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CRIMINOLOGY

THE INCARCERATED MEXICAN-AMERICAN DELINQUENT

ALVIN RUDOFF*

Of the approximately one and one-half million persons with Spanish surnames in California in 1960,¹ most were of Mexican extraction. While comprising some 9% of the State's population, they represented some 20% of the inmates in California prisons.² An overrepresentation in the judicial process, including arrests and recidivism in addition to incarceration, is well documented. Nevertheless, beyond some recognition of some ethnic "differences", little is done in corrections to assess the effect of the traditional incarceration process and resocialization techniques on this group. The plan of this article is to report the results of a study designed to examine the background, personality and the effect of treatment on the imprisoned young adult male Mexican-American with particular attention to the role of culture.

In the various treatment approaches to the Mexican-American delinquent, ethnocentricity has received some attention in that it is perceived as a major barrier to the treatment process. At times this ethnocentric stance has served as a rationalization for the failure of traditional treatment ap-

proaches to affect change; at other times it has been responsible for the attempt to "reach" the Mexican-American through the utilization of Spanish-speaking change-agents. The literature has several references to class and culture differences between the change-agent and his usual client in corrections and how this hampers communication and the effectiveness of the treatment process.³ The Mexican-American delinquent tends to fit into this mold as most seem to reflect the culture of Northern Mexico somewhat tempered but greatly confused by the exposure to the Anglo value system and style-of-life.

The incarcerated Mexican-Americans appear to consist of, for the most part, subjects in the early stages of the acculturation process. They are bilingual, possess little education, and identify with a Northern Mexican value system that tends not only to impede the acculturation process, but also to alienate them from the dominant Anglo group.⁴ In the California prisons they are treated with the traditional tools latently designed to resocialize them into a society dominated by a middle class Anglo value system. Therefore, the potential impact of this treatment is considerably reduced. This is particularly disturbing as the prison may very well be, paradoxically, the last important socializing agent in the career of the Mexican-American delinquent.

The Mexican-American, with both the Spanish and Indian influence as part of his cultural heritage, maintains certain value orientations and a *Weltanschauung* that is a source of alienation for him from

³ See, e.g., Martin, *Social-Cultural Differences: Barriers in Casework with Delinquents*, 2 SOCIAL WORK 22, 25 (1957).

⁴ It has been reported that ethnocentricity among minorities engenders hostility and antipathy by the dominant group which, in turn, may lead to increased ethnocentricity by the minority. This could lead to further estrangement and isolation. See, e.g., Catton & Chick Hong, *Apparent Minority Ethnocentricity and Majority Antipathy*, 27 AM. SOCIOLOGICAL REV. 178-91 (1962).

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¹ CALIFORNIA DIVISION OF FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES, CALIFORNIANS OF SPANISH SURNAME (1964).

² Reflecting the heterogeneity of the population of California, there are three large subculture groups confined in California prisons: Mexican-Americans, Negroes, and European-Americans. Their distribution, when computed over long periods of time, approximates 20% Mexican-Americans, 20% Negroes, 58% European-Americans, and 2% "others." Both the Mexican-American and the Negro are overrepresented in the California prison system, whereas such groups as the Japanese-American and the Chinese-American are underrepresented. Cf. CALIFORNIA DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS, CALIFORNIA PRISONERS (1960); CALIFORNIA YOUTH AUTHORITY, ANNUAL STATISTICAL REPORT (1960).

what he terms the Anglo society.⁵ His perception of the world and its meaning for him differs in many respects not only from that of the dominant middle class American but also from his lower class Anglo counterparts. In spite of the official recognition as a Caucasian, his self-image is that of a non-white. This self-image is, in turn, abetted by the Anglo.⁶ This notion of being coloured has little to do with race.⁷ With a multicultural background—Spanish, Indian, Mexican, American—many Mexican-Americans are confused as to ethnic identity. They seem to feel too guilty to claim their Spanish heritage, too shameful to claim their Indian heritage, and too insecure to claim their American heritage. They therefore often claimed a Mexican “race” (*raza*) and this became synonymous with colour. This Mexican identity is not an expression of loyalty to Mexico, but a way of identifying oneself as a different kind of American.

For the Mexican-American each man is a world in himself. There is little past and no future. Security lies in the old and the familiar; the resistance to change is strong. His values are in being rather than in doing.⁸ He is still influenced by magic (some believe in witchcraft). Authority is viewed as personal and arbitrary. The family is patriarchal, based on the unquestioning authority of the father⁹ and the self-sacrifice of the mother.¹⁰ Avoid-

⁵The focus of this description—as is the case throughout this article—is on the incarcerated Mexican American. Most incarcerated Mexican-Americans are, in varying degrees, unacculturated. Cf. Sanders, *English Speaking and Spanish Speaking People of the Southwest*, in *SOCIAL PERSPECTIVES ON BEHAVIOR* (H. Stein & R. Cloward ed. 1958); Kluckhohn, *Dominant Value Orientations*, in *PERSONALITY IN NATURE, SOCIETY AND CULTURE* (C. Kluckhohn ed. 1954); Diaz-Guerrero, *Neurosis and the Mexican Family Structure*, 1955 *AM. J. PSYCHIATRY* 411-15; J. BURMA, *SPANISH SPEAKING GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES* (1954). See also O. LEWIS, *LIFE IN A MEXICAN VILLAGE* (1951); Jones, *Ethnic Family Patterns: The Mexican Family in the United States*, 53 *AM. J. SOCIOLOGY* 450-52 (1948); Broom & Shevsky, *Mexicans in the United States: A Problem in Social Differentiation*, 36 *SOCIOLOGY & SOCIAL RESEARCH* 153-58 (1962).

⁶The notion of a Mexican race is often presented to them by public officials as a choice on “official” documents. This is particularly true in the correctional process.

⁷The use of *colour* rather than *color* was adopted in order to highlight the self-perception of a Caucasian group as being-non white.

⁸Sanders, *supra* note 5, at 157-63.

⁹Lewis, *supra* note 5, stressed the strong authority role of the father. He also noted the male detachment, the nonintrospective nature of the culture, the lack of concern for the future, the fatalism, the tendency to

ance reactions which seem so typical of the Mexican-American are perhaps epitomized in the parental roles. Difficult situations, either potential or real, are simply avoided. The relationships in the Mexican-American family, particularly those of the delinquents, are exacerbated as the male head fails to adequately fulfill his role as economic provider. He becomes more remote than usual through avoidance and withdrawal and his authority in the home is undermined.¹¹ This retreat may be accompanied by excessive drinking and perhaps even the use of narcotics. The patriarchal family becomes an arena, the antagonists, the mother and father, the weapons, sexual and economic potency respectively, the results, disruptive and disintegrative family relationships. The father-son relationship consequently is adversely affected. In the case of the delinquent male Mexican-American one often sees an overidentification with a nurturant and self-sacrificing mother, internalized hostility toward an unsubstantial father, an impunitive reaction to a perceived hostile world, and a tendency toward withdrawal and avoidance. Probably the first break with the family occurs with the advent of gang activity. He has very little experience with the give and take of group life (each man is a world in himself), but more experience in the follow-and-lead of the gang. It is a collectivity to which one can belong while seeking status and experience; it is an opportunity for the abrogation of decision and judgement-making responsibilities, a group life with a minimum of obligations, and a sanctuary for avoidance and withdrawal. The prison staff does not countenance such collectivities and the prison structure makes such associations extremely difficult to develop. Instead, the incarcerated Mexican-American tends to form cliques of various sizes which display many

judge people in terms of overt behavior and the turning inwardly of their aggression.

¹⁰Many of the inmates' families were frequently visited by representatives of various government agencies such as Welfare, Parole, and Probation. To the father, they represent a threat to his authority, regardless of protests to the contrary, and are met with suspicion and hostility. The mother invariably deals with the intruder with one eye on the father as he sits quietly and sulks. A visiting priest is often dealt with in the same way and for the same reasons.

¹¹This may be more true of the families of delinquents than other Mexican-American families. Perhaps, as things go well, the father is not such a shadowy figure and is perhaps more expressive; but as things go wrong, he may withdraw.

of the attributes of the gang.¹² In the various formal groups developed for rehabilitative purposes in the prison (e.g., group counselling), the Mexican-American invariably participates in silence, occasionally interacting with himself rather than the other members of the group. This group interaction with a gang-mindedness seems to be typical of the incarcerated Mexican-American, a participation in which communication and interaction occur between incogitant individuals each operating as if in a vacuum.

There are several major themes that pervade the Mexican-American subculture significantly effecting their patterns and prevalence of deviance and their modes of adaptation to the prison culture. Of particular significance are *envidia*, *falso*, and *machismo*. The Mexican-American envies (*envidia*) what others have. Envy is not unique to the Mexican-American; the uniqueness lies in the reaction to it. If someone has something of value it must be shared. If he covets something and cannot share in it, he reacts by either depreciating what is wanted or by rationalizing that he really did not want it in the first place. Envy is perceived as an universal trait. Everyone is thought to be envious; everyone is thought to do something about it. Often the anticipation of another's envy leads to circumspection and indirection in interpersonal behavior. This may lead to a kind of cursory politeness designed to ward off the anticipated envy.¹³ At any rate, the reaction to envy tends to immobilize rather than to motivate to achieve.

The Mexican-American experiences a great deal of in-group pressure to maintain his sub-cultural way of life. If he turns in the direction of the Anglo and begins to acculturate, he is labeled a *falso*, a deserter of his people, a turncoat.¹⁴ This rejection of the acculturated Mexican-American limits his influence on the subculture and fosters continued

¹² The clique referred to here is somewhere between a neighborhood primary group and a gang. It develops strong single leadership and is usually territorially located. Yet its size is relatively small and thus it loses many of the characteristics of the gang. It involves a small intimate coterie of Mexican-American inmates, joined together by their Mexican-American identity, is often exploitative of other inmates, very exclusive, and possessing a high degree of snobishness as well as selfishness and intrigue. All of these factors contribute to a high degree of paranoia.

¹³ This is not to be confused with the usual courtesy of the Mexican-American that is connected to the values of respect and obedience.

¹⁴ The delinquents tend to use the term *falso*. Similar terms also used are *ingasado* (very polite) and *agrin-gado* (slangy and more hostile).

alienation. This pressure towards alienation leads to difficult problems for the prison in terms of program development, program participation, and social control.

The Mexican-American subculture maintains a sharp delineation in sex roles. Beginning with adolescence and throughout the life of the male, he is socialized to be a *macho*. *Machismo* (manliness) is measured primarily by sexual prowess and secondarily by physical strength and courage.¹⁵ For the Mexican-American it is vital to be as much a *macho* as possible for status in his group.

The incarceration process interacting with this subcultural background should have effects somewhat different than those of other groups with other backgrounds. The major purpose of this study is to identify and describe some of these effects within the frame work of acculturation.¹⁶ Three areas were selected for comparisons: demographic background with particular reference to crime patterns, personality and the effect of treatment. Within a descriptive analysis, three general propositions were developed to guide the analysis and interpretations.

First, the demographic background of the Mexican-American, when compared with that of the Anglo, should indicate the expected descriptive differences such as religious affiliation and size of family; however, in addition, the subcultural differences would result in crime patterns for the Mexican-American significantly different from those of their Anglo counterparts in such areas as the nature and extent of specific crime categories.

Second, since the personality emerges in the sub-cultural milieu, the Mexican-American personality configuration should, when compared with the Anglo one, reflect the subcultural emphasis on such themes as avoidance, fatalism, suggestibility, *machismo*, and *envidia*.

Third, there will be a differential response between the Anglo and Mexican-American delinquents to the specified therapeutic process. These differences should reflect such subcultural influences as the pressures towards alienation (e.g. *falso*) and gang-mindedness, resulting in a general failure of the treatment to achieve its goals, while

¹⁵ For the importance and effects of machismo, see Diaz-Guerrero, *supra* note 5.

¹⁶ Cf. T. SHIBUTANI & K. KWAN, *ETHNIC STRATIFICATION: A COMPARATIVE APPROACH* 470-80 (1965); J. VANDER ZANDEN, *AMERICAN MINORITY RELATIONS* 298-313 (1963); Gordon, *Assimilation in America: Theory and Reality*, 90 *Daedalus* 263-85 (1961).

the experience of incarceration *per se* will acculturate the Mexican-American delinquent towards the Anglo delinquent subculture.

METHOD

This study was accomplished within the structure of a larger research project designed to measure the effect of intensive casework on incarcerated young adult delinquents.¹⁷ The design was experimental with random selection for inclusion in either a treated or nontreated group. Certain cases were deleted from the universe for practical reasons. For example, readers below the sixth grade and non-English-speaking inmates were eliminated because of the use of several psychological tests. However, early in the study a tape recording of the testing program minimized the loss of cases. Other deletions included mental defectives (determined by testing), overt psychotics (determined by a psychiatrist), juvenile court cases, out-of-state parolees and inmates with less than six months to serve. From the original universe some 50% of the inmates were deleted. The vast majority of the losses was attributable to the juvenile court cases and those with less than six months in the institution. The remaining cases were then randomly distributed between the experimental and control groups. From these selections the Mexican-American subjects were identified.

Sample sizes varied, depending on the technique, the problem, and the available cases at the time the problem was under study. The original sample size was continually expanding as the larger study was an ongoing project. Consequently overlapping samples were employed. There were 200 Mexican-Americans and 200 Anglos used in the demographic comparisons; 145 Mexican-Americans and 502 Anglos used in the study of personality with the CPI, and 142 Mexican-Americans and 491 Anglos with the MMPI; 113 Mexican-Americans and 100 Anglos for the test-retest comparison with the CPI. Where appropriate, statistical tests (chi square and t-test) were used and the conventional 2-tail test served to identify significance at the .05 level.

The larger project also provided the definition of the treatment being assessed. Operating within a psychiatrically oriented framework, trained staff

(all personnel had a minimum of two years graduate education with a concentration in casework practices), provided help on a continuum from superficial, easily verbalized problems to those of a more elusive nature. Trained supervision (a MSW with many years of experience), psychiatric consultation (two psychiatrists), and staff development offered continued control of the treatment orientation. In addition to the qualitative factors, quantitative ones contributed to the operational definition of the treatment. A limitation of twenty-five inmates per caseload enabled the staff to provide a minimum of one interview hour per week supplemented by group therapy. The treatment as defined was the only distinguishing characteristic of the programs for the treated and nontreated groups.

The demographic comparisons and the comparisons of personality characteristics involved the combined sample of experimental and control cases at the point of inception into the project. The effect of the treatment was measured within the experimental-control design comparing the test-retest scores within and between Mexican-Americans and Anglos.

The two major sources for the data were the California Psychological Inventory and the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory. Only valid profiles were used, with invalid profiles (those too incomplete, or obviously faked) totaling less than 1% of the sample. The demographic data was gleaned from the case files and involved verified information. The information relative to the Mexican-American culture came from a variety of sources including the literature, a systematic scrutiny of 150 Mexican-American delinquent case histories, a series of informal interviews with about 75 Mexican-Americans, informal observations, and a liberal use of informants.

RESULTS

The results will be reported in three parts. The first will compare Anglo and Mexican-American background, the second, personality characteristics and the third, the effects of the therapeutic process.

Background

The comparison for the incarcerated Mexican-American with his Anglo counterpart in terms of several demographic characteristics revealed many similarities as well as some differences. (see Table 1) The areas in which there were no differences in-

¹⁷ For a description of this project and some of the results, see A. RUDOFF & L. BENNETT, PICO A MEASURE OF CASEWORK IN CORRECTIONS—FIRST TECHNICAL REPORT (1958); A. RUDOFF, PICO A MEASURE OF CASEWORK IN CORRECTIONS—SECOND TECHNICAL REPORT (1959).

TABLE I
BACKGROUND COMPARISONS IN PERCENTAGES

Variable	Anglo	Mex- ican- Amer- ican	Signifi- cance	Variable	Anglo	Mex- ican- Amer- ican	Signifi- cance
Intelligence				Prior Arrests			
Above Average	14	14		None	8	8	—
Average	56	57	—	Priors	92	92	—
Below Average	30	29		Prior Commitments			
Marital Status				None	52	65	—
Single	78	84	—	Priors	48	35	—
Married	22	16		Age First Arrest			
Religion				Pre-teen (12 & less)	20	22	—
Protestant	68	6		Teen (13-17)	70	70	—
Catholic	28	94	*	Young Adult (18 & over)	10	8	
Other	4	0		Age First Commitment			
Broken Homes				Pre-teen (12 & less)	2	2	—
Broken	66	72	—	Teen (13-17)	61	62	—
Intact	34	28		Young Adult (18 & over)	37	36	—
Sex of Remaining Parent				Crime Partners			
Male	21	30	—	Alone	20	22	
Female	79	70		1 or 2	80	66	*
Home Broken By				Gang	0	12	
Divorce	10	7	—	Parental Criminality ^b			
Desertion, Death, Separation	90	93		Arrests	64	70	—
Sibling Position ^a				None	36	30	—
Oldest	26	24		Institutional Associates			
Youngest	20	26	*	Own Group Only	11	69	
Only Child	28	4		Other Group Only	0	0	*
Others	26	46		All Groups	85	21	
Completed Grade Level				Isolate	4	10	
8th and Below	8	28	*	Area of Commitment ^c			
Above 8th Grade	92	72		Urban	66	52	—
				Rural	34	48	—

* Chi-square test with $P \leq .05$.

^a The "other" category implies larger families.

^b It is of particular interest that Mexican-American parental criminality involved four narcotic cases against none for the Anglos.

^c This is an approximate category breakdown. It involves the large metropolitan areas and all other areas some of which are probably also urban.

cluded: intelligence, marital status, number of broken homes, sex of remaining parent of broken home (mostly female), source of the broken home (most were from desertion, death, and separation and not from divorce), prior arrest record, age at first arrest (most occurred between the ages of thirteen and seventeen), age at first commitment

(again most occurred in the early teens), position among siblings, and crime among parents.¹⁸

Several anticipated differences did occur. Op-

¹⁸ It is interesting to note that although there were no differences in the extent of criminal activity between the parents of delinquent Anglos and Mexican-Americans, the latter group had a higher incidence of narcotic involvement.

posed to the Anglos, the religious preference for the Mexican-American was overwhelmingly Catholic.¹⁹ He also completed a lower educational level than his Anglo counterpart.²⁰ About fifty-two percent of the Mexican-Americans were committed from highly urbanized areas (i.e. Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Sacramento) as opposed to sixty-six percent of the Anglos. In California, it is becoming more and more difficult to differentiate a rural from an urban area; however, although the difference was not statistically significant ($p = .15$) in general, it would seem that the Mexican-Americans tend towards a greater rural representation than the Anglos. They were either concentrated in the Los Angeles Area (46%) or scattered throughout smaller communities. The Anglo's distribution was more diffused through the three large urban areas of Los Angeles, San Francisco, or Sacramento. This raises the issue of the effect of urbanization on the incidence of delinquency among Mexican-Americans. It may be true that urbanization is positively correlated with delinquency; however, for the Mexican-American it might be more closely related to the type of delinquency than to its incidence.

Further comparisons indicated other differences. For example, the Mexican-American delinquent came from larger families, and he tended more toward the gang type crimes than the Anglo. Once incarcerated, the Mexican-American also tended to associate primarily with his own ethnic group.²¹

The comparison between the Mexican-American and Anglo groups for instant commitment offenses was quite revealing. The results are illustrated in Table 2. The Mexican-Americans had a significantly greater incidence of crimes in the areas of narcotics and sex; while there was a significantly lower incidence of crimes against property. There was no difference between the two groups in the area of crime against persons. An examination of all the crime categories would tend to support the

¹⁹ One observation relative to Catholicism among the unacculturated Mexican-American is its relationship to magic. Much of the Catholic symbolism has been adopted to the basic beliefs in the powers of magic. This is also apparent in Lewis' study of five Mexican families. See O. LEWIS, *FIVE FAMILIES* (1959).

²⁰ Although using Hungarian refugees as the sample, Weinstock has found that persons with high occupational status or upward occupational mobility acculturate more rapidly. The Mexican-American with limited education tends to be at the bottom of the occupational strata with little upward movement. See Weinstock, *Mobility and Social Structure in Acculturation*, 23 HUMAN ORGANIZATION 50-52 (1964).

²¹ This tendency parallels the pattern of associations established in the free community.

TABLE II

COMPARISON OF INSTANT OFFENSES IN PERCENTAGES^{ab}

Crime	Mexican-American N = 200	Anglo N = 200
Person	30	27
Property	37	60
Narcotics	20	10
Sex	13	3

^a The person category refers to aggressive crimes such as robbery and assault; property refers to passive types of crimes such as burglary, auto theft, and bad checks; narcotics refers to such crimes as heroin or marijuana use, sale or possession; sex refers to such crimes as rape, lewd and lascivious conduct and contributing to the delinquency of a minor.

^b Chi square test significant at $p \leq .05$.

hypothesis that the Mexican-American, as a group, does not handle frustrations extra-aggressively, but, in general, tends to handle frustration intra-punitively or impunitively.²² The narcotic and the sex categories tend to be more passive criminal pursuits. That narcotics involvement is usually practiced by oral-dependent individuals exercising passive patterns of behavior was both apparent in the analysis of case histories and interviews and is well documented in the literature.²³ The Mexican-American seemed to prefer either Marijuana or heroin; both were usually accompanied by the self-conscious avoidance of conflict and authority figures; both were usually accomplished in the company of fellow-users as they engaged in passive

²² This is a contrast to the Negro who seems to react impulsively and aggressively. The Mexican-American reacts in a more indirect way and is more apt to be revengeful than directly aggressive.

In a study of the responses to Murray's TAT the delinquent Mexican-American was found to be somewhat less concerned with overt aggression than comparable Negro or Anglo delinquent groups. See G. DeVos, *Attitudes Toward Self and Family in Young Delinquent Adults 161* (unpublished group thesis, School of Social Welfare, University of California at Berkeley 1960).

²³ The literature is replete with references to the relationship between narcotic addiction and oral dependency. See, e.g., Brill, *Some Notes on Dynamics and Treatment in Narcotic Addiction*, 1954 J. PSYCHIATRIC SOC'L WORK 67-81; O. FENICHEL, *THE PSYCHOANALYTIC THEORY OF NEUROSIS* 376 (1945).

It is interesting to note that while this study was completed prior to the ascendancy of LSD as a popular drug, it has not made any inroads into the drug habits of the Mexican-American. LSD appears to appeal to the middle-class youth seeking a stimulating experience whereas the Mexican-American seeks a more passive one. The former youths are rejecting the Anglo middle-class while the latter have never been in it.

activity.²⁴ The sex category also tended to indicate more passive than aggressive involvement.²⁵ That is, the majority of the cases involved statutory rape or contributing to the delinquency of a minor. These crimes were engaged in with willing, and often provocative and seductive partners, and were devoid of any force. It is interesting to note that the backgrounds of both the Anglo and Mexican-American groups are equally replete with sexual promiscuity and premarital pregnancies involving legally underage females; yet it is the Mexican-American group that has the larger number of commitments for these kinds of offenses. Perhaps part of the explanation lies in the cultural emphases on sexual prowess for the male, distrust of women (this may lead to continuous testing of their faithfulness), and the general provocative and seductive attitude of the Mexican-American female (which also may contribute to the male distrust of women). In addition, the Mexican-American tends to share this activity with the gang. It is not unusual for him to leave his "conquest" and boast to his friends of his experience (proof that he is a *macho*), which in turn becomes a challenge to *their* masculinity. They then share the experience, and tell their friends. This parade increases the chances that it will come to the attention of the authorities. The consequences are likely to be the greater societal intolerance and involvement in the judicial process.

Further scrutiny into the background of the Mexican-American sample suggested the hypothesis that those from Northern California were as a group more acculturated than those from Southern California. The Northern group seemed to be more widely dispersed, included a larger percentage of native born parents, and suffered lesser ethnocentric pressure from both within and without the Mexican-American community. Opposed to this, the Southern group's greater proximity to Mexico permitted frequent visits to that country and consequent reinforcement of alienation (and cultural confusion occasionally approaching an anomic tendency); there was a greater concentration in ethnic islands (*colonias*), and more internal and

external pressure for a close ethnic identity.²⁶ A comparison of the Northern and Southern Mexican-Americans in the sample in terms of offenses also indicated some interesting tendencies. First, although about 65% of the Mexican-Americans reside in Southern California, 73% of the delinquent sample of Mexican-Americans were from that area. Second, although there was no statistically significant difference between the Northern and Southern groups as far as crime patterns were concerned there were some notable trends. The Northern group was involved in more aggressive crimes (a difference of 10%), fewer commitments for narcotic offenses (8% less), and less participation in sex offenses (5% less). If these differences are truly indicative of a trend, then the crime patterns would appear to be approaching that of the Anglos. In summary, the Northern group seems to be more acculturated, less criminally involved, and those crimes that are committed approach the pattern of the dominant culture. The implication is that as the Mexican-American becomes acculturated, his deviancy, as expressed through delinquency, will approach both the prevalence and the pattern of the dominant Anglo culture. One might speculate further that as the Mexican-American acculturates, his crime rate will decrease until it approximates that of his Anglo counterpart.²⁷

The background results seem to reflect the Mexican-American cultural influence. The lower educational level can be linked to the Mexican-American approach to life involving a present orientation and a belief in pre-destination. Life is a series of unrelated experiences of which school is just one. It is not necessarily related to some future state, where school now and deferred gratification will pay off later.

The Mexican-American gangmindedness shows up in the greater incidence of gang crimes and in combination with *machismo* may account for the

²⁶ Northern and Southern dichotomy along acculturation lines is, of course, spurious. There are many unacculturated Northern Mexican-Americans and many acculturated Southern Mexican-Americans. However, this line of inquiry was pursued for heuristic purposes.

²⁷ Since the crime rate of the Mexican-American is higher than that of the Anglo, it would be expected to decrease with acculturation. The reverse might be true for those groups whose crime rates are lower than the Anglos. For example, as the Chinese-Americans and the Japanese-Americans become more and more acculturated, their crime rates would be expected to rise to the point of approximating that of the dominant group. There is some concern that this is already beginning to happen.

²⁴ Several Mexican-American heroin addicts have indicated that when high they often went to a movie theater and thoroughly enjoyed watching the movie while they consumed large amounts of ice cream.

²⁵ This sample did not include any commitments for homosexuality (such commitments are rare in California). However, a few homosexuals, committed for other offenses, constituted a portion of the sample.

higher incidence of sex crimes (most in this sample were statutory gang rapes).

The constant pressure to maintain the Mexican-American identity and hang together carries over into the institution in their associative patterns. There is even occasional difficulty in the free community as well as in the prison, between the Pachuco (Mexican-American from around El Paso) and the Califa (Mexican-American from around Los Angeles) as the Pachuco accuses the Califa of being a *falso* because of the higher degree of acculturation.²³

Finally, the crime patterns indicate the relationship between the cultural patterns and kinds and prevalence of their various delinquencies. There are the more passive patterns involving property and narcotics emanating from such characteristics as an impunitive response to frustration, avoidance and withdrawal. In addition, with acculturation, the crime patterns seem to be approaching those of the Anglos.

Personality

Analysis of the CPI and the MMPI group scores of the Mexican-American resulted in a description of the personality of the Mexican-American delinquent (see tables 3 and 4). The CPI indicated that as a group, the Mexican-American delinquent was passive, somewhat withdrawn and immature. There was some evidence of self-control; however, these controls tended to be overly rigid. This rigidity seemed to be true of the defensive structure as a whole. Although there were some signs of anxiety, there was little, if any introspection of a psychological nature. There was some evidence of an excessive fantasy life which one might conjecture, assumed a rather simple form. There was the tendency to over-identify with the female, evidenced by the relatively higher scores on the Feminine Interest scale of the CPI. This interest is maintained in spite of the strong need of the delinquent to deny these interests. However, the Mexican-American culture tends to define masculinity somewhat differently, and perhaps more narrowly than

²³ As far as could be ascertained, the equivocal term "Pachuco" refers to Mexican-Americans from the El Paso area. The term has been bedeviled by journalists and generalized to include most Mexican-American delinquents, particularly those with a cross tattooed on the hand near the thumb. Mystery and conspiracy have been added to give it a Mafia-like form. See O. PAZ, *THE LABYRINTH OF SOLITUDE* (1961), containing a chapter on *Pachucos* in its generalized version.

TABLE III

ANGLO AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN MEAN SCORES ON THE CALIFORNIA PSYCHOLOGICAL INVENTORY

Scale ^a	Mexican-American		Anglo		t ^b
	Mean	Sigma	Mean	Sigma	
Do	36.2	8.0	38.6	10.1	3.0
Cs	39.3	9.5	40.4	9.9	—
Sy	42.0	8.9	44.6	10.0	3.0
Sp	44.7	9.1	48.8	10.7	4.4
Sa	44.3	8.1	48.4	9.9	5.0
Wb	40.6	9.8	42.9	9.5	2.4
Re	30.5	10.3	30.5	11.2	—
So	35.5	8.7	34.6	9.4	—
Sc	47.2	9.0	45.8	9.9	2.6
To	34.0	10.3	38.1	10.8	4.1
Gi	50.0	9.5	46.9	10.3	3.3
Cm	43.3	10.0	48.1	10.0	5.1
Ac	36.4	9.4	37.5	10.4	—
Ai	38.2	9.7	40.2	9.8	2.2
Ie	32.1	9.4	37.7	9.9	6.2
Py	43.4	9.7	43.2	10.4	—
Fx	48.3	9.8	49.0	10.5	—
Fe	50.4	9.2	48.3	9.6	2.4
N	145		502		

^a California Psychological Inventory Scales:

- Do. Dominance
- Cs. Capacity for Status
- Sy. Sociability
- Sp. Social Presence
- Sa. Self-Acceptance
- Wb. Sense of Well-Being
- Re. Responsibility
- So. Socialization
- Sc. Self-Control
- To. Tolerance
- Gi. Good Impression
- Cm. Communnality
- Ac. Achievement via Conformity
- Ai. Achievement via Independence
- Ie. Intellectual Efficiency
- Py. Psychological Mindedness
- Fx. Flexibility
- Fe. Femininity

^b All t's reported are significant at the accepted levels of confidence, $P \leq .05$.

TABLE IV.
ANGLO AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN MEAN SCORES ON
THE MINNESOTA MULTIPHASIC PERSONALITY
INVENTORY

Scale ^a	Mexican-American		Anglo		t
	Mean	Sigma	Mean	Sigma	
L	56.3	6.1	55.1	6.4	2.1*
F	63.4	10.7	60.8	9.3	2.7*
K	51.6	8.7	51.2	9.2	—
Hs	53.9	10.7	52.2	10.9	1.7
D	62.2	12.1	58.8	13.9	2.9*
Hy	54.3	10.9	55.2	9.2	—
Pd	69.9	10.5	71.7	11.2	1.9
Mf	52.6	8.7	53.8	9.5	1.4
Pa	58.3	10.7	56.8	11.2	1.5
Pt	60.0	12.9	58.1	12.9	1.5
Sc	65.3	14.3	61.5	14.8	2.7*
Ma	62.2	11.3	62.3	12.2	—
N	142		491		

* Statistically significant at the accepted levels of confidence, $P \leq .05$.

^a Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Scales:

- L. Lie
- F. Validity
- K. Correction
- Hs. Hypochondriasis
- D. Depression
- Hy. Hysteria
- Pd. Psychopathic Deviate
- Mf. Masculinity-Femininity
- Pa. Paranoia
- Pt. Psychasthenia
- Sc. Schizophrenia
- Ma. Hypomania

does the Anglo. He appears to be content with the equation of manliness, sexual prowess, and courage. The Anglo delinquent needs to add muscles and aggressiveness.

There were also indications of a minimum of concern with the intellectual life. The intellectual capacity of the group is the equal of other groups, but, based on conventional Anglo standards, it is inefficiently used. There appeared to be little or no ambition in academic as well as other intellectual pursuits. This is probably related to their fatalistic acceptance of low status and minimal concern with the future.²⁹ Some descriptive phrases characteriz-

²⁹ These characteristics, fatalism and the lack of concern for the future, were also attributed to the Mexicans in Kluckhohn's analysis of value orientations.

ing the Mexican-American delinquent are: retiring and passive; a tendency to react slowly to outside stimuli; rigid and restricted; awkward in new situations; submissive, suggestible and immature; suspicious yet concerned with the impressions of others; little self-confidence; defensive in anticipation of rejection; a minimum of concern for the future; little self-direction.

The responses of both the Anglo and Mexican-American delinquent groups on the MMPI showed all scores above the T of fifty. One might be tempted to interpret this as depicting clinically disturbed groups. Though this may or may not be true the profiles must be considered in terms of a more turbulent milieu. The administration of the tests occurred shortly after the very trying judicial procedures (including apprehension), further complicated by the new, and for many, frightening experience of initiation into a prison community (which, even for the inmate, is full of criminals). It is not unusual, at this point, for the inmate to be extremely suspicious, excessively rationalizing and projecting, and clearly more disturbed than usual. Perhaps higher scores on such tests as the MMPI should be the "normal" response under these circumstances.³⁰

In the overall view of the profiles of the Anglos and Mexican-Americans, there seemed to be a general similarity in quality, with some difference in degree. Both groups showed emotionally disturbed profiles with the Mexican-American appearing to be the somewhat more disturbed of the two. The Mexican-American seemed to possess more schizoid elements, but one wonders how much of this was a reflection of the situation and the subculture. Both groups scored rather high on those scales generally said to be related to psychoses. This does

The Mexican is described as simply accepting the future as inevitable, vague and unpredictable. Kluckhohn, *supra* note 5, at 343.

³⁰ The responses to the administration of both the CPI and the MMPI were similar in that the inmate was usually suspicious and defensive. This was more marked than what one might expect from any personality test-taker because of fear and suspicion linked with the greater consequences of doing more time and being prosecuted for more crimes. The inmate seemed to handle the testing situation by attempting to give a good impression; but, occasionally, attempting to give a bad one. However, it is probable that he did not quite know how to accomplish the latter. The resultant responses seemed to have little effect on the CPI, with the MMPI picking up the situational stress, defensiveness and suspiciousness. The usual exception was with those inmates who might be classified as Sociopaths. It was not unusual for this group to look very good on both tests—except for the Socialization and Psychopathic Deviant Scales.

not mean that they were schizophrenic, but perhaps that they engaged in a good deal of schizoid thinking. The schizoid-like responses could be related to either residence in a paranoid-like community (the prison), or cultural beliefs such as witchcraft. The one qualitative difference was related to depression. Where the Mexican-American's depression appeared to be of a more serious nature, the Anglo's depression was more reactive, that is it was more situational than real.

Effect of the Treatment

The effect of the treatment was explored through the differential responses on the CPI when administered on a before and after basis. The analysis and interpretation of the test material involved a statistical comparison of the mean scores of the various scales within each of the subcultures in addition to the assessment of the group configurations for both treated and nontreated scores. The differences in the extent and kind of movement made between the Anglo and Mexican-American were interpreted through a nonstatistical comparison of the within group test-retest differences. Tables 5 & 6 illustrate the results of the comparisons.

The nontreated Anglo group indicated a more efficient use of their capacities manifested by increased achievement. The achievement was primarily in terms of vocational skills. There was some feeling of success as they indicated increased striving and more self-confidence. However, these changes seemed to be geared to the rigid structure of the prison and its successful transfer to the free community was still to be demonstrated.

The treated Anglos showed some increase in instrumental expertise, but the major change involved increased introspection, self-concern, self-awareness, psychological-mindedness, and in general, the fruits of a relationship with a therapist prior to the development of therapeutic insights.

The nontreated Mexican-American indicated some movement away from the Mexican culture. However, the acculturation seemed to be with a delinquent group, manifested by an increase in rebelliousness and acting-out tendencies. The significant changes in the Dominance and Self-Acceptance scales and the lack of concomitant increases in such scales as Tolerance and Psychological-mindedness seemed to be some of the indicators of this shift toward the characteristics of the Anglo delinquent subculture. In addition to the increased rebelliousness and tendency to relieve

anxiety by acting-out, there was a more aggressive approach to interpersonal relationships and a more efficient use of intellectual capacities. The major change, however, involved a movement away from the delinquent Mexican-American culture toward the delinquent Anglo one. One might conjecture that one consequence of this would be a change in the subsequent crime patterns of the recidivists from the more passive types of the Mexican-American subculture to the more aggressive patterns of the Anglo. It should be emphasized that the change involved a shift in patterns and is not meant to imply either an increase or decrease in delinquency.

The treated Mexican-American demonstrated an increase in self-confidence and poise and a decrease in the fear of the consequences of social interaction, particularly with authority figures. This was evidenced by the significantly increased scores on the Tolerance, Social Presence, Sense of Well-Being and Achievement via Independence scales without concomitant increases on such scales as Dominance and Self-Control. Some strides seemed to have been made toward a less rigid and ritualistic type of social interaction as there was less fear of the loss of control of the social situation and an increased awareness of their own influence on interactions. There also seemed to be some evidence of a better management of their individual capacities, again in a direction away from a ritualistic type of behavior (increased Intellectual Efficiency and Flexibility). The Mexican-American tends to relate with the Anglo within very confining and rigid limits. Treatment tends to extend these limits, permitting a greater freedom of expression.

The therapist through the identification process had become an influential person in the life of the Mexican-American client and either directly or indirectly supported the relinquishing of the subcultural patterns of behavior for what he deemed to be more acceptable ones. These changes were however minimal ones, just a beginning tendency to draw closer to Anglo values as reflected by the therapist and fostered through the identification process. In contrast to the nontreated group, some anxiety remained and served as the underpinning of the therapeutic process. The nontreated group seemed to be learning to act-out to relieve anxiety (a characteristic of the Anglo delinquent) while the treated group appeared to be utilizing the anxiety for an adjustment in the direction of behavior more acceptable to the therapist. However, since this change was a mere start, without subsequent reinforcement and continued support it appeared

TABLE V
TREATED AND NONTREATED MEXICAN-AMERICAN TEST-RETEST SCORES ON THE CALIFORNIA PSYCHOLOGICAL INVENTORY

Scale ^b	Treated ^a					Nontreated ^a					Scale ^b
	Test		Retest		t	Test		Retest		t	
	Mean	Sigma	Mean	Sigma		Mean	Sigma	Mean	Sigma		
Do	35.7	7.6	38.9	8.5	—	35.5	8.1	39.5	8.1	3.1*	Do
Cs	37.8	9.6	41.1	11.2	1.2	38.6	8.5	40.9	7.7	1.8	Cs
Sy	40.4	9.6	43.2	8.9	—	41.7	9.9	44.7	8.1	2.1*	Sy
Sp	44.0	10.3	51.0	9.1	2.9*	44.7	10.7	48.8	8.5	2.7*	Sp
Sa	44.7	9.1	47.6	8.8	—	44.0	9.0	51.2	6.3	5.7*	Sa
Wb	40.0	11.6	45.0	8.5	2.0*	40.5	9.8	42.4	8.6	—	Wb
Re	29.3	12.1	31.5	7.0	—	29.9	9.9	30.4	1.1	—	Re
So	35.1	8.6	33.2	6.9	—	35.4	8.6	34.7	8.5	—	So
Sc	46.9	9.0	49.1	7.7	—	46.8	8.0	45.3	9.7	—	Sc
To	33.6	10.1	39.1	9.7	2.2*	34.0	9.6	34.5	9.4	—	To
Gi	50.2	7.7	50.5	7.9	—	48.7	9.5	49.0	10.0	—	Gi
Cm	42.1	8.6	42.9	9.2	—	43.8	9.5	46.9	11.7	1.8	Cm
Ac	37.2	9.4	39.1	8.0	—	34.1	11.4	38.1	8.5	2.5*	Ac
Ai	38.5	7.7	44.7	8.9	3.0*	37.9	9.6	39.4	12.5	—	Ai
Ie	31.5	10.4	38.5	9.5	2.8*	31.8	10.1	37.0	12.4	2.9*	Ie
Py	44.0	10.2	45.6	9.8	—	42.0	10.0	44.1	9.5	1.4	Py
Fx	46.5	9.6	54.0	10.1	3.1*	49.7	10.2	48.1	9.9	—	Fx
Fe	53.2	9.6	51.4	9.7	—	49.0	9.8	48.0	9.4	—	Fe
N	33		33			80		80			N

* Statistically significant at the accepted levels of confidence, $P \leq .05$.

^a t-tests computed when necessary.

^b California Psychological Inventory Scales:

Do. Dominance

Cs. Capacity for Status

Sy. Sociability

Sp. Social Presence

Sa. Self-Acceptance

Wb. Sense of Well-Being

Re. Responsibility

So. Socialization

Sc. Self-Control

To. Tolerance

Gi. Good Impression

Cm. Community

Ac. Achievement via Conformity

Ai. Achievement via Independence

Ie. Intellectual Efficiency

Py. Psychological Mindedness

Fx. Flexibility

Fe. Femininity

TABLE VI.
TREATED AND NONTREATED ANGLO TEST-RETEST SCORES ON THE
CALIFORNIA PSYCHOLOGICAL INVENTORY

Scale ^a	Treated					Nontreated					Scale
	Test		Retest		t	Test		Retest		t	
	Mean	Sigma	Mean	Sigma		Mean	Sigma	Mean	Sigma		
Do	39.4	10.3	41.3	9.4	—	39.9	14.6	44.2	10.6	1.7	Do
Cs	40.6	11.1	44.8	9.8	1.8	41.6	11.3	46.9	10.1	2.4*	Cs
Sy	45.0	10.9	47.5	9.0	1.3	46.8	11.1	46.6	10.7	—	Sy
Sp	48.4	11.4	53.6	10.0	2.4*	48.2	11.2	53.6	10.3	2.5*	Sp
Sa	48.6	9.7	53.3	9.9	2.6*	48.7	11.4	54.3	9.9	2.1*	Sa
Wb	43.5	9.2	45.3	8.9	—	41.7	11.0	50.1	7.7	4.4*	Wb
Re	34.1	10.9	34.2	10.4	—	34.3	11.0	36.2	10.8	—	Re
So	34.8	9.3	33.0	8.4	—	35.4	10.8	35.8	10.6	—	So
Sc	46.6	9.1	48.6	8.5	—	44.6	10.9	46.8	10.7	—	Sc
To	41.4	10.5	43.3	9.7	—	39.6	11.9	44.0	8.9	2.1*	To
Gi	47.0	9.8	45.2	9.6	—	47.7	11.1	49.0	10.4	—	Gi
Cm	50.2	8.6	52.1	8.9	—	47.9	11.0	50.5	10.5	—	Cm
Ac	38.4	10.4	40.8	10.2	—	37.8	12.1	42.5	10.2	2.1*	Ac
Ai	40.9	10.1	45.5	10.8	2.2*	40.4	10.6	45.1	9.9	2.3*	Ai
Ie	39.6	8.5	46.4	8.7	3.9*	38.8	10.4	45.9	9.3	3.6*	Ie
Py	41.8	10.8	46.7	10.5	2.3*	44.2	11.1	46.0	10.8	—	Py
Fx	48.1	9.7	52.3	11.3	1.97	48.2	11.3	50.4	11.5	—	Fx
Fe	48.5	9.5	48.9	9.4	—	49.8	10.8	50.2	10.7	—	Fe
N	33		33			80		80			N

* Statistically significant at the accepted levels of confidence, $P \leq .05$.

^a California Psychological Inventory Scales:

- Do. Dominance
- Cs. Capacity for Status
- Sy. Sociability
- Sp. Social Presence
- Sa. Self-Acceptance
- Wb. Sense of Well-Being
- Re. Responsibility
- So. Socialization
- Sc. Self-Control
- To. Tolerance
- Gi. Good Impression
- Cm. Communality
- Ac. Achievement via Conformity
- Ai. Achievement via Independence
- Ie. Intellectual Efficiency
- Py. Psychological Mindedness
- Fx. Flexibility.
- Fe. Femininity

likely that in crisis and under stress the behavior would return to the old patterns.

Both treated and nontreated groups seemed to show little if any change in delinquency as measured not only by the Socialization scale, but in the entire area of socialization, maturity and responsibility. For both, there was a better adjustment in terms of interpersonal relations; however, the adjustment was generally superficial, largely related to the structure of the prison, and did not occur on the level of therapeutic insight. Perhaps the most lasting effect was on those Mexican-Americans who became increasingly aware of other subcultures, be they delinquent or nondelinquent, as attractive alternatives to their own. Those who received treatment seemed to turn and face in the direction of conformity Anglo style, but pulling at their backs were the old subcultural and delinquent patterns of behavior. The nontreated cases never got to face in the "right" direction, but seemed to be making an adjustment to a delinquent Anglo social system. The assessment of the results of the study, too often, appeared to indicate better adjusted delinquents, be they treated or not.

In comparing the relative effect of treatment for the Mexican-American and the Anglo, neither subculture appeared to have been touched in the area of delinquency potential, whether they were treated or not. The nontreated Mexican-American and Anglo increased instrumental expertise, as they responded to the educational/training programs in the prison. The Mexican-American, in addition seemed to be drifting towards the Anglo delinquent subculture. The treated groups seemed to be responding to the therapeutic relationship; however, the Mexican-American because of the various subcultural barriers still did not develop a psychological-mindedness nor the introspection necessary for more than a superficial understanding of the self. The Mexican-American, when treated, responded more to the cultural aspects of the treatment as he referred the process outwardly rather than inwardly towards the self.

There are several reasons for the difficulty in the therapeutic process with the Mexican-American. Those who have attempted to treat this group are well aware of the difficulties in communication as the Mexican-American tends to remain silent particularly in the group process. It seems that the major barrier is one of culture. The difference between the effect of the treatment on the Anglo and the Mexican-American is that the former more readily learns the role of the client and directs the

interaction inwardly while the latter tends to direct the therapeutic interaction outwardly as he uses the process more for acculturation than for insight.

The Mexican-American enters the process with several cultural barriers that need to be attended to before he can more adequately profit from the treatment. The intimacies necessary in therapy are traditionally avoided by the Mexican-American. One simply does not discuss ones mother (a saintly figure) or ones father with other people. Problems, the heart of the therapeutic process are also avoided. The therapist represents an authority figure and is viewed with suspicion and distrust.²¹ Envy leads to circumspection in interaction in both the individual and group therapy sessions and obscures the therapeutic process. The gang-mindedness is particularly obstructive as it prevents the kind of cooperative interaction so necessary in therapy. Finally, there is the fear of acculturation itself (*falso*), the fear that the therapy will pull him away from his Chicano identity and that he might lose the acceptance of his people. Eventually, the Mexican-American may get to like his therapist, and identify with part of the Anglo culture, but not on the level of insight or on Anglo terms, but as part of the Mexican-American culture where one has new experiences without any relationship to a past or a future state.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The over-representation of the Mexican-American in the prison highlights the need for special study and treatment. Within the framework of the acculturation concept, this study focused on three areas related to the incarcerated Mexican-American delinquent: background, personality, and the effect of therapy.

There were several features of the Mexican-American culture that tended to impede the acculturation and the treatment process and effect their background and personality. The family constellation is an unstable one as the father is seen as withdrawn and the mother as a self-sacrificing and saintly figure. The Mexican-American has little concern for the future, perceives himself as predestined to be poor and subordinate, is still influenced by magic, is gang-minded, distrusts women, sees authority as arbitrary, tends to be passive and dependent, and is alienated from the

²¹ Not only is authority of others viewed with distrust, but when the Mexican-American himself achieves a position of authority, he tends to use his position in the same way he expects others to use it.

Anglo culture. Three themes that pervade the subculture and reinforce the alienation are *envidia*, an envy that is dealt with by a type of rationalization that reinforces the subordinate position; *falso* or false-one, the rejection of the acculturated Mexican-American and consequent discouragement of ambition and achievement drive; and finally, *machismo* or manliness, the tendency to sharply delineate the sexes and emphasize sexual virility.

In the demographic comparisons between the Anglo and the Mexican-American there were several similarities. Some of these included: intelligence, marital status, broken homes, prior arrest record, age at first arrest and first commitment, position among siblings, and crime among parents. Some of the differences were: Mexican-Americans were predominantly Catholic, and claimed lower educational levels, were less urbanized, and from larger families. The crime patterns of the two groups also showed several differences. The Mexican-American had more narcotic and sex commitments, and fewer crimes against property. There were also differences among the Mexican-Americans in terms of acculturation and its consequences. For example, the Mexican-American from Northern California tended to be more acculturated than the one from Southern California with some tendency to have different crime patterns where the Northern group's crimes were approaching the pattern of the Anglos.

The personality test assessments indicated that the Mexican-American delinquent, as a group, was immature, passive, rigid and restricted, had little concern for the future, a minimum of self-confidence and self-direction and evidenced an inefficient use of intellectual capacities. Finally, the Mexican-Americans appeared to be less rebellious than the Anglos as they reacted to frustration more impunitively, and seemed to be more seriously depressed than their Anglo counterparts.

The effect of the treatment was examined through the interpretation of the test-retest scores on the California Psychological Inventory. The nontreated Anglos showed an increased instrumental expertise while the non-treated Mexican-American showed an acculturation towards the delinquent Anglo subculture. The treated Anglo indicated an increased psychological-mindedness and introspection while the treated Mexican-American indicated a movement towards an identification with the therapist which seemed to be leading towards a kind of cooptation of the Anglo culture rather than to any therapeutic insights. Neither

Anglo nor Mexican-American, treated or not, indicated any real changes in delinquent orientation.

It is very tempting to assume that the social problems of the Mexican-American will be ameliorated with acculturation and assimilation as occurred for many European immigrant groups. A large proportion of the Mexican-Americans are at least third generation, yet remain relatively unacculturated. There are several factors restraining a relatively quick acculturation process. These factors include the alienative features of the Mexican-American subculture itself as well as a lack of acculturation mediums. The school has been said to be the most effective vehicle for this process; however, the Mexican-American has a limited exposure to this influence by virtue of his early severance from the schools and its implicit support by the subculture. Paradoxically, for the Mexican American delinquent, the penal institution represents possibly the best, and probably the last opportunity for exposure to the acculturation process. The institutions, however, are not formally focused in this direction. Consequently, the acculturation that does occur when the Mexican-American delinquent is thrust into contact with other groups in the prison is toward an Anglo delinquent subculture. The prison programs tend to be geared toward the dominant group among the delinquents. If it be true that acculturation is related to the success of these programs, including the psychotherapeutic process, then the unacculturated Mexican-American is unlikely to profit from them. What then can be done to increase a limited capacity to profit from therapy? Perhaps one answer is to facilitate the acculturation process. This might be done through the medium of social living classes. The instructor might first establish his expertise on Mexican-American culture and then attempt to increase the classes knowledge of the subtleties of the Anglo culture. Although not crucial to the program, an acculturated Mexican-American might be utilized, but the language would be English. As this group develops some understanding of the Anglo culture and some of the mysteries are dispelled and they begin to realize that the acculturation process does not necessarily include the denial of a Mexican identification, they might then be drawn into other treatment programs depending on specific needs. The tools of the social living classes could be pedagogical and involve the teaching of Mexican-American and Anglo culture and the relationship between the two. It could also have some therapeutic value in its use of such devices as socio-drama and

role playing. Then, when perceived as "ready" the therapeutic process can involve individual and group psychotherapy. The program would be designed for the relatively unacculturated Mexican-American and then subsequent treatment would be individualized in terms of inmate need. Thus, the initial program would be designed to acculturate

and might also have an indirect effect on the delinquency, whereas the later program would focus on the delinquency with perhaps only an indirect effect on acculturation. Such a program intended initially as an experiment, might help in the search for programs designed to increase the efficiency of the rehabilitation process and reduce recidivism.