

AN MMPI-BASED STUDY OF THE  
PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS OF  
THREE GROUPS OF SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS.

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BY  
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SUMMARY.

AN MMPI-BASED STUDY OF THE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS  
OF THREE GROUPS OF SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS.

The MMPI was administered to 263 second year Psychology students, 88 Afrikaans-speaking students, 96 Coloured students, and 79 English-speaking students. Thirteen clinical and thirteen content scales of the MMPI were scored. Results showed that (i) the South African students elevated the MMPI scales to a greater degree than comparative normative samples (ii) the content scales differentiate between the groups to a greater extent than the clinical scales (iii) the South African male students elevated the scales to a greater degree than did their female colleagues (iv) a specific personality pattern can be identified for each of the student groups. The differentiated personalities expressed are appropriate to each group's position and function within the South African socio-cultural spectrum.

The aim of this study is to investigate the specific personality characteristics of three groups of South African students, utilising the MMPI as the assessment tool. The study of South African subjects in an investigation of this type is important as it can assist in facilitating the understanding of the influences on personality of the kind of society that South Africa represents, and it can provide empirical data of the personality characteristics typical to South Africa that can alleviate the stereotyping that ignorance of real characteristics can generate.

The study of group personality or national character has never fully been assimilated into the main body of psychology. However, more recent empirical concepts of national character, such as that of the "modal personality", which refers to relatively enduring personality characteristics and patterns that are modal among members of a society, and that of the "social personality", which refers to the notion that any culturally distinctive aggregate of individuals suitably studied with the help of psychological concepts and techniques will reveal a fairly general system of overt and covert behaviours, enables scientific studies to be undertaken. The MMPI is a personality assessment tool which, although primarily intended for clinical diagnosis, has had certain techniques developed that allow for the study of group or national character. These techniques plus further clinical and content scale analysis, where these scales low or high elevation warrant attention, enables full and reliable group personalities to be identified, described and compared.

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In this research three distinctive but related South African student groups are investigated. They are the white Afrikaans-speaking South African (WASSA), the Coloured people, and the white English-speaking South Africans (WESSA). The three groups share western values in all their ramifications, and speak European languages. They differ in their historical backgrounds and in their current status within the South African society. The WASSA, or Afrikaner, who constitutes the dominant or in-group within the society, has come to his position of power following his national self-awakening that occurred in the nineteenth century and his subsequent stubborn and inspired battle for national self-determination and independence. Van der Spuy (1974) has argued that Afrikaners as a group have developed an obsessive character that has never rid itself of basic national anxiety and insecurity. The Afrikaner has consequently expressed his obsessional fears by building around him a society that is notable for its order and discipline, and for its subjection to executive decisions. The Afrikaner student, who is idealistic and determined to maintain the social status quo, can be expected to present a group personality with the characteristics mentioned above. The Coloured population of South Africa, although the only group that is totally indigenous to that part of the world, has never been accepted as an equal partner in the greater society, and has never succeeded in developing a group consciousness or identity. Mann (1973) states that certain Coloureds are believed to have developed a marginal personality. A marginal personality is developed by people who find the entry into membership of a privileged group barred, but who desperately want acceptance by that group. Such a personality is characterised by hypersensitivity, self-pity and insecurity. Although not every person subjected to a marginal situation develops a marginal personality, the Coloured students who see wide horizons of enlightenment and participation opening up before them, but who are presented with few open opportunities of participating fully in the society, can be expected to express many of the characteristics of the marginal personality. The white English-speaking South African has been responsible for a great deal of the industrial and commercial development of South Africa. Nowadays he remains economically strong, but his political power base has been eroded. The WESSA student, as he develops within the situation, finds himself in a difficult position. He has to make himself relevant to the overall situation by finding a meaningful way of reacting to it and influencing it. He is frustrated by his alienation from the greater society's traditions and values, and by the difficulties

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involved in finding meaningful individual expression. The WESSA student's awareness of this situation, and his reaction to it, should find expression in his personality characteristics. Empirical studies that have been done on South African subjects in the area of general attitude and gross psycho-pathology have yielded two quite surprising but consistent findings. Where there have been comparisons between different groups of South Africans on personality variables, few differences have been found. Where comparisons are made between the performances of South Africans and comparable overseas samples, significant differences are invariably found, to the detriment of the South African groups.

#### Hypotheses.

The following hypotheses relevant to the study are posited:

- (i) It is hypothesised in the light of previous similar research in the area, that the South African sample will elevate the MMPI scales to a greater extent than have comparative overseas student samples.
- (ii) It is hypothesised in view of previous research findings that there will be few differences between the three South African groups on all the investigated personality variables, where these differences are measured statistically.
- (iii) It is hypothesised that at the level of personality description, obtained by psychodiagnostical analysis, there will be differences between the groups where each group presents a personality appropriate to their socio-cultural experience. The personality patterns will reflect the particular influences on personality of the group's position in the South African socio-cultural spectrum as described earlier.

#### Method.

##### Apparatus.

The MMPI is the personality assessment tool used in this study. Besides being useful as an investigating medium for group personality characteristics, it has also been widely used in cross-cultural and inter-racial research, and has been translated into many languages. Findings in

cross-cultural research have shown that the MMPI is appropriate in various English speaking countries and is also administered in English to bilingual subjects whose ability in that language exceeds the minimum requirements.

Subjects. All students were second-year psychology students registered at various universities. Of the Afrikaans speaking students, 61 were females, average age 20, and 27 were males mean age 21,8. Of the Coloured students, there were 47 females, average age 19,9 and 49 males, mean age 21. Of the English-speaking students, there were 47 females, average age 20, and 22 males with average age 21. No attempt was made to control for socio-economic status as measured by father's occupation as this would have eliminated a legitimate source of variance between the groups. Students with difficulty in understanding the questions were asked not to complete the personality inventory.

Results. The hypotheses tended to be confirmed. The South African students strongly elevated the clinical scales above those of comparable overseas student samples. Also as expected, the clinical scales did not yield many very significant differences between the groups. The content scales of MMPI have differentiated strongly and consistently between the groups.

The third hypothesis, related to personality description, has also been well confirmed. The Afrikaner students have come across as being most at home within the society. The males are a dominant, belligerent group who also indicate strong group conformity. The males are ambitious and idealistic. The female students present similar personalities, except that they are relatively submissive, intolerant and phobic in relation to their male colleagues. Both sexes show classical signs of some paranoia - this is, personal sensitivity and suspiciousness of the intentions of others.

Unlike their Afrikaans counterparts, the coloured students are by no means at home within the society. Their personality strongly reflects a person whose position within the society is uncertain, and their severity of social maladjustment is greater. The Coloured female is untrusting of others, is introverted, socially insecure, and has difficulty

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in establishing close, meaningful relationships. Her male colleague, too, is struggling. He is a person with feelings of inferiority and inadequacy, low self-esteem and a disorganisation of thought processes. Overall the Coloured students suffer from a general emotional problem satisfying all the characteristics of a marginal reaction.

The WESSA male student is also struggling to find himself a meaningful place within the society. He resents authority and is hostile to his parents, and is non-conforming. He tempers and controls this aggressive tendency with a strong idealistic concern for moral issues. The English female students as a group are similar to their male colleagues. The women are also critically concerned with societal values, and are rebelliously trying to demand their rights and respect as equal partners in the society. They too temper their aggression. They do this by casting themselves in a classical female role. Such students are tense, high-strung, and show various signs of anxiety.

### Conclusion

The in-depth personality analysis in this study reveals for the first time empirically, the real differences that exist at the personality level between the various South African cultural and ethnic groups. This empirical knowledge can give insight to the groups involved into themselves, their situation, and the dynamic forces and pressures that influence the actions and reactions of the other people who share the same societal space.

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to investigate the personality characteristics of three groups of South African students, utilising the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) as the assessment tool. The study of South African subjects in an investigation of this type is important for two reasons: One relatively theoretical, and the other more practical. It is generally agreed that South African society is organised uniquely in many respects, the most widely-used and widely-known feature of which is probably the enforced socio-political separation of the various South African groups. There are many causes and reasons for this separation. Undoubtedly, a relatively important cause is the personality characteristics of the people who, on the one hand, are involved in engineering a social structure of this type, and on the other hand, who have been engineered into such a situation. Enforced socio-political separation, which in the South African context has additionally meant racial discrimination, also has an effect on personality. Living in such a society makes specific demands on a person's coping abilities and it can be expected to have some influence on his social adjustment. It is difficult at this stage to isolate the relative influence of cause and effect or alternatively, of biological and socio-cultural factors on the personality and make-up of the various South African groups. In this instance, as it is in many other areas of scientific research, the causal relationships are of so complex a nature that it is not possible to explain them at the current state of knowledge. Instead, attempts need to be made at describing the phenomena as they are found. Describing the personality characteristics found amongst the South African peoples will assist in the understanding of the influences on personality of the kind of society that South African represents.

Describing the personality characteristics found amongst the South African peoples also serves a more practical purpose. There is considerable ignorance in South Africa as regards the psychological constitution of the various groups and entities. Inevitably this has allowed the development amongst South Africans of all kinds of stereotyped attitudes and opinions as regards their countrymen. As is well known, the existence of stereotypes almost always implies cultural misunderstanding and encourages ethnocentrism and prejudice (Guterman, 1972; Ritchie, 1973; Small, 1972). A study that sheds light on the situation might well assist in alleviating the stigma

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of stereotyping and in allowing people to assess their fellow countrymen more realistically. In such a way a more informed interaction between the groups might be facilitated. It is possible though that a study such as this, besides shedding light, might also generate considerable heat. If this is the case, it is hoped the heat will encourage more studies to be undertaken in this area. In the long run further information, that either corrects, confirms, or refines current knowledge, can only be beneficial.

In this study, the focus will be on three South African "national" groups - the Afrikaners, the Coloureds, and the English-speaking South Africans - where the specific targets will be student samples. In later sections a brief survey of each of these groups' historical emergence will be undertaken along with an analysis of the possible psychological concomitants of each group's orientation to the socio-political reality in South Africa.

At this point a brief overview of the three groups and of global psychological aspects of South African society will be done. The whites and Coloureds of South Africa together constitute about 26% of the total population. Of the 26%, 9,3% or 2 300 000 are Coloureds and 16,7% or 4 200 000 are White (Horrell and Hodgson, 1976). Of the Whites, approximately 60% speak Afrikaans as their home language and 40% English. It is estimated that about 40% of the people are bilingual to a greater or lesser extent (Marquard, 1962). Thus the three groups are more or less equally represented in South African society. Both the whites and the Coloureds, although distinctively South African, are oriented to western culture in all ways.

To an overwhelming extent South African society structure is characterised by the separation of peoples according to their race and skin colour. In its make-up it very closely approximates a typical ethnocentric society as described by Ritchie(1973). Ritchie stated (pp.312-313) that:

Societies that are highly ethnocentric have sharp definitions of membership, well-defined social boundaries, a high degree of status mobility and insecurity, and frequently strongly delineated economic, religious or political ideologies. These are frequently policed by a central authority which demands obedience, and feels justified in using force to achieve cooperation. There is a preoccupation with order which is itself defined as difficult to maintain, not as something natural and emergent. This authority is usually associated with a marked emphasis on male virility and vigour, with sharp sex role definitions and anxiety

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about their maintenance. With the emphasis on male assertiveness and power goes an ultimate willingness to die to protect the in-group or oppose the out-group. Often necrophilic altruism, self-sacrifice to preserve the group, is valued positively as noble rather than stupid. Group and individual failure may be externalised with safety onto out-group members, who are also held as bogey-men for threats in child training. Child-rearing is characterised by punishment, threat and deprivation.

The above reflects many aspects of the overall nature of South African society. The study to be described here will take a look at the personality characteristics of some of the people who comprise the in-group of the society; it will also investigate the personality characteristics of a people who constitute an out-group in the society; and it will also consider psychological aspects of a group who, although "in", do not necessarily associate themselves with the in-group, and who oppose the denigrated status of the out-group. As already stated, this situation will be explained in greater detail.

In the first chapter, the concepts of national character that are relevant to this study and the use of the MMPI in a cross-cultural national character study will be considered.

CHAPTER ONE: THE STUDY'S DEFINITIVE FRAMEWORK1 (i): Concepts of national character that are relevant to this study

Since the beginnings of recorded history, people have been concerned with the problem and concept of national character. It has always been considered that an aggregate of individuals who belong together have characteristics in common, and numerous observations have invariably been made that purport to identify what these characteristics are. On many occasions there is no doubt, the observations were accurate, and succeeded in describing characteristics which were correct for a given group or nation. However, on many occasions, it is likely that, due only to the insufficiency or inaccuracy of judgment, stereotypes were formed that distorted the real characteristics. Until recently it has been impossible to verify the validity or otherwise of these descriptions. Now with the establishment of empirical science and the development of methodological sophistication it has become more possible to examine the many opinions about national character and national stereotypes and to see to what extent they relate to objective reality.

However notwithstanding the increased methodological sophistication and the undoubted function knowledge about national character serves, it has never really been shown to what in fact the concept of national character refers. The term has not been assimilated into the main body of psychology, as nobody has given a reasonable genetic explanation for it (Duijker and Frijda, 1960), although Lynn (1971), as will be mentioned later, has given it a try. The question here is whether it is inevitable that within a given nation a set of common characteristics will be developed that can be ascribed to certain features of that nation's biological and/or socio-cultural situation. Klineberg (1954) quotes Barzun who is of the opinion that this is unlikely: "...a people is too numerous, too various, too much an epitome of mankind to be cited for judgment in a formula, or even in a string of formulas modifying and annulling one another (p. 377)." Barzun here in one expression, has listed the main objections many scholars have about the notion of national character. They argue, for instance, that it is hardly possible that a national character will exist in a modern, populous, heterogeneous nation such as the Americans, the French, the Russians. They suggest the possibility that there might be a maximal size

of a national unity, beyond which there cannot be such a thing as a national character. Duijker and Frijda (1960) put forward an alternative: that it is not so much the size as the isolation of the community which fosters the development of psychological uniformity. In other words, there might be an inverse ratio between national character and the influence of outside ideas and thought.

The other objections to the concept of national character, when taken together actually cancel each other out. Yet seen separately both strongly question the idea. One point of view is that each person is an unique individual, and that it seems ridiculous to assume that it is possible to identify some personality characteristics that they all have in common. The other point of view points to the concept of the psychic unity of mankind and asks: if each person or nation epitomises mankind why look for partial differences. This is exactly what the student of national character tries to do: he is searching for the unique similarities amongst his target population. Kluckhohn and Murray have said (as quoted in Guterman, 1972): "every man is in certain respects (a) like all other men, (b) like some other men, (c) like no other man (p. xiii)." In national character studies the researcher is concerned with part "(b)" of Kluckhohn and Murray's statement.

Accepting that there are numerous problems concerned with the concept as a whole it is perhaps necessary to look more closely at the varieties of notions attempting to define what "national character" might be. Duijker and Frijda (1960) have outlined the mainstream concepts of national character. They state (p. 12) that "national character, in perhaps its most original meaning, refers to certain psychological traits or features characteristic of the citizens of a given nation." These peculiarities are usually described in common or literary language and reflect the popular or naive conception of national character. This definition has no empirical value and will not be considered further.

A second definition of national character, more in accordance with the requirements of present day social science is that which goes under the term "modal personality". Inkeles and Levinson, in Duijker and Frijda (p. 14) state that "national character refers to relatively enduring personality characteristics and patterns that are modal among adult mem-

bers of a society." Here national character is related to the frequency distribution of personality patterns within a given society where it is not the personality pattern as such that is characteristic for a society, but its relative frequency as compared to other societies. Seen in such a light this notion implies a major divergence from the concept of national character. "National character" in the traditional sense refers to features supposedly common to all members of a national population; "modal personality" refers to features characteristic of one category of a national population as distinct from other categories of the same national population. This implies that the modal personality shows the aspect of a national character that is distinctive of that nation. In this sense it can be useful in explaining national differences. Certain types of distributions of personality patterns, differences in homogeneity, the extent to which specific patterns are dominant, might certainly contribute to understanding the relationship between various groups within nations as well as between nations.

Some studies have been done to examine the concept of the modal personality. According to Duijker and Frijda the data available seems to warrant the following tentative conclusions: a) something like the modal personality seems to exist; b) considering the large intra-population variation it is doubtful whether modal personality represents an important aspect of the total personality; c) populations show a considerable overlap in the measure of separate traits. In summary then, differences in modal personality seem to mean differences in the relative preponderance of certain trends; gradual differences rather than clear-cut distinctions are found.

Guterman (1972) in his book on the modal personality of black Americans diverges from the definition of Duijker and Frijda, where he states that the "concept (the modal personality) refers to those characteristics and patterns of personality that are shared by large numbers of individuals in any group and that may be typical of the group. More specifically it denotes the average score of members of a group on one or more personality variables(p. xiii)." Here Guterman is saying that there is no need to distinguish between the various measures of the average, the mode, median and mean, when considering modal personality. However Duijker and Frijda stayed quite close to the statistical concept of the mode in discussing the modal personality. Guterman's definition of this concept more closely

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approximates Honigmann's (1967) term "social personality," which in turn deviates from Duijker and Frijda's understanding of the latter concept.

Duijker and Frijda define the "social personality" as the more or less conscious idea - systems, beliefs, attitudes, values, sentiments held in common by the members of a given society (pp.20-21). Honigmann extends the concept to refer to all personality characteristics: "By the term 'social personality' I intend to convey the idea that any culturally distinctive aggregate of individuals, if suitably studied with the help of psychological concepts and techniques, can be made to reveal a fairly general system of overt and covert behaviour - a personality - which, however, no particular member of the aggregate need reveal in its entirety (pp. 94-95)."

Honigman is of the opinion that the social personality cannot be accounted for by race or national origin but rather by socially patterned experiences. Numerous authors believe that the social personality is the region where intra-national similarities and international differences are located, and can thus be studied approximately.

There are a couple of other concepts related to national character that are primarily culture centred. The first approach is the cultural anthropological one where the unit of analysis is culture - more particularly learned cultural behaviour. Here the anthropologist sees national character in terms of the "habitudes" of a people - their institutions and institutionalised behaviour, folkways and rituals - rather than their character traits, and also in terms of the systems of norms and values as evident in cultural goals and in the institutions. The second, more restricted culture centred approach looks at the cultural products of a nation - to their literature, art, philosophy, to account for national character. Obviously there are opportunities for distortions and stereotypes being generated by such an approach. On the other hand it may be a point of view that should not be immediately discarded. It is not impossible that the products of the cultural elite in some cases will represent most clearly those psychological features which distinguish one nation from another.

It is now necessary for our purposes to analyse the relation of the group characters under consideration in this study to the concept of national character.

The first notion that needs to be set aside is that in this study we are

concerned with a unified "national character." As Brown (1965, quoting Munger) has indicated "there is no South African nation in which the varied ethnic groups emotionally participate or to which they respond in terms of common identification and loyalty (p. 33)." Marquard (1962) concurs where he states "the expression 'a house divided against itself' is more applicable to South Africa than it is to any other country. Disraeli's 'two nations' became, in South Africa at least, five.... There is no single instance where the population of South Africa was united during a great crisis.... There were it is true, notable examples of co-operation between groups or individuals of the different 'nations;' but there was no national front, no co-operation on a national scale (p. 28)." In South Africa the Whites and Coloureds share a common economy and space, and to some extent participate in a common culture and share comparable aspirations. But they are nevertheless separated by background, cultural heritage, and sharp differences in role and status. The South African White for example feels there is a fixed gulf between himself and all others. The Coloureds, until the application of the Apartheid policy were considered exceptions in that they were at least marginally identified with the Whites. Nowadays the gap has been sharpened, although in some areas some contact and acceptance of the Coloureds by the Whites occurs.

Of the three groups under consideration here it seems the label "nation" can be affixed to the Afrikaans-speakers. The Afrikaners' history is in fact characterised by their undaunted and unwavering nationalistic strivings. They have been historically involved in a struggle to maintain their identity as a separate culture and to protect their standards as white men, and as a special type of white man. Contemporaneously a person who calls himself an "Afrikaner" sees himself as belonging to a specific identifiable national entity. The Afrikaner student group under study here sees himself as an integral part of the nation. Their ambitions and strivings as a student group are similar to those emphasised by their cultural and political leaders. It is expected that the findings on the students' groups personality will reflect the general Afrikaner's national character.

As far as the English-speakers are concerned, they do not see themselves as a separate nation. The majority would probably describe themselves as "South African" expressing a feeling of unity with other groups, which is not really realistic on the national level. Neither would it be reasonable to describe the English Whites as an "ethnic group," as they are not

uniquely White or English, nor are they religiously or nationally unique. It might be possible to see the English-speaking Whites as a cultural group where there is in fact an extension of the western culture as it exists in the Americas or the U.K. Similarly, the white English-speaking South African student can be understood as being culturally related to his overseas western counterpart, and to a large extent his group personality should reflect this relation. Nevertheless the white English-speaking student finds himself in a situation which is quite unique amongst western students, that of his political and cultural frustration, which might influence the group-related aspects of his personality in a specifiable way.

Coloureds do not usually identify themselves as a national entity. To be called a "Coloured" does not impart the sense of national identity to such a person that would be called an "Afrikaner" to an Afrikaner. The Coloureds are usually referred to as a "people," but they may be considered to constitute an ethnic group. Although they do not possess a particular culture or religion they are nevertheless set apart in a singular way from the greater society. At the present time Coloured students cannot be considered to be representative of the Coloured people. They do however constitute an ethnic elite, who in some way or another reflect certain ideas and value-systems of their group. Their group personality might indicate some influences of their newly acquired elite, but undetermined status on personality.

During the next section a closer look at the type of group personality/national character concept under consideration will be taken.

1 (ii): The use of the MMPI as a cross-cultural method for investigation of group personality in South Africa.

The study of the group personality of different South African groups inevitably takes us into the realm of cross-cultural psychology, where cross-cultural psychology is understood as being the empirical study of members of various culture-groups that have had different experiences, which lead to predictable differences in behaviour (Brislin, Lonner and Thorndike, 1973).

The myriad of difficult conceptual and methodological issues plaguing cross-

cultural psychology have often and well been discussed (e.g. Brislin, Lonner and Thorndike, 1973; Frijda and Jahoda, 1969; Strodtbeck, 1969; and Triandis, 1974). It is necessary to have a look at a few of them in the context of this study, particularly in the context of the investigating tool, the MMPI, and in the context of the sample populations.

The first question that must be asked is whether it is fair or appropriate to administer the MMPI to white English, white Afrikaans, and Coloured people of South Africa. Triandis (1974) has described the issue in a different way. He states that a major problem with much of current cross-cultural psychological work is that it utilises a pseudo-etic approach. This means that often a measure is used in other societies that has been developed within a particular culture (mainly American), and that helps to explain phenomena as observed in that culture. An assumption is made that the same universal concept is being explained and therefore the measure is relevant to other cultures as well. Often this assumption goes untested. As regards the relevance of the MMPI for the South African culture the following might be said: The South African groups under study are all western orientated and are all familiar with the concepts, values, and attitudes of the West. In general the questions of the MMPI should mean the same to the South African subjects as they do to Americans. In the MMPI there are some items that are anachronistic even to American subjects and their validity might be questioned as they are probably in need of revision. Clearly these items will be meaningless to South Africans as well. There are also some items that refer specifically to American society (for example, a question on Lincoln and Washington), and these quite probably will confuse South African subjects. However, these items are so few that it is impossible to argue that in themselves they might invalidate certain protocols. Gynther (1972) in a careful review of MMPI performances by black and white Americans found that certain differences are found in their profiles because of the different connotative meanings some items have for people of dissimilar socio-historical backgrounds. As there are certain similarities between the relation of the Coloureds and the Negroes to their respective greater societies it is expected that certain items should have different connotative meaning for the Coloureds as well, and that these different interpretations of items should find expression in their performances.

From the above it seems that the MMPI is culture-appropriate to South Africa. A full analysis of results can be done on the MMPI performance within each group, and that also a between-group comparison can be done with a fair amount of confidence. It is difficult to state whether the MMPI is culture-fair to South Africa. It has been shown in previous studies (e.g. Taft, 1957; Kadri, 1971) that the MMPI is culture-fair to countries where English is spoken a good deal, and therefore it might be possible to extend this finding to South Africa as well. However empirical evidence, that might come from this study, is required before such an extension can be done. If the MMPI can be shown to be culture-fair to South Africa, it will allow international comparisons to be made between the South African groups and comparable overseas samples.

A further issue that need to be considered here is the fact that the MMPI in this study was administered in English to numerous subjects whose home language is not English. In other words, a translation of the investigating tool was not undertaken. The translation of psychological techniques into foreign languages when used outside of their original culture is a major methodological problem of cross-cultural research. On the one hand, requiring a subject to fulfil a psychological task in a language with which he is not thoroughly familiar may handicap his performance. On the other hand, translation of the original psychological tool may alter its equivalence or its comparability. In this case, it was decided that administering the MMPI in its original language was the preferable course of action. It has been shown by numerous workers (e.g. Rosen and Rizzo, 1961; Sundberg, 1956) that translated MMPI's do not usually provide comparable data to those generated by the English version. Further, South African students are taught English intensively throughout the school years, and at the universities a great deal of material is presented in English. It can therefore be assumed that the students have had the minimum required education in English as mentioned in Dahlstrom, Welsh and Dahlstrom (1972), to permit them to follow the items. Other safeguards used will be considered in the method section.

The MMPI has often been used cross-culturally and has been listed as a useful cross-cultural tool by Brislin, Lonner and Thorndike (1973). However, most studies have referred simply to the relative MMPI "clinical scale elevation" and "profiles" of their subjects. As far as could be ascertained cross-cultural studies on the MMPI attempting to describe

group personality have not been reported. Seeing as this is one of the main uses the MMPI will be put to in the current study it is necessary to look at this point in greater detail.

One of the sets of data that will be obtained from the study is based on the method of Costello et al., (1972). These workers tallied up the incidence of various "2-digit code" sets of the MMPI in their samples, and assigned these sets to their relevant MMPI diagnostic category, of which there are four. From their results they could see which was the modal category for each of their groups, and they could also identify the personality categories which significantly distinguish between their populations. This technique is the MMPI representation of the modal personality for a particular group or nation.

The following technique is the MMPI description of "social personality" as defined by Honigmann. Lanyon (1968) has published a series of what are called MMPI group profiles. A group profile is drawn up by taking the average score obtained by a population sample on each personality measure and marking it on a profile sheet. By joining up the points a certain profile configuration is obtained. From the profile configuration one can see which are the two or three scales that have been elevated the most by the group. The most elevated scale numbers are then formed into a code. This code represents a personality type which is actuarially described in one or more of the MMPI codebooks or atlases (Drake and Oetting, 1959; Gilbertstadt and Duker, 1965; Marks, Seeman and Haller, 1974) that have been developed for this purpose. From the "cookbook" a description can be obtained that represents the typical or "social personality" of the group under investigation.

In this study a set of MMPI "content scales" (Wiggins, 1966, 1969, 1971) have been used along with the well-known clinical scales. The content scales have not as yet been developed to the level of analysis that is permitted by the clinical scales. However, the content scales do contain a number of scales that are relevant and interesting to the South African groups. Further, the content scales provide a possible alternative to the clinical scales particularly on the scale level. While a code and profile level interpretation is needed to differentiate between groups using the clinical scales, it might be possible with the content scales to distinguish between groups with a scale level analysis.

CHAPTER 2 : DESCRIPTION OF THE SOCIOHISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE THREE SOUTH AFRICAN GROUPS.

1. White Afrikaans-speaking South Africans

The term White Afrikaans-speaking South African refers to those white South Africans mainly of Dutch descent who share a similar political, cultural, religious and linguistic history and outlook, and who are currently generally in charge of and in support of the South African government. These people are more familiarly known as Afrikaners. From the very outset the Afrikaners have been an extremely exclusivistic group emphasising their own national heritage, and demanding quite considerable conformity from their members. Outside contact with them has been quite minimal both externally to South Africa (e.g. Munger, 1974), and even from within (e.g. Van der Ross, 1974). Their historical background and development has been well documented (e.g. Le May, 1971; Marquard, 1962; and Van Jaarsveld, 1961), and impressionistic sociological and psychological analyses of their current situation have been undertaken (Archibald, 1969; Close, et al, 1971; and Van der Spuy, 1974). Yet empirical data on the Afrikaner's psychological make-up is extremely flimsy. The work that has been done has been predominantly attitudinal (Orpen, 1970; Schlemmer, 1974; and Viljoen & Grobler, 1972), and as far as can be established no detailed studies have been done on the objective personality characteristics of the Afrikaner. In view of the Afrikaner's pre-eminence in Southern Africa this ignorance seems to be quite critical. This study represents in part a beginning step in identifying some aspect of the Afrikaner's objective psychological constitution.

The Afrikaner nation has its origins in the eighteenth century "trekboeren" (inland farmers) of European descent who moved east away from the settlement at the Cape, mainly for two reasons. First, they desired to put as much distance between themselves and the government at Cape Town as possible. Second, they wanted to find more suitable grazing land so as to expand their then lucrative cattle-farming industry. These were people of little learning, the Bible (the Old Testament) was often their only literature, and their Calvinistic religion was crude and simple, harsh and forbidding. These farmers of the interior became a law unto themselves, forming a kind of primitive aristocracy (Le May, 1971). Following the occupation of the Cape in 1806 by the British, government became more serious and more control was

belonged to the mystic unity of the nation gained a sense of security, value and self-confidence.

In the fourth place, there was in Afrikaans nationalism a sense of having been called and chosen, that brought with it an element of religion. There was a belief in a kind of supernatural or mystic creation of the Afrikaner nation. It was God's will that had brought different people together, had given them a language, had presented them with a mission of propagating the Gospel, and which would one day allow the Afrikaner to live free under one flag in South Africa.

In the fifth place, love for the nation's past became a major characteristic of Afrikaner nationalism. Ancestors were lauded and heroes honoured so that an anchorage could be created to which the concept of a single nation could be firmly attached. The writing of history became an important and defensive art arguing for the justification of national existence (pp. 221-225).

These characteristics described by Van Jaarsveld have remained durable features of the Afrikaner people to this day. As will be shown later, they give indicators of the kind of national group personality one can expect to find amongst the Afrikaner students.

The continued rise of Afrikaner nationalism was severely hampered by the discovery of diamonds and gold in South Africa in the final quarter of the nineteenth century. The flood of foreigners to the areas previously dominated by the Afrikaners severely threatened their autonomy, and the Afrikaner leaders denied the foreigners any share of the political power. The British government demanded that the foreigners (Uitlanders) be given rights, but this was refused. This became an issue in which neither side would back down, and eventually it led to the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War. Even almost to this very day the Boer War occupies a large place in the thinking and politics and culture of the Afrikaner people. Afrikaners even of the present generation, remember the stories they heard and read of the heroism and valiant efforts of their forefathers to hold off the might of the British imperial forces - and also the conditions of the concentration camps in which thousands of Afrikaner women and children died.

Following the union of the four provinces, the Cape, the Free State, the Trans-

vaal and Natal, in 1910, the Afrikaner nationalist groups constituted a white minority. Yet strongly sustained by their religious and nationalistic convictions, they continued to develop and encourage their own language and culture. In 1925 Afrikaans was declared a second official language of South Africa, and it began to play a strong part in the education process. By 1948, Afrikaner nationalism had grown to the state where it was able to organise sufficiently to win the elections and come into power in South Africa. Since 1948 the Nationalists have clung tenaciously to power, systematically reducing real opposition to their policies while at the same time astutely developing South Africa into a relatively well-developed industrial nation. (The National Party, the ruling party in South Africa, does not refer exclusively to Afrikaner nationalists nor do all Afrikaners belong to it. Nevertheless, it undoubtedly represents the interests of the vast majority of Afrikaners.)

To a large extent the Afrikaners have maintained their exclusivism, this tendency being reflected in the policy of the Bantustans, where each exclusive tribe of South Africa is set aside a homeland, with the rest of South Africa being left to the whites. Contact between the white groups is considerable, particularly in the Defence Force and in commerce and industry. Yet, the Afrikaner is jealous to maintain and develop his identity. This is particularly expressed in certain cultural and politically-inspired events, and in the establishment of higher institutes of learning where Afrikaans is the teaching medium and which caters almost entirely for Afrikaners.

The exclusivism of the Afrikaner has led to the situation where even within South Africa it is difficult to get to know what kind of person the typical Afrikaner really is like (Van der Ross, 1974). External to South Africa the situation is probably even more vague. Munger (1974) has pointed out that whereas there is usually a fairly high degree of coincidence of what a people think of themselves and what others think of them, as regards the Afrikaners there is a huge gulf between their self-image and their world image. Munger states that "qualities that most Afrikaners value in their people, such as religious devotion, family loyalty, a pioneering spirit, resistance to Communism, and just plain decent egalitarianism, are neither admired nor disliked by the world; they simply are not known (p. 88)." Instead, the world sees the Afrikaner as a racist bigot, whose discriminative politics have led to the break up of thousands of families causing untold misery. The many positive aspects of Afrikaner cultural life are all but unknown abroad, and the development of Afrikaans, perhaps the newest of the

world's well-developed languages, is also not appreciated.

Sociologically, the Afrikaner has currently been described as an emergent minority (Archibald, 1969). Archibald has stated that although politically dominant, the Afrikaners, due to their lack of access to the capital generated by the discovery of diamonds and gold, have remained to a large extent an economic, and consequently a social minority. In this sense they have experienced a certain status discrepancy. Originally the Afrikaner's response to minority status was to avoid the dominant group by trekking away from them. When trekking became no longer possible, the Afrikaners established secret organisations, and other associations for the development of language and culture, so as to avoid assimilation. Now that they are politically ascendant, their response has been of a sort of aggression to people lower than them on the social scale. Close et al, (1971) present an alternative view to that of Archibald, saying that the complexity of the "apartheid" theory, emphasising the need for structured cultural separation and equality, can hardly be interpreted simply as the aggressive reaction of a hard-pressed minority group. They suggest that the Afrikaners have largely emerged from their minority group orientation and are more concerned now with national domination than with group assertion. The reason for Afrikaner oppression of non-whites is less an emergent minority group response and more the maintenance of a stereotype of non-whites derived from the Afrikaner's historical experience of being slave owners and of hostile contacts with tribesmen on the frontier.

A further possible reason for Afrikaner oppression of non-whites may stem from their subjective feeling of always being threatened - their ideas of persecution. In the nineteenth century the threat was seen as mainly British - the major political threat was believed to be British imperialism, the major cultural threat the English language and traditions, and the major economic threat British-Jewish capitalism. In the 1920's and 1930's it was the English peril ("Engelse gevaar") which seemed paramount to Afrikaner true believers. The desire for freedom from British domination, not fear of the black masses, was the major theme of Afrikaner civil faith (Moodie, 1974). It has only been recently that the English peril has been replaced in the Afrikaner's rhetoric by the black peril ("swart gevaar") and the tyranny of communism. It seems to be more an obsessional deep-seated fear of destruction than a response to minority status, or the maintenance of a traditional stereotype that causes the Afrikaners to force their narrow cultural and political

solipsism not only on their own people but on other groups as well.

From the data gleaned from the socio-historical survey and sociological analyses above, numerous pointers are available that indicate what one might expect to find as regards the personality characteristics of the Afrikaner. Van der Spuy (1974a; 1974b) has undertaken such a theoretical attempt at describing the Afrikaner's personality, using a psychopathological model. He has argued that the Afrikaners as a group show what can be called an obsessional national character. This manifests itself in many obsessional traits as an unsuccessful defence against a basic national anxiety, arising from a basic national insecurity. The obsessional personality as described in a psychiatric textbook such as Slater and Roth (1969) is noted for his "conscientiousness and love of order and discipline, his persistence and endurance even in the face of obstacles..... He is difficult to move, but set moving in a given direction, persists in it and is difficult to stop or deflect....The love of order and discipline is extended to others; and obsessional people tend to be strict parents and domineering masters (p. 130)". These traits described above seem to apply to the Afrikaner in that for instance the whole growth of Afrikaner nationalism can be seen as a persistent struggle against considerable odds. Further, the policy of apartheid where other people's lives are regulated and domineered, also reflects an obsessional outlook.

Slater & Roth refer to another feature of the obsessional personality: "A high ethical value must indeed be set on many of the character traits of the obsessional - his dependability and reliability, his punctuality, precision, scrupulousness in matters of morals, his capacity for self-effacement and even self-immolation on the altar of a principle (p. 130)". The self-image of the Afrikaner most probably fits this description, but, as has been stated earlier, the image that outsiders hold of the Afrikaner is quite different. This probably reflect the complexity of the issues surrounding the morality or otherwise of the South African government's policies. In an empirical study comparing the moral codes of three groups, Viljoen and Grobler (1972) found Afrikaans-speaking students to be more morally severe in their judgment than Americans, but not different to Koreans. These researchers described that their Afrikaans-speaking sample was conservative in their judgment, had a strong love for tradition, and were resistant to change. This is caused according to Viljoen and Grobler, through fear of the loss of their own identity because of external threat. As has been noted earlier, in some

cases a strong love for tradition and a resistance to change can reflect features of an obsessional personality.

Van der Spuy also refers to the overlap found between the obsessional and authoritarian personality. An example of this is the puritan pattern of thought and action, reflected for example in South Africa's strict censorship laws. Other aspects of the authoritarian personality have been described by Klineberg (1964, in Van der Spuy, 1974a). He states that "the individual in this category tends to be a supreme conformist, he sees the world as menacing and unfriendly,....he is rigid....., he is hard-minded exalting his own group and disliking many out-groups,... he is a moral purist." Clearly this formulation seems to fit a number of features of the Afrikaners' thought patterns. Orpen (1970) has provided experimental evidence that the Afrikaners are indeed very authoritarian. In a study of a hundred first year students at the Afrikaans university of Stellenbosch, Orpen found that the mean score they obtained on the authoritarian scale (F-scale) was "amongst the highest ever recorded in the literature for ordinary university students."

The feelings of persecution and ideas of grandeur that are often found in obsessive and authoritarian personalities have also been described as existing in the Afrikaner by Moodie (1974) and Van Jaarsveld (1961). It may be argued that the national paranoia the Afrikaner has always displayed may nowadays be based on reality, as there is no doubt the countries of the world oppose South Africa. However, the question is whether this opposition is a conspiracy directed against the Afrikaner nation or whether it is a sincere international campaign directed against racial discrimination as practised in South Africa. It appears to be this distortion of other's intentions that has dogged the Afrikaner nation since its very inception.

Van der Spuy (1974a) sees evidence of a slow but gradual change taking place amongst the younger Afrikaner generation. The government is in some ways beginning to develop quite enlightened policies, for example, in the sporting arena. However, a detailed and well-designed study by Schlemmer (1974) seems to give the lie to this impression. His results suggest that while the younger Afrikaners are very slightly less inclined than older people to subscribe to a traditional conservative and pietistic religious outlook and to a backward looking concern with Afrikaans cultural heritage and history, they are no less inclined to value language group identity. As regards

race relations, Schlemmer found the youngest group to include a slightly higher proportion of people who are conservative in this regard, and who are even less concerned than older people with racial justice and inter-racial unity. Where he found differences related to political issues, Schlemmer noted the difference was more in a direction of conformistic apathy than it was toward any strong conviction for political change.

The Afrikaans student population, as it is represented by its student organisation, the Afrikaanse Studentebond (ASB), is a very traditional conservative and loyal body as far as its relation to Afrikanerdom is concerned. This excerpt from Fick (1972) give an indication of the Afrikaner student's viewpoint:

The Afrikaner student of the 1970's has specific ideals derived from his deepest convictions and which he wishes to implement. The Afrikaner student of 1910.....has his ideals: he wanted to protect his language;...his longing for a republican form of government was unyielding. The prospects were bleak, but he fought for these things... and he won. But the fulfilment of ideals is never the end of the road for youth. New tasks arise which demand inspiration, zeal and energy. Thus the Afrikaner student of today remains an idealist. His history spurs him on to action to accomplish his calling in his time and his circumstances.....The guiding principle (of the Afrikaner student) can be traced back to the cradle of Afrikanerdom and lit from the beacon of its Christian philosophy of life. (p. 85)

What enlightened ("verligte") Afrikaner students there are, are small in number and are neither an organised nor even a definable group (Le Roux, 1972).

From the above it seems that the type of personality one can expect to find of the Afrikaans student should be quite similar to the personality described throughout this section. That is, we can expect to find a group who show strong trends to the obsessional and authoritarian personality types, as described by Van der Spuy. We should not expect to find that these personality types are tempered in any way by generational experiential differences.

## 2. The Coloured people

### 2.i) A brief socio-historical survey and analysis of the current situation

The Coloured population of South Africa has its origin in the processes of contact and assimilation between various racial and ethnic groups that has

been taking place in Southern Africa over a period of 300 years (Cilliers, 1963). More specifically, the beginnings of this mixed race can be traced back to the arrival of slaves from East Africa, Madagascar, the West Coast, Ceylon, India and Malaya at the Cape during the seventeenth century (Marquard, 1962). There is some measure of controversy as to the significance of the role of Europeans in the emergence of the Coloured people. Van Rooy (1971) states that the amount of "white blood" amongst the Coloureds is minimal and that interbreeding amongst slaves at the Cape, and slaves and the Hottentots, accounts for their emergence. It is generally held, however, (Marquard, 1962; O'toole, 1973) that in the earliest years of the settlement at the Cape, unions were frequent between Europeans and slaves from the East, and that by 1672 75% of children born to slave mothers had European fathers. Almost from the beginning of settlement however, the white settlers distinguished between themselves and non-whites. At first this distinction was not so much associated with colour or race, but rather sprang from a difference between Christian and heathen, and from differences in standards of civilisation, cultural development and economic advancement. However, even with the Christianisation and economic and cultural improvement of the non-whites, the distinction was not dropped. Instead, particularly following the liberation in 1834 of the slaves, differentiation, and in due course, discrimination came more and more to be identified with the perceptible features of race and colour (Cilliers, 1963; Marquard, 1962).

At the very earliest stages the Coloureds came to accept the leadership and authority of the white man. It had been the white missionaries who had converted them to religion, and it was the white people who employed them. O'toole (1973) states that it is reported as early as 1851 that the Coloured had learned to despise their own people, and to have a "childlike faith in the integrity of the white man." Throughout the development of the Coloureds as a people, the whites have continued to control their destiny, to the extent that the Coloureds are still extremely dependent on the Europeans for their culture, livelihood and leadership. They remain African in birthplace only.

The Coloured people have never developed a group consciousness or identity. Their orientation has always been to the white culture, and amongst themselves their origins are so various that no cohesion has ever crystallised. Even their official identity is negative. By the Pensions Act (1938) the Coloureds are defined as a residue, a catch-all race:

- A Coloured person means any person who is neither white nor
- (a) A Turk or a member of a race or tribe in Asia; nor
  - (b) A member of an aboriginal race or tribe of Africa; nor
  - (c) A Hottentot, Bushmen of Koronna; nor
  - (d) A person who is residing in a native location....under the same conditions as a native; nor
  - (e) An American Negro

(Quoted in O'toole, p. 14).

In contemporary South Africa, the Civil Rights of the Coloureds are severely curtailed; they have been discriminated against in every aspect of their existence. They have been excluded by official decree from many of the cultural and recreational activities of their society. In the economic sphere government legislation has effectively prevented the Coloureds from holding better-paying or higher-status jobs. And in the political arena removal of the Coloured from the common franchise roll has eliminated any political clout they may have had as qualified voting citizens in the country of their origin. The establishment of the Coloured Representative Council may be said to have slightly alleviated this latter situation, but in fact the Council has until very recently had little overall effective influence on the Coloured people as a whole. Besides, the actual status of the Council in the eyes of the government is by no means unambiguous.

The first language of the vast majority of Coloureds is Afrikaans, while English is preferred as a language for "important affairs" and "business." Many Coloureds who consider themselves upwardly mobile might deny a knowledge of Afrikaans (O'toole, 1973). Whisson (1971) states that at the Coloured university of the Western Cape English is the preferred mode of communication between the students. Religion is a most important social institution amongst the Coloureds. About 30% of the Coloured people belong to the Afrikaans Dutch Reformed Church, and approximately 20% to the Anglican church. Van der Ross (1974) describes the Coloureds as religious fundamentalists. A very distinctive and colourful group of Coloureds are the "Cape Malays." Their religion is Islam and their home language is usually Afrikaans. For the most part they are economically better off than the rest of the Coloured community. Although they are a minority amongst the Coloureds, they are over-represented in both the Coloured middle-class and in the leadership pool. The family structure is related to class status. For example, the matrifocal family amongst the Coloureds is mainly a lower-class phenomenon. Middle-class, better-educated, English-speaking Anglican Coloureds will most likely have patrifocal families. The average Coloured family is poor and often

matrifocal. However the ideal pattern of family life even among poor Coloureds is the white norm (O'toole, 1973).

In recent years the government has established and developed the Coloured University of the Western Cape. By 1974, about 1 440 students were enrolled at the University (Horrell, et al., 1975). Most of the students enrolled at the university are of the small, privileged Coloured middle-class.

It is not surprising that following years of discrimination and deprivation, the Coloureds have redirected their goals from the long-term to the short-term and have come to emphasise immediate gratification of wants rather than sacrifice for the future (Whisson, 1971). This has led to a number of social and psychological problems amongst Coloureds of all walks of life. Of the social problems, those of poverty, alcoholism, delinquency and lack of child care are particularly severe. The general standard of health of the Coloured population is low, with as much as 126 infant deaths per thousand births being recorded annually. Horrell, et al., (1975) report that the average life expectancy figures for 1970 for whites and Coloureds was 48,7 and 64,5 for Coloured and white males, and 56,1 and 72,3 for the respective female populations (p. 54).

## 2. ii) Psychological concomitants of the Coloureds' situation

It may be assumed that any psychological problems the Coloureds as a group might have arise out of their unique historical experience and their unique current situation in society. Psychohistorically the Coloureds have a legacy of having never functioned with any group cohesiveness or identity. Being of very heterogeneous origins the Coloureds have never looked inwards for recognition and strength. The uniquely Coloured heritage is minimal. They have always looked outward, towards the whites for justification and legitimisation. And it has always been the whites who have controlled the Coloured's destiny. Consequently the Coloured, perhaps by means of a "self-fulfilling prophecy," has developed a self-deprecatory self-image. That is, by being accorded minority status within their own society they have behaved as if they are inferior.

At the present time the Coloureds remain irrevocably orientated towards the values and culture of the majority group. To a large extent they share the same cultural symbols and attitudes with the whites and in general would like

to identify with the privileged majority group. Recently, with the increased level of job opportunities and the improved educational facilities this possibility has been rejuvenated amongst the Coloureds. Yet there remain strong legal and social barriers which prevent the Coloureds from realising their ambitions. However, to the extent that they perceive the barriers to their aspirations to be permeable, they find themselves in what can be termed a "marginal situation" (Mann, 1957, 1973; O'foole, 1973; Taft, 1974; Van Rooy, 1971). The marginal position has been defined by Mann (1957, p.40) as the "non-membership or incomplete membership of an existing privileged group into which entry is barred." And it is expected that people who are trapped in a marginal situation should develop psychological symptoms of marginality or the "marginal personality." Psychological characteristics of the marginal man have been isolated by Kerckhoff and McCormick (1955, in Mann, 1957, 1973) as being ambivalence and doubt; introversion and apathy; inner turmoil and depression; aggression and paranoia; and inferiority feelings, self-consciousness and hypersensitivity. Mann (1957) has done a factor analysis on these concepts and has found that three are sufficient to account for the marginal personality: insecurity, self-pity and sensitivity. The question is asked whether the Coloureds who objectively appear to be in a marginal position, actually have the so-called marginal personality. Evidence from Mann seems to show that the relationship is not all that simple. Mann found that where the Coloureds presented indications of marginality, they were related in a rather complex way to the Coloured individual's orientation to the white society, and to the Coloured's degree of acceptability as being white. One must therefore beware of an overgeneralisation of the sort made by Van Rooy (1971, p. 15) who asserted that the Coloured suffers from marginal psychosis ("grenspsigose"). Van Rooy states that the Coloured's "self-consciousness, oversensitivity and suspicion can lead to withdrawal and other forms of self-defence. Other reactions take the form of an overmodest egocentricity and rationalisation, so that personal shortcomings are ascribed to discrimination." Mann has shown that not all Coloureds need to subscribe to the marginal situation. Those few who emphasise a Coloured consciousness may be quite satisfied with the possibility they see of the future development of an adequate, unique Coloured way of life. Others still, perhaps of a lower social class, may have no wish to aspire to the dominant white society. Such people may develop a peculiar sub-group identity of their own (Stone, 1972).

However, in considering the personality characteristics of the Coloured student group being investigated here, the possibility of a subjective marginal

reaction within an objective marginal situation must be taken into account. The student group, more than any other Coloured population, have had their hopes raised as regards the opportunity of fully participating in their society. Being enlightened, they have the ability of best acclimitising to the values of the dominant society. However, also by virtue of their being enlightened, they are undoubtedly, excruciatingly aware of the frustrations and hindrances inherent in the attainment of their aspirations. The possibility of the marginal personality existing as the modal and social personality of the students is quite large.

The personality characteristics of the Coloureds described earlier of low self-esteem, poor personal identity, lack of energy, and feelings of hopelessness, to a large extent correspond with the picture drawn by Cameron (1964) of the neurotic-depressive type. It seems to me that the possibility that the Coloured students might be undergoing a generalised neurotic depressive reaction should also be borne in mind. A study by Singer and Van der Spuy (1972) can be seen as presenting some tentative general support to this notion. They found that Coloured adolescents attained higher neuroticism scores on the EPI than did various comparable oversea samples.

In summary, the sociopsychohistorical survey undertaken in this section indicates that quite specific personality factors can be expected to be found amongst the Coloured student population. Furthermore, due to the unique situation, both historically and contemporarily, in which the Coloureds are found, it seems reasonable to surmise that these factors might well reflect specifiable psychopathological factors.

### 3. The white English-speaking group of students

#### 3. i) Brief sociohistorical survey and analysis of possible psychological concomitants of the students' current situation

English-speaking South Africans are, for the most part, town and city dwellers, active in commerce and industry, in skilled trades, in mining, and in the professions. Isolated pockets of English-speaking farmers occur in three provinces, and in Natal province the majority of farmers are English-speaking. In the large cities much of the capital and wealth is in the hands of English-speaking South Africans, many of them Jews. More recently, Afrikaner business has grown, and consequently the amount of investment capital under their control has increased correspondingly.

The contribution of English-speaking people to the development of South Africa is very great. The Afrikaner of the nineteenth century opened up the country and settled it, but for many years his main contribution to the material wealth of South Africa was agricultural. English-speaking South Africans were responsible for mining and industrial development, for railway construction, for the establishment of towns and cities, for commerce and banking - in fact, for changing South Africa from a backward agricultural community into a semi-industrial modern state. In this process the enterprise, hard work, and capital of the Jews played a very considerable part. It was not however only in material matters that English-speaking South Africans developed the country. In primary and secondary education, in the establishment and endowment of universities, in the building of libraries, the development of theatre, the arts, learning and social welfare in general, and indeed, in the establishment of parliamentary traditions and the rule of law, English-speaking South Africans played a major part (Marquard, 1962, pp. 71-72).

It would be an error to think of the English-speakers as "foreigners" to South Africa. To a large extent they do not think of themselves as belonging to any special group but rather refer to themselves as South Africans. There are many interests and activities which they share with their fellow South Africans. Yet since the National Party came to power in 1948 Afrikaner language and culture has come to be identified with political interests and to predominate. The net result has been a relative linguistic and cultural division between the two groups, particularly within the educational institutions. Currently the white English-speaking South African (WESSA) continues to enjoy an extraordinary high degree of economic and materialistic security. In fact he has one of the highest per capita incomes in the world. Yet the WESSA's political power is not commensurate with his economic power. The Nationalist government of South Africa seems to be so entrenched that the possibility of change in the near future seems extremely remote. Furthermore the English-speaking opposition's ability to influence political power structures and attitudes is limited. In the cultural sphere the government has seen it fit to severely curtail the variety of material and stimuli to which the WESSA may expose himself. Films, books, magazines are censored before being allowed into South Africa. Thus the involved WESSA experiences perpetual frustration in his quest for having access to political power channels and in his quest for a varied cultural stimulation. It is possible that some of the latent aggression that consequently develops amongst the WESSAs is strongly expressed in their fierce competitiveness in the professional, commercial and sporting arenas.

The WESSA too, whether he likes it or not, is party to the economic status quo and economic exploitation of his society. Many white businessmen, to the extent they do encourage non-white economic development, do so for the express purpose of expanding their own share of the nation's wealth. This need to maintain their material affluence in the face of the grinding poverty of their neighbouring groups suggests an element of selfishness and hence a deep insecurity as part of the WESSA psychological make-up.

A disturbing feature of the white South African scene is the high prevalence of social and health problems such as alcoholism, suicide, traffic accidents and heart disease. The South African figures rank with the highest in the world in these areas. This seems to indicate that there may well be aspects of the WESSA's situation in his society that cause him to function at relatively high levels of anxiety.

Turning one's attention to the WESSA university students who are the subjects of this particular study, it can be said they too experience political and cultural frustration. Yet with the student it appears that the frustration is that much more acute. Culturally, the WESSA student is in a partially marginal situation. Coming as he does from an affluent, western environment, he orientates himself to the major bastions of western culture. Through this orientation he witnesses nuances in the culture that he may well feel to wish to emulate. However, due to numerous barriers, both physical (e.g. distance) and psychosocial (e.g. censorship, disapproval) he finds himself unable to do so. Politically the student is frustrated to find that he is increasingly irrelevant to the real situation. Alienated from the white political parties, almost powerless to engage in effective social action for fear of reprisals or for fear of being branded as paternalistic, the WESSA student seems to have the following alternatives. One possibility is to turn to self-indulgent apathy, drop-out, more or less, in search of short-term gratification. Another alternative is to immerse oneself in one's studies, thus to some extent overcoming general alienation. A third possibility many students embrace is, being in a general state of rebellion, the student may become fully involved in efforts at effecting social change. Such action almost certainly guarantees the student an intensive and emotionally varied experience. Many students work for social change out of a feeling of indignation as regards the injustices being perpetrated in the society. Others operate out of a feeling of guilt for the discrimination against some of the members of their society.

In many cases the WESSA student is quite vague about his future goals. A sizeable proportion weigh up the possibility of leaving South Africa. Those who prefer to stay have doubts about what they would really prefer to do. Frequently, particularly amongst social science students, there is uncertainty about future job opportunities.

From the above analysis it appears that there are a number of indicators toward psychological and personality characteristics that one may expect to find among WESSA students. To the extent it is possible to identify what may be termed a modal or social personality, it is expected it would be influenced more by situational factors. Unlike the Coloureds, about whom it is hypothesised their personality should reflect both aspects of their total psychohistorical legacy and their current station, the WESSA student's personality is more likely to be affected by socio-cultural factors. Also, while it seems that there are real pointers to psychological problems, <sup>these</sup> should not be as severe as those of the Coloureds. This is supposedly due to the latter's more extreme situation. In the following section available empirical studies relevant to the psychological characteristics of Coloureds and whites is considered.

### 3. ii) Review of previous empirical studies on the psychological characteristics of Coloureds and whites

Davidson (1945, in Mann, 1957) has done one of the earliest studies on white and Coloured personality. He found no significant differences between Coloured and white school-children on a measure of dominance-submission. Mann, too, found no difference when he compared Coloured school-children in Natal to white school-children, in their degree of psychological marginality. Mann ascribed his findings to the belief that being in a marginal position, such as that in which the Coloureds were, is not sufficient to produce psychological marginality. Other factors must be at work before the marginal personality can develop. Mann rejects the possibility that the whites themselves may have been exposed to some marginal situation (p. 136).

These rather surprising results obtained by Davidson and Mann have since been replicated in a further study comparing white and Coloureds' gross personality patterns. Singer and van der Spuy (1973) found no significant differences when they compared white and Coloured adolescents on neuroticism and extraversion as measured by the Eysenck Personality Inventory. However,

on comparing the scores of the combined South African groups to similar oversea samples from Britain, the U.S.A., and Ghana, they found that the South Africans scored significantly higher than the other groups on the neuroticism scale. In a similar study, Barkusky, Van der Spuy and Davar (1973) found no significant differences between two South African groups which in this case were English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking white national servicemen. On comparing the scores of the South African sample to groups of Australian national servicemen and British students, they also found that the South Africans scored consistently higher on the neuroticism scales. Van der Spuy (1974a; Van der Spuy, et al, 1974) reports that in a survey of emotional adjustment amongst English-speaking children in the Cape Peninsula it was found that the incidence of maladjustment was considerably higher in the South African sample than it was amongst two very different British samples. Edwards (1975) in an unpublished study of the EPI profiles of black and white students also found no significant differences. It is clear from the above examples that a consistent pattern appears to have emerged. The four different studies, using different assessment techniques and different subject samples, found the scores of South African groups to be broadly similar. Further, the South African samples as a whole obtained higher scores than did numerous other national groups. The implications that must be read off from these results are quite evident: white South Africans are not better off psychologically than are their Coloured inhabitants. Second, the South Africans as a whole appear to be less well adjusted than are oversea national groups.

If this is correct, then two factors, or an interaction of the two, account for such a situation: biological. racial factors and sociocultural environment. It is possible to look to inherited, biological features to explain personality characteristics and differences. Robbertse (1967) is probably of this point of view where he argues that the "equalitarian dogma" is the scientific joke of the century ("wetenskaplike grap van die eeu") and that native differences amongst races must be emphasised. Lynn (1971) has put forward a strong case for the influence of the biological factor of race on national character and personality. In a study of a homogeneous group of nations that included the advanced Western nations of northern Europe, the old British Commonwealth, Italy, the U.S.A. and Japan, Lynn found that national character which he defined in terms of low-levels and high-levels of anxiety, could be explained in the first instance by some climatic factor, and in the second instance, and more convincingly, by race. Lynn states that he excluded South Africa from his study because of its low

annual national per capita income, but most probably he found it difficult to include South Africa because it would have forced him to cut across his convenient dichotomy. Perhaps in this indirect way Lynn has pointed to the possibility that more goes into the national character structure of South Africans than biological (racial) factors.

In a study that was aimed at testing the relative importance of socio-cultural and personality (biological) factors in the development of a personality characteristic such as prejudice, Orpen (1970) found that his WESSA student group, despite having been reared in an authoritarian setting, obtained a lower mean score on a personality level test for authoritarianism than did their American counterparts. Further, those subjects who had been more heavily exposed to typical South African values, were on the whole more prejudiced but not more authoritarian than those subjects who had been less exposed. These findings Orpen took as indicating that, in the South African situation, sociocultural factors are more important than personality (biological) factors in the development of a psychological attitude such as prejudice.

Further evidence for the influence of the South African sociopolitical and cultural environment on personality comes from the E.P.I. studies cited earlier. The fact that the E.P.I., which is based on a biological theory of personality has been found to yield the same results from normal samples among cultures as diverse as the U.K., Ghana, Scandinavia and Italy, seems to suggest that it is tapping some personality characteristic that has a biological element common to all these people. It is difficult to believe that the South African groups differ to the British sample in some systematic biological way in which the Ghanaian, Scandinavian and Italian samples do not. Thus the only reasonable explanation for the elevated South African scores on the personality tests seems to be that the sociocultural environment is adversely affecting the South Africans' psychological adjustment.

Leighton and Leighton (1970) have stated that societies that contain the sociocultural elements of large differences between affluence and poverty, family instability and an over-abundance of stressful roles, are likely to suffer from a high rate of maladjustment. It is possible that the South African society provides an example of such a situation.

Contrary to this, Van der Spuy (1974a) has cautioned against simplistically seeing discrimination or the South African sociocultural situation as the

cause of the lower levels of adjustment amongst its peoples. For example, a primary high level of anxiety may in fact have led to the development of South Africa's unique social system, which can be seen as an attempt to allay that anxiety. These two viewpoints are by no means mutually exclusive. As Van der Spuy has stated: "In the complexity of human behaviour, cause and effect are often blurred and may indeed coincide; two phenomena can be both partly the cause and partly the result of each other (1974a, p. 4)". It seems to me that it is fair to say that the social adjustment of South Africans is influenced by both inherited and cultural factors. This is almost inevitable. However, it also seems fair to say that the influence of the sociocultural element is proportionally that much greater in South Africa than it is among many other societies.

It will have been noted from the foregoing analysis that different amounts of analytical thought and empirical investigation have been done on the three groups. Van der Spuy's in-depth analysis of the Afrikaners is the most detailed theoretical analysis undertaken of all the groups. However, empirical data on Afrikaner personality characteristics is badly lacking. Some work on the Coloureds has been done, particularly within the context of the concept of the marginal personality. The research done is slightly more balanced between theory and research, but is lacking in quantity. The White English-speaking South Africans have been quite well researched at the outset on some psychological criteria, but after this their function has been that of a control group. Almost no published theoretical consideration of the WESSA is available. This is probably because it has been WESSAs who have been largely responsible for the research and one largely tends to avoid doing scientific research with oneself. This study aims at filling in some of the gaps in our theoretical and empirical knowledge of the personality characteristics of the three groups.

CHAPTER THREE : THE MINNESOTA MULTIPHASIC PERSONALITY INVENTORY (MMPI)1. (i) MMPI : Development and Structure

The MMPI is a very widely used clinical inventory that was developed, beginning in about 1939, by Hathaway and McKinley of the University of Minnesota. Using the then traditional Kraepelinian diagnostic system, they set out to construct an effective and practical instrument "as an objective aid in the routine psychiatric case work-up of adult patients and as a method for determining the severity of the conditions" (Dahlstrom, Welsh and Dahlstrom, 1972 (D,W & D)). Deeming it necessary to make a radical departure from preexisting personality questionnaires, both in mode of derivation and in selection of criteria defining the component scales, Hathaway and McKinley decided on a strictly empirical approach to scale construction. They at first selected a pool of 1 000 possibly relevant statements, which came from a wide array of sources such as clinical reports, case resumes, psychiatric interviewing manuals, and their own clinical experience. They then gradually weeded out unfit and inapplicable items until they were left with a residue of 504 statements. In later developments the number of different items in the MMPI was increased to 550, to allow for the inclusion of a further clinical scale. The separate items were formulated as declarative statements in the first person singular. The majority were placed in the positive, the remainder in the negative. Interrogative sentences were not used, and simplified wording constituted the language of the items (Hathaway and McKinley, 1956). These items were then arranged into various scales of clinical categories by empirically and statistically differentiating the responses of non-psychiatric subjects with those of patients in a particular diagnostic category. This was done by assembling a basic pool for each scale which showed a frequency difference, between the normal group and the criterion group, of two and a half times the standard error. Thereafter, some items were eliminated which showed overlap in validity with some other syndrome. However no items, whose manifest content appeared unrelated to the syndrome in question, were ever eliminated. In such a way many "subtle" statements, which appear to contribute validly to the scale but which are operating in psychologically obscure ways, came to be included (Lanyon, 1968; Marks, Seeman and Haller, 1974 (M, S & H)).

The presence of these subtle items has become one of the most distinctive presenting features of the structure of the MMPI. Although the overwhelming majority of MMPI items are obvious with regard to content, there are a

number of items which appear innocuous, but which are included on the MMPI clinical scales because originally they were related to the respective diagnostic categories. For example, the item "I sometimes tease animals" appears on the depression scale of the MMPI because, in the original empirical derivation of the scale, the criterion depressed patients marked this item true significantly more frequently than did the "normals" in the standardisation sample (Example from M, S & H). Seeman, (1956), had adequately shown that even sophisticated subjects have quite considerable difficulty in discriminating the relevant scales for the subtle items.

Even though it would seem that inventory type items, presented in simple language, and requiring a straightforward "true-false" response should mean the same thing to different people, this is not in fact the case. Meehl, (1956), has argued that the items of structured personality tests such as the MMPI may be subject to variable meanings from one individual to another. He takes the statement "My parents and family find more fault with me than they should" and points out that "if we look upon this as a rating in which the fact indicated by an affirmative response is crucial, we immediately begin to wonder whether the testee can objectively evaluate how much other people's parents find fault with them," (p. 7). Meehl shows that what in fact occurs is that persons with a tendency to psychopathic deviation tend to reply "yes" to this statement much more often than do people in general. It is on this kind of basis that the MMPI clinical scales are built.

#### 1. (ii) MMPI : Validity and Clinical Scales

The MMPI as it is generally administered nowadays is composed of four validity indicators and ten clinical scales. In the special sense of the MMPI, validity pertains to the appropriateness or the acceptability of any one administration of the test. The scales then shed light upon factors which permit one to accept the clinical profile with some confidence or, upon factors that indicate that extreme caution must be exercised in the profile interpretation (D, W & D, 1972; M, S & H, 1974).

The first of the validity scales is the "Cannot say (?)" score. The raw score on this scale is made up of the amount of items unanswered by the subject. Failure to respond to a statement has the effect of deleting it from its relevant scale, thus lowering the scale score. Too many unanswered

questions would result in a generally lowered and therefore invalidated clinical profile.

The second validity indicator in the regular MMPI is the lie (L) scale. This scale evaluates the subject's frankness in responding; a high score will be obtained by a subject who lays exaggerated claims to social virtues. Naturally there are subjects who are extremely socially virtuous, but in general it may be assumed that a subject who places himself in a favourable light on this scale will have done likewise on the other scales. Interpretation of results in such instances must be done with care.

The F (frequency or infrequency) scale consists of items which have a high community agreement. That is, it contains statements which normal subjects endorse less than 10% of the time. Although a high score on this scale might have some personality or pathological significance, it usually points to an invalid profile. The subject may either have been responding randomly to the items, or he may have had difficulty in understanding the questions. Where the MMPI is administered to subjects whose first language is not necessarily English, the F scale must be examined for the latter possibility.

The last of the validity scales is known as the K or correction scale. This index takes into account the degree of test-taking defensiveness on the part of the subject. A low score may be obtained by a test-naive subject or by one who responds honestly or directly to the items. Such scores have been found to be obtained by low social class subjects. A high score on the K scale suggests that the subject may have been answering in a socially desirable way. This implies that other scales may also have been endorsed defensively. Consequently, a proportional correction factor is added to the raw scores of some of the clinical scales to improve their discrimination.

Although the clinical scales of the MMPI were derived from various clinical groups found in psychiatric practice, and have provided useful diagnostic information in clinical work, the meaning of each has now been demonstrated to be greater than the specific, and often extreme, features that were true of the patients used as criterion groups. This psychological breadth of interpretive significance has led some workers to abandon the original diagnostic labels and substitute either numbers or abbreviations for each scale (Baughman and Dahlstrom, 1972, (B & D)).

The first clinical scale of the MMPI is called Hypochondriasis (Hs or 1). People who score high on this scale are unduly concerned about their physical health. Their worries and preoccupations with physical symptoms, which dominate their life, persist in the face of strong evidence against any valid physical infirmity or defect (Lanyon, 1968; D.W. & D, 1972). Baughman and Dahlstrom state that an extreme value can also reflect a self-centredness. In the lower ranges this scale often reflects degrees of lethargy, inactivity and fatigue.

Depression (D or 2). This scale was developed to measure symptomatic depression. This is a syndrome manifested clinically by patients whose general frame of mind is characterised by poor morale, lack of hope in the future, and general self-dissatisfaction. Low scores are related to buoyancy, self-confidence, and naturalness.

Hysteria (Hy or 3). Scale 3 was constructed to identify individuals who are likely to get ill under stress, as a partial solution to their emotional problems. Such patients appear to use physical symptoms as a means of solving these difficult conflicts or avoiding mature responsibilities. High scores are related to this tendency to form conversion reactions, and to the basic personality traits associated with that form of hysteria: naivete, religious idealism, social dependency, and childishness.

Psychopathic deviate (Pd or 4). This scale was developed to measure the personality characteristics of the amoral and asocial subgroups of persons with psychopathic personality disorders. Individuals high on this scale are rebellious, socially aggressive, and selfish, and show a cynical disregard for rules and authority. Scores in the middle range are more likely to reflect impulsivity and interpersonal insensitivity than direct expression of hostility, resentment or defiance of authority.

Masculinity-femininity (Mf or 5). The definition of the clinical category which this scale is supposed to measure has not been satisfactorily achieved. Originally designed to identify masculine interests in women and homosexual tendencies in men, this scale has never been shown to have succeeded in the task. Consequently interpretation of both high and low scores on this scale, both clinically and in normal subjects, is done very tentatively. In general higher scores among boys reflect interests in cultural, scholarly, academic pursuits and feminine attitudes and values. High-scoring women

are characterised as rather coarse, striving and ambitious.

Paranoia (Pa or 6). The clinical manifestation of excessive suspiciousness and feelings of persecution is measured by the sixth scale. This scale is considered to be weak and too obvious; the majority of diagnosed paranoids do not achieve particularly high scores. In general high scores here are associated with oversensitivity, stubbornness, irritability and proneness to misinterpretation of the actions and intentions of others.

Psychasthenia (Pt or 7). This scale was designed to help in the evaluation of the neurotic pattern of psychasthenia, the obsolete term for what is now known as the obsessive-compulsive syndrome. This scale is perhaps the best single MMPI indicator of anxiety. High scorers tend to suffer from excessive feelings of guilt, insecurity, and inferiority.

Schizophrenia (Sc or 8). Schizophrenia is meant to be identified with high scores here, but the scale has been found to be very weak. Many schizophrenics do not score high. High scorers in the normal population are characterised by underlying self-doubt, alienation from others, convictions of being inferior or different, and emotional isolation.

Hypomania (Ma or 9). People who show symptoms of the manic conditions viz. flight of ideas, psychomotor excitement, and elated but unstable mood, are identified by this scale. In normal populations high scores reveal driving energy, optimism, ambitiousness, and inability to see one's own limitations and liabilities.

Social Introversion (Si or 0). This scale was not originally part of the MMPI scale development work at Minnesota. It was devised later to measure differences in social introversion: low scores implying that the person is likely to engage in many different activities, usually seeking out the company of others. People who score high on this scale tend to be introverted, shy, and socially inept.

#### 1. (iii) MMPI : Current Status and Critical Appraisal

The use and interpretation procedure of the MMPI nowadays is a far cry from the humble original objectives of the authors, Hathaway and McKinley. Their plan was that the elevated scores obtained on the scales, as described above,

would form into a characteristic profile for the various diagnostic groups, thus facilitating diagnosis of psychiatric cases. However, after a short while, both the use and interpretation of the MMPI came to be considerably modified and expanded.

Due to its basically sound scale construction, its ease of administration, objectivity of scoring, and high test validity, the MMPI became a valuable and popular tool in psychological research and clinical practice. Nowadays it is hardly possible to estimate the extensive usage to which the MMPI has been put. Over the past 30 years it has been used in settings and for populations quite different from the original normative samples. The MMPI has lent itself to clinical individual use, group research, and personnel screening, not only in the United States, but world-wide. Over 30 foreign language translations have been done. Because of its reputation, utility, and broad item pool uncounted workers have turned to the device and applied it to an ever-widening range of problems. Over 400 MMPI scales different from the original clinical scales have been developed and applied (Butcher, 1972). Buros, (1970), reports that at the end of 1968 2 500 MMPI studies had been published and were continuing to be published at the rate of approximately 200 articles, books, and dissertations annually. Goldberg (1974) states that in the three years' previous to his review a further 750 MMPI references had appeared. On the negative side however, Norman (1972) has said, many researchers have turned to the MMPI as a panacea, and have used it indiscriminately, coming away disappointed and disenchanted with its performance.

As regards MMPI interpretation, it became apparent that scale elevation was not providing sufficient information for profile interpretation. The relationship between MMPI scales in the configural aspects of the profile were noted to be of great importance. As a result a great deal of work was done, and is still being done, with delineating and validating various profile configurations or "code" types. The goal here has become the development of a vast atlas or "cookbook" in which as many as possible of the typical, identified MMPI code types are listed. The clinician then matches the MMPI he has obtained against those of the atlas and from there receives a detailed clinical description of the relevant "code" type (Meehl, 1972). A number of actuarial codebooks of this kind have now been developed and are widely used (Drake and Oetting, 1959; Gilberstadt and Duker, 1965; Mark, Seeman and Haller, 1974). A further development has been the computerisation of MMPI processing. It was reported in 1972 that one of the computer services, Roche Laboratories, was

interpreting about 1 600 MMPI profiles a week, and Fowler (1972) has stated that these computer processed descriptions were generally more reliable, detailed, and time-saving than individual clinical evaluations.

Inevitably, from the beginning, the MMPI has been the object of severe criticism. Some of the criticism stems from workers such as Albee (1972), who are in principle basically opposed to psychodiagnosis per se, and thus discourage the entire enterprise. Some negative views have been expressed, one suspects, out of a spirit of competitiveness, e.g. Eysenck (1971). However, critical re-evaluation has hardly been lacking from those whose interests lie with the MMPI. Hathaway, one of the originators, has stated (1972) that he fears "that the MMPI, like some other tests, might have changed from a hopeful innovation to an aged obstacle (p. xiv)". Butcher's (1972) entire book developed from a symposium which focussed on the question of whether the MMPI was in need of revision, and what could be done about it (p. ix).

Some sources of criticism of the MMPI are those which are focussed on personality assessment in general. For example, it is claimed that the MMPI lacks utility, that it constitutes an invasion of privacy, or that it contains racially sensitive content, leading at times to racial discrimination. The argument against the MMPI's utility is that it is generally too time-consuming in relation to the richness of the data it provides. For a clinician to administer and score and evaluate it takes a number of hours, and often the results do not assist in decision making. This is quite true in some cases. However, it is pointed out that the MMPI need not be administered by the professional, and it can be subjected to automated processing. Whether or not the results assist in decision making is often subject to the professional's clinical judgment. At a group level this criticism has less cogency because in fact the MMPI lends itself conveniently to group administration, and when used appropriately can yield a large amount of useful data.

The criticism that the MMPI constitutes an invasion of privacy stems mainly from the idea that some of the item content is objectionable. These are usually items dealing with religion, sex, excretory processes, and family relationships. In some cases, admitting to certain practices (e.g. unusual sexual indulgences) can theoretically lead to legal prosecution. At other times items are seen as unrelated to the purpose of the test administration (e.g. cheating at getting into movies in personnel selection). Meehl (1969)

has stated, and Butcher (1972) has shown that explaining the purpose of the test, how it was constructed and how it is measured, can significantly reduce negative test-taking attitudes.

The notion that the MMPI can be racially discriminative results from studies that have shown that there are generally differences between Black and White performances on the test. For example, in personnel selection, a white candidate may be preferred where a black applicant, due to culturally different practices, endorsed specific items in the normatively negative direction. This is an important variable in this study and will be considered in greater detail later on. Gynther (1972) has suggested that the development of specifically black norms would provide for a more relevant comparison group.

It has long been the notion, amongst numerous psychologists, that the MMPI itself has considerable deficits and is in need of revision and modification. As stated earlier, the originators and main workers in the field are not against changes and are indeed somewhat surprised any revisions have not yet been effected. The main areas where the MMPI is in need of revision is at the item and scale levels. Numerous items of the MMPI are not even scored on the clinical scales, and still others are outmoded and anachronistic. It is argued that these obsolete items should be removed. At the scale level it is argued that they are unbalanced in terms of the proportion of true-false answers required, and that there is little internal consistency. Furthermore, scales such as "masculinity-femininity" (Mf or 5) and "schizophrenia" (Sc or 8) do not at all reflect the current criterion groups they are supposed to differentially identify. However, a revision of the MMPI in its present form presents such great administrative and practical difficulties, as Campbell (1972) so clearly points out, that it is hardly conceivable for it to successfully take place. User resistance, authority to make the change, and the optimal extent of the change needed are some of the seemingly insurmountable issues facing the potential revisers. As a result it seems that the MMPI as it is presently constituted is going to be around for some time to come.

A second alternative might be to abandon the present scales entirely. Using an entirely different conceptual approach to scale development and item usage, a new set of scales could be developed to be used complementarily to the clinical scales. Norman (1972) and Goldberg (1974) appear to be sympathetic to such a possibility.

Norman (1972) has argued that "it is absolutely clear that the (basic clinical scales) are about as inappropriate and maladaptive a set as one could imagine for their current use in profile analysis and interpretation and typal class definition (p. 64)." First the individual scales in most cases are highly heterogeneous in content. Scores are, accordingly, difficult to characterise simply or to describe concisely and unambiguously. Guterman (1972) has pointed out, for example, that a high score on scale 8 (Sc), without item inspection, could signify that a person has low self-esteem or that he feels estranged from others, or both. The multi-dimensional nature of each scale also gives rise to seemingly contradictory findings: a high score on scale 9 might suggest sociability, while a high score on scale 8 suggests social isolation. What does one say about a subject that elevates both scales? Secondly, for Norman, the scales are structurally and substantively redundant as profile constituents. Their intercorrelations in both homogeneous and mixed general populations are much too high to justify retention of all the scales in the present profile on the grounds of the independent information they each constitute. This is because several of these intercorrelations are, in part, sheer artifacts created by joint keying of single responses on two or more of the component scales. Thirdly, Norman states, a grievous deficit is that a great deal of potentially useful information within the item pool is not even available in the present profile. Numerous items are not used in the present scales. Also, some items effectively cancel one another out because although they might be negatively correlated they are placed in a positively weighted linear function. For Norman, the above deficits are necessary and sufficient cause for the development of a new set of scales on the MMPI. The new scales should avoid the pitfalls of the present ones.

Goldberg (1974) is of the opinion that Wiggins (1966, 1969, 1971) has fashioned a set of MMPI scales that are far better suited to profile typology than the original scales, and which in some aspects satisfy Norman's criteria for new scale development. Wiggins' content scales have been used in this study and will therefore be considered in some detail.

#### 1. (iv) MMPI : Wiggins Content Scales

##### 1.iv.a. Development of the content scales

Wiggins (1966, 1969) has pointed out that the concept of item content has

enjoyed neither precise specification nor active empirical exploration in the recent history of objective personality assessment. Meehl (1956) in his now classical empirical manifesto raised the hope that dynamic aspects of personality might be assessed by means of true-false item pools superficially bearing little resemblance to the criterion at hand. Meehl's argument took such sound hold that a belief soon developed that "knowledge of the content of an empirical scale may somehow vitiate the mysterious mediating process that links scale scores to empirical criteria"(Wiggins, 1969, p. 127).

Berg (1959) has taken a most radical position with respect to personality scale item content. He has been so impressed by the assessment strategy of statistical differentiation between deviant and normative groups that he considers the item content, whereby this differentiation is achieved, to be quite unimportant. He seems to go so far as to say that any given content may be considered in principle, to be as effective for a predictive task as any other content and that therefore recourse should be made to empirical evidence as the deciding factor. Wiggins does not accept the point of view, stating that "Berg is unable to provide even a rudimentary rationale whereby one might be able to predict the suitability of a given content for a given assessment"(1969, p. 128).

Wiggins takes further issue with psychologists who see fit to ignore the content of the MMPI. He points out that it is exactly the content of the MMPI about which the public is concerned when it claims the MMPI represents an invasion of privacy. It is better for the professionals to have a good idea of what the content of the MMPI is, then for them to come into conflict with the public by claiming that content is not important.

Responding to the content of the item is also a much more direct means of communication, and requires fewer inferential leaps to explain the data. For example, why need to infer that a high score on scale 4 (Pd) might reflect family problems when a number of responses in the scored direction on a scale directly measuring this aspect will give the same data, but with a much greater level of certainty.

On the basis of these beliefs, Wiggins set about clarifying the content of the MMPI item pool. Starting with the 26 original content categories of Hathaway and McKinley, Wiggins used both intuitive procedures and the psychometric techniques of factor and multivariate analysis to develop his scales.

These scales were designed to be internally consistent, homogeneous, moderately independent, and to be representative of the major substantive clusters that appeared to exist in the total MMPI item pool. This procedure thus purported to satisfy Norman's (1972) criteria for the development of new MMPI scales. At the conclusion of the psychometric and intuitive procedures Wiggins was left with 13 mutually exclusive scales (items were not repeated in different scales) that constitute what he called the "MMPI content scales."

#### 1.iv.b. Description of the MMPI content scales

The following is Wiggins' (1969, 1971) description of the MMPI content scales:

SOC Social Maladjustment: High SOC is socially bashful, shy, embarrassed, reticent, self-conscious, and extremely reserved. Low SOC is gregarious, confident, assertive and relates quickly and easily to others. He is fun-loving, the life of a party, a joiner who experiences no difficulty in speaking before a group. This scale would correspond roughly with the popular concept of "introversion-extraversion."

DEP Depression: High DEP experiences guilt, regret, worry, unhappiness, and a feeling that life has lost its zest. He experiences difficulty in concentrating and has little motivation to pursue things. His self-esteem is low, and he is anxious and apprehensive about the future. He is unworthy and deserves punishment. In short, he is classically depressed.

FEM Feminine Interests: High FEM admits to liking feminine games, hobbies, and vocations. He denies liking masculine games, hobbies, and vocations. Here there is almost complete contamination of content and form, which has been noted in other contexts by several writers. Individuals may score high on this scale by presenting themselves as liking many things, since this item stem is present in almost all items. They may also score high by endorsing interests that, although possibly feminine, are also socially desirable, such as an interest in poetry, dramatics, news of the theatre, and artistic pursuits. This has been noted in the case of Wiggins's Sd scale. Finally, of course, individuals with a genuine preference for activities that are conceived by our culture as "feminine", will achieve high scores on this scale.

MOR Poor Morale: High MOR is lacking in self-confidence, feels that he has failed in life, and is given to despair and a tendency to give up hope. He is extremely sensitive to the feelings and reaction of others and feels misunderstood by them, while at the same time being concerned about offending them. He feels useless and is socially suggestible. There is a substantive overlap here between the Depression and Social Maladjustment scales and the Poor Morale scale. The Social Maladjustment scale seems to emphasise a lack of social ascendance and poise, the Depression scale feelings of guilt and apprehension, while the present scale seems to emphasise a lack of self-confidence and hypersensitivity to the opinions of others.

REL Religious Fundamentalism: High scorers on this scale see themselves as religious, churchgoing people who accept as true a number of fundamentalist religious convictions. They also tend to view their faith as the true one.

AUT Authority Conflict: High AUT sees life as a jungle and is convinced that

others are unscrupulous, dishonest, hypocritical, and motivated only by personal profit. He distrusts others, has little respect for experts, is competitive, and believes that everyone should get away with whatever he can.

PSY Psychoticism: High PSY admits to a number of classic psychotic symptoms of a primarily paranoid nature. He admits to hallucinations, strange experiences, loss of control, and classic paranoid delusions of grandeur and persecution. He admits to feelings of unreality, daydreaming, and a sense that things are wrong, while feeling misunderstood by others.

ORG Organic Symptoms: High ORG admits to symptoms that are often indicative of organic involvement. These include headaches, nausea, dizziness, loss of motility and coordination, loss of consciousness, poor concentration and memory, speaking and reading difficulty, poor muscular control, tingling skin sensations, and disturbances in hearing and smelling.

FAM Family Problems: High FAM feels that he had an unpleasant home life characterised by a lack of love in the family and parents who were unnecessarily critical, nervous, quarrelsome, and quick tempered. Although some items are ambiguous, most are phrased with reference to the parental home rather than the individual's current home.

HOS Manifest Hostility: High HOS admits to sadistic impulses and a tendency to be cross, grouchy, competitive, argumentative, uncooperative, and retaliatory in his interpersonal relationships. He is often competitive and socially aggressive.

PHO Phobias: High PHO has admitted to a number of fears, many of them of the classically phobic variety such as heights, darkness, and closed spaces.

HYP Hypomania: High HYP is characterised by feelings of excitement, well-being, restlessness, and tension. He is enthusiastic, high-strung, cheerful, full of energy, and apt to be hotheaded. He has broad interests, seeks change, and is apt to take on more than he can handle.

HEA Poor Health: High HEA is concerned about his health and has admitted to a variety of gastrointestinal complaints centering around an upset stomach and difficulty in elimination.

#### 1.iv.c. The scales potential; and reported normative data

Although no claim is made for content scale uni-dimensionality or Guttman type item properties, each scale does have a compelling feature. Due to scale homogeneity, subjects who achieve high scores on the scales do so by admitting to, or claiming, an unusual amount of the substantive dimension involved. No indirect inference is required. And because of the scales' content and structure, it appears that they have considerable potential for personality assessment and description, perhaps rivalling that of the standard clinical scales. Clearly immense research efforts will be required to enable evaluation of this possibility.

Since the development and publication of the scales some studies that have made use of them have been reported. Wiggins has attempted to discriminate among traditional psychiatric groups and found that his preliminary evidence "was not discouraging". Fowler and Coyle (1969) have reported norms for over 2 500 college freshmen from a southern university. They did not report whether both white and black students participated in the study. Wiggins, Goldberg and Appelbaum (1971) reported norms for midwestern and northwestern university undergraduates that were not substantially different from those presented by Fowler and Coyle. As far as can be established no racial or cross-cultural studies have been reported.

## 2. MMPI :Relevant Cross-cultural, Racial, and Student Studies

A number of cross-cultural, racial and ethnic, and student studies have been done on the MMPI clinical scales. As these are relevant variables in this study it is necessary to review previous MMPI findings in these areas.

### 2. (i) MMPI : cross-cultural studies

In general, the MMPI can be administered cross-culturally, in translation, in English in English-speaking countries outside the U.S.A., or in English in foreign language countries where the subjects are bilingual. As mentioned earlier (Butcher, 1972), it has been reported that the MMPI has been translated into over 30 languages. One of the earliest reported MMPI translation studies was by Sundberg (1956) who administered a German translation to University students at Hamburg. He found that the German students elevated all the scales except K and Hy (3) above those of a comparable group of American students. Arguing that he had no reason to believe that German students were less adjusted than American students, Sundberg concluded that the MMPI must have suffered in translation, having a slightly different cultural implication for the Germans. Since this study, the MMPI-Saarbrücken (Spreen, 1963) has been established as the German version of the MMPI, with its own norms. Rosen and Rizzo (1961) obtained similar results to Sundberg when they studied army-enlisted Italian men. They too suggested that the MMPI might not be directly applicable to non-English speaking national groups. Sue and Sue (1974) have also warned on cautious generalisation to non-English speaking groups on obtaining elevated profiles with their Japanese subjects. A possible exception to the above findings is that of Butcher and Gur (1974) who found a Hebrew translation of the MMPI to be adequate with bilingual English-Hebrew speaking subjects. However, on the whole, it seems that scores on foreign

language versions of the MMPI cannot be considered comparable to scores for English-speaking subjects in its current form (Lanyon, 1968).

As far as is known no controlled studies have been reported where the MMPI has been administered in English to bilingual subjects where English is their second language. Dahlstrom, Welsh and Dahlstrom (1972) have warned though that extreme caution must be exercised on interpreting protocols where there is doubt over the subject's mastery over English, or his familiarity with the normative culture. The relative elevation of the F scale is considered a good measure for possible difficulty in understanding the items.

In contrast to the situation with MMPI translations, the use of the MMPI among English-speaking societies has been found to be quite reliable and comparable to American norms. Taft (1957) used the MMPI in a study on Australian psychology students and found only one difference between them and a comparable group of U.S.A. students. The Australian males scored higher and the Australian females scored lower than the U.S. sample on scale 5 (Mf). However, as was noted earlier, the interpretation of scores on scale 5 is uncertain, the because of its construction, it is particularly susceptible to cultural influences. On the basis of his general findings, Taft concluded that it is parsimonious to assume that cultural differences do not appear to affect the psychological significance of the items (in English-speaking countries). Further evidence for the applicability of the MMPI to most English-speaking countries has come from Kadri (1971) who, in a study of Singapore students, stated that the most striking feature emerging from his data was the great deal of similarity to be found between the profiles of his group and a comparable American sample. Kadri suggested that one of the most plausible explanations for his results must be the process of internalisation of affective-cognitive norms of Western culture by the Singapore students. A relatively dissenting note to these findings comes from Thomas (1972) who, following a study of the D scale in India, very sensibly warned that the indiscriminate use of the MMPI in other cultures does not seem justified. In general, though, it seems that the controlled use of the MMPI in Western, English-speaking cultures allows for reliable and valid results.

## 2.(ii) MMPI : racial differences

In many ways the relation of the Coloureds to the greater society in South Africa is similar to that of the Negroes in America. Both groups share, or

have shared, the social conditions of discrimination and segregation; poverty; living in separated areas (ghettos or group areas); the loss of certain civil rights and the struggle to regain them; and the relative resurgence of group consciousness in recent years. Numerous studies with various Negro populations have been done in the U.S.A. on the MMPI. The experiences and findings of the researchers in those studies is relevant to this investigation.

The earliest studies on Negro-White differences on the MMPI were done on prison and psychiatric patients. Hokanson and Calden (1960) compared male, tuberculosis patients and found Negroes to score significantly higher on 6 of the 13 clinical scales. They suggest that "more careful consideration of an individual's sociocultural background may be necessary for an adequate evaluation of his MMPI record"(p. 33). The first published study of normal Blacks was conducted by Ball (1960). In his very small sample of 31 Blacks, he found that Negro males score higher than Whites on the Hs (1) scale; and Negro females elevated the F, Sc (8), and Si (0) scales, but scored lower than White females on K and Hy (3). McDonald and Gynther (1963) published the first study to use normal subjects and control for social status. They used a factorial study controlling for sex, race, and social status on high school seniors attending segregated schools. They found no differences associated with race were obtained: Blacks attained significantly higher scores than Whites on scales L, F, 2, 5, 8 and 9. They recommended the development of separate MMPI norms for Negroes.

Butcher, Ball and Ray (1964) were the first to report a study on Black and White college students. They found that Blacks obtained significantly higher scores than Whites on the L scale and that Whites obtained significantly higher scores on scale 6, with social status controlled. In their summary, Butcher, et al, concluded that "both socio-economic and other sub-cultural factors were found to influence MMPI characteristics"(p. 87). Gynther (1972) points out that Butcher's study obtained the smallest differences found on MMPI racial studies. Gynther suggests that although these subjects attended segregated colleges, they probably shared values common to college students. Enrollment in college implies putting a certain degree of importance on learning, on striving to get ahead, and on willingness to depart from the family culture and join a youth culture. Also, it is possible that Blacks who attend college are more likely to accept White values and expectations than Blacks who do not go to college.

In a study on pregnant women in a lower-class neighbourhood in Boston,

Harrison and Kass (1967) found that Blacks scored significantly higher than Whites on scales F, 1, 8 and 9. Harrison and Kass also subjected their data to item analysis and found that as much as 150 items discriminated significantly between the groups, and that of these items about one-third do not appear on any of the clinical scales. In a factor analysis of these items, Harrison and Kass came up with factors pointing inter alia to estrangement, intellectual and cultural interests, and cynicism. Baughman and Dahlstrom (1972) in their study of 13 and 14-year old Negro and White children of the rural South, found these 3 factors discriminated soundly between the two groups. They state (p. 183-184): "Negro children describe themselves and the world as they know it, in terms of estrangement and cynicism....In the area of emotional ties and interpersonal relationships....these children show pervasive mistrust of themselves and others, extreme pessimism about receiving fair treatment of justice, and expectations that people will be self-seeking, dishonest, and double-dealing". Gynther (1972) sees that the marked distrust of society by Blacks has become a common theme in the findings of the more recent and carefully evaluated studies.

Gynther (1972) in his review of the data summarises the research findings as follows: (a) There are MMPI differences associated with differences in cultural background; (b) These differences most frequently appear on scales 8 and 9, which are members of the psychotic tetrad; (c) Item analyses disclose even greater differences associated with subculture than scale score or configurational analyses; and (d) the degree of MMPI differences between Blacks and Whites appears to be affected by such variables as education, residence and cultural separation.

Costello and his associates (1972; Costello, 1973; Costello et al., 1973) who, in contrast to Gynther, have been working on prison and psychiatric populations, appear now to be tending towards the same set of conclusions. They state that race is a primary source of variance in MMPI results (Costello et al., 1972); that although configurational analysis may show up differences between the groups it does not allow for the general description of the psychological characteristics of a racial group (Costello et al., 1973); and that item level studies have value for further comparisons since scale level comparisons can conceal racial difference (Costello, 1973).

Gynther (1972) after a careful analysis of his findings suggests the following explanation of black-white MMPI differences: (i) differences reflect differences in values, perceptions and expectations that result from growing up

in different cultures; (ii) there is no satisfactory evidence to indicate that Black MMPI performance should be interpreted that they are less well adjusted than whites; (iii) intrinsic features of the MMPI, that is, scale composition, partially account for scale score and configurational differences; and (iv) differences in connotative meanings of certain words account in part for response variance.

## 2 (iii) MMPI : Review of Student Findings

Numerous MMPI studies have been done on student populations. Many of these studies are used as a basis for general research purposes, whereas others attempt to set norms by which clients at the various student counselling services can be compared. Some researchers such as Butcher et al., (1964) and Taft (1957) have used student groups for racial and cross-cultural comparisons, as described previously.

In general it has been found (Black, 1956; Clark, 1954; Goodstein, 1956, Murray et al., 1965, Sopchak, 1952) that students elevate all the scales a small amount above those of the Minnesota normative sample of Hathaway and Briggs ((1957) in D, W & D, 1972). Male students usually score higher than do female students, but in all cases the profiles are well within the normal range. Lanyon (1968) states that male students generally elevate scales 5 and 9, which might reflect their more liberal cultural interests and their relative drive and ambitiousness.

As regards psychology students, Norman and Redlo (1952) found, in a very small male sample (n = 20), that these students scored lower than other students on the Pa scale. Taft's (1957) sample consisted of second year psychology students, and as has been mentioned earlier, he found no major differences between his Australian group and a combined group of American students.

From the foregoing discussion we can develop the hypotheses that are relevant to the study:

- i) It is hypothesised in the light of previous research findings in the area that the South African samples should elevate all the personality variables measured by the MMPI to a greater extent than have comparative overseas student samples.
- ii) It is hypothesised that there will be few differences between the three South African groups on the clinical and content sets of scales when the differences are measured statistically. This is due to the previous finding on South African subjects that few differences are found between them on gross psychological measures. It is expected that to the extent that differences are found there will be more on the content than on the clinical scales. This is because of the greater homogeneousness of the items on the content scales facilitating a more linear set of responses.
- iii). It is hypothesised that at the level of personality description, a different personality pattern will be obtained for each of the groups that will reflect their position in the South African socio-cultural spectrum and its effect on personality. The personality descriptions will be different for each group as they are arrived at by a fine detailed psychodiagnosical analysis of the implications of elevating or scoring low on the various MMPI scales.
- iiia) It is expected that for the Afrikaans-speaking students an obsessional, neurotic type personality will be expressed. This follows from their particular socio-historical background and their current role in the South African social environment.
- iiib) The Coloured students who see at one and the same time their horizons being widened and their opportunities for advancement blocked will present with a marginal personality.
- iiic) The English speaking students who are frustrated and seek meaningfulness in their actions will present with a reactive personality pattern relevant to their conflicts and problems.
- iv). It is expected that the content scales will provide data that will complement findings on the clinical scales. These data will add, confirm and refine the findings of the clinical scale analysis.

METHOD

Design and apparatus. The MMPI, which was the only instrument used in this study and whose structure and applicability has been discussed in a previous section, was administered to 3 groups of students, whose experimental characteristics are detailed below.

Subjects and controls. Subjects consisted almost entirely of samples of the students registered in 2nd-year Psychology courses at various universities. The Afrikaans-speaking group of subjects come from the University of Pretoria and the Rand Afrikaans University of Johannesburg. This group numbered 88, of which 27 were males and 61 females. The Coloured students were enrolled at the University of the Western Cape. They numbered 96, 49 males and 47 females. English-speaking students were drawn from the University of Cape Town. Their number is 79, of which 32 are male and 47 female. The different ratio of male to female in the respective groups reflects the make-up of the classes at the various universities.

The sample totals listed above represent the final amounts of MMPI's accepted for use in the clinical section of the study. The acceptance and rejection of MMPI protocols in research and clinical studies has generated considerable debate in the literature. Some researchers (e.g. Ball, 1960; Hokanson and Calden, 1960) have imposed strict criteria for protocol acceptability in their studies whereas McDonald and Gynther (1963) have included all protocols in their studies on the basis that they all have some utility. Where profiles are excluded on the basis of not meeting the validity criteria the convention is that the following is the requirement for rejection:  $Q > 100$ ;  $L > 10$ ;  $F > T80$ ; and  $K > T70$  (Costello, et al, 1972). In this study these rejection criteria were not applied. Of the very few protocols that did meet one or two of these criteria, it was found on inspection that with the exception of one case there seemed to be no further justification for believing that these protocols had been invalidated. The one case was that of a male Afrikaans-speaking subject who also admitted to having difficulty understanding the items. There were some other questionnaires that were found to be inadmissible for use in the study. These were ruled out where too little personal identifying information was made available or where insufficient questions were completed in the time allotted for the answering of the questionnaire.

A lesser number of MMPI protocols have been included for the evaluation of the content scales. This is due to the fact that for the clinical scale of the MMPI only the first 366 questions need be completed whereas for the content scales the entire MMPI needs to be completed. In the earlier stages of the research subjects were instructed to respond to only the first 400 questions

the MMPI, but were urged to complete the whole protocol. As a result a number of questionnaires were obtained that could not be scored for the content scales. The following is the amount of protocols included for the content scales: Afrikaans-speaking subjects - 27 males and 61 females; the Coloured students - 32 males, 32 females; and the English-speaking group - 28 males and 38 females.

The age range of the students in the study was 18-39. For the Afrikaans females the range was 18-39, average age 19,17, standard deviation (S.D.) 3,37. The average age of the Coloured female students was 19,87, the S.D. being 1,12. The range for this group was 18-23. The range for the English-speaking females was 18-36, the average age being 20,06, and the S.D. 2,52. The Afrikaans males' ages ranged between 19 and 35, the mean being 21,8, and the S.D. 3,62. The Coloured male students ranged between 18 and 39. Their mean age was 21,06, and the S.D. 3,83. English -speaking male students mean age was 21,16, their S.D. 1,61, and the range 19 to 25. As can be seen, besides the few extreme ages, most of the subjects were between 18 and 24 years old. Differences in age have not been shown to be an important factor in MMPI studies (Lanyon, 1968), and especially in the range involved in this study age has been shown to play an insignificant role as a source of variance.

The use of Psychology students with a modal university education of two years was designed to eliminate confounding variables such as intellectual ability, education and present occupational status. However, in student groups it has been found that their present occupation does not control for socioeconomic status. In this study the subjects have not been matched for socioeconomic status in any systematic way. This is because, as regards the South African groups under investigation, differing socioeconomic backgrounds have been part and parcel of their sociohistorical experience. Thus for an initiatory study such as this one to control for this variable would be to eliminate a legitimate source of variance. Further, it might be recalled that in a study of Negro and white differences in the U.S.A., McDonald and Gynther (1963) found more differences between their groups when they controlled for socioeconomic class than when they did not. An analysis of the socioeconomic background of the groups has been done however, according to the University of Cape Town Child Guidance Clinic Social Class Scale (Singer and van der Spuy, 1973), and the findings are as one would expect. Eighty per cent of the English speaking group are found to come from social classes I and II (the very privileged and professional classes); 50% of the Afrikaans students are of social class I and

50% of social class III (the semi-professional and small businessman class), indicating their upward social mobility; and of the Coloured students 51% are of social class I and 35% originate from the lower social classes.

In this study the preferred language of the subject is not only an important differentiating variable but also a possible confounding one. As a result the following procedure was used with the Afrikaans and Coloured students. Only Afrikaans students whose first language is Afrikaans but who are also knowledgeable in English were requested to complete the protocol. Furthermore subjects were instructed to indicate if they had any difficulty in understanding the questions and if so, which were the questions that gave them difficulty. In general the students who completed the questionnaire indicated that they had little difficulty in understanding the questions. The number of questions which were hard to respond to were minimal, and on inspection it was found that respondents were being cautious in claiming difficulty in following the meanings of the items. With Coloured students a similar approach was adopted, except that students whose first language was English were included in the sample.

Procedure. The inventory was administered at the University of Cape Town either to individual students who were registered in the Psychology II class at that university or by distributing them in class to groups of students who were instructed to complete the questionnaire in their own time. The purpose of the study as it really is was explained to participants. At the University of the Western Cape the MMPI was administered to students present at class on the relevant days, once under my supervision and once under the supervision of a UWC lecturer. MMPI's were delivered to the University of Pretoria and Rand Afrikaans University with instructions to administer the questionnaire to students in the Psychology II class whose home language is Afrikaans but who were bilingual. The administration was undertaken under the supervision of the relevant university authorities.

On receipt of the protocols they were hand scored. The clinical scales were scored from the standard scoring keys while the content scales were scored from scoring keys constructed according to the Wiggins (1971) schedule of scale questions.

## RESULTS.

Table 1 : The standardised (T) scores for the female clinical scales.

SCALE	AFRIKAANS			COLOUREDS			ENGLISH			F=	HETERO- GENEOUS SUBSETS +
	MEAN	S.D.	N	MEAN	S.D.	N	MEAN	S.D.	N		
L	5,36	2,42	61	5,15	2,37	47	3,32	2,29	47	11,20***	E
F	7,90	4,22	61	9,55	4,26	47	5,09	2,65	47	16,44***	E
K	12,84	4,26	61	11,21	4,09	47	14,23	4,44	47	5,91**	CE
Hs-1	51,41	9,44	61	51,66	9,10	47	48,66	7,01	47	1,79	N
D-2	56,57	10,72	61	57,27	10,77	47	53,53	10,73	47	1,64	N
Hy-3	55,56	9,67	61	52,30	8,64	47	55,32	7,99	47	2,08	N
Pd-4	58,98	10,71	61	59,47	11,75	47	57,17	10,84	47	,573	N
Mf-5	48,36	8,32	61	53,62	11,27	47	43,45	8,29	47	14,04***	E/A/C
Pa-6	56,57	11,74	61	57,96	13,31	47	56,28	9,16	47	,290	N
Pt-7	56,59	9,56	61	59,79	9,41	47	54,72	10,11	47	3,30*	EC
Sc-8	59,52	10,50	61	63,89	12,57	47	57,00	10,70	47	4,56**	EC
Ma-9	58,90	10,74	61	64,89	9,94	47	59,23	11,02	47	5,00**	C
Si-0	57,64	9,37	61	60,75	8,79	36	55,80	8,92	41a	2,88	N

+ Heterogenous subsets at ,05 level for each scale.

\*\*\*  $p < ,001$

\*\*  $p < ,02$

\*  $p < ,05$

a Degrees of freedom for scales L to 9 : 2;152, for scale 0 : 2;135.

Key for subsets:

N No groups differ on the scale.

C The Coloured group differs from the other two.

E The English groups differs from the other two.

EC/CE There is a significant difference between the English and Coloured group and vice versa.

E/A/C The scale significantly differentiates between the three groups.

Table 2 : The standardised (T) scores for the male clinical scales.

SCALE	AFRIKAANS			COLOUREDS			ENGLISH			F=	HETERO- GENEOUS SUBSETS.
	MEAN	S.D.	N	MEAN	S.D.	N	MEAN	S.D.	N		
L	4,85	2,95	26	5,47	2,48	49	3,50	2,13	32	6,01**	EC
F	8,38	5,02	26	10,14	5,10	49	7,75	4,14	32	2,67	N
K	14,65	4,50	26	11,22	4,09	49	14,09	3,63	32	7,96***	C
Hs-1	55,12	14,23	26	55,90	10,92	49	52,56	6,72	32	.943	N
D-2	55,38	11,69	26	66,02	13,01	49	62,65	11,15	32	6,50**	AC
Hy-3	59,88	10,18	26	57,12	11,38	49	61,69	8,51	32	1.98	N
Pd-4	59,62	12,96	26	63,12	11,94	49	69,19	10,66	32	4,99**	AE
Mf-5	61,15	12,18	26	61,80	9,43	49	73,63	10,97	32	14,50***	E
Pa-6	60,00	10,68	26	60,16	11,39	49	59,88	9,93	32	,007	N
Pt-7	58,73	12,31	26	66,78	13,53	49	59,34	11,40	32	4,96**	C
Sc-8	60,38	14,25	26	69,71	16,12	49	64,94	12,32	32	3,58*	AC
Ma-9	65,15	11,47	26	66,78	10,24	49	67,00	9,51	32	,274	N
Si-0	51,32	8,24	26	58,79	7,74	34	53,81	8,34	31a	6,89**	C

+ Heterogeneous subsets at ,05 level for each scale

\*\*\*  $p < ,001$

\*\*  $p < ,01$

\*  $p < ,05$

a Degrees of freedom for scales L to 9 : 2;104, for scale 0 : 2;88.

Key for subsets:

N. No groups differ on the scale

C The Coloured group differs from the other two.

E The English group differs from the other two

EC The English group differs from the Coloured group.

AC The Afrikaans group differs from the Coloured group.

AE The Afrikaans group differs from the English group.

# The Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory

Starke R. Hathaway and J. Charnley McKinley

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Female

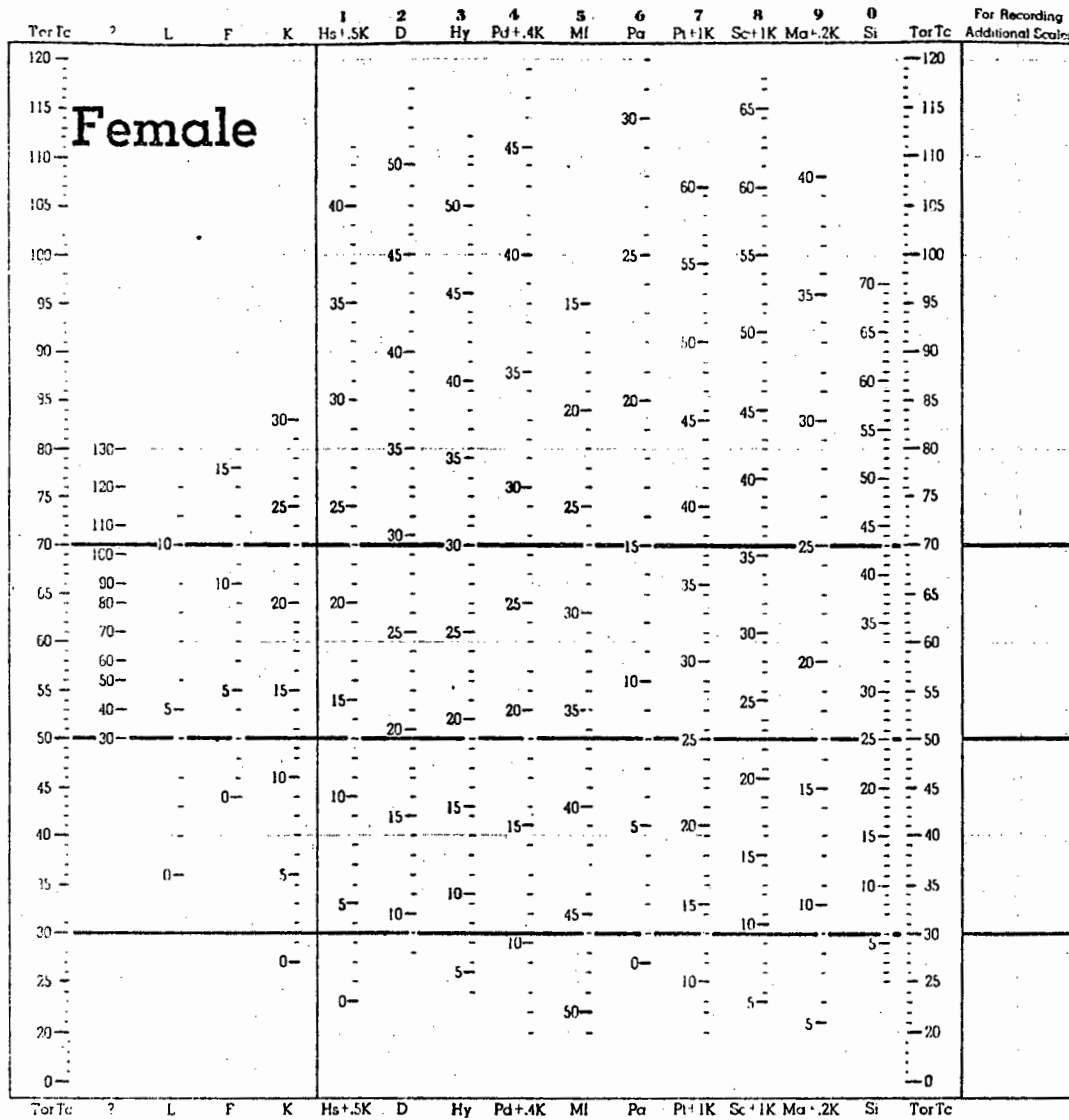
Address \_\_\_\_\_

Occupation \_\_\_\_\_ Date Tested \_\_\_\_\_

Education \_\_\_\_\_ Age \_\_\_\_\_

Marital Status \_\_\_\_\_ Referred by \_\_\_\_\_

Scorer's Initials \_\_\_\_\_



Fractions of K

K	3	4	7
30	15	12	6
29	15	12	6
28	14	11	6
27	14	11	5
26	13	10	5
25	13	10	5
24	12	10	5
23	12	9	5
22	11	9	4
21	11	8	4
20	10	8	4
19	10	8	4
18	9	7	4
17	9	7	3
16	8	6	3
15	8	6	3
14	7	6	3
13	7	5	3
12	6	5	2
11	6	4	2
10	5	4	2
9	5	4	2
8	4	3	2
7	4	3	1
6	3	2	1
5	3	2	1
4	2	2	1
3	2	2	1
2	1	1	0
1	1	1	0
0	0	0	0

Profile no. 1: FEMALE SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS: MMPI CLINICAL SCALES

AFRIKAANS-SPEAKING STUDENTS  
 COLOURED STUDENTS  
 ENGLISH-SPEAKING STUDENTS

Raw Score \_\_\_\_\_  
 K to be added \_\_\_\_\_  
 Raw Score with K \_\_\_\_\_



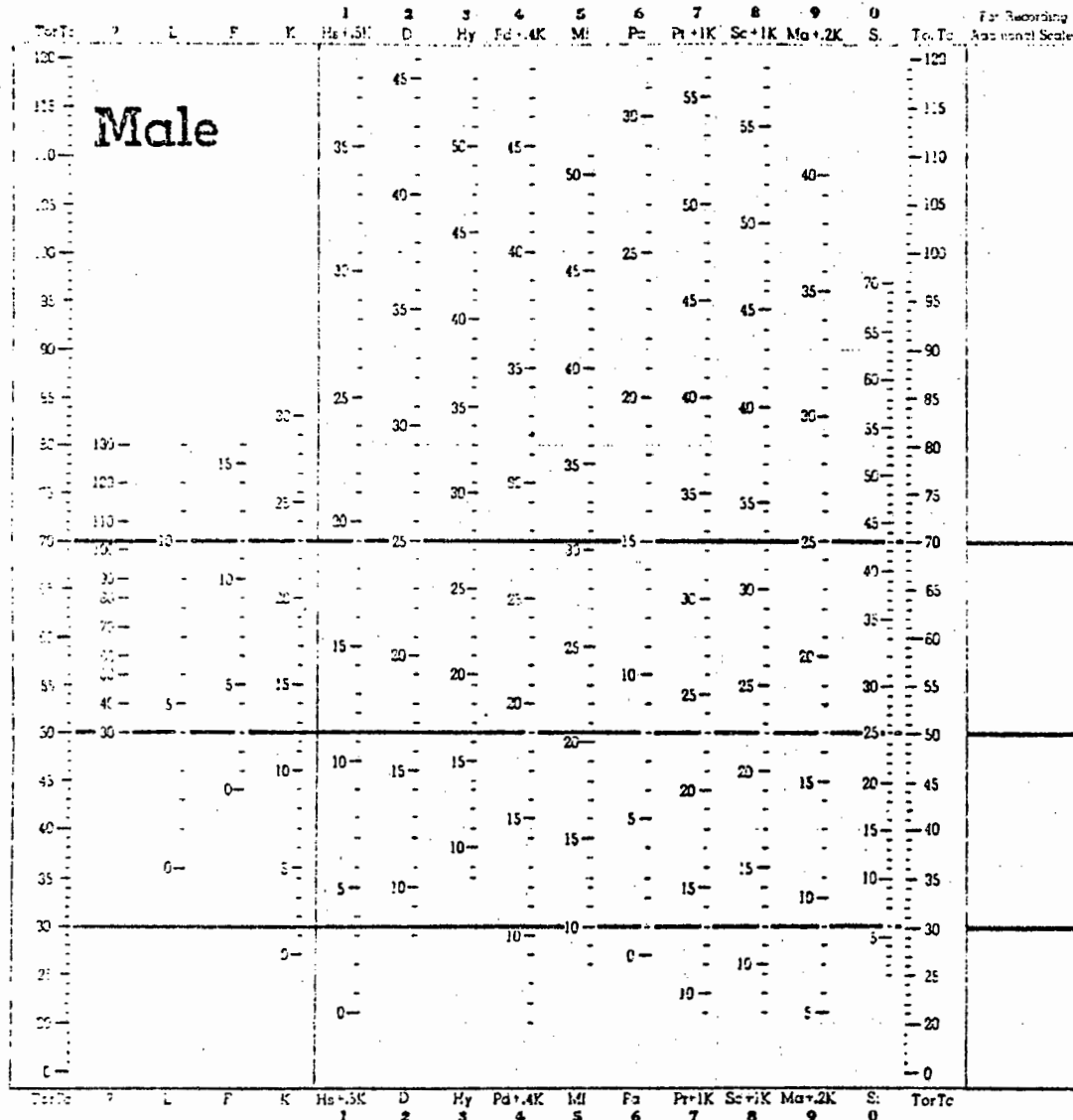
Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

# The Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory

Starke R. Hathaway and J. Charnley McKinley

Scorer's Initials \_\_\_\_\_



Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Occupation \_\_\_\_\_ Date Tested \_\_\_\_\_

Education \_\_\_\_\_ Age \_\_\_\_\_

Marital Status \_\_\_\_\_ Referred by \_\_\_\_\_

M  
Male

NOTES

Profile No. 2: MALE SOUTH AFRICAN  
STUDENTS: MMPI CLINICAL SCALES

AFRIKAANS SPEAKING  
COLOURED  
ENGLISH

Frequency of 8

8	4	2
30	15	2
29	15	5
28	14	6
27	14	5
26	13	5
25	13	5
24	12	5
23	12	9
22	11	4
21	11	4
20	10	1
19	10	4
18	9	4
17	8	3
16	8	3
15	8	3
14	7	3
13	7	3
12	6	2
11	6	2
10	5	2
9	5	2
8	4	2
7	4	1
6	4	1
5	3	1
4	2	1
3	2	1
2	1	1
1	1	1
0	0	0

Raw Score \_\_\_\_\_

K to be added \_\_\_\_\_

Raw Score with K \_\_\_\_\_



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Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

1. MMPI validity scale performances of the three South African groups.

From Tables 1 and 2, and from Profiles 1 and 2, (pages 53 to 56) a picture is obtained of the South African student performance on the validity scale. All the means on these scales fall within the normal medium ranges. This can be taken as provisional confirmation of a serious test-taking attitude amongst the student subjects as well as indicating an adequate level of understanding.

Amongst the female samples the English speaking students stand out by having scored significantly lower ( $p .001$ ) than the Afrikaans and Coloured female samples on the L and F scales (means for English females 3.32 and 5.09 respectively, as against 5.15 and 9.55 for the Coloureds and 5.36 and 7.90 for the Afrikaans females) and highest on the K scale ( $p .02$ ) with a mean of 14.23 against means of 12.84 and 11.21 for the Afrikaans and Coloured students respectively. The low L score of the English women indicates that they are more ready to acknowledge social faults than the other two groups. The F scale is an important indicator of test-attitude and understanding but also has implications for personality. As is recalled the F scale consists of items which have a high community agreement. The English female student score here indicates a good understanding of the items and an identification with the culture in which the MMPI was developed. It is expected that the Afrikaner and Coloured students should score higher on this scale. They do not have the identical cultural background and orientation to the English women. There are certain aspects of their group heritage which notwithstanding their western ideas and beliefs differentiate them from the English women. On this scale, they have admitted certain attitudes and beliefs which are alien to the criterion groups. The Afrikaner and Coloured students higher F scale score also reflects their probably marginal greater difficulty in understanding all the items. Although their understanding of English is adequate, it cannot be expected to be as finely honed as the native English speakers. Further, numerous researchers have found that Negroes tend to score higher on the F scale than Whites (Ball, 1960; Baughman and Dahlstrom, 1972; Harrison and Kass, 1967; McDonald and Gynther, 1963). Gynther (1972) attributes this to differences in values, perceptions and expectations that result from growing up in different cultures. The Coloured female students performance on this scale corresponds to the relative performance of Negroes vis-a-vis whites in the U.S.A.

On the K scale, all groups have obtained means that fall into the normal range indicating a balance of self-disclosure and self-protection in answering the questions. The English women have scored higher than the other two groups.

Dahlstrom, Welsh and Dahlstrom (1972) report that differences on K scale scores can often be attributed to socio-economic status with subjects from the upper classes scoring higher than people from the lower middle classes. This implies that the lower classes are less defensive in answering the inventory, because, according to Dahlstrom et al's hypothesis, they have less to lose in terms of obtaining psychological and medical assistance than do the higher social classes. Another possibility is that a lesser sophistication in psychological test-taking is found amongst the lower-middle classes who are less intent on responding in socially desirable ways. The English female scores are relatively low, in any case, indicating a willingness to confide their problems.

From table 2 (page 54) we see a similar tendency to the female scores is found on the male validity scale performances. The English students have scored lowest on the L and F scales, although only the L scale score is significant ( $p < .01$ ). Means for the English students are 3.50 and 7.75 respectively as against 4.85 and 8.38 for the Afrikaans students and 5.47 and 10.14 for the Coloured students. The Coloureds have scored lowest on the K scale ( $p < .001$ ) with a mean of 11.22 as opposed to 14.65 and 14.09 for the Afrikaans and English male students respectively. It is notable that there is no significant difference on the F scale. This is contrary to expectations and seems to suggest that the English group is being non-conformistic, even rebellious, to a number of cultural values of their group. The Afrikaner and Coloured means are similar to their female colleagues. The pattern between the two sexes is only broken by the Afrikaner male K scale score which is the highest among the three male groups. Their L scale score is also relatively high and indicates that the Afrikaner males are resistant to admitting social faults and are less willing to confide and disclose problems. This hints at a tendency to see themselves as correct and as perfect in their own eyes as possible.

The Coloureds are also hesitant to admit social weaknesses, but are more willing to disclose problems and seek outside help. The English male are quite willing to admit their social weaknesses, perhaps to the extent of being amused by them, but they are less willing to confide their worries. As has been stated above, this is also a social-class related phenomenon.

2. Between group MMPI clinical scale differences and scale by scale analysis of the groups clinical scale performances and the implications for personality.

The low number of very significant differences on the clinical scales was expected. This is attributable to two factors: i) the intrinsic nature of the scales heterogeneous non-linear build which can minimise differences between groups, ii) previous findings that gross psychological measures have not consistently yielded differences between South African groups. On this occasion, only four of the ten clinical scales yielded significant differences between the female groups and of these, only one was at the ,001 level. Naturally, where the differences are found, these point to personality level characteristics. Only on scale 5 (Mf) can it be said that the scale is a population differentiating scale, and this needs to be examined when scale performances are analysed. The male groups have yielded six significant differences at the scale level, once again only scale 5 doing so at the ,001 level, where it strongly differentiates the English population from the other two groups.

Scale 1 (Hs).

As can be seen from Tables 1 and 2 (pages 53 and 54) scale 1 (Hs) is the only clinical scale for both sexes where the scores are clustered around the mean for normative samples. This implies first and foremost that the South African students overall are not unduly concerned about their physical health. The English students have coded this scale low, and considering the general elevation of the profile the score stands out. At the lower levels, scale 1 can indicate lethargy and fatigue (Dahlstrom, Welsh and Dahlstrom, 1972). Although at this stage, such a hypothesis cannot be adequately considered, it can be kept in mind in case further collaborating evidence comes up.

Scale 2 (D).

No significant difference is found amongst the females on scale 2 (D) but we do find that the English and Coloured males have scored higher here than their female counterparts. The Coloured males in particular have severely elevated the scale (mean = 66.02), and the difference between the Coloured and Afrikaans male students is significant at the .01 level. In some college groups a high score can reflect situational problems, such as academic difficulties or an unhappy campus life (Drake and Oetting, 1959). Elevated scores on the scale can also imply a more generalised emotional problem related to unhappiness, poor morale, self-dissatisfaction, tension and a soberised outlook on life (Baughman and Dahlstrom 1972; Dahlstrom, Welsh and Dahlstrom 1972; Drake and Oetting, 1959).

Scale 3 (Hy).

No significant differences are found at all on scale 3 (Hy). The scale is nevertheless notable and the reason for this is that the Coloured students have scored

lowest on this scale for both sexes. Drake and Oetting (1959) note that a relatively low score on this scale does not appear to have any specific relation to personality characteristics. However, it is still worthwhile stating that the Coloured students have a lesser tendency to resort to physical expression of psychological problems than do the white samples.

#### Scale 4 (Pd).

Scale 4 (Pd) is notable for its extreme elevation on the part of the male English speaking students mean = 69,19, as opposed to 59,62 for the Afrikaans students and 63,12 for the Coloured males (Table 2, page 54). The difference between the English and Afrikaans students is significant at the .01 level. This finding does not refer to any existence of delinquency amongst the students, but rather relates here to rebelliousness, resentment of authority, interpersonal insensitivity, selfishness and social aggression and is often connected with hostility to the male parent or other father figure (Dahlstrom, Welsh and Dahlstrom 1972). Although the other groups scores on this scale are much less severe they are nevertheless high and appear related to generalised feelings of resentment and rebelliousness.

#### Scale 5 (Mf).

The English female and male students stand out strongly on scale 5 (Mf), the female students for their low score mean = 43,45 as opposed to 48,36 and 53,62 for the Afrikaans and Coloured female students respectively ( $p < .001$ ) (Table 1 page 53) and the males for their exceptionally high score, mean = 73,63 as against 61,15 and 61,80 for the Afrikaans and Coloured males, the difference being significant at the .001 level (Table 2, page 54). For the English women, this low score suggests a strong identification with the female role and perhaps, a dependant self-concept as well (Drake and Oetting, 1959). The Coloured women who have scored higher on this scale may be signalling their physical strength and endurance built up in their development or they may be suggesting their intention of leaving their traditional role in exchange for a more assertive, dominant, community-leader type role in the future. A peak score on this scale among men is frequently found in an educational setting, and the means obtained by the Afrikaans-speaking and Coloured groups reflects interest in cultural, scholarly or academic pursuits and gentlemanly behaviour (Dahlstrom, Welsh and Dahlstrom 1972). For the English group the high score most probably serves as a controlling factor opposing the social aggression that was so prominent on scale 4 (Drake and Oetting, 1959). High scores on this scale usually refer to people characterised inter alia, as sensitive and prone to worry, idealistic and peaceable, concerned with philosophical problems not only in an abstract way, but coupled with taking a stand on moral issues, and showing a mature sense of self-awareness and self-concern (Dahlstrom, Welsh and Dahlstrom 1972)

Scale 6 (Pa).

The results of scale 6 (Pa) although they do not show a significant difference for either sex and are not particularly highly elevated, are interesting. And this is because paranoia - suspiciousness and fear of the intentions of others - is assumed to be a category which would be relevant to South Africa, and which would therefore be pre-eminent. This has not occurred. In most student samples, scale 6 is usually one of the lowest coded of the entire inventory. This is due i) to the weakness caused by the obviousness of the items on the scale, and ii) to the trustingness and idealism of students. Seen against this, the relative scores of the groups obtained here, particularly the males, are quite elevated and refer to a certain degree of suspiciousness and personal sensitivity among the various South African samples. A further possibility is that the MMPI Pa scale is not tapping empirically the kind of racial or political paranoia hypothetically expected to be found amongst South African groups.

Scale 7 (Pt).

Both Coloured groups have elevated scale 7 (Pt) above their white counterparts. The mean for the Coloured females is 59,79 as opposed to 56,59 and 54,72 for the Afrikaans and English women ( $p < .05$ ) and 66,78 for the Coloured females as against 58,73 and 59,34 for the Afrikaans and English male students respectively ( $p < .01$ ) (Tables 1 and 2). For the Coloured female this refers to feelings of insecurity, inferiority and poor socialising, the white women being more confident and socially comfortable (Dahlstrom, Welsh and Dahlstrom, 1972). For the Coloured males, their high score indicates an anxiety state related to indecisiveness and confused thinking. A certain amount of perseverance in a worrisome sense is also related to this scale (Marks, Seeman and Haller, 1974)

Scale 8 (Sc).

Scale 8 (Sc) is one of the scales most elevated by the three groups by both sexes, with the Coloureds scoring high both times, the males having their peak on this scale (mean = 69,71). Peak scores on this scale are rare in college populations for both sexes (Dahlstrom, Welsh and Dahlstrom, 1972). The scores refer to confused thinking and vague goals, suggesting that each group is undergoing a period of personality re-organisation. For the Coloureds their high scores further reflects underlying self-doubts, alienation from others, convictions of being inferior and different, possible sexual confusion, and problems in peer relationships and group acceptance (Baughman and Dahlstrom, 1972; Dahlstrom, Welsh and Dahlstrom, 1972)

Scale 9 (Ma).

From Tables 1 and 2 we see Scale 9 (Ma) is the peak scale for the Coloured and English females and for the Afrikaans males. All the other groups have elevated the scale strongly. This is the scale that is the most frequent peak scale amongst male normative and female student samples (Dahlstrom, Welsh and Dahlstrom 1972). It refers to people who are seen as enterprising, energetic and persevering and enthusiastic, mingled with idealism and/or rebelliousness. Often amongst people who score high on scale 9 high activity level is not well-directed or sustained because of immaturity and impulsiveness that are also present. For the Afrikaans males, one is tempted to assume the peak 9 score refers to a greater extent to their ambition and idealism whereas for the Coloured and English females, the youthful but poorly directed energy, the rebelliousness and impulsivity, seem to be playing a greater role.

Scale 0 (Si).

While scale 0 (Si) has been coded relatively low by all the groups, two comments are worth noting. The two Coloured groups have scored higher than the white group of both sexes, suggesting a greater lack of social skills, more social insecurity and introversion. The low Afrikaans male score refers to their social dominance and outwardness that may tend to belligerence (Drake and Oetting, 1959).

The analysis of the relative group performances on the clinical scales hints at certain psychological characteristics than can be taken into account when considering the personality description of each group as suggested by their modal personalities and scale configurations. Before analysing the findings on the content scales it is worth noting that the males in general have elevated the scales to a greater degree than have the females. An explanation for this appears to be that males are more susceptible to the socio-cultural environment, being expected to be involved and concerned with it to a greater degree than the women. And hence, they suffer more from what might be considered the pathological elements of the environment, being unable to take a step back, as it were, as a group, from the situation.

Table 3 : The distribution of the highest and second-highest standardised MMPI clinical scales for the white Afrikaans-speaking group

HIGHEST SCALE	SEX	SECOND HIGHEST SCALE										TOTALS	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	M	F
1	M	*	1						1			2	
	F	*		1									1
2	M		*							1		1	
	F	1	*	2	1				1				5
3	M			*		1			1			2	
	F		2	*	2						1		5
4	M				*	2	1			1		4	
	F			3	*		1		1				5
5	M					*		1		4		5	
	F					*			2		1		3
6	M		1				*					1	
	F		2	1			*		1	1	1		6
7	M							*	1			1	
	F		1				1	*	1				3
8	M								*	1		1	
	F				2		2	1	*		1		6
9	M		1	1	1	3			2	*		8	
	F	1			4	1	3	2	3	*	1		15
0	M	1									*	1	
	F		4	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	*		12
TOTALS	M	1	3	1	1	6	1	1	5	7	0	26	
	F	2	9	8	10	2	8	4	11	2	5		61

Summary: Males: Most frequent peak scale: 9  
 Most frequent second-highest scale: 5  
 Modal profile: 5-9

Females: Most frequent peak scale: 9  
 Most frequent second highest scale: 8  
 Modal profiles: 9-4 and 0-2

Table 4 : The distribution of the highest and second-highest standardised MMPI clinical scales for the Coloured group

HIGHEST SCALE	SEX	SECOND HIGHEST SCALE										TOTALS		
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	M	F	
1	M	*											0	
	F	*												0
2	M		*		1	1		2	2				6	
	F		*						2	1				3
3	M		1	*	1	1		1					4	
	F		2	*	1									3
4	M				*			1					1	
	F	1		1			1		1	1	1			6
5	M					*	1			2			3	
	F					*		1	1					2
6	M						*		1				1	
	F			1			*		3					4
7	M		1			1		*	1	2			5	
	F							*		1	1			2
8	M	2	2		1	1	2	3	*	3			14	
	F		1			1	1	2	*	2	1			8
9	M		3	1	1	2		1	6	*			14	
	F	2			2	3	4		3	*				14
0	M					1					*		1	
	F		4							1	*			5
TOTALS	M	2	7	1	4	7	3	8	10	7	0		49	
	F	3	7	2	3	4	6	3	10	6	3			47

Summary: Males: Most frequent peak scales: 8 and 9  
 Most frequent second-highest scale: 8  
 Modal profile: 9-8

Females: Most frequent peak scale: 9  
 Most frequent second-highest scale: 8  
 Modal profile: 9-6 and 0-2

Table 5 : The distribution of the highest and second-highest standardised MMPI clinical scales for the white English-speaking group

HIGHEST SCALE	SEX	SECOND HIGHEST SCALE										TOTALS		
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	M	F	
1	M	*											0	
	F	*												0
2	M		*			1							1	
	F		*					1						1
3	M			*	2								2	
	F			*	2		2			1				5
4	M		1		*	1			1	1			4	
	F		1	2	*						1			4
5	M		2	2	5	*			2	3	1		15	
	F				1	*				1				2
6	M						*			1			1	
	F						*	2	1	2	1			6
7	M		1						*		1		2	
	F								*	1	1			2
8	M								*	1			1	
	F	1			1			2	*	2	1			7
9	M		1		2	2				*			5	
	F			1		1	4	1	2	*	1			10
0	M				1							*	1	
	F		2	2	3	1	1				1	*		10
TOTALS	M	0	5	2	10	4	0	0	3	7	1		32	
	F	1	3	5	7	2	8	5	4	8	4			47

Summary:

Males: Most frequent peak scale: 5  
 Most frequent second-highest scale: 4  
 Modal profile: 5-4

Females: Most frequent peak scale: 9 and 0  
 Most frequent second-highest scale: 6 and 9  
 Modal profile: 9-6

### 3. Analysis of scale configurations and modal profiles of the groups.

Scale configurational analysis was developed by certain workers on the MMPI who found on the one hand that single scale elevation analysis did not provide them with sufficient information for their needs and on the other hand, that analysis of combined scale elevations had important and clear implications for personality assessment and description. Examples of scale configurational analysis have been provided by Drake and Oetting (1959), Gilberstadt and Duker (1965), and Marks, Seeman and Haller (1974).

Working with student counselees, Drake and Oetting devised a "code" obtained by recording the three highest scales above T score 55 and scales below T score 45. They then actuarially developed a set of hypotheses related to personality for each and every possible scale configuration. The work of Gilberstadt and Duker (1965) and Marks, Seeman and Haller (1974) represents more recent and more rigorous actuarial studies that were based on clinical populations and on a 2 scale configurational analysis. They describe diagnostically the personality types represented by the scale configurations. In the present analysis, greater reliance is placed on the Drake and Oetting study by virtue of the fact that they worked with a college population, and because they have developed a set of hypotheses for all the possible configurations.

The 2 code (Scale) tendencies and modal profiles are depicted in Tables 3, 4 and 5 (pages 63 to 65). It is remembered that the modal personality refers to those personality characteristics which stand out and which perhaps highlight each group. They do not typify any group. As the numbers in each group are small, and the presented modal personality numbers even smaller, we cannot talk of the specific modal personality of each group with a great degree of certainty, but what we are referring to is a tendency which is relevant and significant for each particular group.

Amongst the males, we find that nearly 50% of the English speaking students peaked on scale 5 and the modal code comes from this scale as well - "94" (Table 5). The Afrikaans males have mainly elevated scale 9 (31,5%). However, the modal 2 code comes from scale 5 (Mf). Although only 5 students peaked on scale 5, four of them had scale 9 (Ma) as the second highest scale, making "59" the modal 2 code profile (Table 3). For the Coloureds approximately 28% peaked both on scales 8 (Sc) and scale 9 (Ma), the modal 2 code profile turning out to be "98" (Table 4).

From the women's scale analysis it can be seen that each group elevated scale 9 most of all, with scale 0 (Si) featuring prominently among the whites, suggesting some similarity there. The Coloured women's second scale, scale 8, is the same as that of their male counterparts. This suggests that whereas the white female students had a femininity factor in common, the Coloured women are closer to their

male counterparts - situational factors apparently being the critical cause. As regards the modal 2 code profile, we see that for the English females it is 96, for Afrikaner women they are 94 and 02, while the Coloured women share a profile from each of the other groups, 96 and 02 (See tables 3 to 5).

4(i) Afrikaans students.

The Drake and Oetting Code obtained for the Afrikaans speaking female group is 489-X. The overall profile is relatively stable, with a mild valley on scale 5. Amongst the hypotheses they suggest are depressed, confused, home conflicts, socially extroverted, lack skills with the opposite sex.

This is a quite severe set of hypotheses and the rationale for them comes from the nature of the relevant scales. Scale 4 coded high can indicate some selfishness and rebelliousness towards accepted values. (Baughman and Dahlstrom, 1972, Dahlstrom, Welsh and Dahlstrom, 1972) Scale 9 elevated indicates a driving energy that is not always well directed to maintain sustained interest (Dahlstrom, Welsh and Dahlstrom, 1972). Scale 8 scored high implies some disorganised thinking, confusion (Baughman and Dahlstrom 1972; Marks, Seeman and Haller, 1974). At this stage, it can be said that the Afrikaans women are in some state of rebellion as regards their situation. They have a lot of energy available for the expression of this rebelliousness, but it brings them into conflict with their surroundings, particularly the home. This reaction of their close relatives leaves them confused and worried.

As regards the modal profile, we find that the Afrikaans speaking females have presented two profiles that are like two sides of the same coin. The 94 combination, according to Drake and Oetting, suggests extraverted or socially outgoing behaviour, whereas the 02 presents with social withdrawal, social insecurity and introverted behaviour. While it is coincidence that such opposite profiles should be present to the same degree in the sample, it nevertheless points here to the probability that the Afrikaans female student is more subject to specific social and situational influences than to the influences of the wider environment. The two modal profiles presented here are typical of the student populations and refer to two ways of relating to one's societal challenges. It is inevitable that such personality characteristics exist in student samples such as this. These students are presenting a personality that is more influenced by and involved with small group concerns than with wider concerns.

The Afrikaans speaking male students' Drake and Oetting code is 589-X. The profile is less elevated overall than the other students', and is also less jagged, being quite stable. Scale 6, which is elevated to the same degree as the highest scale, and scale 0, the lowest scale, also need to be considered. The Drake and Oetting hypotheses for 589-X: Home conflict, mother conflict, indecisive, unhappy, worries a great deal, insomnia, confused, poor rapport, except where scale 9 was coded

high, indecisiveness and worries a great deal were infrequently found. Considering scale 0 being relatively low, we find hypothesised that he lacks knowledge or information and aggressive or belligerent is also included. The 589-0 pattern is infrequently associated with introversion or self-consciousness and social insecurity. We need to see the student's profile in a specific situation and in its broader context. Inclusion of scale 5 in the profile plays the role that it usually does among student populations where scale 5 is the most frequently peaked scale. It refers to some extent to the student's cultured academic interest. The function of scale 6 (Pa), which is not usually included amongst peaked scales amongst normal subjects, is to reflect a certain personal sensitivity and suspiciousness by the Afrikaans male students to others. Linking this to the finding of belligerence which stems from the high 9 - low 0 combination (Drake and Oetting, 1959), and seen in a broader context, it ties up with the Afrikaner's drive for national identity at the expense of other groups and their suspicion and distrust of other groups who might deny them this national goal. This tendency amongst Afrikaners has come up in the student group's profile. The home conflict does not indicate a severe rebelliousness and social criticism, but rather reflects the developing student's situation where a break must be made from dependence on the home and this conflict can also be expected to feature on the profile. Overall the Afrikaner student profile reflects a group who are socially and personally together.

The Afrikaner modal profile is 59. Here we have a group concerned with academic cultural interests and involved in moral issues. For the Afrikaner modal personality this concern and involvement is coupled with high degree of energy not all effectively directed (Dahlstrom, Welsh and Dahlstrom, 1972). This combination is associated with ambitious idealistic people, and here we find the modal profile reflecting the idealism that pervades the Afrikaner student who plan to develop even more than his older generation a more perfect and ideal society from their point of view.

#### 4(ii) The Coloured Students.

The Coloured female students' profile is generally elevated above that of the whites, except on scale 3 (Hy). The Drake and Oetting code for the group is 089-X. Scales 3, 4 and 7 also need to be looked at as they stand out and probably have some bearing on the personality description. The Drake and Oetting hypotheses for 089-X are: socially shy, lack skills with the opposite sex, nervous, restless, suppressed, confused, father conflict, mother conflict, sibling conflict. These hypotheses are best looked at in the light of the

Coloured women student's situation. The Coloured women have never had an acceptable identity in the society. They have never been white enough to be accepted in the greater society and on their part they have been resentful of their own kind. The Coloured women students are in a unique situation because for the first time in their history, Coloured women as a group are being able to obtain higher education, but along with this privilege comes a number of problems. The Coloured woman already at university and following it has to make a new place for herself in society, both amongst her own people and in the society as a whole in which she lives. Automatically, she comes into conflict with her parents and family values and customs. In the greater society she is not sure of herself. Relations with others, men of her ethnic group and teachers, have probably not been on an equal basis. New knowledge and consciousness bring with them new responsibility and painful truths. She becomes nervous, restless and confused. She lacks self-confidence. She is shy and she comes into conflict with her close relatives. As for the other scales, unfortunately Drake and Oetting state specifically that scale 3 coded low is of no importance in the interpretation of profiles. Scale 4 here relates as it does with the other two groups to rebelliousness towards home and a certain belligerence, while scale 7 reflects anxiety, lack of self-confidence, and social insecurity (Dahlstrom, Welsh and Dahlstrom, 1972, Lanyon 1968). All in all it appears that the stressful situation of the Coloured women is reflected in the MMPI profile and suggests a relatively greater tendency to social psychopathology than is found amongst the white female groups.

The Coloured women have also presented with two modal profiles. The 96 profile refers to the kind of person who is mistrustful of others and who has difficulty in establishing close, meaningful relationships with others. They tend to be unco-operative and yet they are readily dominated. They are tense, anxious, moody and irritable (Marks, Seeman and Haller 1974). The second profile (02) refers to the Coloured woman's introversion and social insecurity (Drake and Oetting, 1959). Unlike the Afrikaans speaking females, this profile is not the counterside of an almost extremely diametrically opposed personality, but rather complements the socially insecure personality described above. The Coloured women do not appear to present personalities across the spectrum, but rather seem to be concentrating on the socially withdrawn, insecure and untrusting personality, who is within itself anxious, lacking confidence and self-conscious. This appears strongly to be a personality that is influenced by its socio-cultural environment.

The Coloured male students have elevated the profile to quite a degree particularly elevating certain scales that refer more to psychopathology. The Drake and Oetting code of Coloured males is 789-X. The hypotheses listed are: introverted or self-conscious or socially insecure, lacks skills with the opposite sex, home conflict, mother conflict, sibling conflict, non-responsive or non-verbal, indecisive, unhappy, worries a great deal, insomnia, lacks knowledge or information, vague goals, confused, defensive. Drake and Oetting note, though, that being non-responsive or non-verbal, indecisiveness, worrying a great deal, lack of skills with the opposite sex was infrequently associated with scale 9 being coded high. Scale 2 (D) coded relatively high also needs to be taken into account when considering the Coloured student's personality characteristics. It refers to unhappiness and depression. When the whole profile is elevated, and particularly when scale 7 (Pt) is also coded high, together with scale 2, there appears to be a more generalised emotional problem with unhappiness only a part of the syndrome (Drake and Oetting). We can note that the Drake and Oetting description of their code including scale 2 closely approximates the characteristics of the marginal personality described by Kerkhoff, McCormick and Mann (1957; 1973). The factors found by Mann to account for the marginal personality: insecurity, self-pity and sensitivity, appear to occur in varying degrees in the Coloured's profile. Insecurity and self-pity are found on the elevated scale 7 (Pt) of the MMPI. This scale too is a good general indicator of anxiety. Dahlstrom, Welsh and Dahlstrom report people with high scores on scale 7 are characterised by obsessive compulsive ruminations and morbid introspective trends. The problems of such students are centred about poor study habits, poor personal relations and difficulty with authority figures. They are often the most seriously disturbed of college counselees. Over-sensitivity is not overtly evident in the profile, but can be inferred from the excessive worry, insecurity, self-dissatisfaction and self-consciousness of the group. It is noted too that the group's elevation of scale 6 is similar to that of the Afrikaans group and also to the English group, and while it does not play a central role, the scale does have a function and does indicate a certain personal sensitivity and suspiciousness amongst the Coloured males. The considerable elevation of scale 8 implies quite serious confusion and mental disorganisation within the group. Dahlstrom, Welsh and Dahlstrom report peaked student scores on scale 8, present problems with peer relationships and group acceptance. Sex role preoccupation is frequent, and often confused, and the students rely a great deal on day-dreaming. The characteristics isolated by Kerkhoff and McCormick of the marginal personality appear to be well represented

in this profile, with the possible exception of aggression, which is a difficult problem for the Coloured male. In view of his situation the personality characteristics presented by the Coloureds are quite comprehensible. The males do not have a strong group identity, nor are they accepted by their reference group. They are in rebellion as educated progressing students against the values and demeanour of their elders, yet their belligerence is not easily directed except inwards. They develop self-pity as they do not see a way out.

The 98 modal code obtained by the Coloured males is one that is often found among the psychiatric population and very seldom in a university sample. (In a normal population such a group usually display difficulty in expressing aggression. They are prone to worry, self-dissatisfied). This is despite the fact that such a group is characterised by a strong achievement need which is not always supported by a good school and vocational record. These compulsive needs for achievement are not obtained, not because of lack of competence, but because of hyper-activity, poor organisation and low frustration tolerance (Gilberstadt and Duker, 1965). Marks, Seeman and Haller (1974) state that the typical validity scale pattern of the 89 type, as has been obtained here, indicates a candid honest approach to the test questions in the context of feelings of inferiority and inadequacy, low self-esteem and a disorganisation in thought process. Subjects spend a good deal of their time in personal fantasy and in day-dreaming. People with this profile are often agitated, unco-operative, irritable, indecisive, hostile, restless, impulsive and negativistic. There is a tendency towards alcoholism and drug abuse. In so far as their relations with others are concerned, they are distrustful, suspicious and questioning of their motivation. Inner conflicts about sexuality are strong and stressful. Most 89 people have elevations on scale 7, which show they are ruminative, ideational and obsessional. Many have college education despite relatively low IQ scores, i.e. they are ambitious. This clinical picture of the Coloured male student indicates the real difficulty in adjusting his environment presents to him. It is known that many Coloured students struggle at the University of the Western Cape. However, it appears too that their situation of an uncertain future, messages from their parents and from the society, that they are not free to choose, left them unable to act, to think clearly, to trust others' motivations, to feel good in themselves. They are undoubtedly

dominated by others, possibly because of the need for affection. They are often afraid of emotional involvement of any sort and are conflicted over sexual matters. They judge themselves and others in terms of popularity and although they are somewhat ambitious and would like to get ahead, their prevailing mistrust of people keeps them at a distance and prevents close meaningful relationships (Gilberstadt and Duker, 1965; Marks, Seeman and Haller, 1974). This modal profile of the English speaking women suggests less their rebellious, aggressive side and more their helpless dependent aspect.

Moving over to the male English speaking student, we find that their code is a highly elevated 459-X, with scale 8 (Sc) also highly elevated. Drake and Oetting pose the following hypotheses: mother conflict, home conflict, poor rapport, insomnia. It is hard to consider the postulate of insomnia for this student as no concrete data is available on this variable. It is further necessary to look at the other hypotheses in context, extending the context to the relevant overall situation, the amount of hypotheses offered being inadequate. A high scale 4 which is usually indicative of delinquency, is rare in college settings, and refers more towards an antagonism to authority and hostility towards parents (Dahlstrom, Welsh and Dahlstrom 1972). On some occasions, the aggressiveness is inner-directed, but in this profile outward rebelliousness is indicated because of the low scale 7 and 0 which counterindicate introversion. The high scale 9 suggests a lot of energy channeled into outgoing behaviour which can be uncontrolled. Together with "49" is often considered to approximate sociopathic behaviour, i.e. these people tend to be overactive, impulsive, irresponsible and shallow and superficial in their relationships. In superficial contacts and social situations they create favourable impressions because of their freedom from inhibiting anxieties. They enter wholeheartedly into outings and parties, but may continue activities so long so as to exceed their proprieties and alienate others (Dahlstrom, Welsh and Dahlstrom, 1972). The high scale 8 (Sc) suggests confusion, vague goals and a lack of real academic motivation. Against all the above and similarly to the function of a low scale 5 (Mf) among the English women, the high scale 5 score among the male is a controlling and inhibiting factor. Dahlstrom, Welsh and Dahlstrom describe the high 5 males as psychologically complex and inner-directed. They are described as both intellectually able and interested and they have a real interest in moral issues. The overall picture obtained here is of a group who are rebellious towards home and society, who have plenty of energy available to engage in pursuits, but who have difficulty in effectively directing their efforts who are confused, whose goals have become vague, and who temper their hostility by concern and involvement in moral issues. Such a personality

description is easily understood within the context of the white English male student. Together with many of his fellow students throughout the world the WESSA student has been in rebellion against his parents, traditional beliefs and values, but unlike his overseas counterparts, the WESSA is also vehemently opposed to the ruling authority in South Africa. Every reasonable effort at a position is blocked and the WESSA becomes confused and loses sight of his goals as he casts about looking for ways and means of channeling his energies. He takes up the moral fight of opposing oppression and usually has a cause to champion. At home he might be in a more specific state of rebellion, being in conflict with his parents and being unsure of his future.

The 54 modal personality for the English speaking student nicely reflects the personality presented. It reflects both their rebelliousness and their concern for righteousness. One way to describe such a code would be as follows: "These subjects (who) resented authority and were hostile towards their parents frequently took stands on moral issue and at times showed a great deal of self-awareness and self-concern that was neither neurotic nor immature". (Dahlstrom, Welsh and Dahlstrom, p.269, p. 205) The WESSA is in a situation of opposition and his concerns are not easily adequately expressed, and he knows this. This is what the 54 modal personality profile is all about.

Table 6 : Comparative South African and American female undergraduate student MMPI Clinical Scale performances.

Scale	South Africa			U.S.A.			t=
	Mean	S.D.	N.	Mean	S.D.	N	
L	4.68	2.52	155				
F	7.55	4.19	155				
K	12.77	4.40	155	15.5	5.5	5014	-7.54***
1(Hs)	50.65	8.71	155	49.0	7.0	5014	2.34*
2(D)	55.86	10.78	155	49.0	8.5	5014	7.85***
3(Hy)	54.50	8.94	155	53.5	7.75	5014	1.38
4(Pd)	58.58	11.04	155	54.0	9.0	5014	5.11***
5(Mf)	48.46	10.06	155	50.5	9.25	5014	-2.49*
6(Pa)	56.90	11.50	155	53.5	7.75	5014	3.66***
7(Pt)	56.99	9.83	155	53.0	8.0	5014	5.00***
8(Sc)	60.08	11.48	155	55.0	7.5	5014	5.47***
9(Ma)	60.82	10.86	155	55.5	10.25	5014	6.02***
0(Si)	57.91	9.21	138				

- Notes
- 1). Data for American undergraduate student samples collected by Taft (1958)
  - 2). Degrees of freedom : 5167
  - 3). \*\*\*  $p < .001$   
\*  $p < .02$

Table 7: Comparative South African and American male undergraduate students MMPI clinical Scale performances.

Scale	South Africa			U.S.A.			t=
	Mean	S.D.	N.	Mean	S.D.	N.	
L	4.73	2.62	107				
F	9.00	4.89	107				
K	12.92	4.32	107	14.5	4.6	5742	-3.74***
1 (Hs)	54.71	10.82	107	52.5	8.3	5742	2.10
2 (D)	62.43	12.78	107	53.0	10.5	5742	7.59***
3 (Hy)	59.16	10.40	107	55.5	7.8	5742	3.62***
4 (Pd)	64.08	12.27	107	56.0	9.9	5742	6.77***
5 (Mf)	65.18	11.88	107	58.0	10.2	5742	6.21***
6 (Pa)	60.04	10.70	107	53.0	8.0	5742	6.77***
7 (Pt)	62.60	13.10	107	56.4	10.2	5742	4.87***
8 (Sc)	66.02	14.98	107	56.9	10.5	5742	6.27***
9 (Ma)	66.45	10.27	107	58.1	10.1	5742	8.34***
0 (Si)	54.93	8.60	91				

- Notes :
- 1) Data for American undergraduate student samples collected by Taft (1958)
  - 2) Degrees of freedom: 5847
  - 3) \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Table 8 : Comparative South African and American female undergraduate student MMPI content scale performances.

Scale	South Africa			U.S.A.			t=
	Mean	S.D.	N.	Mean	S.D.	N.	
SOC	11.49	4.99	134	7.78	5.22	1173	8.11***
DEP	10.41	5.12	134	6.88	4.47	1173	7.65***
FEM	19.56	3.35	134	19.65	3.34	1173	-0.29
MOR	10.53	4.73	134	7.89	4.58	1173	6.14***
REL	7.87	3.36	138	7.86	2.63	1173	0.03
AUT	9.41	4.01	143	5.72	3.29	1173	10.58***
PSY	10.35	5.90	134	7.19	4.56	1173	6.00***
ORG	6.41	4.47	134	4.37	3.25	1173	5.13***
FAM	4.81	3.10	134	4.50	2.92	1173	1.10
HOS	9.58	4.69	134	7.49	4.06	1173	4.95***
PHO	10.37	4.71	134	7.82	3.69	1173	6.06***
HBP	13.46	3.93	134	13.02	3.61	1173	1.24
HEA	5.69	3.22	134	4.96	2.77	1173	2.52*

- Notes :
- 1). Data for American female undergraduates from Fowler and Coyle (1969)
  - 2). Degrees of freedom : REL scale : 1309  
AUT scale : 1314  
All other scales : 1305
  - 3). \*\*\*  $p < .001$   
\*  $p < .02$

Table 9 : Comparative South African and American undergraduate male students MMPI content scale performances.

Scale	South African			U.S.A.			t=
	Mean	S.D.	N.	Mean	S.D.	N.	
SOC	10.25	4.72	87	7.54	5.15	1538	5.18***
DEP	10.40	5.77	87	6.24	4.54	1538	6.61***
FEM	12.40	4.09	87	8.53	3.37	1538	8.66***
MOR	9.06	5.16	87	6.52	4.61	1538	4.49***
REL	7.40	3.87	89	7.22	2.72	1538	0.43
AUT	10.72	4.00	92	8.07	3.82	1538	6.19***
PSY	12.01	6.53	87	6.99	4.82	1538	7.06***
ORG	6.56	5.00	87	3.95	3.39	1538	4.81***
FAM	5.32	2.97	87	4.37	2.92	1538	2.91**
HOS	11.14	4.41	87	9.29	4.76	1538	3.79***
PHO	8.13	4.66	87	4.81	3.01	1538	6.57***
HBP	13.70	3.95	87	12.45	4.03	1538	2.87**
HEA	6.18	3.67	87	4.63	2.57	1538	3.89***

- Notes :
- 1). Data for American male undergraduate students from Fowler and Coyle (1969)
  - 2). Degrees of Freedom : REL scale : 1625  
AUT scale : 1628  
All other scales : 1623
  - 3). \*\*\* p < .001  
\*\* p < .01

#### 4. South African students MMPI clinical and content scale elevation.

The tables on the previous pages indicate that the South African students as a group, have strongly elevated both the MMPI clinical and content scales in relation to comparative undergraduate American student samples. As regards the clinical scales, on the occasions where on significant differences of  $p < .001$  is obtained, on only the K. scale have the South African students scored lower. This could indicate a lesser familiarity with psychological test-taking, but a relatively low K score is also associated with lower levels of ego strength. Therefore it appears that the results obtained at least on the clinical scales, correspond to those of previous research where it was found that South African groups as a whole, tend to a higher amount of psychopathology than many other comparable overseas English speaking subjects. In comparison to the American southern universities student norms reported by Fowler and Coyle (1969) the South African students have strongly elevated the content scales as well. However, the effect is less marked on some scales for the white groups and this can be seen on profile sheets 3 and 4 (pages 82 and 83), developed by Wiggins (1971) where to a large extent the white groups cluster around the standard T score of 50. One must be careful in not over interpreting the obtained results. For example, it would make no sense to say that the American and South African students are equally fundamentally religious, due to the considerable variance on that scale, obtained by the different South African groups (see tables 10 and 11). The content scales have not been sufficiently deeply researched as yet, and it is difficult to identify what the significance is in the difference between the international groups' scale elevations.

Table 10 : Raw scores for female content scales

SCALE	AFRIKAANS			COLOUREDS			ENGLISH			F=	HETERO- GENEUS SUBSETS
	MEAN	S.D.	N	MEAN	S.D.	N	MEAN	S.D.	N		
SOC	11,26	4,91	61	12,75	5,22	32	10,85	4,90	41	1,42	N
DEP	10,52	5,11	61	12,06	5,42	32	8,95	4,56	41	3,47*	EC
FEM	20,10	3,34	61	18,16	3,66	32	19,88	2,84	41	3,95**	CA
MOR	10,39	4,53	61	12,44	4,99	32	9,24	4,49	41	4,36**	EC
REL	10,11	1,68	61	8,19	2,53	36	4,24	2,74	41	82,77***	E/C/A
AUT	8,77	4,00	61	11,85	3,52	41	7,88	3,40	41	13,31***	C
PSY	10,38	5,54	61	13,53	6,61	32	7,90	4,64	41	9,20***	C
ORG	6,77	4,57	61	7,78	5,26	32	4,83	3,10	41	4,48**	EC
FAM	4,51	3,24	61	6,16	3,08	32	4,22	2,61	41	4,25**	C
HOS	8,92	4,09	61	12,25	5,10	32	8,46	4,51	41	7,59***	C
PHO	11,18	4,61	61	11,78	4,48	32	8,04	4,24	41	8,11***	E
HYP	13,59	3,87	61	14,09	4,22	32	12,78	3,78	41	1,061	N
HEA	6,34	3,67	61	6,19	2,71	32	4,31	4,64	41	5,77**	E

+ Heterogeneous subsets at ,05 level for each scale (in order of lowest to highest on each scale).

Key for subsets:

- N No groups differ on the scale  
 C The Coloured group differs from the other two  
 E The English groups differs from the other two  
 CA The Coloured group differs from the Afrikaans group  
 EC The English group differs from the Coloured group  
 E/C/A The scale significantly differentiated between the three groups  
 \*\*\*  $p < ,001$   
 \*\*  $p < ,02$   
 \*  $p < ,05$

Degrees of freedom for all scales except REL and Aut: 2;131.

Degrees of freedom for REL: 2;135.

Degrees of freedom for AUT: 2;140.

Table 11: Raw scores for male content scales

SCALE	AFRIKAANS			COLOUREDS			ENGLISH			F=	HETERO- GENEIOUS SUBSETS
	MEAN	S.D.	N	MEAN	S.D.	N	MEAN	S.D.	N		
SOC	8,56	3,77	27	12,66	4,09	32	9,14	5,21	28	7,70***	C
DEP	8,63	4,29	27	13,88	5,23	32	8,14	5,85	28	11,45***	C
FEM	11,26	4,22	27	12,47	3,22	32	13,43	4,68	28	1,98	N
MOR	7,41	4,42	27	11,72	4,53	32	7,61	5,38	28	7,82***	C
REL	10,37	2,34	27	8,32	2,63	34	3,43	2,96	28	50,25***	E/C/A
AUT	9,37	3,48	27	12,97	3,98	37	9,04	3,07	28	12,37***	C
PSY	10,78	5,94	27	15,88	6,55	32	8,79	4,97	28	11,67***	C
ORG	5,93	5,55	27	8,47	5,11	32	5,00	3,57	28	4,20**	EC
FAM	4,07	2,53	27	5,47	3,06	32	6,36	2,92	28	4,45**	AE
HOS	10,77	4,16	27	12,59	3,79	32	9,82	4,94	28	3,23*	EC
PHO	6,33	4,10	27	11,34	4,29	32	6,18	3,52	28	16,39***	C
HYP	13,52	3,93	27	15,47	3,29	32	11,86	3,88	28	17,19***	EC
HEA	6,30	4,17	27	7,31	3,06	32	4,79	3,46	28	3,78*	EC

+ Heterogeneous subsets at ,05 level for each scale (in order of lowest to highest on each scale).

Key for subsets:

- N No groups differ on the scale  
 C The Coloured group differs from the other two  
 AE The Afrikaans group differs from the English group  
 EC The English group differs from the Coloured group  
 E/C/A The scale significantly differentiates between the three groups  
 \*\*\*  $p < ,001$   
 \*\*  $p < ,02$   
 \*  $p < ,05$

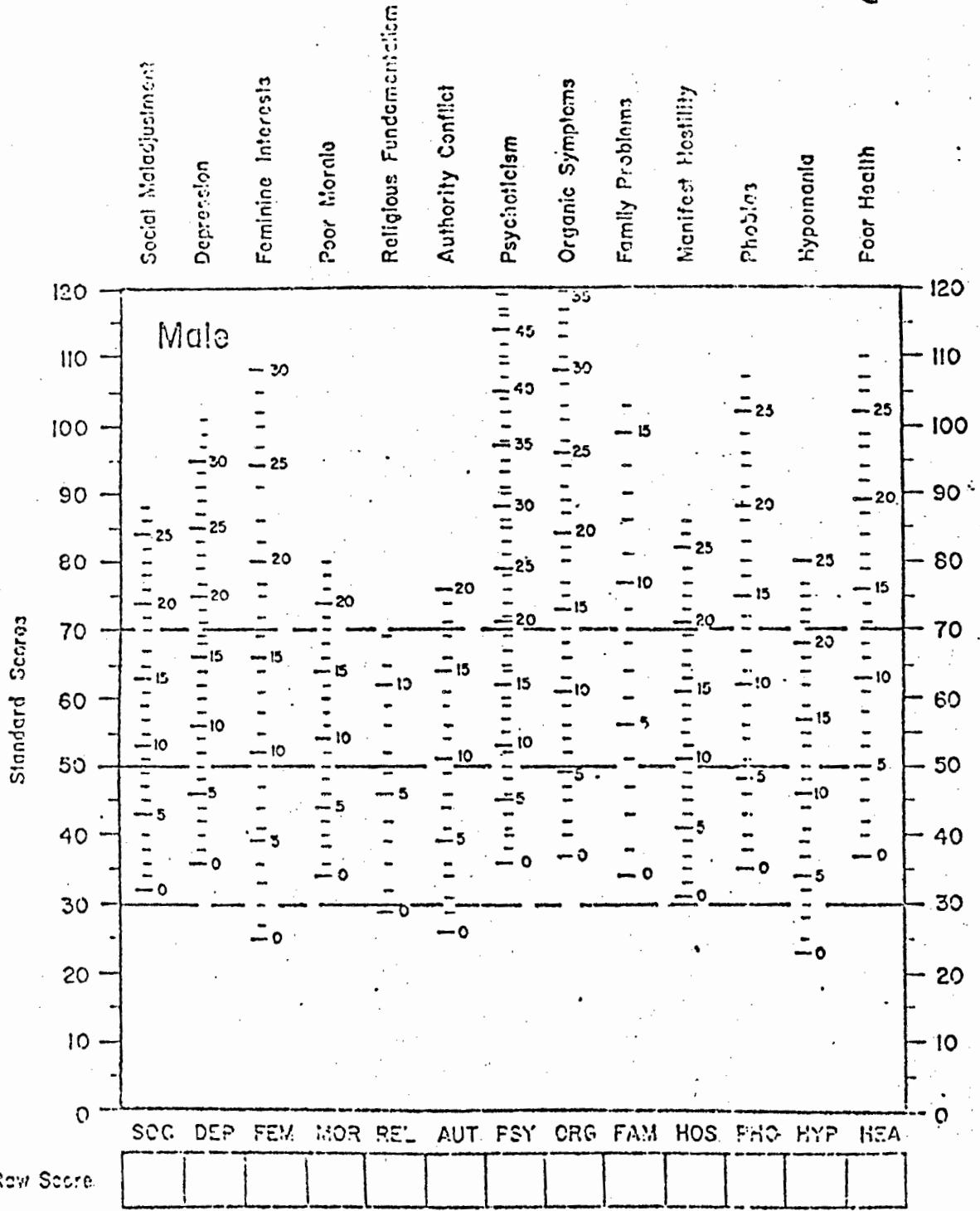
Degrees of freedom for all scales except REL and AUT: 2;84

Degrees of freedom for REL: 2;86.

Degrees of freedom for AUT: 2;89.



Male



Name \_\_\_\_\_  
 Age \_\_\_\_\_  
 Date Tested \_\_\_\_\_

Notes

Profile no. 4: MALE SOUTH AFRICAN  
 STUDENTS: MMPI CONTENT SCALES

AFRIKAANS-SPEAKING  
 COLOURED  
 ENGLISH-SPEAKING



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5. Scale by scale analysis of the groups content scale performances and the implications for personality.

It can be seen from the tables on the previous pages (pages 80 - 83) that unlike the clinicals, the content scales differentiate strongly between the groups. More significant differences are found for both sexes. One reason for the content scales better differentiating capacity for non-diagnostic categories is due to the greater homogeneity of scale items. This probably does not account for all the variance though, and here too more research into the content scales is needed before better understanding of their nature and capability is obtained. A strong trend has emerged on the content scales where the English students have usually scored lowest on the scales, the Afrikaner students being in the middle, and the Coloured students have elevated the profile to the greatest extent. The pattern is broken on both occasions by the Feminine Interest and Religious Fundamental scales. Feminine interest appears related to scale 5 (Mf) of the clinical sales. On the male content scales, the scale Family Problems also defied the trend. The pattern of the greatest differences being between English and Coloured students is maintained for the female clinical scales, but is broken by the English male clinical scale performance where they have the peak score on a number of scales. This can be seen together with the English male student score on the F scale suggesting a slightly deviant group from the others in relation to psychopathology (the clinical scales) but not apparently in relation to personality assessment (the content scales).

Social Maladjustment.

The first of the content scales is that of Social Maladjustment. The scale corresponds roughly with the concept of "introversion-extroversion" and is similar in principle to the Si (0) scale of the clinical set. Wiggins (1971) says the scale is associated too to degrees of dominance and submission. No significant difference is found amongst the females, who as a group, elevate the scale above the males. The two Coloured groups scored highest of all (female mean = 12,75; male mean = 12.66), the Afrikaner male least of all (mean = 8,56). This can be taken to indicate that the Afrikaner males are the most dominant group investigated here, with the South African female student population being less dominant, the Coloureds overall being most submissive. Scores such as those obtained by the Coloureds are associated with socially bashful, self-conscious reserved people.

Depression.

The Coloured students have coded the second content scale, Depression, above that of the white samples, with the male score particularly being elevated (mean = 13,88). Wiggins states that this is a scale of classical depression, implying that guilt, regret, worry, unhappiness, low self-esteem, anxiety, apprehension about the future characterise a high score on the scale. All the South African samples have scored above the mean of 6,5 out of 33 items by Fowler and Coyle's sample (1969),

but the Coloured means of 13,88 for males and 12,06 for females are highest of all.

#### Femininity.

The Femininity scale is the only scale amongst the males where there is no significant difference and it is the only scale among the females that differentiates only between the Afrikaners and the Coloureds (see tables 10 and 11). For the women the mean revolves around that of the Americans while the males have scored quite considerable above that of the American sample. The Coloured females score on the scale corresponds to their score on clinical scale (Mf) 5 where they were signalling a certain hardiness and willingness to take on a more leading masculine role. The men as a group, appear to be expressing an interest in cultural, academic affairs which is appropriate for a student sample. It should be noted that the English group do not stand out on this scale as much as they do on scale 5 (Mf). It appears that scale 5 does more than tap feminine interests and contributes further evidence to the notion that the high score of the English males there serves as a controlling function opposing the authority resentment and hostility they strongly expressed on scale 4 (Pd).

#### Poor Morale.

The following scale, Poor Morale, is another scale elevated strongly by the Coloured students. It indicates a group lacking in self-confidence, given to despair, who feels misunderstood by other people. The scale is related to the scales of Social Maladjustment and Depression, and it should be noted that the Afrikaans speaking female students have relatively elevated all these scales suggesting a certain lack of self-confidence, submissiveness and low self-esteem, at least in comparison to their male colleagues.

#### Religious Fundamentalism.

The Religious Fundamentalism scale is remarkable for the way it distinguishes between the three groups. Both Afrikaans samples have scored extraordinarily high on this scale (female mean = 10,11; male = 10,37). The Coloured students have also elevated the scale to quite an extent (female mean = 8,19; male mean = 8,32) while the English students have scored exceptionally low (female mean = 4,24; male mean = 3,43). One reason for the low English student score is undoubtedly the numbers of Jewish students who participated in the research. However, Wiggins (1969) claims that non-Christian religious subjects should nevertheless score high on the scale. It appears therefore that the low English score can also be accounted for by an element of non-conformism and rebelliousness that exists in the English students towards the traditional values of their group. This characteristic has turned up in other scales as well. The high score of the Afrikaner students particularly characterises them as a group. They are highly ethnocentric, strongly believing that their faith is the correct one. Their views are also highly conformistic with very few students opposing the beliefs. It suggests too, a belief

that if they have faith in God, then God believes too that their mission is correct. The Coloured is known to be a religious fundamentalist (Van der Ross, 1974), and the score obtained confirms this. As far as the Coloured students are concerned, this might suggest a desire to hope in the will of God that things will turn out for the best. A score such as that obtained by the Coloured students is also associated with a search for a father figure and a place for belonging. It does not seem that the Coloured score reflects an ethnocentric view of themselves, particularly in the light of other scale findings.

#### Authority Conflict.

Authority conflict is a poorly labelled scale. It refers more to a basic human mistrust than to a conflict with authority. A latter scale would measure more a tendency to ignore or rebel against authoritarian dictates and a refusal to live according to the expectations of others. This scale strongly differentiates the Coloureds (tables 10 and 11), who are seeing life as a jungle. They see others as unscrupulous, dishonest, hypocritical and believe one should get away with what one can. This trait corresponds strongly to the factorial findings of Baughman and Dahlstrom (1972) and Harrison and Kass (1967) who found that estrangement and distrust of society and cynicism strongly characterised their Negro samples.

#### Psychoticism.

The Psychoticism scale also strongly highlights the Coloured sample (tables 10 and 11). They have admitted to certain classical psychotic symptoms primarily of a paranoid nature, as well as to feelings of unreality, daydreaming and a sense that things are wrong. Here too they feel misunderstood by others. Their score on this scale indicates that the Coloured students as a group are struggling to keep in touch with the reality of their situation, find it unbearable and hard to respond to adequately. Because of the high coding of this scale by the Coloured students, it is easy to lose sight of the Afrikaans students' score. They too have elevated the scale to quite a considerable degree (female mean = 10,38; male mean = 10,37) and are also admitting to feelings of suspiciousness, doubts about the intentions of others and feelings of being misunderstood. It could be that characteristics are being expressed on this scale that were suppressed on the weaker, more heterogeneous clinical scales 6 (Pa) and 8 (Sc).

#### Organic Symptoms.

The Organic Symptom scale is not one that one would expect to find elevated amongst these student subjects, particularly in view of the low Hs (1) clinical scale score. However, the Coloured students have coded the scale high relative to the English sample (tables 10 and 11). This indicates that the students are complaining of headaches, poor concentration and memory, speaking and reading difficulties and other symptoms indicative of organic involvement.

Why this is the case is not known.

#### Family problems.

Family Problems are admitted to strongly by the Coloured females (mean = 6,16) and English males (mean = 6,36). Subject's parents are seen as being unnecessary critical, nervous and quick tempered. This finding can be related to other characteristics of these two groups. The Coloured females are breaking with tradition and customs in their search for enlightenment. Inevitably they come into conflict with their conservative depressed home background. The English males hostility to authority and rebellion to accepted social values has come up in previous scales and find further expression on this scale. The low scores of the other groups belies expected findings that the students as a group are in rebellion to home values and demands. It might be that the strong antagonism shown by the Coloured women and English men overshadows home conflicts the other groups have.

#### Manifest Hostility.

The Coloured students have coded Manifest Hostility (female mean = 12,25; male mean = 12,59) high, although the male difference is significant only at the 5% level. The Coloured score indicates they have sadistic impulses, are competitive, argumentative, unco-operative and aggressive in some way. The Afrikaans males have also scored moderately high on the scale. The dislike expressed by the Coloured for other people on this scale is relatively high but not too high enough to suggest they are free to openly express the hostility they feel. It is difficult to infer from this though whether their hostility is suppressed or in fact minimal.

#### Phobias.

The Afrikaans and Coloured females and the Coloured males have scored strongly on the next scale : Phobias (tables 10 and 11, pages 80 and 81). These subjects have admitted to a number of fears of the classical phobic variety: heights, darkness, open spaces. Scores on this scale might be a generalised indication of neuroticism referring mainly to feelings of insecurity and lack of confidence. The Afrikaans female score again indicates their relative weakness and dependency on their strong male colleagues.

#### Hypomania.

An interesting and unexpected finding is obtained on the next scale: Hypomania. No significant difference is found between the female groups (table 10), and on the male side the Coloureds have elevated the scale very significantly above that of the English students (table 11) even though on the corresponding clinical scale it was the latter who scored highest. The finding is not easily explained as the content Hypomania scale as described by Wiggins is similar to clinical scale 9 (Ma) and they share approximately 25% of common items.

### Poor Health.

On the final scale, Poor Health, both males and females of both the Afrikaner and Coloured groups have scored higher than their English speaking colleagues (see tables on pages 80 and 81). These groups are relatively more concerned about their health. Once again the frequency of such responses is difficult to explain in view of the findings on scale 1 (Hs) and more research into the nature of the content scales has to be done before any satisfactory explanations could be put forward.

Overall the content scales, besides differentiating more frequently and consistently between the groups, have on occasion provided information that either confirms, refines or even apparently contradicts findings on the clinical scales. The exact relation of the content to the clinical scales has not at this stage been adequately researched, so not all the results are explained. Further personality pointers will be forthcoming when the modal personalities and profile scale configurations are analysed.

The content scales have indicated that the Coloured students personality characteristics tend to indicate more severe personality disturbances than the whites. The Afrikaans speaking students, particularly the females, have elevated certain key scales, such as Psychoticism, Religious Fundamentalism and Phobias. The English students, especially the males are seen in a better light in the content scales although their rebelliousness and efforts at non-conformity are once again highlighted.

### 6. Personality descriptions for each group.

The personality description for each group is based on an integration of the findings of the various techniques outlined above. The implications of the overall profile level and of single clinical and content scale elevations and combined scale configurations are synthesised into one overall picture. The relation of the modal personality findings to the overall picture are also included. The descriptions are mine and relies on findings whose basis has been outlined and stated in the earlier analysis. In the main, the basis for the description originates from Drake and Oetting; Dahlstrom, Welsh and Dahlstrom; Marks, Seeman and Haller and Wiggins.

#### 6(i) The Afrikaans Students.

Of the three groups investigated in the study the Afrikaner students have come across of being most at home within the society, and they have the greatest freedom to express themselves as they wish. Their profile is the most stable of the three groups, having the least valleys and peaks, and having no obvious indicators of any inhibiting factor. The Afrikaner males are the dominant group here, the dominance reaching levels of belligerency. Below the platform

of social security there are signs of a more deep-seated insecurity. The Afrikaner students of both sexes have shown classical signs of paranoia, personal sensitivity, suspiciousness and a proneness to misinterpret the actions and intentions of others. In juxtaposition to this insecurity, the Afrikaans students have expressed an exceptionally high level of conformity in group belief, and this is found in their high Religious Fundamentalism score. The Afrikaner's extreme score on that scale is also related to their belief in divine sanction of, correctness of their cause. The males are also ambitious and idealistic and show an interest in academic, cultural and philosophical issues. This interest is coupled with a high degree of energy. The males as well are stubborn and are unwilling or unable to see their own limitations and liabilities. Thus we see in the Afrikaner males high group conformity, ethnocentrism, stubbornness, high energy levels and inability to see their limitations, a clear indication of an authoritarian, obsessional personality. The Afrikaans female students have presented personality types right across the personality spectrum, including outgoing, energetic, belligerent, socially extroverted personalities as well as those which are characterised by socially withdrawn, insecure and introverted behaviour. Although there are Afrikaans females with strong aggressive personalities, the overall Afrikaans female personality is that of a suppressed, relatively submissive, intolerant and phobic woman. There is evidence of a rebelliousness which is expressed at a low level, but this rebelliousness is not related to a desire to effect social change on a greater social plane, but rather refers to their home conflict and their desire to have a greater say in internal group affairs.

#### 6(ii). The Coloured Students.

Unlike their Afrikaans counterparts, the Coloured students are by no means at home within the society. Their high profile elevation and particularly the scales that were elevated, strongly reflect people whose position in society is uncertain and the coloureds' severity of social maladjustment is greater. The personality that is typical of a Coloured female is a person who is untrusting of others, who is introverted, socially insecure, and has difficulty in establishing close meaningful relationships. She tends to be unco-operative, yet is relatively dominated by others. Overall the Coloured female students are depressed, nervous, restless and confused. They also have home conflicts. The Coloured female student is breaking new ground. She is the first of her people who as a group, are breaking away from their customary role. She is leaving behind servitude and ignorance. This inevitably generates clashes at home. She is also uncertain as to where this new degree of enlightenment and awareness is leading. She becomes tense, confused, restless. Opposed to this though, there are signs that the Coloured women do have ability to take on this new leadership role. There are indications of a physical hardiness, a tough masculine ability to take on new responsibilities and the

Coloured female student's disturbance is less than that of her male colleague. Ultimately, the onus for leadership and change lies less on the shoulders of the female than it does on the male's, and indeed the Coloured male student is struggling. The personality modal to the Coloured male student is one of a person with feelings of inferiority and inadequacy, low self-esteem and a disorganisation of thought processes. Such people spend a good deal of their time in personal fantasy and daydreaming. They believe in external causation of events and hope in the external salvation to the extent of being ready to confide their problems in the hope of being able to be helped. The Coloured males are also often agitated, unco-operative, indecisive and negativistic. The overall characteristics of the Coloured male students reflects a person who is introverted, self-conscious and socially insecure. They are personally sensitive, feel very strongly that they are misunderstood and are very suspicious of others' intentions. They see life as a jungle. They believe others are unscrupulous, dishonest, hypocritical. They believe one should get away with what one can. This reflects the Coloureds' estrangement and distrust of society and a social cynicism. The Coloured males too lack skills with the opposite sex. They have sexual difficulty, academic problems and home conflicts. They are tense, unhappy, confused, worried and have vague goals. They have difficulty in showing outward aggression. Their aggression is turned inwards and is expressed in self-dissatisfaction, resentment and negativism. In brief, Coloured students suffer from a severe general emotional problem and the male students in particular satisfy all the characteristics of a marginal reaction.

6(iii). The White English speaking students personality characteristics.

The English speaking students are also struggling to find themselves a meaningful place within the society. While they witness the interplay between the dominant and submissive groups, they try to utilise their skills and resources to do something that is personally and socially relevant. This is a reactive posture taken in a difficult position. The group personality characteristics strongly reflect this difficult conflict situation. The WESSA male students resents authority and is hostile towards his parents. He is in overall rebellion against his society, and he even rebels against some western traditions. He is strongly expressing his non-conformity. He expresses this by a willingness to admit social faults and by a rejection of religion. He tempers and controls his aggressive tendency with a strong idealistic concern for moral issues. He is ambitious, energetic, but he has difficulty in effectively directing and sustaining his energy. He shows a mature sense of self-concern, even to the extent of being selfish. But not knowing what to do about his personal situation, he becomes confused and his goals are vague. The English female students as a group present a similar

picture to their male colleagues. They are also critically concerned with societal values and are rebelliously trying to demand their rights and respect as equal partners in the society. They have lots of energy available for their efforts, but similarly to the men they see their channels for expression blocked. This leads to confusion, the diffusion of clear goals, and is evidence pointing to ultimate lethargy and exhaustion. They probably see the situation as personally threatening and one way to keep their options open and to keep their wants under control is to show themselves simultaneously as dependent, helpless women cast in a classical female role. Students who cast themselves this way, and they are the modal WESSA female personality, are tense, high-strung and unhappy and show various signs of anxiety. They sometimes cry easily, they are impulsive, unpredictable, restless and vulnerable. They tend to be unco-operative and yet are easily dominated by others, possibly because of their need for affection. They are often afraid of emotional involvement. Overall it seems that the English students' personality characteristics reflect a group who are effectively, if not functionally, impotent. To be potent in such a situation they have to be prepared for self-sacrifice. There is no indication in the personality description that the students as a group are prepared for this.

DISCUSSION

This has been a study of group character investigated by means of the resources of the MMPI. The MMPI provides numerous methods of personality assessment and interpretation and has proved itself here as being quite a rich resource for enabling group personality description to be undertaken.

Two types of data analysis have been done: The statistical method has shown that the MMPI is valid and appropriate to be administered to suitable subjects in South Africa. The statistical method has also given us a fair comparison of the relative tendencies and the specific directions to psychopathology that exist among South African groups. Yet while the general picture provided by the statistical method has been important, it has not been overemphasised, for, considering the number of subjects involved and the number of scales studied, certain statistical results could have been arrived at purely by chance. It has proved fruitful to undertake a second type of data analysis, a psychodiagnostical type which has yielded personality descriptions and assessments for each group, sexes separate and combined, that have been very interesting. The results found have in the main confirmed the study's hypotheses and they confirm the use of such a kind of analysis. The modal personality arrived at, although based on small numbers of subjects, have presented on each occasion a personality that was richly related to the general group personality, and added to the fund of information obtained. The profile configuration and the complementary scalar analysis also provided useful results.

The specific personality descriptions arrived at for each group were on all occasions interesting. Each description strongly reflected the group's subjective and objective situation within the South African sociocultural spectrum. The tendency being to psychodiagnostical personality description, on the whole negative personality elements were stressed. That is not to say that the South African groups have no positive personality elements or strength. They clearly have, and the ambition, idealism, available energy and concern with moral issues to be found among the whites, and the physical hardiness found amongst the Coloured females are positive personality characteristics, but by and large the diagnosis method to a certain degree has a bias towards psychopathology. The bias does provide us ultimately with insight and understanding into the dynamics that are at play in the South African society, and helps indicate certain factors that need to be understood and dealt with.

The use of students as subjects has helped to isolate the conflicts and forces interplaying within South Africa in quite a stark way. Students, due to their intensity, idealism and sensitivity, highlight the pressures and forces that work on all members of these groups, but in most dramatic ways when there is no crisis. When there is a crisis, and every individual has to take stock of his situation, then factors that are clear to idealists and people susceptible and sensitive to social nuances becomes clear to the man in the street as well. The student personality characteristics obtained bring out clearly the skeletal or real situation for each group they represent. In other words, the personalities obtained are not necessarily found amongst other members of the same group, but rather reflect the group character at its most sensitive and intense spot.

The dynamic forces at play within the South African society are predominantly influenced by the dominant group, the Afrikaners, but perhaps due to their inability to see their limitations, their stubbornness, and their proneness to misinterpret the intentions of others, they have alienated the other groups from their side. The English speaking group clearly is in a difficult dilemma and the students' reaction to this situation is understandable, if not admirable. The Coloureds are in an unenviable situation. Although it was expected due to the findings on Negro subjects in the United States of America that the Coloured students would present personality norms different to that of the whites, the scale elevations and a tendency towards psychopathology cannot be explained away solely due to cultural background variants as was the case for the Negroes. It is clear from the study that the Coloureds are really suffering in their situation and their response to the situation is also a difficult one.

The personality descriptions have been arrived at due to an exercise of psychodiagnosis. Diagnosis usually implies treatment. What treatment is best prescribed to deal with personalities, and the clash of personalities, found in South Africa? Or should the treatment in fact be aimed at the socio-cultural environment? This is just one of the questions it is hoped the study generates. Much more replicating, refining, and extending research is needed to answer some of the issues the research findings raise.

It is hoped that this study has succeeded in its aim of facilitating the understanding of the influences of the kind of society that South Africa represents on the personality and social adjustment of the people who live in it. It is believed that the empirical knowledge obtained can give insight to the groups.

involved into their situation and into the dynamic forces and pressures that influence the other people who share the same societal space. This might help to alleviate the stigma and fear that stereotyping and ignorance generates between peoples, and could ultimately lead to practical measures that could benefit the situation.

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102.

APPENDIX : THE MMPI QUESTIONNAIRE AND ANSWER SHEET.

IDENTIFYING INFORMATION FOR QUESTIONNAIRE

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

AGE \_\_\_\_\_

SEX \_\_\_\_\_

FATHERS OCCUPATION IS/WAS \_\_\_\_\_

PREFERRED LANGUAGE: ENGLISH \_\_\_\_\_

AFRIKAANS \_\_\_\_\_

BILINGUAL \_\_\_\_\_

PLACE OF BIRTH \_\_\_\_\_

IF BORN OUTSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

HOW LONG HAVE YOU LIVED HERE \_\_\_\_\_

DID YOU HAVE PROBLEMS IN

UNDERSTANDING ANY QUESTIONS \_\_\_\_\_

1. I like mechanics magazines.
2. I have a good appetite.
3. I wake up fresh and rested most mornings.
4. I think I would like the work of a librarian.
5. I am easily awakened by noise.
6. I like to read newspaper articles on crime.
7. My hands and feet are usually warm enough.
8. My daily life is full of things that keep me interested.
9. I am about as able to work as I ever was.
10. There seems to be a lump in my throat much of the time.
11. A person should try to understand his dreams and be guided by  
or take warning from them.
12. I enjoy detective or mystery stories.
13. I work under a great deal of tension.
14. I have diarrhoea once a month or more.
15. Once in a while I think of things too bad to talk about.
16. I am sure I get a raw deal from life.
17. My father was a good man.
18. I am very seldom troubled by constipation.
19. When I take a new job, I like to be tipped off on who should be  
gotten next to.
20. My sex life is satisfactory.
21. At times I have very much wanted to leave home.
22. At times I have fits of laughing and crying that I cannot control.
23. I am troubled by attacks of nausea and vomiting.
24. No one seems to understand me.

25. I would like to be a singer.
26. I feel that it is certainly best to keep my mouth shut when I am in trouble.
27. Evil spirits possess me at times.
28. When someone does me a wrong I feel I should pay him back if I can, just for the principle of the thing.
29. I am bothered by acid stomach several times a week.
30. At times I feel like swearing.
31. I have nightmares every few nights.
32. I find it hard to keep my mind on a task or job.
33. I have had very peculiar and strange experiences.
34. I have a cough most of the time.
35. If people had not had it in for me I would have been much more successful.
36. I seldom worry about my health.
37. I have never been in trouble because of my sex behaviour.
38. During one period when I was a youngster I engaged in petty thievery.
39. At times I feel like smashing things.
40. Most any time I would rather sit and daydream than to do anything else.
41. I have had periods of days, weeks, or months when I couldn't take care of things because I couldn't "get going".
42. My family does not like the work I have chosen (or the work I intend to choose for my life work).
43. My sleep is fitful and disturbed.
44. Much of the time my head seems to hurt all over.
45. I do not always tell the truth.
46. My judgment is better than it ever was.
47. Once a week or oftener I feel suddenly hot all over without apparent cause.
48. When I am with people I am bothered by hearing very queer things.

49. It would be better if almost all laws were thrown away.
50. My soul sometimes leaves my body.
51. I am in just as good physical health as most of my friends.
52. I prefer to pass by school friends, or people I know but have not seen for a long time, unless they speak to me first.
53. A minister can cure disease by praying and putting his hand on your head.
54. I am liked by most people who know me.
55. I am almost never bothered by pains over the heart or in my chest,
56. As a youngster I was suspended from school one or more times for cutting up.
57. I am a good mixer.
58. Everything is turning out just like the prophets of the Bible said it would.
59. I have often had to take orders from someone who did not know as much as I did.
60. I do not read every editorial in the newspaper every day.
61. I have not lived the right kind of life.
62. Parts of my body often have feelings like burning, tingling, crawling, or like "going to sleep".
63. I have had no difficulty in starting or holding my bowel movement.
64. I sometimes keep on at a thing until others lose their patience with me.
65. I loved my father.
66. I see things or animals or people around me that others do not see.
67. I wish I could be as happy as others seem to be.
68. I hardly ever feel pain in the back of my neck.
69. I am very strongly attracted by members of my own sex.
70. I used to like drop-the-handkerchief.
71. I think a great many people exaggerate their misfortunes in order to gain the sympathy and help of others.
72. I am troubled by discomfort in the pit of my stomach every few days or oftener.

73. I am an important person.
74. I have often wished I were a girl. (Or if you are a girl)  
I have never been sorry that I am a girl.
75. I get angry sometimes.
76. Most of the time I feel blue.
77. I enjoy reading love stories.
78. I like poetry.
79. My feelings are not easily hurt.
80. I sometimes tease animals.
81. I think I would like the kind of work a forest ranger does.
82. I am easily downed in an argument.
83. Any man who is able and willing to work hard has a good chance of succeeding.
84. These days I find it hard not to give up hope of amounting to something.
85. Sometimes I am strongly attracted by the personal articles of others such as shoes, gloves, etc., so that I want to handle or steal them though I have no use for them.
86. I am certainly lacking in self-confidence.
87. I would like to be a florist.
88. I usually feel that life is worth while.
89. It takes a lot of argument to convince most people of the truth.
90. Once in a while I put off until tomorrow what I ought to do today.
91. I do not mind being made fun of.
92. I would like to be a nurse.
93. I think most people would lie to get ahead.
94. I do many things which I regret afterwards (I regret things more often than others seem to).
95. I go to church almost every week.
96. I have very few quarrels with members of my family.

97. At times I have a strong urge to do something harmful or shocking.
98. I believe in the second coming of Christ.
99. I like to go to parties and other affairs where there is lots of loud fun.
100. I have met problems so full of possibilities that I have been unable to make up my mind about them.
101. I believe women ought to have as much sexual freedom as men.
102. My hardest battles are with myself.
103. I have little or no trouble with my muscles twitching or jumping.
104. I don't seem to care what happens to me.
105. Sometimes when I am not feeling well I am cross.
106. Much of the time I feel as if I have done something wrong or evil.
107. I am happy most of the time.
108. There seems to be a fullness in my head or nose most of the time.
109. Some people are so bossy that I feel like doing the opposite of what they request, even though I know they are right.
110. Someone has it in for me.
111. I have never done anything dangerous for the thrill of it.
112. I frequently find it necessary to stand up for what I think is right.
113. I believe in law enforcement.
114. Often I feel as if there were a tight band about my head.
115. I believe in a life hereafter.
116. I enjoy a race or game better when I bet on it.
117. Most people are honest chiefly through fear of being caught.
118. In school I was sometimes sent to the principal for cutting up.
119. My speech is the same as always (not faster or slower, or slurring; no hoarseness).
120. My table manners are not quite as good at home as when I am out in company.

121. I believe I am being plotted against.
122. I seem to be about as capable and smart as most others around me.
123. I believe I am being followed.
124. Most people will use somewhat unfair means to gain profit or an advantage rather than to lose it.
125. I have a great deal of stomach trouble.
126. I like dramatics.
127. I know who is responsible for most of my troubles.
128. The sight of blood neither frightens me nor makes me sick.
129. Often I can't understand why I have been so cross and grouchy.
130. I have never vomited blood or coughed up blood.
131. I do not worry about catching diseases.
132. I like collecting flowers or growing house plants.
133. I have never indulged in any unusual sex practices.
134. At times my thoughts have raced ahead faster than I could speak them.
135. If I could get into a movie without paying and be sure I was not seen I would probably do it.
136. I commonly wonder what hidden reason another person may have for doing something nice for me.
137. I believe that my home life is as pleasant as that of most people I know.
138. Criticism or scolding hurts me terribly.
139. Sometimes I feel as if I must injure either myself or someone else.
140. I like to cook.
141. My conduct is largely controlled by the customs of those about me.
142. I certainly feel useless at times.
143. When I was a child, I belonged to a crowd or gang that tried to stick together through thick and thin,
144. I would like to be a soldier.

145. At times I feel like picking a fist fight with someone.
146. I have the wanderlust and am never happy unless I am roaming or travelling about.
147. I have often lost out on things because I couldn't make up my mind soon enough.
148. It makes me impatient to have people ask my advice or otherwise interrupt me when I am working on something important.
149. I used to keep a diary.
150. I would rather win than lose in a game.
151. Someone has been trying to poison me.
152. Most nights I go to sleep without thoughts or ideas bothering me.
153. During the last few years I have been well most of the time.
154. I have never had a fit or convulsion.
155. I am neither gaining nor losing weight.
156. I have had periods in which I carried on activities without knowing later what I had been doing.
157. I feel that I have often been punished without cause.
158. I cry easily.
159. I cannot understand what I read as well as I used to.
160. I have never felt better in my life than I do now.
161. The top of my head sometimes feels tender.
162. I resent having anyone take me in so cleverly that I have had to admit that it was one on me.
163. I do not tire quickly.
164. I like to study and read about things that I am working at.
165. I like to know some important people because it makes me feel important.
166. I am afraid when I look down from a high place.
167. It wouldn't make me nervous if any members of my family got into trouble with the law.
168. There is something wrong with my mind.

169. I am not afraid to handle money.
170. What others think of me does not bother me.
171. It makes me uncomfortable to put on a stunt at a party even when others are doing the same sort of things.
172. I frequently have to fight against showing that I am bashful.
173. I liked school.
174. I have never had a fainting spell.
175. I seldom or never have dizzy spells.
176. I do not have a great fear of snakes.
177. My mother was a good woman.
178. My memory seems to be all right.
179. I am worried about sex matters.
180. I find it hard to talk when I meet new people.
181. When I get bored I like to stir up some excitement.
182. I am afraid of losing my mind.
183. I am against giving money to beggars.
184. I commonly hear voices without knowing where they come from.
185. My hearing is apparently as good as that of most people.
186. I frequently notice my hand shakes when I try to do something.
187. My hands have not become clumsy or awkward.
188. I can read a long while without tiring my eyes.
189. I feel weak all over much of the time.
190. I have very few headaches.
191. Sometimes, when embarrassed, I break out in a sweat which annoys me greatly.
192. I have had no difficulty in keeping my balance in walking.

193. I do not have spells of hay fever or asthma.
194. I have had attacks in which I could not control my movements or speech but in which I knew what was going on around me.
195. I do not like everyone I know.
196. I like to visit places where I have never been before.
197. Someone has been trying to rob me.
198. I daydream very little.
199. Children should be taught all the main facts of sex.
200. There are persons who are trying to steal my thoughts and ideas.
201. I wish I were not so shy.
202. I believe I am a condemned person.
203. If I were a reporter I would very much like to report news of the theatre.
204. I would like to be a journalist.
205. At times it has been impossible for me to keep from stealing or shoplifting something.
206. I am very religious (more than most people).
207. I enjoy many different kinds of play and recreation.
208. I like to flirt.
209. I believe my sins are unpardonable.
210. Everything tastes the same.
211. I can sleep during the day but not at night.
212. My people treat me more like a child than a grown-up.
213. In walking I am very careful to step over sidewalk cracks.
214. I have never had any breaking out on my skin that has worried me.
215. I have never used alcohol excessively.
216. There is very little love and companionship in my family as compared to other homes.

217. I frequently find myself worrying about something.
218. It does not bother me particularly to see animals suffer.
219. I think I would like the work of a building contractor.
220. I loved my mother.
221. I like science.
222. It is not hard for me to ask help from my friends even though I cannot return the favour.
223. I very much like hunting.
224. My parents have often objected to the kind of people I went around with.
225. I gossip a little at times.
226. Some of my family have habits that bother and annoy me very much.
227. I have been told that I walk during sleep.
228. At times I feel that I can make up my mind with unusually great ease.
229. I should like to belong to several clubs or lodges.
230. I hardly ever notice my heart pounding and I am seldom short of breath.
231. I like to talk about sex.
232. I have been inspired to a programme of life based on duty which I have since carefully followed.
233. I have at times stood in the way of people who were trying to do something, not because it amounted to much but because of the principle of the thing.
234. I get mad easily and then get over it soon.
235. I have been quite independent and free from family rule.
236. I brood a great deal.
237. My relatives are nearly all in sympathy with me.
238. I have periods of such great restlessness that I cannot sit long in a chair.
239. I have been disappointed in love.
240. I never worry about my looks.

241. I dream frequently about things that are best kept to myself.
242. I believe I am no more nervous than most others.
243. I have few or no pains.
244. My way of doing things is apt to be misunderstood by others.
245. My parents and family find more fault with me than they should.
246. My neck spots with red often.
247. I have reason for feeling jealous of one or more members of my family.
248. Sometimes without any reason or even when things are going wrong I feel excitedly happy, "on top of the world".
249. I believe there is a Devil and a Hell in afterlife.
250. I don't blame anyone for trying to grab everything he can get in this world.
251. I have had blank spells in which my activities were interrupted and I did not know what was going on around me.
252. No one cares much what happens to you.
253. I can be friendly with people who do things which I consider wrong.
254. I like to be with a crowd who play jokes on one another.
255. Sometimes at elections I vote for men about whom I know very little.
256. The only interesting part of the newspapers is the "funnies".
257. I usually expect to succeed in things I do.
258. I believe there is a God.
259. I have difficulty in starting to do things.
260. I was a slow learner in school.
261. If I were an artist I would like to draw flowers.
262. It does not bother me that I am not better looking.
263. I sweat very easily even on cool days.
264. I am entirely self-confident.

265. It is safer to trust nobody.
266. Once a week or oftener I become very excited.
267. When in a group of people I have trouble thinking of the right things to talk about.
268. Something exciting will almost always pull me out of it when I am feeling low.
269. I can easily make other people afraid of me, and sometimes do for the fun of it.
270. When I leave home I do not worry about whether the door is locked and the windows closed.
271. I do not blame a person for taking advantage of someone who lays himself open to it.
272. At times I am all full of energy.
273. I have numbness in one or more regions of my skin.
274. My eyesight is as good as it has been for years.
275. Someone has control over my mind.
276. I enjoy children.
277. At times I have been so entertained by the cleverness of a crook that I have hoped he would get by with it.
278. I have often felt that strangers were looking at me critically.
279. I drink an unusually large amount of water every day.
280. Most people make friends because friends are likely to be useful to them.
281. I do not often notice my ears ringing or buzzing.
282. Once in a while I feel hate toward members of my family whom I usually love.
283. If I were a reporter I would very much like to report sporting news.
284. I am sure I am being talked about.
285. Once in a while I laugh at a dirty joke.
286. I am never happier than when alone.
287. I have very few fears compared to my friends.
288. I am troubled by attacks of nausea and vomiting.

289. I am always disgusted with the law when a criminal is freed through the arguments of a smart lawyer.
290. I work under a great deal of tension.
291. At one or more times in my life I felt that someone was making me do things by hypnotizing me.
292. I am likely not to speak to people until they speak to me.
293. Someone has been trying to influence my mind.
294. I have never been in trouble with the law.
295. I liked "Alice in Wonderland" by Lewis Carroll.
296. I have periods in which I feel unusually cheerful without any special reason.
297. I wish I were not bothered by thought about sex.
298. If several people find themselves in trouble, the best thing for them to do is to agree upon a story and stick to it.
299. I think that I feel more intensely than most people do.
300. There was never a time in my life when I liked to play with dolls.
301. Life is a strain for me much of the time.
302. I have never been in trouble because of my sex behaviour.
303. I am so touchy on some subjects that I can't talk about them.
304. In school I found it very hard to talk before the class.
305. Even when I am with people I feel lonely much of the time.
306. I get all the sympathy I should.
307. I refuse to play some games because I am not good at them.
308. At times I have very much wanted to leave home.
309. I seem to make friends about as quickly as others do.
310. My sex life is satisfactory.
311. During one period when I was a youngster I engaged in petty thievery.
312. I dislike having people about me.

313. The man who provides temptation by leaving valuable property unprotected is about as much to blame for its theft as the one who steals it.
314. Once in a while I think of things too bad to talk about.
315. I am sure I get a raw deal from life.
316. I think nearly anyone would tell a lie to keep out of trouble.
317. I am more sensitive than most other people.
318. My daily life is full of things that keep me interested.
319. Most people inwardly dislike putting themselves out to help other people.
320. Many of my dreams are about sex matters.
321. I am easily embarrassed.
322. I worry over money and business.
323. I have had very peculiar and strange experiences.
324. I have never been in love with anyone.
325. The things that some of my family have done have frightened me.
326. At times I have fits of laughing and crying that I cannot control.
327. My mother or father often made me obey even when I thought that it was unreasonable.
328. I find it hard to keep my mind on a task or job.
329. I almost never dream.
330. I have never been paralysed or had any unusual weakness of any of my muscles.
331. If people had not had it in for me I would have been much more successful.
332. Sometimes my voice leaves me or changes even though I have no cold.
333. No one seems to understand me.
334. Peculiar odours come to me at times.
335. I cannot keep my mind on one thing.
336. I easily become impatient with people.

337. I feel anxiety about something or someone almost all the time.
338. I have certainly had more than my share of things to worry about.
339. Most of the time I wish I were dead.
340. Sometimes I become so excited that I find it hard to get to sleep.
341. At times I hear so well it bothers me.
342. I usually forget right away what people say to me.
343. I usually have to stop and think before I act even in trifling matters.
344. Often I cross the street in order not to meet someone I see.
345. I often feel as if things were not real.
346. I have a habit of counting things that are not important such as bulbs on electric signs, and so forth.
347. I have no enemies who really wish to harm me.
348. I tend to be on my guard with people who are somewhat more friendly than I had expected.
349. I have strange and peculiar thoughts.
350. I hear strange things when I am alone.
351. I get anxious and upset when I have to make a short trip away from home.
352. I have been afraid of things or people that I knew could not hurt me.
353. I have no dread of going into a room by myself where other people have already gathered and are talking.
354. I am afraid of using a knife or anything very sharp or pointed.
355. Sometimes I enjoy hurting persons I love.
356. I have more trouble concentrating than others seem to have.
357. I have several times given up doing a thing because I thought too little of my ability.
358. Bad words, often terrible words, come into my mind and I cannot get rid of them.
359. Sometimes some unimportant thought will run through my mind and bother me for days.
360. Almost every day something happens to frighten me.

361. I am inclined to take things hard.
362. I am more sensitive than most other people.
363. At times I have enjoyed being hurt by someone I loved.
364. People say insulting and vulgar things about me.
365. I feel uneasy indoors.
366. Even when I am with people I feel lonely much of the time.
367. I am not afraid of fire.
368. I have sometimes stayed away from another person because I feared doing or saying something that I might regret afterwards.
369. Religion gives me no worry.
370. I hate to have to rush when working.
371. I am not unusually self-conscious.
372. I tend to be interested in several different hobbies rather than to stick to one of them for a long time.
373. I feel sure that there is only one true religion.
374. At periods my mind seems to work more slowly than usual.
375. When I am feeling very happy and active, someone who is blue or low will spoil it all.
376. Policemen are usually honest.
377. At parties I am more likely to sit by myself or with just one other person than to join in with the crowd.
378. I do not like to see women smoke.
379. I very seldom have spells of the blues.
380. When someone says silly or ignorant things about something I know about, I try to set him right.
381. I am often said to be hotheaded.
382. I wish I could get over worrying about things I have said that may have injured other people's feelings.
383. People often disappoint me.
384. I feel unable to tell anyone all about myself.

385. Lightning is one of my fears.
386. I like to keep people guessing what I'm going to do next.
387. The only miracles I know of are simply tricks that people play on one another.
388. I am afraid to be alone in the dark.
389. My plans have frequently seemed so full of difficulties that I have had to give them up.
390. I have often felt badly over being misunderstood when trying to keep someone from making a mistake.
391. I love to go to dances.
392. A windstorm terrifies me.
393. Horses that don't pull should be beaten or kicked.
394. I frequently ask people for advice.
395. The future is too uncertain for a person to make serious plans.
396. Often, even though everything is going fine for me, I feel that I don't care about anything.
397. I have sometimes felt that difficulties were piling up so high that I could not overcome them.
398. I often think "I wish I were a child again".
399. I am not easily angered.
400. If given the chance I could do some things that would be of great benefit to the world.
401. I have no fear of water.
402. I often must sleep over a matter before I decide what to do.
403. It is great to be living in these times when so much is going on.
404. People have often misunderstood my intentions when I was trying to put them right and be helpful.
405. I have no trouble swallowing.
406. I have often met people who were supposed to be experts who were no better than I.
407. I am usually calm and not easily upset.
408. I am apt to hide my feelings in some things, to the point that people may hurt me without their knowing about it.

409. At times I have worn myself out by undertaking too much.
410. I would certainly enjoy beating a crook at his own game.
411. It makes me feel like a failure when I hear of the success of someone I know well.
412. I do not dread seeing a doctor about a sickness or injury.
413. I deserve severe punishment for my sins.
414. I am apt to take disappointments so keenly that I can't put them out of my mind.
415. If given the chance I would make a good leader of people.
416. It bothers me to have someone watch me at work even though I know I can do it well.
417. I am often annoyed when someone tries to get ahead of me in a line of people that I speak to him about it.
418. At times I think I am no good at all.
419. I played hooky from school quite often as a youngster.
420. I have had some very unusual religious experiences.
421. One or more members of my family is very nervous.
422. I have felt embarrassed over the type of work that one or more members of my family have done.
423. I like or have liked fishing very much.
424. I feel hungry almost all the time.
425. I dream frequently.
426. I have at times had to be rough with people who were rude or annoying.
427. I am embarrassed by dirty stories.
428. I like to read newspaper editorials.
429. I like to attend lectures on serious subjects.
430. I am attracted by members of the opposite sex.
431. I worry quite a bit over possible misfortunes.
432. I have strong political opinions.

433. I used to have imaginary companions.
434. I would like to be an auto racer.
435. Usually I would prefer to work with women.
436. People generally demand more respect for their own rights than they are willing to allow for others.
437. It is all right to get around the law if you don't actually break it.
438. There are certain people whom I dislike so much that I am inwardly pleased when they are catching it for something they have done.
439. It makes me nervous to have to wait.
440. I try to remember good stories to pass them on to other people.
441. I like tall women.
442. I have had periods in which I lost sleep over worry.
443. I am apt to pass up something I want to do because others feel that I am not going about it in the right way.
444. I do not try to correct people who express an ignorant belief.
445. I was fond of excitement when I was young (or in childhood).
446. I enjoy gambling for small stakes.
447. I am often inclined to go out of my way to win a point with someone who has opposed me.
448. I am bothered by people outside, on streetcars, in stores, etc. watching me.
449. I enjoy social gatherings just to be with people.
450. I enjoy the excitement of a crowd.
451. My worries seem to disappear when I get into a crowd of lively friends.
452. I like to poke fun at people.
453. When I was a child I didn't care to be a member of a crowd or gang.
454. I could be happy living all alone in a cabin in the woods or mountains.
455. I am quite often not in on the gossip and talk of the group I belong to.
456. A person shouldn't be punished for breaking a law that he thinks is unreasonable.

457. I believe that a person should never taste an alcoholic drink.
458. The man who had most to do with me when I was a child (such as my father, stepfather, etc.) was very strict with me.
459. I have one or more bad habits which are so strong that it is no use in fighting against them.
460. I have used alcohol moderately (or not at all).
461. I find it hard to set aside a task that I have undertaken, even for a short time.
462. I have had no difficulty starting or holding my urine.
463. I used to like hopscotch.
464. I have never seen a vision.
465. I have several times had a change of heart about my life work.
466. Except by a doctor's orders I never take drugs or sleeping powders.
467. I often memorize numbers that are not important (such as automobile licences, etc).
468. I am often sorry because I am so cross and grouchy.
469. I have often found people jealous of my good ideas, just because they had not thought of them first.
470. Sexual things disgust me.
471. In school my marks in deportment were quite regularly bad.
472. I am fascinated by fire.
473. Whenever possible I avoid being in a crowd.
474. I have to urinate no more often than others.
475. When I am cornered I tell that portion of the truth which is not likely to hurt me.
476. I am a special agent of God.
477. If I were in trouble with several friends who were equally to blame, I would rather take the whole blame than to give them away.
478. I have never been made especially nervous over trouble that any members of my family have gotten into.
479. I do not mind meeting strangers.
480. I am often afraid of the dark.

481. I can remember "playing sick" to get out of something.
482. While in trains, buses, etc., I often talk to strangers.
483. Christ performed miracles such as changing water into wine.
484. I have one or more faults which are so big that it seems better to accept them and try to control them rather than to try to get rid of them.
485. When a man is with a woman he is usually thinking about things related to her sex.
486. I have never noticed any blood in my urine.
487. I feel like giving up quickly when things go wrong.
488. I pray several times every week.
489. I feel sympathetic towards people who tend to hang on to their griefs and troubles.
490. I read in the Bible several times a week.
491. I have no patience with people who believe there is only one true religion.
492. I dread the thought of an earthquake.
493. I prefer work which requires close attention, to work which allows me to be careless.
494. I am afraid of finding myself in a closet or small closed place.
495. I usually "lay my cards on the table" with people that I am trying to correct or improve.
496. I have never seen things doubled (that is, an object never looks like two objects to me without my being able to make it look like one object).
497. I enjoy stories of adventure.
498. It is always a good thing to be frank.
499. I must admit that I have at times been worried beyond reason over something that really did not matter.
500. I readily become one hundred per cent sold on a good idea.
501. I usually work things out for myself rather than get someone to show me how.
502. I like to let people know where I stand on things.
503. It is unusual for me to express strong approval or disapproval for the actions of others.
504. I do not try to cover up my poor opinion or pity of a person so that he won't know how I feel.
505. I have had periods when I felt so full of pep that sleep did not seem necessary for days at a time.
506. I am a high-strung person.

507. I have frequently worked under people who seem to have things arranged so that they get credit for good work but are able to pass off mistakes onto those under them.
508. I believe my sense of smell is as good as other people's.
509. I sometimes find it hard to stick up for my rights because I am so reserved.
510. Dirt frightens or disgusts me.
511. I have a daydream life about which I do not tell other people.
512. I dislike to take a bath.
513. I think Lincoln was greater than Washington.
514. I like mannish women.
515. In my home we have always had the ordinary necessities (such as enough food, clothing, etc.).
516. Some of my family have quick tempers.
517. I cannot do anything well.
518. I have often felt guilty because I have pretended to feel more sorry about something than I really was.
519. There is something wrong with my sex organs.
520. I strongly defend my own opinions as a rule.
521. In a group of people I would not be embarrassed to be called upon to start a discussion or give an opinion about something I know well.
522. I have no fear of spiders.
523. I practically never blush.
524. I am not afraid of picking up a disease or germs from door knobs.
525. I am made nervous by certain animals.
526. The future seems hopeless to me.
527. The members of my family and my close relatives get along quite well.
528. I blush no more often than others.
529. I would like to wear expensive clothes.
530. I am often afraid that I am going to blush.
531. People can pretty easily change me even though I thought that my mind was already made up on a subject.
532. I can stand as much pain as others can.
533. I am not bothered by a great deal of belching of gas from my stomach.
534. Several times I have been the last to give up trying to do a thing.
535. My mouth feels dry almost all the time.
536. It makes me angry to have people hurry me.

537. I would like to hunt lions in Africa.
538. I think I would like the work of a dressmaker.
539. I am not afraid of mice.
540. My face has never been paralyzed.
541. My skin seems to be unusually sensitive to touch.
542. I have never had any black, tarry-looking bowel movements.
543. Several times a week I feel as if something dreadful is about to happen.
544. I feel tired a good deal of the time.
545. Sometimes I have the same dream over and over.
546. I like to read about history.
547. I like parties and socials.
548. I never attend a sexy show if I can avoid it.
549. I shrink from facing a crisis or difficulty.
550. I like repairing a door latch.
551. Sometimes I am sure that other people can tell what I am thinking.
552. I like to read about science.
553. I am afraid of being alone in a wide-open place.
554. If I were an artist I would like to draw children.
555. I sometimes feel that I am about to go to pieces.
556. I am very careful about my manner of dress.
557. I would like to be a private secretary.
558. A large number of people are guilty of bad sexual conduct.
559. I have often been frightened in the middle of the night.
560. I am greatly bothered by forgetting where I put things.
561. I very much like horseback riding.
562. The one to whom I was most attached and whom I most admired as a child was a woman. (Mother, sister, aunt, or other woman).
563. I like adventure stories better than romantic stories.
564. I am apt to pass up something I want to do when others feel that it isn't worth doing.
565. I feel like jumping off when I am on a high place.
566. I like movie love scenes.

301	T	F	331	T	F	361	T	F	391	T	F	421	T	F	451	T	F	481	T	F	511	T	F	541	T	F
302			332			362			392			422			452			482			512			542		
303			333			363			393			423			453			483			513			543		
304			334			364			394			424			454			484			514			544		
305			335			365			395			425			455			485			515			545		
306	T	F	336	T	F	366	T	F	396	T	F	426	T	F	456	T	F	486	T	F	516	T	F	546	T	F
307			337			367			397			427			457			487			517			547		
308			338			368			398			428			458			488			518			548		
309			339			369			399			429			459			489			519			549		
310			340			370			400			430			460			490			520			550		
311	T	F	341	T	F	371	T	F	401	T	F	431	T	F	461	T	F	491	T	F	521	T	F	551	T	F
312			342			372			402			432			462			492			522			552		
313			343			373			403			433			463			493			523			553		
314			344			374			404			434			464			494			524			554		
315			345			375			405			435			465			495			525			555		
BE SURE YOUR MARKS ARE HEAVY AND BLACK. ERASE COMPLETELY ANY ANSWER YOU WISH TO CHANGE.																										
316	T	F	346	T	F	376	T	F	406	T	F	436	T	F	466	T	F	496	T	F	526	T	F	556	T	F
317			347			377			407			437			467			497			527			557		
318			348			378			408			438			468			498			528			558		
319			349			379			409			439			469			499			529			559		
320			350			380			410			440			470			500			530			560		
321	T	F	351	T	F	381	T	F	411	T	F	441	T	F	471	T	F	501	T	F	531	T	F	561	T	F
322			352			382			412			442			472			502			532			562		
323			353			383			413			443			473			503			533			563		
324			354			384			414			444			474			504			534			564		
325			355			385			415			445			475			505			535			565		
326	T	F	356	T	F	386	T	F	416	T	F	446	T	F	476	T	F	506	T	F	536	T	F	566	T	F
327			357			387			417			447			477			507			537					
328			358			388			418			448			478			508			538					
329			359			389			419			449			479			509			539					
330			360			390			420			450			480			510			540					

SCORES  
 Part P<sub>1</sub> = \_\_\_\_\_  
 Part K = \_\_\_\_\_  
 Part P<sub>2</sub> = \_\_\_\_\_  
 Part S<sub>1</sub> = \_\_\_\_\_  
 Part S<sub>2</sub> = \_\_\_\_\_

Hathaway and McKinley

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K + = S<sub>1</sub> + =  
 F = H<sub>1</sub> = P<sub>1</sub> + =  
 H<sub>2</sub> = P<sub>2</sub> + = ? =  
 D<sub>3</sub> = M<sub>3</sub> = L =  
 NAME \_\_\_\_\_ AGE \_\_\_\_\_ SEX \_\_\_\_\_  
LAST FIRST M OR F  
 DATE OF BIRTH \_\_\_\_\_  
 DATE OF TESTING \_\_\_\_\_

SCORES

1	T	F	31	T	F	61	T	F	91	T	F	121	T	F	151	T	F	181	T	F	211	T	F	241	T	F	271	T	F
2			32			62			92			122			152			182			212			242			272		
3			33			63			93			123			153			183			213			243			273		
4			34			64			94			124			154			184			214			244			274		
5			35			65			95			125			155			185			215			245			275		
6	T	F	36	T	F	66	T	F	96	T	F	126	T	F	156	T	F	186	T	F	216	T	F	246	T	F	276	T	F
7			37			67			97			127			157			187			217			247			277		
8			38			68			98			128			158			188			218			248			278		
9			39			69			99			129			159			189			219			249			279		
10			40			70			100			130			160			190			220			250			280		
11	T	F	41	T	F	71	T	F	101	T	F	131	T	F	161	T	F	191	T	F	221	T	F	251	T	F	281	T	F
12			42			72			102			132			162			192			222			252			282		
13			43			73			103			133			163			193			223			253			283		
14			44			74			104			134			164			194			224			254			284		
15			45			75			105			135			165			195			225			255			285		
BE SURE YOUR MARKS ARE HEAVY AND BLACK. ERASE COMPLETELY ANY ANSWER YOU WISH TO CHANGE.																													
16	T	F	46	T	F	76	T	F	106	T	F	136	T	F	166	T	F	196	T	F	226	T	F	256	T	F	286	T	F
17			47			77			107			137			167			197			227			257			287		
18			48			78			108			138			168			198			228			258			288		
19			49			79			109			139			169			199			229			259			289		
20			50			80			110			140			170			200			230			260			290		
21	T	F	51	T	F	81	T	F	111	T	F	141	T	F	171	T	F	201	T	F	231	T	F	261	T	F	291	T	F
22			52			82			112			142			172			202			232			262			292		
23			53			83			113			143			173			203			233			263			293		
24			54			84			114			144			174			204			234			264			294		
25			55			85			115			145			175			205			235			265			295		
26	T	F	56	T	F	86	T	F	116	T	F	146	T	F	176	T	F	206	T	F	236	T	F	266	T	F	296	T	F
27			57			87			117			147			177			207			237			267			297		
28			58			88			118			148			178			208			238			268			298		
29			59			89			119			149			179			209			239			269			299		
30			60			90			120			150			180			210			240			270			300		

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