behavior, such as the culture, must work in an organized and systematic way so that their effect is always felt by the individuals. The social entities which dispense the awards and punishments are what the social scientists call the social institutions. If one was to take these institutions in order of importance insofar as the socialization of the individual, obviously one would name the first socializing institution as being the family, la familia. This, no doubt, has a tremendous impact in the personality development of the individual. However, no less important is the institution of education, which insures that the socialization of the individual, which started with the family, is complete and thorough. Therefore, in the analysis of the Chicano minority, it is imperative to look into the school system and how it "educates" or socializes the Chicano child.

The Institution of Education

Education involves the changing of behavior in a desirable direction. The school is an educational institution specifically established
to produce desirable changes in behavior. Educational objectives consist of descriptions of behavior which the school seeks to produce. The overall objectives of the school are defined by a description of the behavior of the ideal citizen, including his knowledge, values, skills and abilities. In short, the educational system through the schools very much determines the extent to which the individual will receive the basic and necessary tools to learn and, thus, be able to control his environment.

In the case of the Chicano student, not only is he taken to be physically different, but also his language and his culture are different (Castro, 1974). The Civil Rights Commission's report, along with other recent studies on education, make one point clear: No other institution in America draws more scrutiny or is subject to more criticism than the school. To begin with, it has been traditional that the South and Southwest of the United States have been very racially conscious. Consequently, their attitude toward the Chicano pupil has been of segregation; keep them apart.

In California, the Chicano was segregated by implication. Since statutes enacted in 1885, and amended in 1893, it was possible to segregate Indians, Mongolians, and Chinese. To many Anglo administrators, this category included Chicano youngsters. In Texas, the segregation of Chicanos from the Anglo world has been more blatant. In Corpus Christi and surrounding Mieses County, in the 1930's, the school officials gave two kinds of reasons for segregation: association was considered undesirable from the Anglo's point of view, and separation was to the advantage of the Chicano student. A Mieses County school board member, a farmer,
declared, "I don't believe in mixing. They are filthy and lousy - not all, but most of them." Another school official explained, "We segregate for the same reason that southerners segregate the Negro; they are an inferior race, that's all." Unfortunately, the Chicano community has encountered this kind of attitude from the people who are deciding how the Chicano children are going to be educated. Furthermore, the damage to Chicano children does not stop here; it continues within the walls of the classrooms. As it has been stated that because of psycho-sociological reasons, the Chicano child will maintain a certain level of bilingualism. This factor has also caused the Chicano child many punishments, embarrassments and humiliations (Salvador Ramirez, 1964).

The Civil Rights Commission's series of reports documented that even in the 1970's, Chicano school children in the Southwest are still being "pluralized and degraded" for the difference of their language and culture. Bishop Patricio Flores of San Antonio, the nation's first Mexican-American Roman Catholic bishop and head of the Commission's Texas Advisory Committee, blamed the cultural disparity as the "root of the massive educational problem in the Southwest."

Though he himself was a product of a poor English language background, Bishop Flores was luckier than most of the other Chicano youngsters he grew up with. "The teacher would call you a 'stupid jackass' and thinks like that." Then there was the attitude that these children were retarded because they could not capture anything in a language they did not understand. This bring in the process of systematic maintenance of conquered mentality; namely, the age old myth of intelligence based on
race. This cliche has been so thoroughly exploited by this society that
great efforts are made to recruit the backing of the scientific community
to prove that intellectual power depends on the genetic endowment of the
person. The distinguished British scientist and philosopher, J. B. S. Haldane
was even blunter in a speech he delivered in 1963 at an International
Congress on Genetics: "Perhaps the most important thing which human
genetics can do for society at the moment," he suggested, "is to emphasize
how little they yet know ... it is vastly easier to proclaim to equality of
inequality or different races," he went on to say, "than to state not merely
that we are ignorant, but that insofar as the races may be adopted to
different environments, the question may be unanswerable" (Silberman,
1964:73). Wells (1963) gives an account of the scientific findings that
Professor A. Leontiev of the Department of Psychology, University of
Moscow, gave in a report on psychic processes as they can be related to the
science of pedagogy at the 19th International Congress on Psychology held
in Montreal in 1954. Professor Leontiev introduced the subject by saying,

The study of the nature and of the formative laws of
the psychic qualities of man is a very important task of
psychology, and one of the most difficult. To do this in the
spirit of materialist science, the psychologist cannot limit
himself to an introspective account of man's psychic qualities
and their inter-relations. Nor does a description of their
evolution in the growth of children suffice. 'It is a question,'
Leontiev says, 'of discovering the real functional mechanisms
of this or that psychic property, and this is the principal path
of psychological research ... We state the question is this
way because we begin with idea that the psychic properties
and processes of man are the result of dynamic systems of
cerebral links (conditioned reflexes), elaborated in the course
of man's life.' Psychic qualities, ability to locate sounds
accurately in space, to reproduce vocally sounds of a given
pitch, ability in arithmetic and other intellectual capacities
are not inborn, but are acquired in the course of one's life
through conditioned reflexes. Experiments to indicate that
ability is essentially a matter of education, in the broad sense, were reported by Leontiev. (pp. 69-99)

In spite of the overwhelming data of the scientific community to refute the innate intelligence myth, nevertheless the institution of education still clings to this age old belief, which at this point ceases to be a psycho-biologic and pedagogic issue, and becomes a socio-political issue. In the town of Holland, Michigan, it came to the attention of the Chicano/Latino leaders that 43.5% of the total population of the majority of the students in special education classes were Chicano/Latino youngsters who, according to the school psychologists, had IQ scores below the average population of the local high school students (from the report of the Holland School System in 1973). Therefore, the only way to teach these youngsters was to place them in special education classes (not considering the negative implications that go along with being placed in such a special group in the eyes of the unfortunate students and their peers). At any rate, a legal suit was filed to re-test these youngsters with a culturally compatible instrument, or at least to allow for crucial variables which would definitely affect intellectual performance on the test. The youngsters were re-tested, and the amazing result was that the great majority of these Chicano children were placed back to where they belong in the classrooms of the "normal students".

No doubt, the corroding and devastating effects of educational injustices and the detrimental effect of the complex network of ethnic discrimination on the personality of minority children and youth are now well known. Since the Social Science disciplines have so clearly described some of these personality consequences, no longer debatable among the
intelligent and well informed individual, it becomes evident that some of the more obvious symptoms of the dehumanization caused by ethnic and educational discrimination are manifested by Chicano children who are the obvious and defenseless victims.

As minority group children learn the inferior status to which they are assigned and observed, that they are usually segregated and isolated, they react with deep feelings of inferiority and with a low sense of personal worth (Carter, 1974). Like all other human beings, they require a sense of personal dignity and social support for positive self-esteem. Almost nowhere in the larger society, specifically as they are being "educated" into the larger society, the Chicano youth finds his history, his heritage, his culture, and language being exposed to him as his counterpart, the Anglo youngster, who is exposed to his own heritage with all the "glory and splendor" of Western Europe, which is usually referred to England, Germany and France. If Mexican history is mentioned at all, it is usually to remark its 'underdeveloped" characteristics as if to emphasize the greatness of this cultural heritage even more in the eyes of the impressionable youngster (Rendon, 1971). It is hard to imagine that the children of the discriminated non-White minority group will not suffer a terrible conflict in their struggle to salvage their own self-image. Understandably, these youngsters begin to question whether they themselves and their ethnic group are worthy of any respect from the larger society. This conflict, confusion, and self-doubt give rise, under certain circumstances, to feelings of self-hatred and rejection of their own ethnic group which, in deeper psycho-dynamic
formulation, is what Freud (1924) would determine as rejection of his own parents.

As a result of these educational injustices, some Chicano children, usually from the lower socio-economic classes, may react with frustration and aggression toward members of their own group or, less frequently, toward members of the dominant group (Ramirez, 1974). De Voss and Wagatsuma (1966) state that socially deviant roles contain a great deal of covert hostility expressed toward any form of authority exercised into automatic response, as they are reinforced by generations of experience and exploitation.

Anti-social and delinquent behavior may often be interpreted as the kind of reaction to frustrations (Young and Mack, 1965). Ironically, these reactions are many times interpreted by the majority as a manifestation of their ethnic background (Padillo and Ruiz, 1973).

The consequences of this system of education in which very few of the Chicano children are recipients of the school rewards has a devastating effect on the educational opportunities of the Chicano individual, as the Civil Rights Commission said, in 1971, in one or a series of special reports on Chicano education (Castro, 1974). The following facts are from this special report:

1. By the eighth grade, 9% of the Chicano students have already left the school.

2. 40% of all Chicano students drop out before graduation.
(3) Chicano high school graduates actually have something closer to a tenth grade education obtained over a 12 year or a 13 or 14 year period.

(4) Only 60% of the Chicano students who enter the first grade will graduate from high school.

(a) 20% will enter college.

(b) 5% will graduate from college.

(5) Chicanos are about three times as likely to repeat the first grade as Anglos, and almost twice as likely to repeat the first grade as Blacks.

(6) From 50% to 70% of all the Chicano students in the 4th, 8th and 12th grades read below grade level, compared to 25% to 34% for Anglos.

This sad list of deficiencies and problems and waste of human potential seems endless. Nonetheless, it always comes back to the central issues of culture, language and personality. It is generally accepted by social scientists that an institution is an enduring, complex, integrated, organized behavioral pattern through which social control is exerted and by means of which the fundamental social desires or needs are met. Therefore, the victimization of the Chicanos by institutions, especially the institutions of education and/or agents of institutions is a premediated, programmed approach to destine the Chicano to a life of controlled charity, differential treatment and ignorance.

Indeed, Chicanos have little and, for the most part, no control over the institutionalized process which affects their daily life. By and large,
economic, political and spiritual characteristics are dissimilar to those of the Chicano in the barrio. They are managed by traditionalists "old pros" who represent the power, status-quo, elements of control. These elements are proponents of keeping things as they are; thereby perpetuating whatever vested interest of wealth, power, or employment they are currently enjoying. Obviously, the modus operandi of most institutions is to patronize and socialize the people of the Chicano cultural heritage. These institutions eventually create in the mind of the Chicano a dry feeling of inferiority, second class citizenship, despair, apathy, powerlessness, etc.

There are many institutions which have a negative impact on the lives of Chicanos in the Southwest: welfare agencies, the church, the hospitals. All of these institutional agencies will operate in order to contribute to the socialization of each generation into appropriate societal patterns related to such areas as education, religion, health and law. Social service agencies may go after the families who they claim are neglecting their offsprings (from their own cultural frame of reference) because they fall below the Anglo middle-class standards of material rewards to their children. Therefore, the breaking up of the family is the solution. This is accomplished by placing the children in foster homes, ignoring completely the Chicano cultural trait of a close family system. The school may educate the boy by placing him in the "slow group" and labeling him "mentally retarded" because he cannot speak correct English. The police may try to beat respect into the boy and view him as guilty before proven otherwise. The priest may tell him he is bad and sinful in the eyes of God. The hospital may force him to endure many hours of pain while he waits in
long line because he does not have an insurance policy or because he is a Chicano.

An institution which the Chicano youth is well aware of is the law. As it has been noted, educational experiences tend to give the Chicano youth that which is difficult or next to impossible for him to acquire; status within the school system. Yet, status and prestige are vitally important aspects of the male role, and avenue for acquisition of some must be found. Often the Chicano youth finds the status in the gang or in the natural group. Often the gang or group is involved in activities which cause direct conflict with the law. Stealing articles on a dare, flaunting the authority of law officers, glue sniffing, usually not major offenses. However, all are severe enough to create negative attitudes on the part of the police. Because the Chicano youth are members of a minority ethnic group, because they are low class, because their physical appearance sets them apart from the larger society, they are placed in a negative category by the police and are treated accordingly. No attempts to understand causes of delinquent behavior are made by the law enforcement officials.
CHAPTER III

PSYCHOLOGICAL CONSEQUENCES OF CULTURE
CONFLICT ON THE CHICANO EXPERIENCE

Introduction

It has been introduced in the preceding chapter variables that contribute decisively to the behavior of the Chicano individual. Therefore, it remains to be assessed how these psycho-social variables, i.e., differences in culture, colonization and discrimination, etc. are interrelated and help the shaping of the collective behavior of the Chicano.

It is often heard the comment of some Anglo people that minorities should learn to become more "American", the sociological phenomenon alluded by this remark being amalgamation, or the idealistic concept of the Melting Pot. This concept has always been very much used by members of the larger society to describe the idealistic democratic atmosphere which they assume exists in this society composed of diverse ethnic groups. Of course, this sociological phenomena has occurred with members of the European ethnic groups such as the Irish, Italians, Polish, etc. However, if one look closer to the various possibilities of social acceptance of non-European elements into the dominant culture, it is found that assimilation and amalgamation never take place, especially when it concerns the two
largest non-European minorities in this country; namely, the Blacks and the Chicanos. Under the ethos of this country, complete acceptance of Blacks and Chicanos cannot ever take place as long as the concept of racism and discrimination is very much part of the collective consciousness of the people in this society. Elia Muhammed, Malcolm X, Eldridge Cleaver, being aware of this social reality, advocated for segregation and peaceful coexistence by means of mutual respect between Whites and Blacks.

Similar psycho-social dynamics takes place between the Anglos and the Chicanos. Under these circumstances, the concept of culture conflict becomes more apparent and descriptive of the dynamics that take place in the behavior of the Chicano individuals in this country.

Re-examination of Sociological Theories

Upon re-examination of the social theories, which describe the dynamics of different social groups existing in large societies, one finds that what was known by some American sociologists up to the time that Moynihan wrote his work *Beyond the Melting Pot*, did not apply to non-White minority groups. Newman (1973), for the mere reason that physical differences in a society where race discrimination is an important ethos, is a crucial factor is order to be able to readily discriminate, especially when superiority of color is a criteria, as darker and differently featured individuals are more easily recognizable and set aside.
Assimilation

Every American recognizes how all of the European groups have, for the most part, quickly assimilated into society at large; the Irish, the Polish, Italians, Yugoslavians, etc. At the present time, third generation members of these groups have intermarried with members of other groups. So it is not until inquiring upon somebody's "nationality" that the ethnic background emerges. This process is one of the criteria that Gordon, Milton (1961) maintained must occur for the social group to be determined completely assimilated. This social phenomena has not taken place with the Chicanos and the Blacks.

For instance, for somebody to say that Blacks and Chicanos must assimilate is to say that they must give up all of their different customs, lifestyles and values and accept those of the dominant group. In other words, the minority group must not resist assimilation and experience an approach avoidance of psycho-social conflict, since he is discriminated because of his physical characteristics and, at the same time, he is urged to join the dominant group. This situation, as we have seen, does not occur with other European groups. Therefore, by deduction, this sociological theory does not apply to the Chicanos and Blacks.

Amalgamation

The premise of the theory of Amalgamation maintains that every different social group will intermix or amalgamate to form a new group, which will be the composition of all the groups. It is further assumed in this theory that the best of the particular qualities of the groups will be the
basic ingredients of the new emerging group which, at its last evolutionary stage, maintains that no group will be the object of prejudice. Clearly, this has not occurred in this society, as far as the non-White minorities. The Blacks have been members of this society since 1700, and the Chicanos have been here since 1600, or thereabouts, and they are still objects of discriminatory practices. On the other hand, the first and second generation of European immigrants have readily been absorbed into the society at large. (Ironically, it is often found that many of these folks readily identify with the racist ethos of the native Anglo and they, in turn, discriminate minorities, too.)

The theory of Cultural Pluralism, as it was proposed by Horace Kallen (1929), maintains that different social groups will maintain their indigenous characteristics, thus giving meaning and justification to all of the social groups which make up the pluralistic society. However, insofar as this theory explaining an idealistic resolution to the conflict of differences among the groups, the Blacks and Chicanos are lagging far behind the notion that the groups of a pluralistic society are in equal and peaceful coexistence, in accordance to the principles of democracy spelled out in the Constitution of this country, that every man is created equal. As it has been seen, Gordon (1964) maintains that both assimilation and cultural pluralism are occurring, and that the two most important forms of assimilation are cultural assimilation and structural assimilation. It has been seen that insofar as one culture being accepted in society at large, this is possible. Thus, the Mexican descendant who, unlike his father from Mexico, will be a Mexican-American, different from his parents who adhere
completely to the Mexican culture. However, in the case of the son, his cultural values, modes and lifestyle will undergo changes. This is a close dynamic description of the behavior of the Mexican-American, or Chicano. However, one has dealt only at the level of social behavior and the acquisition of a new set of behavioral social skills by the minority group from the dominant group. On the other hand, structural assimilation in its true sense of the word, according to Gordon, cannot take place if we adhere to the criteria described by Gordon, as each of the five points of these conditions (see Chapter I) have resulted in incompatibility with the Chicano psycho-social experience in this society. Therefore, if assimilation is to take place between social groups of different cultures and different physical appearances, this can only occur at the behavioral level; namely, as cultural assimilation and, as the minority group will learn, to some degree, the customs and life styles of the host culture. In this case, the Mexican who has been colonized has learned the modes and ways of the host culture to result in a new set of cultural values and social skills; namely, what is called the Chicano cultures.

Of the reviewed theories, assimilation, amalgamation, cultural pluralism, structural assimilation, and cultural assimilation. Cultural assimilation by Gordon (1964) is the sociological theory that best encompasses and describes the sociological dynamics that take place between the colonized Mexican and the host culture (Newman, 1973). As the other theories seem to be descriptive of the socio-political and economical factors involving different ethnic groups in a pluralistic society, they disregard crucial issues as race, religion and ethnicity.
Gordon's theory of cultural assimilation especially, was one of the major attempts to connect the study of minority groups with the study of society per se. It may be useful to think of cultural assimilation as another way of describing what Glazer and Moynihan (1963) viewed as the process by which group differences take on new meaning in a new host society as they describe in their work *Beyond the Melting Pot*.

Social theories have been elaborated extensively in order to give the Chicano culture the rationale and justification for the essence of its existence. Contrary to many social scientists and many "die hard" and "red blooded" American people who contend that everybody should be American (in their own version), and if a minority group is not assimilated into society's main stream, it is because of his own fault or because of being a social misfit. "Be like us, but not with us."

The above sociological theories clearly depict the social dynamics that indicate that it takes two individuals to form a personal relationship. Further yet, it takes the integration of one social group into another to form a cohesive and harmonious relationship into a new group. Realistically, the Mexican-descendant social element has not been accepted into a cohesive and harmonious relationship with the Anglo; hence, the emergence of the Mexican-American culture; namely, the Chicano culture, as depicted by the theory of cultural assimilation by Milton Gordon. This condition is not solely characteristic of the Chicano group, but is also found with the Blacks who clearly developed their own Black American culture, and the Chinese who have strongly held their sense of cultural identity to withstand social discrimination and other
humiliations to come out ahead and actually reject the host culture as inferior to exhaust their preference for their own Chinese culture.

In conclusion to the analysis of the five sociological theories of the social dynamics of pluralistic societies, it can be said that non-European minorities cannot assimilate, or amalgamate completely, as long as the social discriminating ethos of this society maintains its present strength. Hence, a synthesis of different cultures must dialectically emerge. This condition is expunged by Coser (1956) who contends that societies evolve out of social conflicts because societies, like organisms, are subject to be influenced by outside agents, whether they are biological, geographical, sociological, anthropological, economical, etc. Therefore, the interplay of the environmental agents mentioned above on the social group will create changes which are constantly taking place to maintain the social flexibility necessary for survival of the group. Thus, in so far as a different social group in contact with another a synthesis of the two groups will emerge, such as the Mexican culture clashing in conflict with a completely different culture (see page 1); namely, the Anglo, and the end result is the Chicano culture. Basic cultural values from both the Anglo and Mexican cultures, either combine or fall to disuse. Thus, Chicano set of values develops (see page 6). Awareness of this new set of values is of paramount importance to understand the Mexican-American; namely, the Chicano. Furthermore, this awareness is crucial in counseling Chicano people.
Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales (1972) offers a poem which epitomizes the plight of the Chicano. In it he states, "Lost in a world of confusion, caught up in a whirl of a gringo society, confused by the rules, scorned by attitude, suppressed by manipulations, and destroyed by modern society, my fathers have lost the economic battle and won the struggle of cultural survival" (p. 24).

Others have also addressed the question of whether the Chicano has become largely assimilated to the American way of life. Humphrey (1973) maintains that while Mexican cultural norms have not been largely adopted by the Americans, the American cultural norms have largely been incorporated by the Mexicans. Thus, he maintains that Mexican cultural norms, as a functional structure, will more than likely be expurged by the third generation. Ramirez (1967, 1969) using empirical data also suggests that Mexican culture within the United States is changing. He maintains that the young Chicanos are less insistent on rigid sex roles and that both men and women are rejecting the traditional concept of masculine superiority. He does, however, point out that the other facets of Mexican culture, such as strict child rearing practices and submission to authority are relatively unchanged. Fernandez et al. (1958) notes that the extended family structure is also changing due to the vast migration of Chicanos to the cities. The consensus of these writers seems to be that the Chicano is indeed assimilating along certain variables if not as a total cultural entity.

Other writers, however, refute the notion that Chicanos are assimilating to a great degree. Carlos and Sellers (1972), in a study of
Latin America, found little, if any, waning influence of the extended kinship group Manuel Gamio, (1971) through a series of autobiographies compiled from Mexican-American and Mexican immigrants, dating from the era of the First World War to the era of the economic depression in the United States, is able to describe the different attitudes of these immigrants' attitudes toward the adoptive culture. These attitudinal changes clearly depended upon the degree of socio-cultural adjustment that each individual was able to attain in his new socio-cultural environment. Gamio's account includes interviews with people who clearly never adjusted to the life style of this country. Moreover, they remained very Mexican in their cultural ways, i.e., values, mores, customs, language, etc. On the other hand, the author interviewed individuals who were able to make a marginal adjustment to this new socio-cultural environment. This adjustment was attained by the individual discarding some cultural values in exchange for some new ones. This dynamic consists of a reassessment of certain cultural values which no longer serve the purpose of survival in their new environment, and adoption of American ways. Following the description of these individuals with minimal adjustment to the dominant culture, Gamio then, describes the children of the Mexican immigrants who clearly cannot completely identify themselves to some Mexican cultural traits; i.e., sexual rigid roles, monolingual Spanish, etc. However, some of these children because of their proximity to Mexico, the prominent historical Spanish-Mexican influence which permeates the Southwest of the United States, plus their physical characteristics, they remained very much cognizant of
their origins, and many of them even show signs of patriotic feelings towards their parent's country.

Further down the line of cultural adjustment, Gamio also interviewed some individuals who were clearly assimilated into the mainstream of American society. These individuals even married Anglo partners. However, it is important to note how the majority of these examples fit the middle class expectations, specifically, in the areas of education, economic standing, and in the majority of cases even in physical appearance. Many of these individuals would be lost in the mainstream because of their physical resemblance to the Anglo Americans. To further assimilate some of these individuals would even alter their family names to pass completely as Anglos, i.e., a name such as Adame would become Adams, Martinez would transform to Martin, etc. From Gamio's account it seems that certain critical ethnic characteristics had to be present at one point because traits such as physical complexion, economic standing, education had to occur together for complete assimilation. These traits would allude to the commonly held notion of middle class attitudes.
From the above description of the attitude of various Chicanos and Mexican immigrants toward themselves and the dominant group, insofar as acculturated, one can identify certain cultural traits which are characteristic of the degree to which each one of these individuals is acculturated into the dominant culture. This description of the degree of acculturation, if placed in a linear continuum, would depict a spectrum that would range from an extremely culturally valued Mexican individual, to an extremely culturally Angloized individual (see Figure 3). In other words, moving in the acculturation spectrum from the extreme Mexican to the extreme Anglo. However, we should keep in mind (see page 69) that it is not the case that an individual holds either Mexican cultural values, or Anglo cultural values, but there exists conditions in which both traits from the Mexican and Anglo cultures are found. Therefore, a third sub-culture emerges as a synthesis of both the Mexican and the Anglo; namely, the Chicano. Furthermore, as individuals are identified with more Anglo
culture traits, and less Mexican and Chicano values, then we can deduce that the degree of acculturation of this particular individual approaches the totally Anglo valued "Mexican-American". At this point we would say that this individual because of his physical, economic, and social standing would be a completely unidentifiable Mexican-American.

**Areas of Marginality**

The degrees of acculturation approach certain critical areas in the spectrum from the Mexican extreme to the Anglo extreme. These areas are very important in our study of attitudes and behavior of the Mexican and Chicano. These areas happened to be those in which there is a transitional point from one culture to the other such as: (1) transitional point between the Mexican and Chicano culture, (2) transitional point between the Chicano and the Anglo culture. We call these transitional areas the marginal areas. Here it is where the individual vacillates between one of the other. If we analyze the socio-psychological dynamics of these marginal areas, we discover that they require constant changes in attitude and behavior on individuals to adjust to either the Mexican and Chicano cultures, or the Chicano and Anglo cultures.

**Mexican/Chicano Marginality**

As individual who is found to have cultural values in this area will find psychological stress produced by the adjustment to social-environments which require a Chicano attitude or a Mexican attitude. However, since the cultural traits of the Mexican and the Chicano are of
similar characteristics, the psychological discomfort or conflict that the individual will experience will be minimal, as it would be a matter of learning both cultural traits and values in order for a particular individual to minimize the psychological discomfort; therefore, minimal psychological stress is experienced here.

Chicano/Anglo Area of Marginality

In this area of marginality, where the Chicano culture interacts with the dominant Anglo culture, lies the critical point in the whole spectrum of acculturation. Moreover, by virtue of the differences in "races" or physical appearances, this cultural contrast is more marked than the Mexican/Chicano area of marginality. Therefore as culture conflict is found in areas where different cultures meet, the psycho-social effect of it is most severe in this area.

Effects of the Marginal Situation

The term "the Marginal Man" was first used by Park (1937). He was the first scientist to develop a fairly systematic exposition of what came to be called the "marginal situation". Park expounded that when divergent cultures come together, assimilation and amalgamation are not always immediate and hardly ever occurs in our case. Therefore, Park (1928) contends that incidental to cultural assimilation is cultural conflict, and when cultures conflict, some individuals find themselves in the margin of two cultures and not fully or permanently accommodated to either: these individuals are Marginal Men. Psychological conflicts often have
their sources in culture conflicts (Park, 1931), and it is in the mind of the marginal man that the moral turmoil which new cultural contact occasion, manifest itself in the most obvious forms. To sum up, Park saw the marginal man as one form between two cultures. The conflict be regarded as relatively permanent and as conducive towards the formation of a characteristic personality type.

Stonquist (1937), writes that the fundamental notion on which marginality is based is that the individual's personality in its final form under the influences of the individual's conception of himself, is dependent on his social status. Stonquist sees the marginal personality as a product of culture conflict. "Whenever there are cultural transitions and culture conflicts there are marginal personalities." (p. 63) Problems of cultural transition (exemplified in the Parvenu, the declasse, the migrant from country to city, and the career woman) are not so deep and sharp as the conflicts centering about race and nationality. The individual's race and nationality are relatively fixed and permanent and are very deeply lodged elements of the self. Stonquist conceives the marginal man as one who is poised in psychological uncertainty between two (or more) worlds reflecting in his soul the discords and harmony, repulsions and attractions of these worlds. This is the classical approach avoidance paradigm of conflict which Dollard and Miller, Miller (1959), explained to be the most detrimental type of psychological conflict compared to approach-approach, and avoidance-avoidance. Such a psychological situation, we know from experimentation, results in aberrant behavior in the part of the organisms affected by this conflicting set of circumstances. It is at this state of acculturation where
the pervasive factor of racism becomes a very prominent feature in the psycho-social dynamics that take place in individuals who are somehow striving for assimilation and amalgamation into the dominant culture. At this stage, the Chicano individual who wants to belong, wants to be accepted into the dominant society, because he been conditioned throughout his life that the only way is the American way. Also, in many cases because of cultural deprivation (see page 69) this same individual feels compelled to be accepted into the Anglo world because of the socio and economic rewards that it offers. Therefore, an individual in this condition is aware of the payoffs, but at the same time he is also faced with the social discrimination that is suffered in a variety of ways, if one belongs to a non-European minority in this society. On the other hand, this same marginal individual, because of his behavior to adopt Anglo ways (the only way to go is the American way), he usually isolates himself from his own social group, this resulting in mutual decreases of social interaction causing the extinction of behaviors which at one point enhanced the social relationships between the individual and his own group. Further analysis of this culturally precarious condition shows one that a marginal individual suffers the conditions of anomie which Emile Durkheim (1895) defined as a condition of society marked by normalness or lack of values and goals characteristic of some members of mass society. Dollard and Miller (1959) clearly explain this psychological conditions through their approach-avoidance gradient. This condition of anomie in the Chicano individual is produced by his approach-avoidance conflict with his own group, and also

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the approach-avoidance conflict that he experiences with members of the Anglo dominant culture.

From experimental psychology it is known that conflict is a necessary or sufficient condition for the establishment of neurosis (Dollard and Miller, 1950). Early evidence of conflict induced neurosis (experimental neurosis) came from a Pavlov report (1929) on the outcome of discrimination experiments with dogs. Further clinical experimentation on conflict was reported by Miller (1958) in his gradient model of conflict consisting of three types:

1) Approach-avoidance conflict
2) Avoidance-avoidance
3) Approach-approach

The approach-avoidance paradigm is thought to be of greatest significance in the description of the etiology of neurotic behavior, Maher (1966); Eysenck and Rochman (1965); Metzner (1963); Dollard and Miller (1950).

One also knows from experimentation that organisms learn new responses to avoid or escape a noxious stimuli. The most accepted interpretation of avoidance essentially states that fear is an anticipatory response to painful stimulation and that fear is established by the classical conditioning of an aversive stimulus. This conditioned fear response motivates the organism to escape or avoid the aversive situation and the instrumental response that brings this about are reinforced by a reduction in fear and anxiety. For the sake of the above analysis neurotic behavior shall be defined as learned maladaptive behavior characterized by the persistence and presence of anxiety responses and/or anxiety reducing responses and in the realm of anxiety reducing behavior which have some mechanism of defense such as:
Denial
Repression
Avoidance Responding
Escape Responding
Regression
Behavior Stereotyping
Somatic Escape
Projection
CHAPTER IV

MENTAL HEALTH OF THE CHICANO INDIVIDUAL

Introduction

In the previous chapters, the social forces and the cultural characteristics have been analyzed and assessed which affect the behavior of non-Caucasian minorities; specifically the Chicanos. The next logical step is to ask oneself what can be done to "cure" and prevent some of the maladaptive behavior that is bound to flourish in such an aversive psycho-social environment where discrimination, racism, poverty, etc. exist? To address this issue would be to address the concept of mental health and how it relates to the Chicano community. However, before one embarks into a detailed account of how can mental health be achieved, it would behoove one to analyze the concept of mental health itself in relation to the psycho-social and political system.

The anthropologist, Honingmann (1974), observes how psychiatrists and social scientist were debating whether psycho-therapy should aim primarily to strengthen a person to survive in the world as it was, or should try to make the world a better suited place for human beings. Even though a definite viewpoint of this issue was never attained, Honingmann reports that he definitely saw the "social" psychiatrists bending their efforts in one
direction. This situation is very crucial from the point of view of mental health, especially if it concerns the non-White minorities; specifically, the Chicanos. If mental health is viewed by the helping professionals as a state of complete behavioral adjustment of the individual to the system in order to be assimilated (in this case to assimilate), then the Chicano has one more institutional enemy in his pursuit of happiness and peace of mind because he who is supposed to help him to attain happiness is further imposing his own values and expertise on his client or patient, and he is further dehumanizing his Chicano client.

**Why Traditional Psychotherapy Has Failed**

**Therapist Middle Class Values**

Honingmann (1974) once again warned against the epistemological danger of distortion when he studied the culture of poverty - an anthropological concept that many of his colleagues shared with him - and the interaction of this with the culture of psychiatry. He goes further to compare these concepts with the same cultural distortions that European colonialists maintained toward the colonized non-western cultures; these distortions being the values, mores and customs that the colonialists would find and would try to evaluate them against their own cultural frame of reference. It seems that traditionally the psycho-social sciences emphasized stress and hearkened to the ever-constant danger of maladaptation. Thus, like the European colonists, they evaluate other social groups' differentness from this point of view of adaptation to their psycho-social environment of the social scientist himself. As Margaret Mead
(1952) has said, that social scientists listen for distortion with both ears, paying almost no heed to cultural patterns and social arrangements that might compensate for undeniable harsh phases of existence. This account provides one with the scenario which every social scientist must be aware of if he wants to evaluate trans-culturally other social groups which are different from his own.

Unfortunately, psychotherapy is overly indebted to Sigmund Freud. This Viennese middle class physician who, during the turn of the century, characterized by the prudish Victorian era, derived his theories of psychoanalysis from his clinical practice with the neurotic middle class Viennese patients. Freud himself treated the mildly to moderately disturbed middle and upper class individual of this Viennese society (Lerner, 1972). Freud was very clear about this, as he frequently mentioned that while his personality theory was all inclusive, the method of treatment he derived from it was quite exclusive, he excluded the poor and the psychotic.

Because Freud was a physician, it was logical that his profession would have capitalized on his findings. Therefore, the medical profession was to be the advocate of psychoanalysis par excellence; specifically, the psychiatrists in this century.

In so far as the training of professionals who practice psychotherapy, it is no sociological mystery to prove that prior to the late sixties, the social element who was getting educated in this society by virtue of the system of higher education, was the middle and upper class. Therefore, the well established professional is a man or woman who comes
from the upper and middle class social strata. This condition has been one of the principal concerns of the Chicano leaders who are concerned about the well being of the community and know that the Chicano people have traditionally occupied the lowest economic strata (Padilla, 1974). In the last analysis, it is the Anglo psychotherapists who continue to diagnose and treat the Chicano client.

In the work of Hollisghead and Redlich (1953), it was significantly expounded that in what it appears to be; a contribution of science in the form of psychiatric and psychotherapeutic treatment to alleviate the misery of "mental illness" in the people of this country. Surprisingly, the diagnosis of mental illness and its treatment differed a great deal as one goes from the lowest to the highest socio-economic levels. As Hollisghead and Redlich found that insofar as diagnosing "psychopathology", the poor were more frequently diagnosed as suffering severe psychological disorders, such as psychosis. And, as one goes up the socio-economic ladder, the frequency of diagnosing neurotic symptoms increased. Likewise, the treatment of "mental illness" differed. The poor would more than likely receive chemotherapy - quick relief with psychotropic drugs - without the inherent and fundamental benefit of psychotherapy, which teaches new coping behavioral skills. As we go up the socio-economic ladder, more psychotherapy is used in the rehabilitation or treatment of "patients". However, both Yamamotto and James, Bloombaum and Hatten (1967) and Karno (1966) have reported in separate studies that in spite of similar low social status, Anglo American patients receive significantly more individual therapy. Therefore, not only the socio-economic class, which affects the
Chicano "patient", but the ethnic identification also is a critical factor to determine how good the psychological treatment an individual will obtain in this society.

Schofield (1964) has once said that the ideal "patient" for these conventional middle class psychotherapists fits the criteria for treatment by which they exclude those who have the most serious problems or deviant behaviors. This criterion has been expressed as the "Yavis" syndrome: youthful, attractive, verbal, intelligent and successful. In other words, people who pay to get pampered by a professional.

The medical profession has so increased its political and socio-economic power in this society that any pseudoscientific statement that they make is readily grasped by the power structure people and, therefore, an exoneration of responsibility by the status quo. Thus, the medical professional concerned with mental health is the psychiatrist. He, in turn, makes judgment that come from a member of a class-divided society about other members. The ability to make such judgments authoritatively and to make them stick occurs by virtue of the psychiatrist's professional status, which confers him power over the person to whom he refers. As a consequence, the psychiatrist has the power to implement certain values and standards (namely his own) over other competing values and standards that he regards as dangerous to the patient or to society.

Honingmann (1974) asked whether the psychiatrist's values and diagnostic judgment sometimes represents behavioral norms that stem from his social class position. In other words, this is the direction that
Honingmann observed social psychiatry was taking: to fit the individual in an ethnocentric way into the system.

Clearly, the Chicano individual who would be exposed to a miriad of cultural values, norms, etc. would be looked upon as a strange individual in the eyes of the mental health professional. Thus, values and behaviors at variance with such middle class ideals may remain in force only to the degree that they do not contradict the dominant values on which national stability, economic development and happiness are seen to depend. This is a long way from increasing the range of cultural tolerance, as anthropologists have traditionally sought to do in order to accommodate in society the greatest possible number of temperaments, eccentricisms and unusual types.

**Under Utilization of Mental Health Facilities by Chicanos**

Even though the Chicano population occupies the lowest socio-economic level, U.S. Census (1974); Coriblir, Moore and Guzman (1970), and it is highly disadvantaged and subject to multiple stresses, the Chicano has been under represented among those who receive mental health services Padilla & Ruiz (1973); Padilla, Ruiz and Alvarez (1975). This has been true, even in Los Angeles County, which has the nation's largest number of Chicano residents, and one of the nation's most comprehensive networks of mental health services.

A specific example of an under utilization profile is found in the rates of new admissions for outpatient mental health services for Chicanos in Los Angeles County Mental Health Report (1973, 1975). While these
rates have shown a slight increase, from 10.3 in 1970 to 12.5% in 1974, they are still strikingly low compared to the Chicano population of about 21% in Los Angeles. Knowledge of the public mental health clinic in the community appears to be widespread. About 48% of respondents to a questionnaire probing, (Manual Miranda, 1976), knowledge about their neighborhood clinic; one out of five could give the correct location of a mental health facility when asked. Language and birthplace of the population contacted are of great importance. About 55% of those taking the English questionnaire could identify the local mental health clinic, while only 40% of those taking the Spanish questionnaire could do so. In addition, more second (51%) and third (64%) generation Chicanos knew about the clinic than those respondents born in Mexico (37%).

With due consideration given to the differences between the segments of the Chicano population, it remains true that at least one out of three respondents in each segment is cognizant of the public mental health facilities.

More important in explaining the low use of mental health facilities by Chicanos is their preference for other sources of help in times of emotional stress. In response to a general question asking for the first place a Chicano who has an emotional problem should go for help, the most common replies include a physician, a relative, a compadre, or a priest/minister. (See Table 2) Taken together, the family doctor and relative/compadre are mentioned by almost half of the immigrant population alike.
### TABLE 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Place Recommended for a Person with an Emotional Problem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doctor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative/compadre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priest/minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental Health Clinic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychiatrist/counselor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexican American community worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curandero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Chicano Cultural Values as an Integral Part for Mental Health**

If one individual wants to help another through counseling, the helper must be cognizant of the frame of reference that the helpee is using so that the helper may place himself in the helpee's shoes in order to establish the empathy and rapport necessary for a productive therapeutic relation. In the previous section, we talked about some of the inherent differences of the helper and its consequences (low rates of utilization by the Chicano clientele). In this section, we will explore some of the cultural
values which make the Chicano client different from the helper's population, insofar as cultural values.

**Cultural Values**

The use of the Spanish language is one of the givens in any description of the Chicano. This occurs by virtue of his strong Mexican influences (Eduardo Casavantes, 1974). On the other hand, it is also a realist that the Chicano, depending on his degree of acculturation, speaks English; so, this situation ranges from a complete monolingual Spanish to a complete monolingual English speaking Chicano. Adding to the medium of communication that the Chicano may use, whether Spanish/English or both, one has to consider the factor what the eminent cultural anthropologist Benjamin Wharf calls "cognitive style" (Martinez, 1977; Casavantes, 1974). This concept explains how each language is a mode of thought which is slightly different from any other language. Thus, we have the Chicano bi-lingual/bi-cultural who, apart from two languages also has two cognitive styles. For instance, one must keep in mind the Anglo highly valued cultural traits such as efficiency, productivity, expeditiousness, etc. (See Campa in Chapter I). An Anglo individual, when verbally explaining something, will try to be concise, brief, efficient and to the point, disregarding the listener's feelings (frankness is a virtue). On the other hand, the Spanish speaking individual, when explaining something, will try to give sufficient reasons to support his explanation so that the listener, without a doubt, will understand what the speaker is trying to convey to him. The speaker is in no rush to get his point across; therefore, he can
cover a narrative of events leading to the conclusion which the speaker wants the listener to heed. As it would be expected, this situation is very exasperating to an Anglo listener because in his cultural frame of reference or promptness and efficiency, this mode of expression would be objectionable. The author has no information to support this. However, it is left to speculation whether an Anglo psychological diagnostician would label this as a confabulatory practice by the Spanish speaker and, therefore, determine that there may be a thought disorder. Chicanos feel at ease when they can express themselves freely; not just in Spanish, but also in English, and be able to slip in and out of Spanish and English. There are certain notions that can be expressed better in one language than in another.

The Family

One of the most outstanding features of the literature on the Chicano family is the agreement among authors concerning both its structure and functions (Padilla and Ruiz, 1973). There is widespread agreement that there exists a "typical" pattern of family structure characteristics of Chicanos. The basic components include an authoritarian father and a submissive mother, mutual acceptance of the doctrine of male superiority, and child rearing practices, which include indulgent affection and harsh punishment. Non-Chicano professionals should exercise caution in evaluating "psychopathology" based on patterns of family interactions. For example, a dominant husband and a submissive wife is the expected
pattern among Chicanos and, therefore, does not denote psychopathology. Knowledge of this kind is crucial in formulating plans for family therapy.

Another characteristic of the Chicano family is the strong adherence to the tradition of an extended family system. That is, the inclusion of other relatives to the nuclear family; namely, the aunts, uncles, cousins, grandparents and the compadrez who, by virtue of the religious practices of the Catholic church, are incorporated into the extended family system. A basic point out of this concept which must be stressed in our study is the fact that the Chicano may not refer himself to an Anglo institution for help which he perceives as "alien". A Chicano individual is more likely to ask and receive advice, support or other kinds of help from a cousin, an uncle or a compadre. (See Table 2)

**Godparenthood (Compadrazgo)**

Edward Casavantes (1974) explains that due to the tremendous influence of the Catholic church in Spain and most of the Northern Mediterranean area, that in these countries they prefer to "create" new kinships via the sacrament of baptism and/or confirmation. Through baptism the child acquires a madrina (godmother) and a padrino (godfather). In this concept, the child's padrino and/or madrina are literally responsible to raise their godchildren should anything happen to his parents. In this context, the individual when in trouble may go in his padrino (godfather) for advice and assistance, or to his compadre, whichever the case may be.
Perceptions of Reality and Tolerance for Deviancy

The Chicano family is very close knit, as E. Casavantes (1974) explains. The rural families are more closely knit than city families. This has been an almost universally accepted sociological observation. However, there is another factor which helps create a close family function; this is mainly the co-called "Culture of Poverty". Oscar Lewis (1971) vividly documented the culture of poverty in his anthropological work "Los Hijos de Sanchez", an autobiography of a Mexican family. People living in poverty settings, especially those from Western countries and from developed and developing nations, have an essentially distinct life-style or culture from the rest of the society that they live in. Among the elements that have been well-documented to be associated with poverty life styles is the development and utilization of the extended family. To the degree that one might find the Chicano in poverty situations, or near-poverty situations (and within these circumstances about half of the Chicanos can be placed) it can be safely assumed that increased familismo will be added.

Lastly, because of the adverse social circumstances that face the Chicano in this society; discrimination, his language, his educational experiences, the poor Chicano has come to congregate in barrios. The barrio has become a haven for most Chicanos because they share many similarities. When putting all of the above factors together, there is little wonder why the Chicano family is strong; why the bonds between Chicanos are almost inseparable. This subculture, so to speak, can deal with many behaviors which other social groups would consider "strange". If somebody
behaves in a different way, this individual is usually helped by his extended family and his close social network so that the handing over of the individual to be institutionalized will more than likely not occur. This situation fosters an air of increased tolerance for deviancy without being quick to cry "pathology". This brings us to the manner in which the Chicano perceives reality. According to the adherents of the cultural invariant position (e.g. Margetts, 1965), psychological disorders are identical despite disimilarities in cultures. Cultural relativists, on the other hand, maintain that what appears as a disorder in one culture may constitute a prized, coveted social role in another and may even pass unnoticed in a third (e.g. Alexander Leighton, 1969). Thus, any professional can run the risk of an inaccurate psychiatric evaluation of a Chicano individual if this professional is unfamiliar with the culture. To begin, one must reconsider the findings reported earlier in a more extensive review of the work by the Karno-Edgerton (1966) group. Among Anglo psychiatric residents (who, after all, are being trained in the detections of psychopathology) 90% associated "hearing voices" with "being crazy", whereas only 16% of Chicano high school students made the same association. Phillipus (1971) in a study of Hispanic residents of Denver, Colorado, provides insight into these differences and less pathological ennotation among the Chicanos than among the Anglos. He reports, for example, that upon choosing a religious vocation, a Chicano teenager will report "hearing voices" telling her to become a nun. One interpretation of such experience is that individual is relating an auditory hallucination with religious content and grandious implications. In the original Spanish and
certain Hispanic cultures, such a description possesses no more pathological connotations than an Appalachian poor White stating that he "heard the call" to join an evangelical religion.

La LLorona

The second anecdote provided by Phillipus (1971) involves Chicano school children who were instructed to create a "fairy tale" as a classroom assignment. Approximately 75% wrote about La LLorona, a mystical folk figure who roams at night crying aloud in a perpetually futile search for the child she abandoned. This childish "fairy tale" related the myth accurately. Sometimes in the loneliness of the night, one may hear the poignant, frightening cries of La LLorona. Anglo teachers attempted to convince the Chicano children that they could not possibly have heard the cries since such a person did not exist. Several reactions appear relevant to this anecdote. First, it is a good example of "cultural conflict". Teachers and students failed to communicate, since they shared different sets of underlying assumptions about a given event. Note how the teachers' convictions that La LLorona does not exist led them to the conclusion that the children were "wrong". Imagine further that any of these children had related this chilling "fairy tale" to a psychiatrist or a resident unfamiliar with the Chicano folk beliefs. The professional evaluation might have read something like this: "Unusual beliefs which appear to include delusional and hallucinatory elements suggesting severe impairment in thinking." Not to make this "culture conflict" ludicrous, one must consider this hypothetical event. Suppose another child completing a class assignment
wrote a "fairy tale" about an old man dressed in a red suit and sporting a long white beard. He spends the year manufacturing toys. Every Christmas Eve he lands on roofs, descends through chimneys, and rewards well-behaved children with gifts. He travels in the sky borne in a sled pulled by eight reindeer. On occasion, as he leaves the roof of some lucky child's home, he may be heard to shout, "Merry Christmas to all". What teacher would attempt to dissuade a child's belief in such a "fairy tale"? What Anglo psychiatrist would label such a belief system as delusional or hallucinatory? Errors in psychiatric diagnosis are also possible on the basis of misinterpretation of certain folk beliefs held by some Chicanos. Before describing these beliefs, it should be understood that we are not sure how widespread these beliefs are. As folk medicine and faith healing, this kind of data is hard to obtain for a number of reasons. It is unlikely that people who adhere to folk beliefs will share such information with someone perceived as an outsider. On the other hand, a patient undergoing a psychiatric evaluation who, by definition, is confused and disorganized to some extent, might reveal information about such beliefs which might otherwise remain covert. In such a case, an unsophisticated interviewer might assume he is eliciting a delusional system when, in fact, he is merely gaining access to esoteric information ordinarily shared only among fellow believers.

A number of authors (e.g. Galvin and Ludwig, 1961; Karno and Edgerton, 1969; Madsen, 1961, 1966; and Romano, 1965) attest that some Chicano subgroups believe in "witchcraft". These articles cite several instances of embrujo (bewitchment) and describe various types of "spells"
and "rites" performed as curative measures. Furthermore, there is a belief in certain disease entities which do not seem compatible with theory of knowledge derived from traditional medicine. One such syndrome is susto (to be frightened), characterized by some combination of restlessness during sleep, loss of appetite, decline in physical and energy, listlessness, decreased interest in grooming and hygiene, depression and a tendency to avoid social interaction. (See specially Rubel, 1964). Among Chicanos, it is more commonly believed that susto results from a great fear associated with some type of "close call". Curing rites are complex, but the basic element includes a variant of a diagnostic interview designed to identify etiology with precision (e.g. "Have you been frightened recently?"), followed by some combination of massage, rubbing, "sweeping" with herbs, branches or some object, and "sweating". These comments about susto are very superficial. Their purpose is not to explain the phenomenon in detail, but rather to illustrate how easily one might misinterpret any part of this syndrome or its treatment as reflecting psychopathological process. Furthermore, susto is merely one illustration of a number of other folk beliefs shared by certain Chicano groups.

Machismo and Marianismo

Machismo has been much talked about. However, the idea of Machismo is doubly loaded with both cultural and with low socio-economic factors. That is, to the degree that the Chicano people are poor, many men will demonstrate machismo (Cohan and Hodges, 1974). But, in addition, there seems to be some "excess" machismo in the Mexican - hence to the
Chicano. Dr. Rogelio Diaz Guerrero, Mexico's leading psychologist-psychiatrist, believe that Mexicans have more machismo than do men from other Latin countries. He claims no explanation for this phenomenon, only that his studies seem to demonstrate this (1974).

The term machismo, which translates figuratively as "assertive masculinity" and which has achieved broad acceptance as the label for this type of behavior among Chicano men. The term connotes - and this connotation is consistent with many descriptions of the Chicano character type - a latent capacity for violence, sensitivity to insult or affront, and a tendency to manifest male superiority and dominance through multiple sexual conquests.

One must re-evaluate the possibility of psychiatric misdiagnosis of machismo in the light of these observations concerning personality. In this context, domination and exploitation of women by men are not necessarily indications of psychopathology on the part of either. It is well known among Mexicans that when the young Mexican boy is growing up, he is always reminded by the father that he is the little man of the house (especially if it concerns the oldest boy): Therefore, he has to be responsible, strong, and endure pain stoically because he should begin to realize that if anything should happen to the father, the boy should assume the responsibility of the household, and should take care of the mama (mother), his sister and younger brothers. In other words, from the beginning, the boy is getting "lessons" from his father on how to be a responsible man that can endure adversity without the slight flinch of pain, so that he can protect the family. Herein lies the central issue of the
concept of relegation of authority, for the purpose of protection, from one generation to another and is symbolized in one Spanish word, macho.

One knows from anthropology that when a cultural value is not helping the survival of the social group, it falls into disuse by way of a pseudo value, or caricature of what that particular value used to be and this is precisely what occurs in many cases. Interestingly enough, the Anglo social scientist has adapted this term to describe over-compensation of manliness and sexual virility. However, Chicano social scientists like Edward Casavantes (1974) call this brand of machismo neurotic machismo. An individual demonstrating this kind of machismo makes desperate efforts to live up to the expectations of his culture when environmental adversities will not permit him. For instance, because of economic circumstances, the head of the household has to allow his wife to work, and the wife must assert herself in her social milieu to respond to the new socio-economic demands. Consequently, the children do not respond to the respeto (respect) that is expected of them as in other generations of Mexicans etc. It is no wonder that the Chicano male, seeing his role threatened, uses machismo to compensate for his inadequacies. It is imperative to be familiar with the cultural traits of machismo in order not to misdiagnose the Chicano male. Following is a double list of traits often associated with both machismo and marianismo (the female counterpart of machismo) (Casavantes, 1974).
Outline of "Traditional" Complementary Roles of Marianismo and Machismo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marianismo</th>
<th>Machismo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Gentle</td>
<td>1. Gruff, rough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Kind, protective</td>
<td>2. Air indifference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Virginal</td>
<td>3. (Appearance of) high level of sexual activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Quiet, shy</td>
<td>4. Brags about daring deeds, sexual conquests, how &quot;bad&quot; he can be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Passive</td>
<td>5. Active, aggressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Dependent</td>
<td>6. Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Predictable</td>
<td>7. Experimental, exploratory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. &quot;Home bound&quot;, does &quot;right&quot; thing</td>
<td>8. Daring, needs to &quot;take dares&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Enduring, preserving</td>
<td>9. Aroused easily, low [frustration level for emotional things, extremely high level of frustration/endurance for some other things.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Vulnerable</td>
<td>10. Pride and protectiveness toward:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a. Mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Sister</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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11. Sensitive to physical pain, short endurance

12. Endurance to life's emotional tribulations quietly

13. Quiet, sky but can talk about "emotionally sensitive" matters

**Personalismo**

*Personalismo*, or personalism, or particularism, is a designation for Chicano relationship which are developed in terms of highly personal, as contrasted to structural or demographic considerations in other persons. That is, one is trusted or becomes a good friend, not on the basis of the fact that one works together (which one may), or because one belongs to the same club (which one may), but on the basis of the positive blend of both of their characters. For example, one study (Meadow, A. et al.) showed that with socio-economic class held constant, Chicano bank employees selected their friends from the bank on the basis of personal

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*d.* Girlfriend

Aguantar; to bear; to endure; to take it;

a. Physical pain

b. Exertion
c. Environmental stress (non-emotional)
d. Physical endurance

Emotional pain leads to avoidance and defensiveness (Relate to #1, 2 and 9)

Intellectually glib, but not about sensitive personal matters
qualities, in contrast to Anglo employees who, for example, tended to make friends with the person who happened to work closest to them. The "selectivity", then, is done on the basis of unique personal attributes, and less on superficial or demographic characteristics. On the other hand, once these slow-to-build relationships have been established, they tend to become strong and be long lasting. Superficial quarrels do not destroy these relationships as quickly as they may spill over into the "tolerance for deviance" and the carnalism which will be discussed.

**Carmalismo**

*Carmalismo* derives from the Latin word *carnal*, literally "of the flesh". And it tends to be used in a slangish manner to refer only to one's male sibling (or *carnala* for one's sister). As time has passed, it has come to mean two other things.

In large gatherings, such as political rallies, or community meetings, speakers may refer to all other Chicanos as our *carnales* or *carnalas* (our brothers and sisters) very much like Blacks refer to each other as "brothers. However, among Chicanos, most of the time the word *carnal* is used to designate an especially close friend. This friendship begins with the traditional personalismo, and then became solidified with time. With your *carnales* one can share confidences, ask for help, share trusts, share earthly goods, and so forth. These people, usually two or five people in the *carmalismo* group, are very close emotionally and socially. Many times it has been known that a *carnal* upon, receiving a call for help
at the home of his girlfriend or his wife, leaves the girlfriend or his wife
and goes to help his carnal without hesitation.

How extreme carnalismo can become can be shown in the following
examples. It has been known that carnales joing the army only when the
army promised in writing that they would never by separated. Another
extreme example: Sometimes, only one of the two carnales involved in, say
a burglary would be caught. When - anf if - the first is convicted and sent
to jail, and other will then turn himself in and admit his complacity, and so
he too will go to jail with his carnal, for it would be unfair to let his carnal
take the rap all by himself.

Once one has established oneself as a Chicano, or perhaps as any
Latino, but certainly as a Chicano, with an extended family all around and
one has built a series of carnales for true friends, then bizarre behavior is
often tolerated. That is, within oneself, within one's family, within one's
carnaes, there appears to be a great "tolerance for deviance". Sometimes
this is bad. A person who is crazy (literally psychotic) may be protected by
his family and by his friends (Padilla and Ruiz, 1973).
CHAPTER V

A PSYCHOTHERAPEUTIC MODEL BASED ON CULTURE CONDUCT

Introduction

Once one has analyzed the attitudes of the Chicano population toward psychotherapy, and the important cultural factors which have affected the attitudes of the Chicano clients toward the traditional mental health professions, based on Anglo norms, one is on better grounds to delve into an attempt to look into alternative methods of treatment which will address themselves to the problem of Chicano mental health. The reviewed authors make an attempt to design a modality for the psychotherapeutic treatment of the Chicano client. From the critical psycho-social factors which were explored in this work, information has been compiled by previous authors, who have made an attempt to emerge with a culturally congruent psychoterapeutic mode for the Chicano population of this country.

Psycho-Cultural Approach

Bilingual/bicultural Therapeutic Model

The effects of client perceptions of the psychotherapists in the initial involvement, and on the outcome of treatment, seem to be
particularly important for a study of client participation in psychotherapy, whether it be by Chicanos or any other group. A few investigators have recently begun to study systematically the different characteristics of therapists that lead to preferential selection by different clients (Boulevers and Holms, 1970; Wolkon, Morewacki, and Williams, 1973).

Acosta and Sheehan (1976) recently examined the effects of therapists' ethnicity and expertise on the preferences and attitudes toward therapists by Chicanos and Anglo Americans. This study was conducted with 94 Chicanos and 93 Anglo Americans. Junior college students listened to one of two matched therapy audiotapes containing the same dialogue. Acosta and Sheehan found that both Chicanos and Anglos expressed significantly more positive attitudes toward the Anglo professionals and the Chicano non-professionals. More specifically, both ethnic groups contributed more skills, understanding, trust-worthiness, and liking to the Anglo American professional and the Chicano non-professional. It is important to note, however, that while the Anglo professional and the Chicano non-professional were seen more positively than either the Anglo non-professional or the Chicano professional, all therapists were seen with moderately positive attitudes.

Acosta and Sheehan concluded that while the Chicanos held generally favorable attitudes toward therapists and psychotherapy, they appeared to have less trust and credence in an expert therapist of their own ethnicity. The implication is that Chicanos may not yet have achieved high public credibility among their own ethnic group.
Some social psychologists have argued that similarity to stimulus person will lead to more credibility, trust, worth, respect, and attraction (Bercheid, 1966; brooks, 1965; Merrick, 1957). Simon, Berkowitz, and Moyer (1970), however, argued that the bulk of the research on the effects of similarity and dissimilarity remains equivocal. Many studies in the 1950's and 1960's with Black and White children indicated that both groups tend to choose White stimuli or people as a preference (Braud, Ruiz, and Padilla, 1974). A few recent studies, however, have shown higher preference by Blacks for Black stimulus person. Braud, et al. (1974) suggested that these later findings may reflect Black pride or may be the result of better experimental measures. Penalosa (1970) argued that changes in self-identification will probably occur among many Chicanos as the result of the new Chicano movement. Ethnic similarity and dissimilarity between therapists and clients, therefore, warrant greater study for the Chicano population.

Several potential therapy problems can occur for Anglo American therapists treating a Chicano client. Such a relationship can easily evoke uncertainties and stereotypes for the Anglo therapist if he/she believes it is impossible to help someone who is socioculturally-different. Several studies have reported, for example, that experienced therapists, trainees, and supervisors expressed discontent, frustration, and unwillingness to treat or offer therapy to low-income patients (Lorion, 1974). Even the Anglo American therapist who is interested in helping a Mexican American patient may harbor myths, stereotypes, and misinformation about the Chicano's cultural background that could distort the therapist's perceptions,
diagnosis, and treatment. Thomas and Sillen (1972) argued cogently that this kind of distortion often occurs when White therapists treat Blacks. Current mental health literature continues to reflect well intentioned misperceptions and misconceptions of Anglo therapists that can only serve to maintain a belief that Mexican Americans are somehow extremely different and must therefore, be treated extremely different.

It is given that communication is essential before any counseling must take place between a counselor and a counselee. Therefore, in the case of the Chicano who has been affected by two languages, namely, Spanish and English; it is imperative that these two variables should be accountable for meaningful communication, more so, when empathy with the client must be established.

In a study conducted by East Los Angelos Mental Health Services, Miranda (1976) examined the perception of the significance of language and ethnicity in service delivery; he also measured the association between provider's language and ethnicity, and consumers evaluation of appropriateness of services, regarding bi-lingual/bi-cultural staff at ELAMHS. The results were as follows; as for the language, the Chicano indicated a higher preference for the Spanish language. Thus, the authors recommended that this variable must be taken into account in the planning and delivery of mental health services. It was recommended that the majority of direct services of mental health staff be bi-lingual and bi-cultural so as to optimally meet the language, communication, and cultural needs of the Chicano consumer. The author suggests an interviewing style, because it was discovered that the standard interviewing principles had to
be modified. Traditionally, interview training has focused on maintaining a certain distance from the respondent as a way of minimizing bias. In order to elicit meaningful responses from the Chicano respondents (especially the Spanish speaking) it was found that there was a need to establish a meaningful relationship between the interviewee and the respondent. One means of doing this was by requiring that all interviewers be bi-lingual and bi-cultural. Another mean was the use of "La Platica" (conversation, chat). For example, prior to the actual interview, and at times during the interview itself, the interviewer would engage in discussions of tangential issues not directly related to the task. Other methods of "La Platicas" included discussing one's own personal background (e.g. birthplace, where one had been reared, present status, etc.).

**Restoration of Pride**

Oppression dehumanizes an individual and his group. However, this process is never fully completed, for a man cannot physically accept the status of non-human. In our case, dehumanization is attempted through the invalidations of the Chicano's culture, and thus his group as a whole. It is an attack on the core of his being, and he responds defensively. Therefore, in order to replace the self-pride for self-hatred in an individual this individual would benefit by becoming conscious of who he or she is. This is one of the purposes of psycho-cultural approach, to work on the *concientización* (development of the individual's consciousness) of the individual.
No other minority group in the United States has experienced analogous dehumanization, discrimination and degradation in this country, as the Blacks. There is much the Chicano can learn from his Black brothers to restore his self-identify, from his non-being, his self-pride, form his self-hatred. Because this self-hatred has been one of the cardinal points that has emasculated the minority individual in this society. The denial of the minority individual's past, his history, his culture, his heritage, etc. was to be substituted systematically by the social institutions through education with a completely different history, culture, and heritage to which the minority individual is completely foreign. He does not fit and cannot fit into this culture. However, some minority individuals try desperately to make some precarious adjustment to this society. This has devasting consequences in their psyche, because not knowing, nor having anything to feel proud about, they can only grab the oppressive model that the dominant culture has given them to go by. This is a source of self-hatred that the individual suffers because he cannot accept himself, because he is different from the pattern and all the positive models that the dominant society gives him. This sociological phenomenon of cultural deprivation is found over and over again in sociological investigations of oppressed minority groups in societies (see Debos and the Japanese study).

The Chicano understands that basically he has two enemies, one within himself and the other outside. Ideally, he can conquer both enemies, but he can never progress towards mastering the outside forces unless he strengthens and broadens the Concept of Raza (Raza = race, Chicano ethnic concept which describes the Mexican-American and Mexican
peoples), of Chicanismo, and of Aztlan (name of the region in the
Southwest of USA from where the Aztecs migrated to Tenechtitian, now
Mexico City. This is according to the Aztecs' legends. The word Aztlan
has also become a symbolic name for the region where the Chicano people
originated.) among his own (Rendon, 1975).

The same situation was found with the Blacks, at the beginning of
their Black liberation movement, over and over Black leaders exhaulted
their followers making them conscious that the real enemy was not the
White man, but the Negro, "the Negro who has been taught by White
oppression and discrimination to despise himself and who is unable,
therefore, to help himself" (p. 155). The worst crime that a White man has
committed," says Malcolm X, "has been to teach us to hate ourselves" (p.
155). For self-hatred has produced the crime, the drug addiction, the
alcoholism that infest the Negro community (Silberman, 1964).

Chicano scholars such as De Leon (1959) contend that the cultural
marginality of many Chicanos contributes to the problem of self-identity
and causes more than normal self-derogation. And, he argues that, "the
partial disintegration of the parent culture, and the fact that he has been
taught, through social pressures, to be ashamed of, and even to disown his
ethnic diversity, has made the Chicano a victim of confusion, frustration,
and insecurity" (Carter, 1974:55). Another account that seems very
familiar, is what Elijah would say about the Negro problem, i.e., that self-
hatred was the responsible factor for the apathy that kept Negroes ignorant
and poor; that would make them blame every failure on "the man"; that
self-hatred was responsible for the idealization of everything White; and
that would lead Negroes to despise their own kind and make them unable to work together except for "funerals, food, and fun."

The author has personally experienced this condition in a southwestern Michigan community, where despite the proportionally large number of Chicanos, social and economic injustices are suffered at the hands of the Anglo, in this case Dutch descendant. One cannot unite in a common cause to better his lot. Watching the group dynamics of the only Chcano charted organization in the community, the atmosphere of petty jealousies and envies manifest the feelings of self-hatred that precludes any common effort by the group; consequently, this organization LAUP (Latin Americans United for Progress) has degenerated into a driftless group together to organize fiestas and dances, exactly what Elijah Mohamed said about the Blacks back in the 1960's.

How many times Malcolm X would say that the solution of the Negro problem, must start with the Negro himself. The Civil Rights groups, Malcolm X would argue, are concerned with changing the White man's image of the Negro. The Black Muslims are interested only in changing the Black man's image of the Negro. If we do that, Malcolm X argues, "the White Man will change their opinion automatically, but, we cannot change the White man's opinion of the Black man until we change out own image ourselves." This restoration of self-pride, self-dignity, African heritage, etc. were some of the central points of the Blacks Muslims to change the self-image of the Blacks. And as many social scientists noted how Elijah Muhamed had been able to do what generations of welfare workers, committees, resolutions, reports, housing projects, and
playground have failed to do. To heal the drunkard and junkie, and to convert people who have come out of prison and to keep them out. Psychiatric social workers in Harlem Hospitals in New York, were amazed by the Muslim success in rehabilitating drug addicts, and would approach Malcolm X for his advice and assistance (Silberman, 1964). It is imperative that a linkage of the Chicano with his past be made, along with the development of his consciousness about his cultural heritage. This can lay the foundation for the Chicano individual’s acquisition of a positive self-image. Educators claimed that cultural enrichment among the Chicano children such as teaching is of utmost importance in helping to wipe out the negative self-image. (Hispanic culture, pre-Columbian culture, and language programs for teaching Spanish, etc., is of utmost importance in helping to wipe out the negative self-image of the Chicano child, who seems to be highly deficient in knowledge, and pride in his "rich cultural vintage"). This condition is assumed to discourage a negative self-image, and to remedy this, the child should be exposed to his own culture. Like any other educational programs, such "culture" is assumed to be the best of the past. For instance, it is very doubtful that any Chicano student, and for that matter a majority of adult Chicanos, know anything about his historical heritage, his legacy of the Indian cultures; namely, the remarkable cultures that the Mayas, the Aztecs, and the Incas of this continent, had developed prior to the arrival of the White man. How many Chicanos would know, and for that matter Anglos, that at the time that the Roman legions were flushing the "pagan" barbaric Germanic tribes of Northern Europe from their forests, when these tribes were still offering
human sacrifices to their god Woton and living in primitive conditions (Salvador de Madariaga, 1960) that the Mayan Empire, in Southern Mexico and Central America, had invented the concept of the zero in their numerical system, and were building observatories to plot the course of the stars. The Spaniards were in awe as they came into view of the great city of Tenochtitlan, which was the center of the Aztec Empire, and is now Mexico City. Detailed accounts exist in historical chronicals of the conquest of Mexico written by the monks who traveled with Hernan Cortez, the Spanish conquistador of Mexico. Unbelievable feats of Architectural and Civil Engineering, which are still a mystery to European observers, lay high up in the mountains of the city of Cuzco in the Andes of Peru (the center of the Inca Empire that the Spanish conqueror Francisco Pizara found). These were great ancient civilizations which were not based ideologically nor philosophically on the concept of technology and industry, this being the core of what the westerners know as "civilization", whatever that means.

A similar situation occurred with the Blacks when the Western man denied them their past. They had to overcome greater obstacles because African history was not even developed in the African continent by the Africans themselves. Therefore, this was subject to European colonistic mentality, i.e., Arnold Toynbee erred grievously when he wrote that of all the races of mankind, "the Black races alone have not contributed positively to any civilization" (Silberman, 1964:170-71). On the other hand, the eminent Oxford anthropologist, L.S.B. Leaky wrote, "Africa's first contribution to human progress was the evolution of man himself." (p. 170-
71) Professor Leaky's views are based on fossils and skeletons he had discovered in Africa.

The African states, during the late 50's and 60's, began to acquire their independence and to regain their self-rule and recognition through the world. This gave great impetus to the concept of culture and racial pride in the American Blacks during their social struggle for equality during the 60's and early 70's. Likewise, it is hoped that the new economic preponderance, due to the oil industries, has made Mexico into a country that the U.S. cannot take for granted and will have to take into account. This, hopefully, as in our Black brothers, will contribute towards looking into a proud cultural frame of reference which the Chicano can take claim to. This, of course, remains to be seen. Thus, in a treatment modality for the Chicano, it is imperative that a comprehensive cultural program, which includes the gamut of the Chicano individual's background and a cultural awareness training program be included, so that these programs would decipher the Chicano's proud background; namely, the Mesoamerican indigenous, Spanish, Mexican and Chicano history and culture.

Assessment of Acculturation

In order for a social group to function in a productive and creative way during its adjustment to the psychosocial environment, and to achieve a sense of self-fulfillment, this group must have a sense of belonging and group identity with this culture of origin. All of these characteristics mentioned must function as an integral part of the group and the individual's personality as part of his psychic structure or behavioral...
repertoire. Once this need for healthy personality development is established, it seems reasonable to take it a step further in lieu of the fact that the mental health of the Chicano client is the object of our project. Therefore, a determination of how the individual feels about himself in relation to his cultural identity, is an important variable that must be determined before a therapeutic intervention can take place. A cultural assessment is the vehicle to use in order to obtain quantitatively the degree of acculturation that a Chicano individual demonstrates in his psychosocial environment, in view of the two distinct cultures, Mexican and Anglo. As assessment of this nature can identify the amount of cultural loyalty which the subject has towards his own culture; hence, detecting any amount of cognitive dissonance which may exist. The cultural assessment tool was first developed by Dr. Amado Padilla for a paper delivered at XV Intra American Congress of Psychology at Bogota, Columbia, 1974.

The goal of this scale, to measure the extent of ethnic identification, was to describe an operational approach in questionnaire technique for the empirical assessment and classification of individuals by their degree of ethnicity. Once completed Padilla believed that this scale can be of value to social and clinical psychologists who wish to estimate and/or statistically determine the extent to which a Chicano individual's behavior and value orientation may be due to those cultural stresses and loyalties produced by the individual's "marginal man" status. To this purpose, the spectrum of acculturation (see Chapter III) is used as the yard stick to measure where the degree of acculturation of a Chicano individual lies, as determined by the cultural assessment tool; beginning with the
strong Mexican valued cultural traits, to very Anglocized, completely assimilated, cultural traits.

Padilla hypothesized that individuals with low levels of identity (as measured by a series of scales) with traditional Mexican values and behavioral norms, who also lack familial support, and community and kin network interceptors, will be the most predisposed to use and need assessible mental health facilities. The contention is that this will be true since those individuals will be subject to greater psychological stress and Cultural alienation and marginality because of their greater exposure to acculturation processes and the absence of familial resources to turn to in solving their emotional problems.

Padilla’s approach was based on some tenents of cross-cultural psychology and on the anthropological literature. It was assumed that bi-culturality and/or degree of acculturation rests on a particular configuration of culturally opposite behavioral and attitudinal traits and/or opposing cultural loyalities. The purpose of Padilla’s report was to specify how we have begun to operationalize this approach in the development of a scale to measure ethnic identification and loyalty. Padilla determined six measurable cultural values from where to measure the acculturation of the subject:

1) Language
2) Cultural Heritage
3) Ethnic Interaction
4) Ethnic Pride and Identity
5) Ethnic Distance and Perceived Discrimination
6) Generational Proximity to Mexico

1. Language

Continuum: Spanism - English

A. To what degree the individual, his parents, and significant other's consciousness of the Spanish language is important in their every day life cognitions.
Knowledge of the Spanish language.
How did the individual, his parents, and significant others learn the language.

B. Loyalty
Language of respondent in familial and social communications.
Language of respondent's preferred TV station, radio station, newspapers, magazines, books, etc.
Language proficiency: Efforts made to acquire and maintain Spanish language use by respondent and respondent's family members.
Language value attributed to knowledge of Spanish as a component of identity and cultural continuity.

2. Cultural Heritage

Continuum: Mexico - United States

A. Awareness
Knowledge of Mexican and American cultural symbols, historical events, and personalities, current events and personalities.
Knowledge of local Spanish-speaking community affairs, events and personalities.

B. Loyalty

Preference for Mexican or Anglo cultural symbols.

Perceptions of Mexico and United States as socio-cultural arenas.

Trips (vacations) to Mexico and within the United States - frequency and duration.

Celebration and involvement in Mexican and/or American holidays.

Preference in food and entertainment - music, art, movies, sports interviewer's observations, and inquiries about the cultural content of household items on hand.

3. Ethnic Interaction

Continuum: Mexican Americans - Anglos

Ethnicity of associates when respondent was a child and an adolescent.

Ethnicity of present associates - friends, co-workers, neighbors.

Residential location and ethnic composition of neighborhood.

Voluntary organizational memberships: Mexican American or Anglo groups.

Endogamy - exogamy.
4. Ethnic Pride and Identity

Continuum: Mexican - Anglo

Self-affirmation of perceived ethnic group virtues.

Respondent's evaluation of parent's, spouse's, and children's self-attributed identification with a group name, i.e., Chicano, Mexican American, American of Mexican descent.

Respondent's self-attributed identification with a group name in different situation, i.e., Chicano, Mexican American, American of Mexican descent.

First name preference (Spanish or English version) and usage of respondent and spouse and children.

Respondent's self-attributed blood heritage: Mexican Indian, Mestizo (Mexican Indian-Spanish), Spanish, other.

Respondent's attribution of behavioral traits and cognitive skills to individuals of varying skin color, i.e., dark to light.

Interviewer's perception of respondent's skin color.

5. Ethnic Distance and Perceived Discrimination

Continuum: High ethnic distance and perceived discrimination - Low ethnic distance and perceived discrimination.

A. Awareness

Claim knowledge about differential treatment of Anglo and Mexican American in distinct social and economic spheres.

Perceived discrimination: Stress and avoidance associated with membership in ethnic group.
B. Loyalty

Maintenance of ethnic distance from Anglo and/or Mexican Americans.

Preferred ethnic identity of associates.

6. Generational Proximity to Mexico

Continuum: Mexico - United States

Birthplace of head of household and spouse and their parents, grandparents and children.

Length of residence in Mexico and United States of head of household and spouse and their parents.

Maintenance of communication with familial ties in Mexico.

Maintenance of contact with Mexican society, i.e., through visits for family affairs, religious, and social obligations.

Years of education in Mexico and/or United States of head of household and spouse and their parents.

Outcomes

Through the Cultural Assessment Scale (CAS) one can expect to be able to establish typologies, i.e., categories of Mexican Americans which can be placed along a continuum ranging from high Mexican identity to high "American" identity. These categories will allow one to identity and in the long run add greater precision to social science research involving Mexican Americans. For too long one has seen the growing accumulation of social science research on the Mexican American result in generalities about this Latino sub-groups with little or no attempt made to measure the cultural
heterogeneity of the group nor to establish a precise index of the range of identities assumed by Mexican Americans. Only when one is able to specify with some degree of precision an individual’s (or ethnic group's) self-attributed ethnicity will one be able to employ social science methodologies to analyze the behavior and solve the social problems besieging Mexican Americans.

From the perspective of the larger project, an immediate therapeutic bi-product of the CAS will be that mental health workers will be able to ascertain the extent to which a Mexican American's client problems are the product of his cultural loyalties. By using the CAS, the mental health worker will also know whether the individual's problem is due to the incompatibility between self-attributed ethnic identity, awareness, and pride, and his relationship and perceived status in the larger Anglo American community. Thus, for example, an individual with high Mexican identity and awareness should not be offered a therapeutic program based on Anglo American cultural values and in English. Similarly, an individual whose identity and cultural awareness is closer to the Anglo American end of the continuum would not be benefitted by a Spanish speaking therapist who emphasized bi-cultural identity can be identified and offered appropriate therapeutic programs.

**Therapeutic Approach**

**Didactic Approach**

The basic hypothesis of psycho-cultural counseling approach is that the Chicano client will require an innovative psychotherapeutic delivery
system. It is hypothesized (Jasso, 1978), that the reason counseling and therapy have been ineffective and failed to meet the psychological needs of the Chicano has been primarily because of two reasons. The mono-lingual mono-cultural psychotherapeutic model has not recognized the client's bi-lingual bi-culturalism. Also, this model was derived from the traditional medical model concept. The model that Jasso proposes is based on a psycho-cultural therapeutic approach. It is a bi-lingual bi-cultural psychological process that entails the interaction between the counselor and the client which attempts to produce a change and adjustment in the client's dual cultural attitudes, values, customs and beliefs, traditions, interests, feelings, perception of self, and ethnic identity. Psycho-cultural counseling is educational and therapeutic. It is a systematic behavioristic learning experience. A basic goal is for the Chicano to start experiencing a sense of self-group identity and to accept those psycho-cultural attributes and traits that make him/her Chicano. The premises for the reasoning is based on the "marginal man" status which has become a stress factor in their lives. Of course, because of heterogeneity of the Chicano culture, the conflicts and problems will vary from low to high depending on the degree of commitment to the Mexican and/or American culture. It is a specific model used with the Chicano.

I. Cultural Assessment:

A. Administration of Cultural Assessment:

1. Through a cultural assessment, the counselor can determine the extent of self-identity problems and its relationship to mental health.
2. Through the assessment, a relevant and effective individualized cultural treatment plan can be developed.

3. The level of culture awareness and loyalty of the client.

4. The classification of individuals by their degree of ethnicity on continuous scales designed to measure assimilation and aculturation.

5. Correlation of culture conflict as a probable cause and the individual's degree of neuroticism or "abnormal" behavior.

6. A social history of the individual's family will surface along with the client's from the cultural assessment.

B. Specific hypotheses utilizing psychocultural therapy:

1. A positive development of the Chicano's self-concept.

2. Attitudinal modification.


4. Chicano group identity.


II. Major Steps in Counseling:

A. Culture assessment orientation to client in therapeutic setting.
B. Administration of the culture assessment questionnaire.

C. Culture assessment analysis by counselor refers to observation of client's responses and written documentation.

D. Psycho-cultural counseling process between counselor and client initiates.

E. Six systematic psycho-cultural therapeutic sessions with client.

III. Counseling Methods and Therapeutic Techniques:

A. Self-disclosure.

B. Empathy.

C. Open dialogue.

D. Self-awareness and understanding experience.

E. Directive.

F. Confrontation.

G. Summation.

H. Usage of dichos/refranes/cuentos-leyendas.

I. Culture heritage discussions.

J. Outreach.

K. Focusing into the emotion or feelings.

L. Value clarification.

M. Usage of Spanish and English.

N. Ethnotherapy.

O. Platicas.
IV. Stages in Counseling:

A. Establishing rapport.
B. Exchanging information on assessment questionnaire.
C. Explaining anthro-historical and socio-cultural data.
D. Culture awareness experience and understanding.
E. Identification of culture values, beliefs, traditions and loyalty of client to culture.
F. Processing of culture conflict and ethnic identity.
G. Cognitive restructuring.
H. Overall summary of assessment.

The effectiveness of psycho-cultural therapy is contingent upon the counselor's attitude towards the client, acceptance of client's bi-lingual-bi-culturalism, counselor's self-identity and cultural knowledge, and time, involvement, and belief in the Culture Assessment Model and psycho-cultural counseling.

Model for Minority Identity Development

The purpose of this is to explicate a model of minority identity development that acknowledges coincidental identity transformational processes involving minority groups and utilizes these processes to help explain individual differences within minority groups.

A second major approach has viewed minority attitudes and behaviors as a product of an identity development continuum. This approach differs from earlier typologies in that minority attitudes and behaviors are viewed as flexible and a function of the individual's stage of
identity development. Rather than type the individual, stages of development through which any minority person may pass are described. Attitudinal and behavioral attributes are, therefore, not viewed as fixed characteristics, but as related to identity development.

These early attempts to define a process of minority identity development were almost obviously influenced in their thinking by the impact of social, psychological and cultural events in the 60's. Hall, Cross, and Freedle (1972), describe how these events highlighted the process of Black identity transformation:

We have seen a change in the nature of black-white relations in America. To be sure, this change has produced many consequences, one of which has been an identity transformation among American blacks. The transformation has been from an older orientation, whereby most blacks viewed themselves as inadequate, inferior, incapable of self-determination, and unable to cope with the intricacies of life in a complex society, to one of feeling adequate, self-reliant, assertive and self-determinative. (p. 156)

The most highly developed models of Black identity transformation have been offered by Cross (1970, 1971) and Jackson (1975). Each of these men, independent of the other, developed a four-stage identity development process, although each acknowledges the influence of earlier writers (Crawford and Naditch, 1970; Sherif and Sherif, 1970; Thomas, 1971; Wallace, 1964). Cross (1971) described his model as a "Negro-to-Black Conversion Experience" consisting of pre-encounter, encounter, immersion, and internalization stages, and an exploratory study by Cross and two colleagues (Hall, Cross, and Freedle, 1972), provides some tentative support for these stages of development. According to the model, Blacks at the pre-encounter stage are "programmed to view and
think of the world as being non-black, anti-black, or the opposite of Black" (Hall, Cross, and Freedle, 1972:159). At the next stage, the encounter stage, the Black individual becomes aware of what being Black means and begins to validate him/herself as a Black person. During the immersion stage, the Black person rejects all non-black values and totally immerses him/herself in Black culture. Finally, in the internalization stage, the Black person gains a sense of inner security and begins to focus on "things other than himself and his own ethnic or racial group" (Hall, Cross, and Freedle, 1972:160).

Jackson (1975) identifies a similar four-stage process as the Black Identity Development Model. In stage one (Passive Acceptance) the Black person accepts and conforms to White social, cultural and institutional standards. In stage two (Active Resistance) the Black person rejects all that is White and attempts to remove all White influences upon his/her life. In stage three (Redirection) the Black individual no longer admires or despises what is White, but rather considers it irrelevant to Black Culture. Finally, in stage four (Internalization) the Black person acknowledges and appreciates the uniqueness of the Black culture, and comes to accept and reject various aspects of American culture based on their own merits.

Although these identity development models pertain specifically to the Black experience, the editors of the present text believe that some of the basic tenets of these theories can be generalized and applied to other minority groups, due to their shared experience of oppression. Several earlier writers (Stonquist, 1937; Berry, 1965) have also observed that
minority groups share the same patterns of adjustment to cultural oppression. Parallels are most easily drawn between Blacks and other racial/ethnic groups. During the past two decades, for instance, the social and political activity of Chicanos, Asian Americans, and Native Americans has resulted in an identity transformation for persons within these groups, similar to that experienced by Black Americans. A Third World Consciousness has emerged, with the common experience of oppression clearly serving as the unifying force.

Based on views expressed by earlier writers and our own clinical observation that these changes in attitudes and subsequent behavior follow a predictable sequence, we propose a five-stage, Minority Identity Development (MID) model.

The MID model is not presented as a comprehensive theory of personality development, but rather as a scheme to help counselors understand minority client attitudes and behaviors within existing personality theories. The model defines five stages of development that oppressed people may experience as they struggle to understand themselves in terms of their own minority culture, the dominant culture, and the oppressive relationship between the two cultures. Although five distinct stages are presented in the model, the MID is more accurately conceptualized as a continuous process in which one stage blends with another and boundaries between stages are not clear.

At each level the author provides examples of four corresponding attitudes that may assist the counselor to understand behaviors displayed by individuals operating at or near these levels. (It is the contention that
minority behavior, like all human behavior, can only be fully understood within the context of the attitudes that motivate it. Each attitude is believed to be an integral part of any minority person's identity, how he/she views: a) self, b) others of the same minority, c) others of another minority, and d) majority individuals. Rather, the model is intended to reflect a process that has been observed in the work with minority clients over the past two decades.

Stage One - Conformity Stage

Minority individuals in this stage of development are distinguished by their unequivocal preference for dominant cultural values over those of their own culture. Their choice of role models, life styles, value system, etc., all follow the lead of the dominant group. Those physical and/or cultural characteristics which single them out as minority persons are a source of pain, and are either viewed with disdain or are repressed from consciousness. Their views of self, fellow group members, and other minorities in general are clouded by their identification with the dominant culture.

A. Attitude toward self: Self-depreciating attitude. Individuals who acknowledge their distinguishing physical and/or cultural characteristics consciously view them as a source of shame. Individuals who repress awareness of their distinguishing physical and/or cultural characteristics depreciate themselves at a subconscious level.
B. Attitude toward members of the same minority: Group-depreciating attitude. Fellow minority group members are viewed according to dominant-held beliefs of minority strengths and weaknesses.

C. Attitude toward members of different minority: Discriminatory attitude. Other minorities are viewed according to the dominant group's system of minority stratification, i.e., those minority groups that most closely resemble the dominant group in physical and cultural characteristics are viewed more favorably than those less similar.

D. Attitude toward members of dominant group: Group appreciating attitude. Members of the dominant group are admired, respected, and often viewed as ideal models. Cultural values of the dominant society are accepted without question.

Stage Two - Dissonance Stage

In the Dissonance stage of identity development, which is typified by cultural confusion and conflict, the minority individual encounters information and/or experiences that are inconsistent with previously accepted values and beliefs, and consequently is led to question and to some degree challenge, attitudes acquired in the Conformity stage.

A. Attitude toward Self: Conflict between self-depreciating and self-appreciating attitudes. With a growing awareness of minority cultural strengths comes a faltering sense of
pride in self. The individual's attitude toward distinguishing physical and/or cultural characteristics is typified by alternating feelings of shame and pride in self.

B. Attitude toward members of same minority: Conflict between group-depreciating and group-appreciating attitudes. Dominant-held views of minority strengths and weaknesses begin to be questioned, as new, contradictory information is received. Cultural values of the minority group begin to have appeal.

C. Attitude toward members of a different minority: Conflict between dominant-held views of minority hierarchy and feelings of shared experience. The individual begins of question the dominant-held system of minority stratification, and experiences a growing sense of comradeship with other oppressed people. Most of the individual's psychic energy at this level, however, is devoted to resolving conflicting attitudes toward self, the same minority, and the dominant group.

D. Attitude toward members of dominant group: Conflict between group appreciating and group depreciating attitude. The individual experience a growing awareness that not all cultural values of the dominant group are beneficial to him/her. Members of the dominant group are viewed with growing suspicion.
Stage Three - Resistance and Immersion Stage

In this stage of development, the minority individual completely endorses minority-held views and rejects the dominant society and culture. Desire to eliminate oppression of the individual's minority group becomes an important motivation of the individual's behavior.

A. Attitudes toward self: Self-appreciating attitude. The minority individual at this stage acts as an explorer and discoverer of his/her history and culture, seeking out information and artifacts which enhance his/her sense of identity and worth. Cultural and physical characteristics which once illicited feelings of shame and disgust at this stage become symbols of pride and honor.

B. Attitude toward members of the same minority: Group-appreciating attitude. The individual experiences a strong sense of identification with a commitment to his/her minority group, as enhancing information about the group is acquired. Members of the group are admired, respected, and often viewed as ideal models. Cultural values of the minority group are accepted without question.

C. Attitude toward members of a different minority: Conflict between feelings of empathy for other minority experiences and feelings of culturocentrism. The individual experiences a growing sense of camaraderie with persons from other minority groups, to the degree to which they are viewed as sharing similar forms of oppression. Alliances with other
groups tend to be short-lived, however, when their values come in conflict with those of the individual's minority group. The dominant group's system of minority stratification is replaced by a system which values most those minority groups that are culturally similar to the individual's own group.

D. Attitude toward members of dominant group: Group-depreciating attitude. The individual totally rejects the dominant society and culture, and experience a sense of distrust and dislike for all members of the dominant group.

Stage Four - Introspection Stage

In this stage of development, the minority individual experiences feelings of discontent and discomfort with group views rigidly held in the Resistance and Immersion stage, and diverts attention to notions of greater individual autonomy.

A. Attitude toward self: Concern with basis of self-appreciating attitude. The individual experiences conflict between notions of responsibility and allegiance to minority group and notions of personal autonomy.

B. Attitude toward members of same minority: Concern with unequivocal nature of group appreciation. While attitudes of identification are continued from the preceding Resistance and Immersion stage, concern begins to build up regarding the issue of group-usurped individuality.
C. Attitude toward members of a different minority: Concern with ethnocentric basis for judging others. The individual experiences a growing uneasiness with minority stratification that results from culturocentrism and the greater value placed on groups experiencing the same oppression than those experiencing a different oppression.

D. Attitude toward members of dominant group: Concern with the basis of group depreciation. The individual experiences conflict between attitude of complete distrust for the dominant society and culture, and attitude of selective trust and distrust according to dominant individuals' demonstrated behaviors and attitudes. The individual also recognizes the utility of many dominant cultural elements, yet is confused as to whether to incorporate such elements into his/her minority culture.

Stage Five - Synergetic Articulation and Awareness Stage

Minority individuals in this stage experience a sense of self-fulfillment with regard to cultural identity. Conflicts and discomforts experienced in the introspection stage have been resolved, allowing greater individual control and flexibility. Cultural values of other minorities as well as those of the dominant group are objectively examined and accepted or rejected on the basis of prior experience gained in earlier stages of identity development. Desire to eliminate all forms of oppression becomes an important motivation of the individual's behavior.
A. Attitude toward self: Self-appreciating attitude. The individual experiences a strong sense of self-worth, self-confidence, and autonomy as the result of having established his/her identity as an individual, a member of a minority group, and/or a member of the dominant culture.

B. Attitude toward members of the same minority: Group appreciating attitude. The individual experiences a strong sense of pride in the group without having to accept group values unequivocally. Strong feelings of empathy with the group experience are coupled with an awareness that each member of the group is an individual.

C. Attitude toward members of a different minority: Group appreciating attitude. The individual experiences a strong sense of respect for the group's cultural values coupled with an awareness that each member of the group is an individual. The individual also experiences a greater understanding and support for all oppressed people, regardless of their similarity to the individual's minority group.

D. Attitude toward member of the dominant group: Attitude of selective appreciation. The individual experiences selective trust and liking for members of the dominant group who seek to eliminate repressive activities of the group. The individual also experiences an openness to the constructive elements of the dominant culture.
Implications of the MID Model for Counseling

As suggested earlier, the MID model is not intended as a comprehensive theory of personality, but rather as a paradigm to help psychotherapists understand minority client attitudes and behaviors. In this respect, the model is intended to sensitize counselors to: 1) the role oppression plays in a minority individual's identity development, 2) the differences that can exist between members of the same minority group with respect to their cultural identity, and 3) the potential which each individual minority person has for changing his/her sense of identity. Beyond helping to understand minority client behavior, the model has implications for the therapeutic process itself.

The general attitudes and behaviors which describe minority individuals at the Conformity stage, e.g., denial of minority problems, strong dependence and identification with dominant group, etc., suggest that clients from this stage are unlikely to seek counseling related to their cultural identity as problems related to their personality identity. Clients at this stage are more inclined to visit and be influenced by counselors of the dominant group than those of the same minority. Because of the client's strong identification with dominant group members, counselors from the dominant group may find the conformist client's need to please and appease a powerful force in the counseling relationship. Clients at the Conformity stage are likely to present problems that are most amenable to problem solving and goal-oriented counseling approaches.

Minority individuals at the Dissonance stage of development are preoccupied by questions concerning their concept of self-identity, and
self-esteem; they are likely to perceive personal problems as related to their cultural identity. Emotional problems develop when these individuals are unable to resolve conflicts which occur between dominant-held views and those of their minority group. Clients in the Dissonance stage are more culturally aware than Conformity clients and are likely to prefer to work with a counselor who possess a good deal of knowledge regarding the client's cultural group. Counseling approaches the involve considerable self-exploration appear to be best suited for clients at this stage of development.

Minority individuals at the Resistance and Immersion stage are inclined to view all psychological problems (whether personal or social in nature) as a product of their oppression. The likelihood that these clients will seek formal counseling regarding their cultural identity is very slim. In those cases when counseling is sought, it will tend to be only between members of the same minority group, and generally in response to a crises situation. Therapy for Stage Three clients often takes the form of exposure to, and practice of, the ways and artifacts of their culture. An example of this might be a woman in a class on women's liberation. Clients at this stage who do seek counseling are likely to prefer group process and/or alloplastic approaches to counseling.

Clients at the introspection stage are torn between their preponderant identification with their minority group and their need to exercise greater personal freedom. When these individuals are unable to resolve mounting conflict between these two forces, they often seek counseling. While introspective clients still prefer to see a counselor from
their own cultural group, counselors from other cultures may be viewed similar to those of their clientele and appreciate their cultural dilemma. Counselors who use a self-exploration and decision-making approach can be most effective with these clients.

Clients at the fifth stage of identity development have acquired the internal skills and knowledge necessary to exercise a desired level of personal freedom. Their sense of minority identity is well balanced by an appreciation of other cultures. And, while discrimination and oppression remain a painful part of their lives, greater psychological resources are at their disposal in actively engaging the problem. Attitudinal similarity between counselor and client becomes a more important determinant of counseling success than membership-group similarity.

Discussion of the MID model's implications for counseling is admittedly highly speculative at this point, and the model itself requires empirical verification before more definitive inferences are drawn. It is still hoped that the model will stimulate much needed research with regard to minority identity development and that it will serve to make counselors more sensitive to the needs of the minority client.

How To Reach The Chicano Community

Service Delivery

For effective mental health service delivery in the Chicano community the professional staff, as it was expounded previously, must be cognizant of the cultural factors involved for efficient psycho-therapeutic
intervention. Moreover, some re-organization of the traditional service delivery process is highly recommended.

Some authors, Karmo and Moralez (1971), have studied the Professional Adaption Model which was placed into effect, in the efforts of the community mental health service in East Los Angeles, in order to attract Chicano clients. The major characteristics of this model is that the professional and paraprofessional staff of the community mental health center receive some form of specialized non-standard training or in some way "adapt" themselves to the specific requirements of serving the Chicano population. In this project, major innovations were implemented in staffing, service quarters, and treatment programs. At the end of a two-and-a-half year recruitment program, the medical director had attracted twenty-two full-time professional, paraprofessional, and clerical personnel. Of these twenty-two, fifteen were "completely fluent" in, four were "conversant" in, and three had a "rudimentary knowledge" of Spanish. Ten were natives and/or residents of the area. More interesting is the fact that twelve were Chicanos and two were of other Latin (Cuban and Peruvian) descent. Service quarters selected are described "in the heart of the community convenient for transportation, and comfortable". The treatment program was based on the philosophy of prevention. Thus, the major thrust was upon mental health consultation to a wide variety of community service agencies. As a back-up, the center offers short-term crises oriented treatment using individual, family, group, and chemical therapy. The center seems to be fulfilling the objective of providing
appropriate treatment for Chicanos because the first two hundred patients matched local population figures.

**Multifacet Approach**

In order to service the Chicano population, the local clinics must implement a wholistic approach toward mental health. It is no secret that the Chicano population has suffered, and faced an aversive psycho-social environment, and this is very much dependent on the socio-political and economical system of its respective society. As such, it is no wonder that when a Chicano client needs assistance from the mental health system, he finds that the private practice approach of the professional staff, and their all encompassing medical model, zeroing into the individual's intrapsychic dynamics, disregards obvious environmental variables needed by the Chicano client. Here is an individual that many times is facing discriminatory problems at work; his children, perhaps, are having problems (social and academic) at the local school; the creditors are very adamant when the bills are due, or overdue, because the creditor's rationale is that being minorities, they better get their money back before "these people" drink it away or spend it on other frivolous items or activities. This hypothetical example, by the way, was encountered by the author while he was working as a counselor at a local substance abuse agency. Therefore, more often than not, when one is helping the Chicano client, problems of living are dealt with, such as a crisis that they frequently encounter in their aversive environment. Consequently, a crisis oriented agency or clinic is another important component for effective service delivery to the Chicano
community. In summary, what is to be determined as a goal or objective for better servicing the Chicano population is the development of the concept of truly community mental health (not only for Chicanos, but for everybody), which is clearly different from the traditional, exclusively medical approach to mental health.

The Latino task force on community mental health training reported to the National Interdisciplinary Conference on Community Mental Health training the following, Rodolfo Alvarez (1974): Community Mental Health Service Delivery Systems must be disguised to insure non-stress producing utilization by the Latin community.

1. Community Mental Health (CMH) facilities should provide advocate services by the major public service institutions so that maximum efficiency and coordination of service to the Latinos can be rendered.

2. CMH facilities should include workers trained in organizing techniques which have proved effective within the Latino community to insure the continuing implementation of Latino values in the design of service delivery systems.

3. CMH systems must utilize techniques for identifying social and cultural conflicts (between the Latino community and the dominant society) which produce Latino clients.

4. CMH services must incorporate Latino values and be rendered in settings which reflect Latino socio-organizational reality: in the home, in voluntary associations, at places of employment, etc.
5. CMH services must be compatible with and supportive of Latino social and cultural structures: extended family, religion, folk medical practices, etc.

Additional Service Delivery System Recommendations.

1. Accessibility
   a. Locate mental health service facilities within the Barrio.
   b. Establish hours and days of service that meet the needs of the community.
   c. Provide extensive field services in addition to centralized office service.
   d. Use mental health literature terminology that is less technical and more literal in meaning to the Spanish speaking client.

2. Structure
   a. Offer mental health service delivery systems which are flexible rather than prestructured; collegial rather than bureaucratic.
   b. Abandon the practice of seeing clients by appointment only.

3. Program
   a. Cause the delivery systems to take into account the economic, political, and cultural oppression of the Chicanos by the dominant society by offering multi-service programs with crisis intervention as an important component.
   b. Make social action, community organizations and advocacy services intrinsic to every delivery system.
c. Include as part of the CMH delivery system the badly needed services for drug addicts and alcoholics.

1) Addict and alcoholic programs must be specially designed for the Chicano addict or alcoholic, in the context of this culture.

2) The program must provide opportunities for the addict or alcoholic to be economically and politically aware.

4. Treatment

a. Include the use of the family, compadrazgo networks and barrio support systems as key elements for the treatment process.

b. Include socio-cultural awareness techniques to foster concentration, and enhance self-awareness, so that negative self-image is replaced by a sound cultural identity and self-pride in the Chicano individual.

c. Characterize the relationship between the client and mental health workers, "personalismo" no "professionalism".

5. Parallel Delivery Systems

Existing mental health delivery systems, which are supposed to serve the barrio, must involve the Latino community in the development of parallel delivery systems to related specifically to the culture-conflict theory.
Chicano Body of Knowledge and Research

La Academia de la Raza

At the Mental Health Planning Conference for the Spanish speaking people held in Bethesda, Maryland in 1972, the consensus of the participants was that if effective mental health services should be rendered to the Chicano population, the professional involved in the delivery of these services should be, if not thoroughly trained, exposed to a Chicano body of knowledge. Tomas Atencio (1972), contends that what is needed is a body of knowledge which reflects the experience of La Raza (the neighborhood's richness). He states that if we follow the great pragmatists who say that knowledge is derived from experience and from action. The Chicanos argue with that statement, but as one look around one finds that our body of knowledge has been derived from somebody else's action. Further yet, these bodies of knowledge have been the foundations for the building of the same institutions that many times have tyrannized the minorities, specifically the Chicanos. It is a greatly bourgeois oriented knowledge, especially in the field of the social sciences. Therefore, Atencio claims that if the objective is socio-cultural adaptations to the reference culture, one could hardly adapt, and it would not be the answer, anyway, to become middle-class.

This concern of finding effective ways to deal with the mental health problems of the Chicano population has led Chicano mental health professionals to speculate in the possibility of founding their own system of research, without anyone's help, because many times patronizing funding
agencies to help research will do so contingent upon strings attached. Therefore, the Chicano researcher should look for himself into the Barrio, and make efforts to discover what is really el oro del barrio the welter of information that can be gotten from el Barrio, i.e., the wisdom of the people. This is really the chemistry which allowed the Chicano to survive these many years with the kind of conditions that they have had to live under and what it is that affords them the ability to be able to exercise their own type of therapy.

Atencio has been working on the concept of La Academia de la Nueva Raza which in turn is based on the concept that an ideological approach to education is necessary. He contends that the old idea of pouring in and pouring back, a banking kind of education, leaves the oppressed person or the minority person in the position where he is always lookin at somebody else and getting from him and giving back to him for acceptance only. He never really develops his own identity or his own way of finding his health. So La Academia is engaged in a process of collecting a body of knowledge and of turning this body of knowledge into an educational process. The author contends that for too long, the Chicano has been working around an adaptation-adjustment model – an adjustment and adaptation to what? As one begins to look at what we are adjusting to, one will realize that becoming middle class is not really our salvation as Chicanos. Finding a way to live within the structure might not really be the answer. So the Chicano is trying to find some way of developing a body of knowledge, paradoxical as it may seem, that reflects his experience, his life style, and his identity. And that one must turn this body of knowledge
into an educational process or a process of "concientización" to develop a humanity - or better, to rehumanize humanity.

**Recommendation for Research**

A second meeting of the Extramural Research Division of the Mental Health Planning Conference for the Spanish Speaking where notable Chicano scholars as Dr. Amado M. Padilla formed part of was held. At this meeting the research priorities of the Spanish speaking community were focused, and the number of ways that the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) could be more responsive to the research needs of the Spanish speaking community. The research priorities and recommendations drawn up by the committee follow:

1. Investigation of institutionalized ways that the Spanish speaking community deals with mental health problems and means by which these can be legitimized by institutionalized mental health service programs.
   a) An intervention method of dealing with crises situations should be sought.
   b) Research on the utilization of mental health services should be undertaken. Outreach programs must be looked into for their effectiveness in meeting the needs of the Spanish speaking community.
   c) Comparative research on therapeutic techniques with the Chicano speaking must be undertaken to select
the most advantageous and effective therapeutic model dealing with the Chicano speaking group.

d) Development of films on the mental health problems and treatment of Spanish speaking for use as training devices to sensitize mental health workers.

2. Ecological studies of the barrio. The barrio as a social system must be better understood.

3. Mental health of the Spanish speaking child. It was felt that special attention should be given to certain critical periods in the life of the Spanish speaking child. The critical periods mentioned were:
   a) Age 5-6 when the child enters school and may experience the cultural shock of not knowing the language.
   b) Late elementary school or junior high school, when the child begins to question his identity and role in life.

4. Distinction between social difference and cultural and/or ethnic differences. Investigations here should include a wide range of social behaviors and should deal with the question of values within this area.

5. The Spanish speaking individual's view of the world as contributor to differences in behavior. The definition of normal behavior, individual values, and life styles are of primary importance here.
6. Conflict generation and resolution in the Spanish speaking community. It is felt that this is vital to the mental health of the Spanish speaking community. Such a research should focus on:
   a) Difference within a Spanish speaking group.
   b) Contact and relation between various individual group (inter-ethnic relationships).
   c) Process of change within the barrio as a result of inter-ethnic contracts.
   d) Consequence of the introduction of a new ethnic group into a social situation.

7. New and/or improved methodologies for studying the Spanish speaking. Attention should be given to research strategies and screening instruments. There new methodologies should free of ethnocentric biases.

8. New screening and testing instruments which are culturally sensitive not only to the Spanish speaking as a whole, but to the various subgroups of Spanish speaking across the country.

9. Coping styles of the Spanish speaking in dealing with grief, death and other crisis situations. Some questions to be asked in this area include the following:
   a) What are the safety values for reducing stress?
   b) What are group reactions to stress?
c) What are the linkages between coping styles at different ages?

d) What are the linkages between coping styles between family members?

e) What are the adaptive strategies used by the Spanish speaking in functioning in an often hostile environment?
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

One has seen that the Chicano social experience has differed from the social experiences of the European descendant American in this society. It has also been shown that such a pervasive force as racial discrimination must be understood in order to gain insight into the behavior, "normal" or otherwise, of the Chicano individual. Also, the differences and uniqueness of the Chicano, physically as well as culturally, is a crucial variable to be considered in order to understand his behavior. The logical conclusion to these observations is that an interdisciplinary approach is necessary in order to objectively assess the manifold effect of discrimination on the Chicano's behavior. Unfortunately, the scientific approach presently used to assess the behavior of the Chicano client has been more inclined to view the individual, not as one who reacts to his psycho-social environment, but as one whose behavior originates from within. This, by the way, has been the all encompassing concept of "Mental Illness" which maintains that the individual is the "Pathogenic Carrier" of mental illness (Szasz, 1961). Clearly, this approach alludes to the concept of behavior which must be understood within a particular social context, as an inner "psychic force" which emanates from some remote corner of the
individual's being. Furthermore, this approach would clearly ignore the social reality of minorities in this society in their quest for mental health. Needless to say, this mental illness or medical model approach is considered dogmatic and irrelevant to the minority people's social experience. Hence, the non-European minorities, such as the Blacks and Chicanos, readily reject the present clinical approaches used in traditional mental health centers by not participating in the services which are offered by the mental health professional throughout this country. This rejection of methodology is another way for the minorities to express their dissatisfaction toward the paternalistic attitude that has prevailed in the behavior of the Europeans toward the "Conquered" non-European peoples since the times of Colonialism. And it is seen right here in this society, in the attitude of mental health professionals toward the minorities, using a kind of "Scientific Colonialism".

As Atencio said, "How can we Chicanos learn about ourselves, and how to emancipate from the same institutions which are oppressing us?" (p. 27) This is not to say that in order to conceptualize a "Minority Psychology" one must completely reject "Western Psychology".

This is not the case. However, one must keep an objective view of the social reality and how this interacts with human behavior. The fact that the non-European minorities, in this psycho-social environment have had to look beyond the present traditional approach should be viewed as an indication, epistemologically speaking, that the sciences concerned with human behavior have been short sighted to see beyond the present Western culture format of societies; they have proceeded to assess human behavior
from this vantage point. Indeed, here is where an interdisciplinary approach, which would include such scientific disciplines as anthropology, sociology, economics, and political sciences, would greatly assist the sciences of human behavior to truly become scientific and universal, and not parochial and culturally bound as in their present state.

In this Psycho-Cultural Approach, one begins by helping the individual to unravel his dilemma of differentness within the context of his psycho-social environment. Once this condition has been addressed then, the individual can be assisted through a clinical approach which can help him on his road towards personal self-realization where an individual's human experience transcends differentness in race and culture, and he can feel more in communion with his fellow man as a human being. But he must face his uniqueness and resolve the riddle of identity of who he/she is.
APPENDIX A

ACCULTRATION ASSESSMENT SCALE

The following questionnaire is a measure of acculturation. In institutional settings, testing is done in conjunction with the patient, a psychiatric treatment team member (e.g. case manager, psychiatric aide, ward nurse, etc.) and the rater. Items are presented in either English or Spanish, depending on the preference of the patient. All items are scored in relation to the following continuum:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mexican</th>
<th>Bicultural</th>
<th>Anglo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 Spanish</td>
<td>3 Bilingual</td>
<td>5 English</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Where La Raza is used, it is assumed to indicate Mexicanos, Chicanos and Mexican-Americans.
**Instructions to patient, client or testee:**

"We would like to ask you some questions about background and your lifestyle. It will take about 10 minutes, and if you have any questions as we go along, please feel free to ask. I can give you the test in either English, Spanish, or both. Do you have a preference?" (Proceed with the subject's preference.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name or number of Patient, Client or Testee</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Evaluator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION**

- How old are you? ______
- What is your marital status? ______
- What is your religious preference? ______

Circle the number next to the answer that best fits the question.

**Instrucciones al paciente, cliente, sujeto:**

"Deceamos hacerle algunas preguntas sobre sus costumbres y manera de vivir. Se tomará unos diez (10) minutos. Y si usted tiene algunas preguntas puede hacerlas con confianza. Le dare un examen en Ingles o en Espanol o en los dos idiomas. Cual prefiere usted?" (Continue con la preferencia del sujeto.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nombre o numero del paciente, cliente o sujeto</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Evaluador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fecha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**INFORMACION DEMOGRAFICA**

- Que edad tiene usted? ______
- Cual es su estado civil? ______
- Cual es su religion predilecta? ______

Indique la contestacion que mejor acomode a la pregunta con us circulo.
1. What language do you speak? (subject)
   1. Spanish only
   2. Mostly Spanish, some English
   3. Spanish and English about equally (bilingual)
   4. Mostly English, some Spanish
   5. English only

2. What language do you prefer?
   1. Spanish only
   2. Mostly Spanish, some English
   3. Spanish and English about equally (bilingual)
   4. Mostly English, some Spanish
   5. English only

3. How do you (subject) identify yourself?
   1. Mexican
   2. Chicano
   3. Mexican American
   4. Spanish American, Latin American, Hispanic American, American
   5. Anglo American or other

4. Which ethnic identification does (did) your mother use?
   1. Mexican
   2. Chicano
   3. Mexican American
   4. Spanish, Hispanic, Latin American
   5. Anglo American or other

---

1. Que lenguaje habla? (Subjecto)
   1. Solamente Espanol
   2. Mas Espanol, poco Ingles
   3. Igual en Espanol como Ingles
   4. Mas Ingles, poco Espanol
   5. Solamente Ingles

2. En que lenguaje prefiere hablar?
   1. Solamente Espanol
   2. Mas Espanol, poco Ingles
   3. Igual en Espanol como Ingles
   4. Mas Ingles, poco Espanol
   5. Solamente Ingles

3. Como se identifica usted (el sujeto), sujeto, etc.?
   1. Mexicano
   2. Chicano
   3. Mexico Americano
   4. Espanol Americano, Latino Americano, Hispanico Americano, Americano
   5. Anglo Americano, u otro

4. Que identificacion etnica tenia (usaba) su madre?
   1. Mexicano
   2. Chicano
   3. Mexico Americano
   4. Espanol, Latino Americano, Hispanico Americano
   5. Anglo Americano, u otro
5. Which ethnic identification does (did) your father use?

1. Mexican
2. Chicano
3. Mexican
4. Spanish, Hispanic, Latin American
5. Anglo American or other

6 & 7. What was the ethnic origin of friends and peers you had as a child up to age 6? (Use codes 1-5 below)

From 6 to 18?

1. Almost exclusively Mexicans, Chicanos, Mexican Americans (La Raza)
2. Mostly Mexicans, Chicanos, Mexican Americans
3. About equally Raza (Mexicans, Chicanos, or Mexican americans) and Anglos
4. Mostly Anglos, Blacks or others
5. Almost exclusively Anglos, Blacks, or others

8. Whom do you now associate with in the outside community?
1. Almost exclusively Mexicans, Chicanos, Mexican Americans (La Raza)
2. Mostly Mexicans, Chicanos, Mexican Americans
3. About equally Raza (Mexicans, Chicanos or Mexican Americans) and Anglos
4. Mostly Anglos, Blacks or others
5. Almost exclusively Anglos, Blacks or others

9. What is your music preference?
   1. Only Spanish
   2. Mostly Spanish
   3. Equally Spanish and English
   4. Mostly English
   5. English

10. What is your TV viewing preference?
    1. Only programs in Spanish
    2. Mostly programs in Spanish
    3. Equally Spanish and English programs
    4. Mostly programs in English
    5. Only programs in English

1. Exclusivamente Mexicanos, Chicanos, Mexico-Americanos (La Raza)
2. En su mayoria Mexicanos, Chicanos, Mexico-Americanos (La Raza)
3. Casi igual (Mexicanos, Chicanos, Mexico-Americanos a La Raza) y Anglos
4. En su mayoria Anglo Americano, Negros o otra raza
5. Exclusivamente Anglo Americanos, Negros o otra raza

9. Que musica prefiere?
   1. Solamente musica en Espanol
   2. Por la mayor parte en Espanol
   3. Casi igual en Espanol como Ingles
   4. Por la mayor parte en Ingles
   5. Solamente Ingles

10. Que es su preferencia de program de television?
    1. Solamente programas en Espanol
    2. Por la major parte programas en Espanol
    3. Equal programas en Espanol como Ingles
    4. Por la major parte Ingles
    5. Solamente programas en Ingles
11. What is your movie preference?

1. Spanish language movies only
2. Spanish language movies mostly
3. Equally English/Spanish movies
4. English language movies mostly
5. English language movies only

11. Que es su preferencia de peliculas?

1. Solamente peliculas en Espanol
2. Por la major parte peliculas en Espanol
3. Equal Ingles y Espanol
4. Por la major parte in Ingles
5. Solamente peliculas en Ingles

12. Where were you born?

Mexico United States

Where was your father born?

Mexico United States

Where was your mother born?

Mexico United States

Where was your father's mother born?

Mexico United States

Where was your father's father born?

Mexico United States

Where was your mother's mother born?

Mexico United States

Where was your mother's father born?

Mexico United States

Mexico Estados Unidos

En donde nacio su padre?

Mexico Estados Unidos

En donde nacio su madre?

Mexico Estados Unidos

En donde nacio la mama de su padre?

Mexico Estados Unidos

En donde nacio el papa de su padre?

Mexico Estados Unidos

En donde nacio el mama de su madre?

Mexico Estados Unidos

En donde nacio el mama de su madre?
On the basis of the above answers, circle the generation that best applies.

1. 1st generation - subject born in Mexico
2. 2nd generation - subject born in U.S., either parent born in Mexico
3. 3rd generation - subject born in U.S., both parents born in U.S.
4. 4th generation - subject and parents born in U.S. and at least one grandparent born in Mexico
5. 5th generation - subject and parents born in U.S. and all grandparents born in U.S.

13. Where were you raised?
1. In Mexico only
2. Mostly in Mexico, some in U.S.
3. Equally in U.S. and Mexico
4. Mostly in U.S., some in Mexico
5. In U.S. only

14. What contact have you had with Mexico?
4. Que contacto ha tenido usted con Mexico?
1. Raised for one year or more in Mexico
2. Lived for less than 1 year in Mexico
3. Occasional visit to Mexico
4. Occasional communications (letters, phone calls, etc.) with relatives in Mexico
5. No exposure or communication with relatives

15. What is your food preference?
1. Exclusively Mexican food
2. Mostly Mexican food, some American
3. About equally Mexican and American
4. Mostly American food
5. Exclusively American food

16. How far did you go in school? (Last grade completed in either U.S. and/or Mexico)
1. Elementary 0 – 5
2. 6 – 8
3. 9 – 12
4. H.S. – 2 years of college
5. 2 years of college and plus

1. Criado un año o más en México
2. Criado menos que un año en México
3. Varias visitas a México
4. Varias comunicaciones (cartas, llamadas de teléfono, etc.) con parientes en México
5. Nada de comunicaciones con familiares en México

15. Que es su preferencia en comida?
1. Solamente comida Mexicana
2. Por la mayor parte comida Mexicana, parte Americana
3. Igualmente Mexicana y Americana
4. Por la mayor parte comida Americana
5. Solamente comida Americana

16. Hasta que grado asistió usted en la escuela?
1. Primaria – 6 (grade)
2. Secundaria – 7-9 (grade)
3. Preparatoria – 10-12 (grade)
4. Universidad (1-2 años)
5. Universidad (mas que 2 años)
17. Can you read English? Yes _ No

    Can you read Spanish? Yes _ No

    Which do you read better?

    Rate the subject on the following continuum:

    1. Reads only Spanish
    2. Reads Spanish better than English
    3. Reads both Spanish and English equally well
    4. Reads English better than Spanish
    5. Reads only English

18. Can you write in English? Yes _ No

    Can you write in Spanish? Yes _ No

    Which do you write better?

    Rate the subject on the following continuum:

    1. Writes only Spanish
    2. Writes Spanish better than English
    3. Write both Spanish and English equally well
    4. Writes English better than Spanish
    5. Writes only in English
19. How much pride do you have in being a member of La Raza (be in Mexican Chicano, Mexican American, or however you identify this group)?

1. Extremely proud
2. Moderately proud
3. Little price
4. No pride, but does not feel negative toward group
5. No pride and feels negative toward La Raza

20. (To be answered by rater)
How would you rate this subject on the following continuum?

1. Very Mexican
2. Mostly Mexican
3. Bicultural
4. Mostly Anglicized
5. Very Anglicized

Total Score ______
Average Score ______

Total score is the sum of all 20 multiple choice items circled.
Average score is the total score divided by 20.
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