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The study of dreams has fascinated philosophers and healers from the beginning of recorded history. In addition to the attention given to dreams in our Judeo-Christian tradition and examplified in the Old and New Testiments, the ancient Assyrians, Egyptians, Chinese, Indians, Greeks and Romans have left records of their use of dreams for prophecy and healing. However, it was not until Freud's monumental *Interpretation of dreams* (1900) that the use of dreams for the systematic and scientific study of personality became a reality. Even then, various forms of resistance to the study of dreams kept research on the edge of scientific respectability. In the 1950s, as the result of the work of Aserinsky and Kleitman (53) and their development of techniques for studying dreams in the laboratory there has been a renaissance in the investigation of dreams.

Freud saw dreams as the "royal road to the unconscious" and was intererested primarily in investigating the dreams of his patients to understand their dynamics and in turn to understand the process and structures of personality. While Freud himself showed little inclination toward the use of dreams to understand culture and its impact on the development of personality, other students of culture and personality did begin research projects based on the assumption that there must be some relationship between the dreams a person reports and the culture to which the person belongs (Devereaux, 1951; Roheim, 1947). The studies that are reviewed in this paper are the result of investigations into the personality of Chicanos in New Mexico and the vehicle for the

investigations has been dream reports. We begin with several assumptions. The most basic of these is the psychoanalytic proposition introduced by Freud, that dreams are neither chaotic nor meaningless but rather that dreams have a discernable order and indeed are highly meaningful. Another assumption from the psychoanalytic tradition, but one also held by a broad variety of theorists, is that externally experienced reality is colored by the individual's internal view of the world. A further assumption is one that has served as a working basis for cross-cultural psychologists (e.g., Abel & Metraux, 1974) and which holds that the internal world view with its values, expectations and rules is powerfully shaped by cultural influences. Further, since social and cultural conditions or socialization and child rearing (Whiting & Child, 1953) of men and women often vary greatly, it is expected that there would be gender differences in internal organization. Therefore, we set out to study differences in ternal organization between men and women within the Chicano culture at the same time that we were assessing differences between Anglo and Chicano cultures.

Using this as a background, we can see the usefulness of dream research in exploring the Chicano experience. Dreams will not, of course, tell what actually happens to Chicanos in their everday lives. First person reports, observational studies and experiments can provide that kind of information. What dreams can provide is a working picture of the Chicanos' organization and interpretation of the experiences in their lives. It is our expectation that they will provide a frame of refernce which will enrich the understanding of the Chicano experience, Death as a beginning.

With this as a context we were interested in beginning with some area of cultural experience and orientation in which Chicano and Anglo cultures clearly differed. Our expectation was that if we found some domain of clear cultural differences we could then look to see what influence the differences had on the dreams of the Chicano and Anglo subjects. If we found that the clear differences in the cultural domain were reflected in dream reports then we could move to explore areas in which the cultural differences were not as clear. In searching for an area where there were clear differences, we were guided by two factors. One was that the discussions of death and reports of death- related dream content were more frequent for Chicanos in psychotherapy than they were for Anglo patients. The other facotr was that Paz (61) and others (Zintz, 63; Burger, 68) had written about the Mexican's fascination with death. In Paz's essay, "The Day of the Dead," he compares the almost phobic approach that Anglos have toward death with the familiarity and death-relatedness which the Mexican manifests. In Paz's words, "The Mexican, in contrast, is familiar with death, jokes about it, carresses it, sleeps with it, celebrates it; it is one of his favorite toys and his most steadfast love" (Paz, 61, pp. 57-58).

Although Paz was talking about Mexicans and not necessarily Chicanos, and although the patients in therapy constitute only a small and highly select sample of Chicanos, there was enough confidence in the differences in approach to death to predict that if there were cultural differences in dreams they would appear in this area. Had no differences resulted we would have been at a loss. We would have had to wonder whether or not there were any cultural differences between Chi-

canos and Anglos, a proposition which is highly unlikely if not patently absurd. We would also have had not wonder if dreams were an effective vehicle for the study of cultural differences. Were this our conclusion we would have had to explain away the large literature in which dream investigations have shown the force of culture. The third and most likely alternative would have been that we had erred in thinking that death and death-related concerns constituted a domain in which Anglos and Chicanos differ.

Happily, the results were clear. The Chicano subjects in the study (22 male and 43 female university undergraduates) and the Anglo subjects (104 males and 139 females) differed dramatically in the frequency which death and death-related themes were reported. The tendency to report a greater number of death-related dreams was evident whether the scored content included death content presented in a clear and obvious way (e.g., dead people as though they were alive; seeing yourself as dead) or in an indirect or symbolic way (by the loss of limb). Dream topics were viewed as being symbolically related to death based on previous literature and based on the frequency with which patients associated the content (e.g., loss of a limb) with their concerns about death and dying. Male and Female--Chicano and Anglo--The Approach

The evidence to sustain the working assumption that the analysis of dream content is a valid way to approach differences in Anglo and Chicano personality provided a context for further exploration into these differences.

The theoretical orientation with which these investigations

approached the dreams is of special importance since the interpretation of dream content is currently approached from various and conflicting positions (e.g., Fox et. al., 68; Hall, 63; Brenneis, 75). The position here is that dreams represent personal interpretations of reality. The dream report is taken as a statement by the dreamers of their internal experiences and thus reflects the dreamers' notions about their world and their interactions with it. Note that from this viewpoint the dream is not a nocturnal review of what has happened in the dreamer's waking life but rather the dream is what is construed from the events of daily life as these are internalized, reworked, elaborated and changed according to the pressures of personal and cultural needs, values and expectations. It is this quality of the dream experience which makes dreams valuable as a vehicle for exploring cultural dif- ferences. According to this view the dream will give us a picture of each dreamer's unique interpretation of the world, and when looking at data from different cultures, to see how culture helps organized the world in diverse and distinctive ways.

By analyzing manifest dreams with regard to the exclusion of and inclusion of certain types of information, we might be able to describe important internalized dimensions of the experience of Chicano men and women and Anglo men and women. Caution should be exercised in establishing expectations about individual members of a group on the basis of summarized results. Also, while these data are useful in providing rough and preliminary estimates of culture and gender differences in organization of inner experience, much research is needed to obtain a clear view of the area under investi- gation. There is danger that the

description of a group, especially if done in a dogmatic or arbitrary manner may easily shade into stereotypes, and stereotypes, like ethnocentrism, have no place in scientific cross-cultural psychology.

The data for these conclusions were collected from university students (42 Chicano males and 65 Chicano females; 61 Anglo males and 74 Anglo females) and again caution must be used in extending these findings to members of either cultural group with different socioeconomic and developmental characteristics. The subjects had volunteered for the study and were asked to record their dreams during two weeks.

Each dream was typed on a separate sheet of paper and identified only by a subject number. Then each dream was scored according to an extensive inventory. The scoring system is a complex system for scoring the dimension of setting, characters, dreamer, interaction, instinctual modialities and realism.

The dreams were scored independently by two raters and generally a level of 80% agreement between the independent scorer was accepted as indicating enough reliability to justify confidence in the scoring categories.

The findings are best summarized in terms of four types of dream dimensions (space, characters, dreamer, and drive representation).

The dimension of space helps us define how the dreamer organizes this aspect of the world. Space may be defined as relatively more enclosed (surrounded by walls or structures) or more open; as precisely located (a distinct place) or only vaguely located (an undefined place);

and the space described in the dream may be represented as familiar or unfamiliar.

The characters in the dream summarize the number of individuals and groups who appear in dream reports, whether these characters and groups are familiar people or are strangers, and the type of interactions (e.g., movements toward or against) between characters of the dream.

The dreamer category tells us with what frequency the person relating the dream is defined as the central figure of the dream and what types of activity are engaged in by the central figure (e.g., how much movement and whether or not the movement is toward the specific destination), and how much exertion is exercised by the central figure. Other aspects of the dreamer category are the sensations and feelings or affects reported in the dream.

The final major category, drive representation culls the relative amounts of aggressive, sexual, food-related and injury-related content which is present in the dreams.

We then explored how the differences along these dimensions are represented for (a) male and female Anglos; (b) male and female Chicanos; (c) sexual groups across culture; and (d) cultural groups across sex lines.

Sex differences in Anglos: The most striking feature of the sex differences in the Anglos' dreams is that they are much less dramatic than the sex differences in the Chicano dreams. More will be included about this below. Using an internal comparison, though, female Anglos

more than male Anglos have dreams in which the setting is enclosed, familiar and precisely located. This is, the Anglo women construct dreams in which the territory is familiar. The Anglo women also populate their dreams with more people than do males and the people are more likely to be familiar. The male Anglos, on the other hand, are in less familiar territory with fewer people and a greater proportion of the people present in the male dreams are strangers.

Sex differences in Chicanos: Chicano men describe larger aspects of the spacial world than do Chicano women who are more focused on smaller aspects. The men prefer larger and more open settings compared to the smaller and enclosed settings constructed in the women's dreams. Like the Anglo women, the Chicano women are more likely to have dreams in which the setting is familiar. Chicano men populate their dreams with more nonhuman characters and male groups while women have a greater number of characters than the men; and men have more same-sexed persons than opposite sex persons in the dreams.

In terms of interaction between the characters of the dreams, males portray relatively greater locomotion, exertion and activity in conjunction with the dreamer. These interactions in men's dreams are (again relatively speaking) more likely to be of a negative or contentious nature. Further, Chicano males in their dreams, tend to see themselves as moving in a random, directionless fashion and being passively conveyed. Chicano females dream of moving toward a more definite location or destination. That is, they move in their dreams as though they know where they are going.

Impulses and instincts are more prevalent in themes in the dreams of Chicano men, with relatively more frequent descriptions of aggressive and sexual encounters and more frequent depictions of bodily injury.

Sex patterns across cultures: When we ignore cultural identification and consider only sexual differences, certain patterns come to light. Females generally dream more about enclosed and defined settings and include more people in their dreams. The people about whom women dream are more likely to be known by name. In the dreams of men there are fewer people and they are more liekely to be identified by role (e.g., policeman, teacher) than by name or family relationship. Women subjects were generally more definite about where they were going in thier dreams. Men displayed more physical exertion and were more likely to depict themselves as the central figures in their dreams. Injury is a greater theme in the dreams of men and food-related issues are more prevalent in those of women.

Cultural patterns across sex: When we ignore the sex of the subjects and consider only culture, we get the following relationships. Chicanos dream about more familiar settings and tend to dream about more people, that is, to have their dreams more heavily populated. Chicanos also demonstrate more exertion--both by the dreamer as represented in the dream and by the other characters. The Anglos are more likely to include locomotion with a specific destination and are more likely to have dreams in which the dreamer is the central figure. Some Methodology and Some Caution

Perhaps it is there that we should point to some dangers. We have

talked globally about Chicanos and Anglos. It is clear that these groups are not homogeneous or monolithic. Especially in dealing with minorities, there is a tendency to treat broad and diverse groups as if it were homogeneous and simply organized. As previous investigators (Grebler, Moore, & Guzman, 70; Garcia, 73) have cautioned, Chicanos are a minority cultural group with great differences in terms of age, location, socioeconomic status and a degree of acculturation. There is need, then, for caution against overgeneralizing.

There is also a need to define more precisely the subjects in the study. The Chicano subjects, like the Anglos, were all students in the University of New Mexico. This means, of course, that they had to be acculturated to the dominant culture to some degree. The university, is essentially a dominant culture institution with dominant culture language, values, and traditions. Nonetheless, the subjects volunteered a description of themselves as "Chicano" and all indicated that Spanish was spoken in thier homes. In these studies the fact that the subjects were somewhat acculturated was not of overwhelming concern since it made the findings more conservative. In spite of beingacculturated to the degree that they were, the subjects still manifested what has been explored as traditional Mexican and Chicano values.

A further caution has to do with the meaning of the findings. It is possible to insert, even unconsciously, a value significance to the findings. The findings might be interpreted as indicating that Anglos are frightened of death and unrealistic in not encountering one of the essential experiences of human existence. On the other hand it might be argued that the Chicanos are counter-phobic, that is, that they are

unduly involved with and frightened of death and, like little boys whis-
tling in the dark, they cope with their fear by facing it in an exag-
gerated mode. The data, of course, do not lend support to either of
these interpretations. It must be left to future studies to expand even
further our knowledge about culture and death-related concerns. Even
then, it is unlikely that either perjorative or laudatory meanings will
be useful in understanding cultural differences or the effect which cul-
ture has on personality. Interpretations

The theoretical position of these studies had as a focus the active
construction which is involved in dreaming. The dreamer, albeit uncons-
ciously, peoples the dreams and constructs the settings. Of course,
that construction is in accord with internal motives and patterns of
experience. An analysis of the dream patterns will provide some refer-
ence to the dreamer's internal and preferred modes of activation and how
they vary for men and women and for Anglos and Chicanos.

Of special note is that the preferred modes of activation, or what
are known as "ego modalities," are more varied between Chicano males and
females than they are for Anglo males and females. The finding of
greater sex differences in ego modalities for Chicanos than for Anglos
is a crucial cultural difference. Hispanic culture and child- rearing
place a greater emphasis on the sexual dichotomy than does the Anglo
culture. Latino men are more likely to be allowed expression of sexual
and aggressive impulses and Latino women are more likely to be
encouraged to repress sexual expression and focus their interests on
nurturance. It is not accidental that Latin cultures, even more so than
other cultures influenced by Catholicism, have engaged in veneration of

the Blessed Virgin Mary whose perfection lies in her combined sexless-
ness (i.e., virgin birth) and in her nurturance (i.e., mother of us
all). One of the demands of Latino malehood (machismo) is that male
participants in Latin cultures not shy away from aggression or sexual-
ity. The dueña who used to accompany Latin couples (and in some cases
still does) was there to keep male and not the female impulses under
control. Anglos, as a group, do not have as highly visible sexual
differences in the expression of impulses in their dreams.

One of the consistences across cultural lines is the fact that in
both cultures women depict enclosed and firmly localized settings and
they are more likely to include other persons and persons who are fami-
liar. This probably suggests some fundamental aspect of the feminine
experience. Both Erikson (51) and Deutsch (45) have written about the
central importance of a productive inner (thus enclosed) space for women
and about the turning inward of women's activity and attention. This is
not to suggest that women's psychic life is constricted. Women dreamers
do move about in thier dreams, but the movement is more goal- oriented
and much more likely to be specific. Another point is that the appear-
ance of food-related themes in the dreams of women is related to the
issues of nurturance and sustenance. Also related to this is the ten-
dency for women to have more, and more familiar, people in the dreams.
While this quality, that of having greater focus on the representation
of the familiar, is likely to be a complex phenomenon, it suggests at
least that women view themselves as more deeply embedded in familiar
interpersonal context. In summary, a sense of consistency (of environ-
ment) and directedness (in motion) appear to be regular aspects of wom-

ens' depiction of themselves.

On the other hand, men in both cultures, can be described in contrasting terms. The inner worlds they construct tend to be out in the open, unprotected by structure and enclosures and are not as clearly demar- cated. That means that it is a more fluid and potentially risky environment. This is underscored by the greater amount of personal injury found in the dreams of men. Additionally, men represent themselves as more isolated and separate, with fewer persons involved in the dreams, and those involved more likely to be defined by role than by interpersonal relationship. Men, in their dreams, reflect a sense of instability and exposure (in environment); separateness and isolation (in population); and risk and exertion (in activity).

Another important difference between the Chicanos and Anglos is the emphasis on home and locale as a part of one's heritage. This focus is what is most likely being reflected in the greater tendency for Chicanos to dream about familiar settings.

The related aspect of having a greater number of characters in the dreams of Chicanos is in keeping with the greater number of people whom Chicanos are likely to think of as important in their lives. The psychological world of members of Latin cultures is heavily populated not only with members of the immediate and extended families but also with members of the family which are included by the nature of padrino- ship (relation as godfathers and godmothers to the family).

Anglos are likely to report more dreams in which they are the central figure. This can be viewed from the differences in the focus on

individual achievement in the two cultures. While Anglo culture has been heavily dominated by an emphasis on individual achievement and competition, the Chicano culture is more likely to place a higher value on cooperation and collaboration. In a Chicano culture when anyone succeeds it is expected that he will help his extended family to also succeed. In the Anglo culture this cooperation is known pejoratively as nepotism.

In Closing

Dreams are clearly a potent vehicle for studying cross-cultural phenomena and particularly useful in helping to describe and explore certain aspects of at least a subset of the Chicano culture. The dream analyses have revealed a broad range of differences across a broad range of phenomena. what is more impressive to us is that these differences exist even in Chicanos who represent a relatively acculturated population. The differences are real and the differences are many.

What is also clear is the relative neglect of the psychology of the Chicano. Other than a few research projects reviewed here, there have been no investigations into the Chicano experience via dreams. In fact, even in the broad review of Latino mental health (Padilla & Ruiz, 73) it is clear that there is surprisingly little research into the Chicano experience in any of its aspects, and of the studies which do exist, only a precious few provide any information about the complex internal life of the normal Chicano.

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