

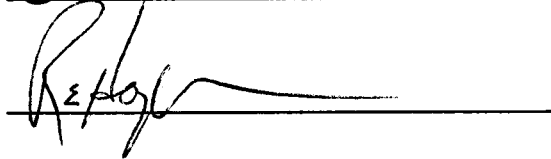
To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Mei Wang entitled "Comparison of Some Aspects of Rorschach Performance Between Chinese and American Normals." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy with a major in Psychology.



Alvin G. Burstein, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:



Accepted for the Council:



Associate Vice Chancellor
and Dean of The Graduate School

**COMPARISON OF SOME ASPECTS OF RORSCHACH PERFORMANCE
BETWEEN CHINESE AND AMERICAN NORMALS**

A Dissertation

Presented for the

Doctor of Philosophy

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Mei Wang

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my grandfather, Wang Zhi-jie, who has inspired and influenced me throughout my life.

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ABSTRACT

This research is a modest attempt, first, to examine and compare some of the aspects of Rorschach responses in Chinese and American groups by using samples recently collected from mainland China and America. The subjects consisted of 103 non-patient subjects: 50 Americans and 53 Chinese. The Burstein-Loucks scoring system was used as a basis for this research. Thirteen Rorschach variables were selected and compared. Translation issues were addressed in this study. Second, this research attempted to focus more on the meaning of the differences between these two groups in cultural terms in order to evaluate the cross-cultural applicability of Rorschach Test and to gain a better understanding of human behavior in Chinese and American cultures. It was found that the Chinese subjects, based on the characteristics of the Chinese culture, when compared with the American subjects, presented decreased spontaneity, increased emotional control, and distant interpersonal relationships. Limitations and implications of this research were discussed in terms of the future cross-cultural research with Rorschach's Test.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Statement of Purpose

Psychology as a scientific discipline remains a Western cultural product, rooted in the philosophical systems and the thought patterns of Western Europe and North America of the late-nineteenth century. Cross cultural psychology defines its purpose as extending psychology beyond its Western base. It is concerned with the systematic study of behavior and experience in different cultures. It studies the meaning of the results obtained among different cultures to test the generality of psychological laws and to integrate these differences with a broader understanding of human behavior in different cultures.

The purpose of the present investigation was, first, to look for and compare some of the aspects of Rorschach responses in Chinese and American groups. Second, this study attempted to focus more on the meaning of the differences between these two groups in cultural terms in order to evaluate the cross-cultural applicability of Rorschach Test and to gain a better understanding of human behavior in Chinese and American cultures.

In order to accomplish this task, it was first necessary to review the relevant factors involved in the study of Chinese culture and personality and Rorschach Techniques.

Literature Review

This review is structured in four main segments. Part I provides discussion of culture and personality, Part II discusses Chinese culture and personality, Part III addresses the issues of translation, and Part IV explores the cross-cultural application of Rorschach Technique.

Part I: Culture and Personality

The focus of this review is to examine the definition of culture and the relationship between culture and personality.

Definition of Culture

Culture is one of those notions that has been defined in many different ways, but no consensus. Culture can be manifested in many explicit ways: dress, language, food, gestures, manners and in various other forms. Yet the majority of cultural components are more implicit and less visible and hence much harder to notice. These include beliefs, norms, values, standards, assumptions, perceptions, attitudes and priorities. In anthropology, culture often refers to "the total attainment and activities of any specific period and group of humans" (Keesing, 1981) and can be defined as different systems, such as cognitive, structural, and symbolic systems.

Greenberg (1971) defines culture:

Each new human being does not have to face his environment on the basis of his individual equipment and experience. He grows up in the midst of one or another of a large number of human groups, through which he acquires knowledge, technological skills, modes of interpersonal adjustment, values, beliefs, and much else with which he

confronts the world. This accumulation constitutes the nonbiological inheritance that we call the culture of the particular group. (p. 260)

The culture of a group of human beings is basically a system of all the socially inherited patterns of behavior which may be presented in the actual behavior of all or most of the individuals within the group. An important aspect of culture is the interactions of specific individuals. Individuals may unconsciously illustrate certain behavior patterns. These patterns are real and special only for individuals within the group and individuals are taught or learned to develop these patterns in order to adjust their cultural environment.

Rohner (1984), after reviewing diverse definitions of culture, proposed that culture can be defined as "the totality of equivalent and complimentary learned meanings maintained by a human population, or by identifiable segments of a population, and transmitted from one generation to another (Rohner, 1984, p. 119-120).

Culture and Personality

Psychologists agree that one of the central issues in cross-cultural study has always been the relationship between culture and personality characteristics. The relationship between culture and personality is not easily nor lightly determined. It is intuitively plausible that culture, which shapes our experience and behavior, would play an important role on the internal organization of behavior and would produce different types of human beings.

Psychoanalysis has played an important role in cross-cultural research. The whole issue of the relationship between psychoanalysis and cultural variations has raised great interest. Kluckhohn (1951) stated that Freud and other psychoanalysts have described with amazing correctness many central themes in motivational life which are universal. The Freudian system has been a good theory for developing hypotheses about culture and personality because of its biological determination, its drive- reduction emphasis, and its use of socio-politico-historic antecedents with regard to the drives of sex and aggression. All of these could attempt an explanation of any behavior in any culture. The Freudian psychoanalysts analyze the personality into a primary id, the sum of inherited impulses; the ego, which is thought of as being built upon the id through the progressive development of the sense of external reality; and the super-ego, the socially conditioned sum of forces which restrain the individual from the direct satisfaction of the id. The interplay of these personality regions is determined by the special pattern of family relationships into which the individual has had to fit himself in the earliest years of his life.

One psychoanalytic contribution that has attracted a great deal of attention is the work of Kardiner (1939, 1945), in developing the concept of basic personality structure and attempting to apply a modified psychoanalytic approach to different cultures. Kardiner proposed that each culture contains two distinct sets of components, called "primary" and "second institutions" respectively. The primary institutions comprise the socioeconomic framework of the society and the child-rearing practices that are responsible for the development of the "basic personality

structure," consisting of elements common to all or most members of the culture. These in turn lead to secondary institutions which are projective systems derived from the basic personality, both expressing its needs in terms of art, mythology and religion and providing a means of satisfying them. For Kardiner the relationship between culture and personality is as follows: the modes of child training generate certain needs in the adult personality that find expression in "projective" systems and related social institutions. Personality thus mediates the relationship between these two types of institutions.

One of the objectives in cross-cultural study was to establish the variation in the interrelationship of psychoanalytical theory within a universal framework for universal application. Anthropologists and psychologists looked at various cultures for testing the validity of psychoanalytic theory. Reports of personality findings from diverse cultures facilitate the formation of hypotheses about the cultural universal versus uniqueness of personality constructs, and dynamics (Church, 1987).

There are rapidly increasing cross-cultural studies with documented differences across cultures in various domains of behavior, such as perception, cognition, learning, motivation, and social interaction (Malpass, 1977; Serpell, 1976; Triandis, 1977) Within the study of culture and personality, according to Jahoda (1980), two major trends may be distinguished: one is concerned with the analysis of the role of socialization processes and personality factors within a given cultural group; the other concentrated on attempts to identify the general processes whereby culture shaped and is shaped by personality factors across human cultures. It is necessary to discover the

contrast between culture and personality, or between a segment of behavior as cultural pattern and a segment of behavior interpreted as having an individual-defining value. Culture may be psychoanalytically interpreted as the aspect of those values and definitions which come to the child with the irresistible authority of the parents, or other individuals of their social environment. Therefore, the child may be the passive recipient of values which are completely beyond his/her control and which, of necessity, to which he/she needs to adapt. The child thus consciously, or unconsciously, accepts the various elements of culture. Thus, one's earliest configurations of experience have more of a cultural influence. This influence has different meanings for the various individuals to develop their personality structures. Consequently, it is necessary to relate the patterns of culture and personality in view of the complexity of social phenomena. For example, Caudill and Weinstein (1969) discovered that the behavior of Japanese and American infants differed in the earliest weeks of their lives and that these differences were traceable to the cultural modes of interaction between baby and mother. American mothers talked and vocalized more whereas their Japanese counterparts relied upon direct bodily and tactile contact. Many of personality differences, between Japan, United States, and other Western countries can be at least speculatively related to this early childhood experience (Morsbach, 1973; Norbeck & DeVos, 1972; Tanaka-Matsumi & Marsella, 1976).

Another aspect of the relationship of culture to personality concerns behavior and culture. Culture produces changes, and shapes behavior. Behavior, in turn,

changes and culture (Draguns, 1979). Cross-cultural psychologists traditionally investigated culture as an independent variable. Concretely, two or more cultures were compared and the main effects of this variable upon behavior and/or personality were noted. In this tradition, culture and personality was considered as a coherent subject of study and the individual was constructed as a product of culture. Steward (1958) stated that personality is shaped by culture, but it has never been demonstrated that culture is affected by personality. Cross-cultural study has not fully responded to the fact that the relationship between culture and personality is bilateral and reciprocal (Draguns, 1979). To elaborate, Draguns further stated (1979):

Behavior influences personality and is in turn determined by it. Culture shapes behavior and personality and behavior rooted in individual personalities produces cultural change-from infinitesimal to major and from imperceptibly gradual to dramatically sudden.

Cross-cultural research, then, considers that culture is not simply something that makes things happen. Rather, there is a subtle and dynamic equilibrium among culture, behavior and personality. Each of the three components is capable of influencing and being influenced by either of the others.

Triandis (1977) stressed the parallel between cultural and personal complexity. He felt that in the simplest case, socially, politically, and economically, simple societies produce individuals low in cognitive complexity. But cognitive complexity increases in social settings characterized by specialized economic activities, elaborate systems of governance, and a complex system of social graduation and differentiation. He adopted the idea of tight and loose cultures from Pelto (1968) and

stated that at the one end of the continuum, societies are characterized by a great deal of ambiguity concerning division of labor, status, and norm behavior. At the opposite extreme, a system of tight prescriptions regulates, and also restricts, the individual and social behavior. Loose societies foster overt behavior, including outbursts of impulses. Tight societies predispose their members toward "projective," fantasy expression.

Some authors have characterized the historical and cultural context of models of personality adjustment in American psychology (Gerge, 1973 and Sampson, 1977). In Sampson's view, a predominant theme in American culture is "self-contained individualism," emphasizing more self-centered, individualistic aspects of adjustment. In more collectivist cultural contexts, conformity could be viewed as appropriate behavior, with individualistic tendencies viewed as alienating and opposed to social integration (Gergen, 1973).

Part II: Chinese Culture and Personality

The discussion of Chinese culture and personality characteristics will be reviewed in this section. As addressed above, culture is a way of life, and represents consistent patterns of behavior that are distinctive for a particular group of individuals (Chu, 1985). The socioeconomic and political systems of the society, regarded as the major influence in determining the form of its child training, shape certain aspects of personality. The Chinese personality is multifaceted; no single look could describe and analyze it in its entirety. However, history, culture, and language have such

dramatic effects on thinking and experience of Chinese people that psychologists should have some basic knowledge about the Chinese society, culture, and what is normative functioning for this group in order to better understand the Chinese personality.

The Chinese culture is a significant determinant in the formation of Chinese personality. The Chinese civilization was a relatively isolated development because of "the closed door policy" that the Chinese practiced until the nineteen century. Therefore, the Chinese culture was fundamentally developed by its own society. According to King and Bond, Confucian values have nevertheless played a predominant role in developing Chinese character and behavior (1985) although they had a less significant impact in Chinese society since nineteen century because China has changed greatly since then. However, it is still logical to study the structural pattern of Chinese character and behavior by analyzing the Confucian paradigm, which is a complex and stable social order, expressing much political decision on one hand and much artistic power and skill on the other (Murphy, 1968).

Born in 551 B.C. in Shandong, China, Confucius was successively a government official, an extensive traveler, an distinguished teacher, and a learned editor (Wang, 1946). In his younger years, Confucius held offices as a tax collector, cattle keeper, etc. He left his job to look for something larger. Traveling extensively throughout China, he campaigned for a program of reform. Finally when he was around fifty, he devoted himself to tutoring and book editing. The succeeding generations, inspired by his thought, have been trying to put his theory into practice

ever since. Although China had philosophy long before Confucius, no one has received such respect and had such influence as Confucius. Why is it that Confucius attained such a position in China? The most important reason is that Confucius' thoughts are most typical of China (Wang, 1956). Confucius' thought reflected what the Chinese like, appreciate, and understand. One of the reasons that Chinese people respect him because his teachings seemed to be the result of careful study of the existing idealism of his time, and because his ideals appeared rooted in the tradition of the past, and translated into such terms as most Chinese people could understand.

What is Confucianism?

Confucianism is the system that has controlled Chinese education, society, and government for some 2,000 years (Chan, 1967) because rulers of generations found it convenient to use Confucian ideals as a tool to ensure political stability and the people's obedience (Hsu, 1970).

The fundamental fact of Confucianism probably is that it is primarily a secular social theory, the foremost purpose of which is to achieve a harmonious society. Harmony is the most treasured social value in Chinese society (King & Bond, 1985) and the Confucius system emphasizes the interaction between individuals and their society. In the practice of virtue, individuals aim at harmony of body and soul. In the family, they aim at harmony of husband and wife and of the brothers and sisters. In the village, they aim at the harmony of neighbors (Wu, 1967). But how is a harmonious society possible? To this question, Confucians answered that if every individual were to act toward others in a proper way, then an orderly world would

be achieved. This conception of li means the norm of human behavior in all social circumstances (Thompson, 1969).

Another concept that was important in Confucian philosophy usually translated as "the way." It was the Way, that men should follow. Its goal was happiness for all mankind. The proper way is prescribed by the dictates propriety, a set of rules for action. Confucianism perceived the ideal society as a massive and complicated role system. Let the ruler be a ruler, the father, a father, the son, a son, and so forth. The guidelines for practice these various rules are defined by propriety (li).

The degree of our success in practicing the teachings of Confucius depends on how completely we are able to master our inner self. Confucianism proposed a three-point program for the individual to follow, as described by Wang (1946):

Toward self, the moral goal of a person is to be a gentleman; toward the family, to be a well-fitting member working for its prosperity and happiness; toward humanity at large, to be an active participant in a world society dedicated to the realization of the Golden Rule. (p.16)

In Confucian theory, the individual is never conceived of as an isolated entity, but is socially situated, defined, and shaped in a relational context. The traditional Chinese society is relation-based, and the emphasis is located on the relation between particular individual (Liang, 1974). Individuals cannot exist alone; all actions must be in a form of interaction between human beings (Hu, 1919 & Solomon, 1971). Of the five relations emphasized by traditional moral standards and reinforced by Confucianism are those between prince and minister, father and son, older brother and younger brother, husband and wife, and friend and friend. Creel (1953) summarized

that the Confucius system is based upon a consideration of what is the nature of the human being. He stated:

On the one hand, he did not think of individual as existing quite separately from society. On the other, he did not think of society as a kind of metaphysical entity that is so completely prior to the individual that the individual can hardly be said to exist, except as he is wholly absorbed in it.

Confucius believed that men are essentially social beings. They are to a very considerable extent (though by no means totally) made what they are by society. On the other hand, since society is nothing more than the interaction of men, society is made what it is by the individuals who compose it. (p.31)

The second phase of the Confucian moral program is to tie the individual securely and affectionately with China's fundamental social institution, the family. The most basic to Chinese culture is the value of the family as the fundamental unit of the society (Wu & Tseng, 1985). Although the family constitutes an important feature of the life of every nation, among the Chinese, it has been emphasized more than among most peoples. It was the family, not the individual, that was the important unit in social transactions (King & Bond, 1985). It has a primary role in economic life, in social control, in moral education, and in government (Latourette, 1964). The role of family members is highly interdependent (Sue, 1989). Each member has his/her own role to play with others and the family members are supposed to stand by one another. If a person has feelings which might disrupt family peace and harmony, he/she is expected to hide them. The Chinese family is traditionally patriarchal with communication and authority flowing vertically from top to bottom. Old family members were held in high esteem and the oldest male served

as leader (Joseph 1986). At the same time, the aged and the indigent are expected to be cared for by their more prosperous and younger relatives (Latourette, 1964). The family is regarded as authoritative and produces moral standards and structural effects that tend not only to make the child develop a group orientation towards the family, but also make the members develop dependency and social orientation towards authority. The introduction of guilt and shame are the primary techniques used to control the behavior of family members. Parents emphasize their children's obligation to the family. If a child acts independently, he/she is told that he is selfish and inconsiderate and that he/she is not showing gratitude for all his parents have done for him/her.

The ties binding the family together were many. Individual and the family are equally important and mutually dependent (Hsieh, 1967). The family also constitutes a mutual protective bond. The individual has found it difficult to stand alone (Latourette, 1964) without family support. Hsiao, usually translated as "filial piety," was inspired by Confucianism as one of the central virtues. While it included much more than the family, loyalty to one's parents was part of its essence.

Closely associated with the family system, and possibly one of its consequences, has been the relation between men and women, and the position of women. The ceremonies in honor of ancestors constituted a essence of the Chinese family. Male children were considered important if the family was to be continued because only male children would carry the family name through generations. For this reason boys were regarded as more valuable than girls. From the economic point

of view, boys were also preferable. Remaining in the family, as they did, they were producers who throughout their working lives aided to the family's prosperity. On the other hand, after marriage a girl was lost to the family which had paid the expense of rearing her.

Girls were formerly given a type of education very different from boys. They were infrequently taught to read. Schools, however, were for boys. The education of the girls were given in the home, usually by the mother, and consisted of such matters as household management and the duties owed to a husband, a mother-in-law, and husband's other relations. Often a girl grew up with little care. In theory, the husband was the head of his wife and the master of the home. By bearing a son, a woman acquired greater importance, and when in the normal course of events she became a mother-in-law and a grandmother, she was regarded as being increasingly important and was treated with greater respect.

The third phase of the Confucian moral program is to make every individual an active participant in the building of a society (Wang, 1946). Under such a system, each individual is expected to take moral duties constantly. That is, toward himself, he/she must develop a sound character through the mastery of his/her mind and will. Toward his/her family, he/she must work for its happiness and harmonious relationships. Toward his/her country, he/she must give to its orderly progress. Finally, toward humanity at large, he/she must take his responsibility by striving for the realization of a world society represent the Golden Rule.

What is the Confucian Golden Rule? It is considered as an idealized society in which there is a great harmony between individuals and their environment. Wang summarized as following: (1946):

When the Golden Rule shall finally prevail, the world will belong to all. They will elect the virtuous and the able to take charge of affairs. There will be mutual trust and neighborliness. People will not only love their own parents and look after their own children but the aged will find happiness during their remaining years; the able-bodied will be usefully employed, the young will be properly brought up; the weak, the widowed, the maimed, and the crippled will be taken care of. The men will have what they want. The women will have their mates. There will be such a plenty of commodities everywhere that people no longer will find it necessary to own them. Work will be so common and spontaneous that no longer will one care to labor for his own gain. Conspiracies and disorders will disappear forever together with robberies, thefts, and other crimes. This is the Golden Rule. (p. 22)

In summary, Confucianism believes that the good society is one in which each individual holds his/her proper place. It teaches that when the individual is right his family will be right, when the family is right the nation will be right, and when each nation is right all under the heaven will be right. To achieve this end, one must fulfill the duties and obligations inherent in the five central relationships. Confucianism continues deeply to influence every Chinese to different degrees. Regardless of the political setting, the Chinese cultural dynamic continue to operate. The highly personal relation continues to play an important role for securing social resources toward self-promotion (King and Bond, 1971).

The Chinese civilization was originally a self-contained system that had little contact with the outside world, except for neighboring countries until the middle of nineteenth and the middle of the twentieth century. This Chinese civilization was

immensely long lived, rich and satisfying to Chinese and the Chinese view of nature and man, and the Chinese social practices (li) did not change greatly since ancient time. During the past century, however, China has entered a new era. Its civilization is no longer self-contained. By the insistence of the aggressive Western powers during the nineteenth century, and by the strong impact of modern science and technology, China has been forced into an new situation.

Creel (1953) summarized three ways in which Chinese have attempted to meet the challenge of the West:

Some have insisted that China's traditional patterns of life and thought are superior to all others, and that the Chinese have found themselves in difficulty not because they have been too conservative but because they have not live up to the traditional ideals; if they did so, China would be so strong that her trouble would vanish. Others have taken a more moderate view; while they believed that Chinese culture provided the soundest basis for China's development, they wish to modify it to meet the conditions of the modern world, and to take over such Western techniques as appeared to be advantageous. A third group has insisted that China's entire traditional pattern of political, social, and economic organization is unsuited to the world of today, and that the whole manner of life and thought must be revolutionized. (p.237)

The change in China has been dramatic. The Chinese large family , with its early marriages arranged by the elders, has become smaller and the young generation chooses their own mates. The revolution in Chinese social life has been hastened by the introduction of many mechanical devices. The factory has made its appearance and industrialism has been pushed. More women declared that they have the right to their own careers and to share in occupations and diversions formerly monopolized by men. Individualism has entered China. It was emphasized by the weakening of

many old forms of social control and traditional moral standards, and by the political and economic distress.

Since the revolution in 1949, especially during the time of "the Great Cultural Revolution," the Chinese traditions have been further greatly challenged. Mao's thought has played the dominant role in modern Chinese society while Confucius has been the target of severe attack. By this is meant the whole religious, ethical, social and educational, literary, and political structure of the traditional Chinese culture has been changed. As Mao Tse-tung (1945) criticized that emphasis on the honoring of Confucius and the reading of the classics, and advocacy of the old rules of propriety (li) and education and philosophy are part of China's "semi-feudal culture" which must be overthrown. He described that the struggle between the old and the new cultures is to death. Mao considered that only after finding Chinese own national form of Marxism will it prove useful. The Chinese Communism requires the individual to merge his/her will in that of the party, and other social groupings or "classes" (in Chinese term). These have become perhaps even more important than the family. Mao's classic statement on human nature was made in his well-known speech (1942):

Is there such a thing as human nature? of course there is. But there is only human nature in the concrete, no human nature is the abstract. In class society there is only human nature of a class character; there is no human nature above classes. (1942b, p. 90)

This statement illustrated that (1) no universal human nature exists in a class society; (2) conceptions of human nature are social products, which are always class

determined (Ho, 1988). Mao insisted that people's thoughts and feelings are invariably stamped with their class character. He put it quite strongly, "In class society everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class" (1937a, pp. 2-3). Therefore, Mao favored environmental factors as determinants of behavior. Mao also spoke of conflicts, and view of personality development as a process of conflict resolution. However, in contrast to psychoanalytic point of view, Mao saw class antagonism, not sex and aggression-as the main driving force behind human action. In psychoanalysis, conflicts are internal, and their resolution is a matter of struggle within the individual. In Mao's thought, internal conflict are but reflections of external conditions-the resolution of which is dialectically related to external class struggle. Furthermore, each individual's struggle is linked to those of others and of human society as a whole. Psychoanalysis reflects the intrapsychic life of individuals, while in Mao's thought, a person's character is defined in terms of what he/she does in relation to society.

On the topic of individualism, Mao (1929, 1937) stated that this term does not mean what it is commonly understood to mean in the Western context, that is the affirmation of the individual's uniqueness, responsibility, liberty, and so on. (Ho, 1988). Mao saw both as manifest in the selfishness and aversion. The criterion for selfishness is severe: Selfish behavior includes not only doing what is directly as the expense of others, but also placing personal interests above those of the group, or simply, devoting too much attention to self-interests. The model Maoist has simple

virtues traditionally valued in Chinese society, such as modesty, frugality, and diligence. However, he or she also has virtues not emphasized in the traditional ethos, such as daring in thought and action, fearlessness in struggle, criticism, and self-criticism. The values to be included are: love of collective life and of labor (both physical and mental), and total dedication to serving the people, that is to be selflessness. Thus, in Mao's thought, there are both continuity and change with respect to the traditional ethos of Chinese society, as well as a synthesis of Western and Chinese learning. Collectivism is continuous with the traditional social pattern of mutual dependence. The departure from the traditional standards lies in Mao's defiance of harmony, in that underlying conflicts are to be laid open and actively resolved.

In new China each individual, therefore, in addition to family attachments, is expected to become highly involved in the local community in which he/she lives and community leaders and groups have a great deal to control about community members's activities, way of life, and privileges. In addition to membership in his/her commune of residence, each person belongs to a political-social group in his/her work place. These groups exercise a great deal of responsibility for any authority over one's way of life, freedom of movement, advancement, change of position, and so forth. Thus, one's life and future in new China depend upon the maintenance of good relationships with a very large number of people. Individuals tend to focus more in their relationships with people rather than in themselves (Lin, 1985). At the same time, most Chinese learn very early not to share their private

thoughts with others. Emotion and sex are private matters that are guarded from anyone outside the immediate family circle. The Chinese people are taught to avoid talking to outsiders about their private lives, feelings, and emotional lives with family members (Hsu, 1981). Furthermore, Chinese culture trains the individuals using denial, suppression, or rationalization to control and hide emotions. Children are trained to control emotions that are considered adverse and disruptive to harmonious social interaction (Wu & Tseng, 1985). Chinese social interaction also developed a dislike for bluntness and abruptness and consequently produced the indirect approach to a subject. Pleasant good temper were expected in social interaction and any departure was considered impolite. Punishment of aggressive behavior among children is a characteristic Chinese child-training technique that may account for the learning of self-control and emotional restraint at an early age.

Children also learn to develop collective quality at very early age. Since most mothers have to work in contemporary Chinese society, in the majority of cases the care of infants and young children during the daytime is left to nurseries and kindergartens. An immediate consequence is that young children spend more time in interaction with child-care workers and teachers than with their own parents. Collectivist values are inculcated into the children's minds with thoroughness. What is encouraged in the nurseries and kindergartens is cooperation, rather than the individual importance. Beginning from very early life, the child's behavior is heavily influenced by peer relationships. Collectivism, however, means that the primary task in life is for the individual to learn to accept his/her rightful place in the social order,

to observe the discipline of the group, and to fulfill his/her social obligations. The fully functioning individual is not primarily conceptualized as one who tries to develop his/her creative potentialities to the fullest, but as one who actively cultivates a satisfactory relationship with the group.

It is the fact that the new China is a socialist country and every person is taught to work for the collective and do his/her job for the collective. Individuality is practiced on condition that it is beneficial to the country and people. You do not do whatever you like, but what you do must be in accordance with the peoples' interests. Consequently, cooperation, mutual help, and collective creativity- rather than individual competition- are the standard behavior to be encouraged in Chinese society.

Ho (1979) stated that collectivism confirms that to preserve and enhance the well-being of the group is the supreme guiding principle for social action. It requires that the interests of the group must take precedence over those of the individual. Accordingly, members of the group are expected to control their own inclinations of the group requirements, and perhaps even to make personal sacrifices. It is assumed that maintaining the group's well-being is the best guarantee for them. Indeed, it is dependent upon the well-being of the group that the fortunes of its members rise or fall. However, this dependency is not unidirectional. The entire group, likewise, gains or suffers as a consequence of the accomplishments and failures of its members. Each member of the group is related to other members in a network of interlocking responsibilities and obligations. The group naturally demands a high degree of loyalty

from its membership. The essence of collectivism is the saying Unity is the strength. Since an individual's life depends on the group as a source of support, his/her deepest fear is the rejection by the group or, in more severe cases, total loss of group membership.

Personality is a Western concept rooted in individualism (Hsu, 1971). However, the Confucian and Mao's approach are in contrast to the Western approach, which emphasizes the collective quality in the nature of the individual's life and behavior (Wu & Tseng, 1985). The Confucian version of individualism means the fullest development by the individual of his/her creative potentialities- not, however, merely for the sake of self-expression but because he/she can thus best fulfill that particular role within his/her social environment. Mao considered a person's character is specified in terms of what he/she does in relation to society.

Hsu (1955) gave an example of the Chinese culture as contrasted with Western culture. He emphasized the fundamental points that Chinese life is situation- centered; in that it is less inward, and more socially controlled. The following paragraphs are from Hsu's book "Americans and Chinese."

In situation-centered China, sex is controlled more by external barriers than by internal restraints. Where the emphasis is on internal restraints, man is enjoined not only to avoid sinful action but also to eliminate sinful thoughts. But where control is exercised through external barriers, the individual needs merely to refrain from sexual expression in inappropriate situation.

Yet sex, being one of man's most fundamental urges, can hardly be eliminated from thought. Where attempts are made to eliminate it from consciousness by condemning it as bad, it merely takes refuge in the deeper layers of the mind, a condition Freud described as repression.

Where the purpose is merely to regulate it, it is simply channeled into specific areas where one need not feel reserved. In the former approach, sex is a sin, regardless of circumstances. In the later approach, sex is a natural urge of a man, like eating, to which expression must be given in the right place and with the right parties.

Consequently, repression of sex is correlated with the generalized interest in it in American art, where sex appears very frequently but in the form of diffused suggestiveness. Compartmentalization of sex, on the other hand, causes it to be practically absent in general Chinese art, but concentrated without restraint in pornography. Except where sublimated, the desirability of sex increases in reverse ratio to its availability. Hence, the emotional energy directed toward sex often outweighs that toward all other subjects of Western art while it is without comparable significance in Chinese art. (p.22-23)

Another characteristic in Chinese culture is the prominent role of somatization which plays an effective defense against shame and guilt associated with the stigma attached to mental illness. The psychological burden of the individuals' unconsciousness and regression are greatly relieved by somatization, which represents an acceptable explanatory way to all concerned (Lin, 1985). Lin proposed a hypothesis of externalization to explain Chinese somatization. He stated that somatization represents a defense of turning away from intrapsychic mechanisms. This hypothesis offers a explanation of Chinese somatization in light of its cultural emphasis on a situation-oriented approach to life.

According to Chinese cultural beliefs, what is important to an individual to protect his health is the avoidance of stress, which is often equated with the repression and suppression of emotion. Therefore, in Chinese society a moderate display of emotion is more desirable than full expression" (Wu, 1984). In the Confucian tradition, stress avoidance is associated with a person's ability in achieving

self-discipline. At the external level, self-discipline means individual ability to control outbursts of adverse emotion in displays of bad temper. In terms of a person's mental state, self-discipline indicates that a person is not easily disturbed. It is believed that individuals who follow the ideal norm of self-discipline, which may be explained as suppression, repression, and rationalization, will be able to dilute social conflict and psychological stress.

In summary, the frequently mentioned value themes in Chinese society, from Confucian system to Mao Tse-tung's thought, include close family ties, respect for authority, self- and emotional control, concerning and sharing with others. The Chinese have been described as respectful of parents, elders, and other authorities. This respect is generally attributed to authoritarian socialization practices. The family provides emotional and economic security and support. High value is placed on group identity or belonging and there is a lack of emphasis on individualism and self-reliance. The dependency relationship is better viewed as closeness, cooperation, respect and duty. Strong discouragement of over-aggression in children inhibits their learning to express anger at controlled level. Emotions are expressed and controlled in different situations. For example, Chinese at least in comparison with Americans, on average appear to place greater emphasis on suppression and control of unpleasant emotions. One may hypothesize that individuals in some cultures e.g., Western culture, are more likely to emphasize individual achievements in their pursuit of these goals (Church, 1987), whereas Chinese place more emphasis on maintaining social acceptance, group belongingness, and good interpersonal relationships in their pursuit

of this goal. Chinese people are also emotionally more reserved, introverted, fond of tranquility, overly considerate, socially overcautious, habituated to self-restraint, and so forth (Weizhen, 1985).

The differences between Chinese and American reflect the fundamental contrast in cultural orientations between the two groups on the collectivist-individualist dimension. For example, American society emphasizes individualism in a way that makes persons become aggressive and competitive in order to achieve successfully. American children of school age are supposed to be individuals, and are trained to become independent. However, in the training of children, the Chinese emphasizes a social norm that develops the virtues of a middle position (Scaff & Ting 1972). Therefore, Chinese, with roots in Confucian tradition and Mao Tse-tung's thought, emphasize individual fulfillment, but in a social environment that cultivates respectful moral character and civic virtue.

Finally, Chinese culture emphasizes reserve and formality in interpersonal relations, restraint and inhibition of strong feelings, obedience to authority, obligations and dependence upon the family, high academic and occupational achievement, and use of shame and guilt to control behavior. These values are in sharp contrast to Western culture which its emphasis on spontaneity, assertiveness and informality (Sue, 1989).

Part III: Issues in Translation

Since this study involves translating Chinese to English language, it is necessary to address issues related to this area. This section will focus on: (a) comparison of the Chinese and English languages, and (b) problems in translation.

Comparison of Chinese and English Language

Language is unique to human beings. Like other behavior, language is acquired by the individual as a member of a particular social group through a complex process of learning, and varies among different cultural groups. Language is a system of phonetic symbols for the expression of communicable thought and feelings (Sapir 1949).

Language is a communication system that allow humans to express thoughts (Titone et al., 1984). It operates in a speech community and is culturally transmitted; i.e., people acquire language through their culture. Culture influences the language and each language has its own unique cultural background. Its structure, its vocabulary, its own method of combining word-fractions and words, all give each language unique distinctions. Language also reflects the underlying cultural difference in concepts, attitudes, values, and role expectations (Church, 1987). Culture varies greatly in content and in particular rules (Eastman, 1975). So does language. Sapir (1956) stated that no two language are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality.

Greenberg (1971) stated that human speech involves two levels of functioning: the sound level, "in which the units are inherently meaningless phonemes", and the meaningful level, "in which the units are words or other units that are involved in grammatical constructions." (p. 266) Chinese and English languages are different at both sound and grammatical level. However, the differences between these two language are hard to conceptualize, and it is also hard to judge to what extent these differences are reflected in the nature of culture.

Chinese is one of a very few contemporary languages whose history is documented in a tradition extending back to the second millennium B.C. (Norman, 1988). After so many diverse historical stages and geographical variants, the Chinese language, especially its written form, has always been one of the most powerful symbols of its cultural unity. Moreover, Chinese characters as individual symbols that had a wide range of meanings accumulated in the long history of the language plus a still wider range of implied meanings derived from their use in a richly developed literary tradition (Wright, 1953). It has more speakers than any language spoken in the modern world. This vast extension in time and space has made the translation of Chinese to other languages immeasurably complex.

The Chinese language is no doubt different from English. In the English language, singular and plural forms help to distinguish the noun and verb from each other and from other parts of speech. They help to show the verb's dependence on the subject. Such word forms clarify the structure of the sentence and the different interacting function of its parts. The internal changes of some nuclear words in a

English sentence, for example, the words "sing," "sang," "sung," and "song," will give some idea of the nature of these structures. An adjective can be turned into a noun or an adverb which represents different meanings. These internal changes may be recognized as changes in spoken quality, changes in quantity, various types of reduplication or repetition.

In the Chinese language, each sentence contains many individual characters. These individual characters have several different meanings, and frequently in a particular passage "only the context determines which one is intended" (Latourette, 1964). Therefore, the Chinese sentences is a series of unchanging words in which the interrelations of each word make a whole meaning. It does not allow the words to be modified by internal changes to express concepts as those of number, tense, and mode. The Chinese sentence can be indefinitely expanded and contracted, or presented as precise or vague as the speaker pleases.

Because Chinese words, or word-roots are unchanging, and because the same word both designates a thing and expresses the process relative to it, the relationship between the words, and therefore their meanings, are established very largely by their placement either before or after the word or words they are related to. Thus, the meaning of one word is completed by its relationships or coordinations.

The difference between Chinese and English is the result from the presence or absence of word-inflection. These may create a different attitude toward logic and grammar, and, in consequence, a different kind of thought structure. To be more specific, the grammatical structure in English language helps to create a thought

structure. But the grammatical structure in Chinese language lays the stress on relationships: no idea seems complete until related to another that balances it. For example, the Chinese written language does not normally distinguish singular and plural, or active and passive voice. The verb is not always adequate to show whether it is I, you, or he who is doing or to whom it is being done. These seem to reflect tendency on group identity and lack of emphasis on individuality, which may be consistent with the Chinese culture.

It is clear that the role of a language in the cognitive processes of individuals is in part a reflection of the culture (Moon & Cundick, 1983). The form of a particular language is influenced by and associated with its social- cultural uniqueness. However, it does not mean that there is a simple correspondence between the form of a language and the form of the culture. There is no general correlation between cultural type and linguistic structure (Sapir, 1956). The cultural significance of linguistic form lies on a much more subtle level than on the overt level of other cultural patterns. It is still difficult to measure how a cultural trait has had some specific influence on the fundamental structure of a given language. Sapir (1956) explained that this lack of correspondence may be due to the fact that linguistic changes do not proceed at the same rate as most cultural changes, which are on the whole far more rapid. Let me quote his statement as summary:

...linguistic organization, largely because it is unconscious, tends to maintain itself indefinitely and does not allow its fundamental formal categories to be seriously influenced by changing cultural needs. If the forms of culture and language were, then in complete correspondence with each other, the nature of the processes making for linguistic and

cultural changes respectively would soon bring about a lack of necessary correspondence. (p. 35)

Problems in Translation

In cross-cultural study the language utilized in data collection can affect research findings (Church, 1987) because language has certain psychological qualities. There is no way in which language and personality can be completely separated. Therefore, the interactions of personality and culture (including language) must be addressed. If a researcher can become fluent in the languages of the societies he/she is studying and comparing, personality tests can be reported in the native tongue. However, researchers are not always good bilingualists. In cross-cultural study, one of the difficulties facing the use of personality tests is the possibility of distortion to an uncertain degree of a subject's responses through translation when interpretation is used.

Translation is a complex type of event. It consists of "reproducing in the receptor language the closest natural equivalent of the source language message first in terms of meaning, and secondly in terms of style" (Nida and Taber 1969, p. 12). If one were to ask what a translation should achieve, a very common answer would probably be that it should communicate the meaning of the original accurately and clearly to the readers (Gutt 1991). The basic requirements of a translation are the following (Nida, 1964: 164):

1. making sense;
2. conveying the spirit and manner of the original;

3. having a natural and easy form of expression;
4. producing a similar response.

Translation should ensure that "(1) the surface meaning of the two will be approximately similar and (2) the structure of the source language will be presented as closely as possible but not so closely that the target structures will be seriously distorted (Bassnett-McGuire, 1980, p. 2)." A translation can never equal the original, since the word is a metaphor for the object (Biguenet & Schulte, 1989). Many variants complicate the translator's work: Connotations vary according to the characteristics of another language and according to the translator's experience and interpretation. Therefore, translation is a uncertain process without definitive answers of choice. It is often considered as "a code-switching" process indicating that a sequence of symbols from one language is exchanged for a sequence of symbols in another language (Seleskovitch, 1976). In real life, translating is a mixture of both code switching and interpretation. There are many ways that meaning can be conveyed through language, and we often misunderstand people who speak the same language as ourselves and we cannot easily communicate the same thoughts to just everybody, regardless of their background knowledge because of certain areas of ambiguity within a language. Nida (1964: 53) explained this limiting factor in human communication as the following: (1) no two people employ precisely the same symbols for the same types of experience; (2) no two people employ the same symbols in exactly the same ways. While such potential for misunderstanding must be take into account when transferring material from one language to another, it may

cause more discourse because no communication can occur without some loss of information. Loss of information is a part of any communication process, and hence the fact that some loss occurs in translation should not be surprising (Nida, 1976).

Perhaps it is worth quoting this example given by Brislin (1978) to illustrate:

At a meeting held recently in Japan, an American was discussing two alternative proposals with his colleagues, all of whom were native speakers of Japanese. The American was well schooled in the Japanese language and was, indeed, often called 'fluent' by those around him. At this meeting, proposal A was contrasted to proposal B, and a consensus was reached about future action, and the meeting then dismissed. Upon leaving the room the American commented, 'I think the group made a wise choice in accepting proposal A.' A Japanese colleague, however, noted, 'But proposal B was the group's choice.' The American continued: 'But I heard people say that proposal A was better.' The Japanese colleague concluded, 'Ah, you listened to the words but not to the pauses between the words.' (p.205)

In this instance communication was face to face, and yet contextual mismatches due to cross-cultural differences caused misunderstanding between people. Thus, we have to ask how can equivalencies be established between the linguistic and cultural differences of two languages?

A useful start to any discussion of translation is a consideration of different purposes of translation (Brislin, 1980). According to Nida (1976), there are four types of translation. Type one is pragmatic translation and it refers to the translation of a message with an interest in the accuracy of the information that was meant to be conveyed in the source of language form. This translation is not concerned with other aspects of the original language version, so it is not a good method when conducting a cross-cultural research, in which language may play an important role. The second

type of translation is called aesthetic-poetic translation, in which the translator takes into account the affect, emotion, and feelings of an emotional language version, as well as any information in the message. The third type is ethnographic translation, and its purpose is to explicate the cultural context of the source and second language version. With this as their goal, translators have to be sensitive to the way words are used, and must know how the words fit into the cultures which use the sources and the target languages. The fourth type is called linguistic translation and is concerned with equivalent meaning of the constituent morphemes of the second language and with grammar form (Casagrande, 1954). It seems that the second, third and fourth types of translation are more useful when translation is used in a cross-cultural study.

There are also four basic translation techniques: back translation, the bilingual technique, the committee approach, and pretest procedures (Brislin, 1980). The most important technique repeatedly recommended involves back translation (Draguns, 1982). The translated scale must be independently rendered back into its original language in order to test its accuracy. In the case of perfect correspondence between the translation and the original language version of the test, the adequacy of the translation is verified. If, however, discrepancies result, they are reconciled in conference by the translator and back-translator. In this manner, major errors as well as subtle mistakes of meaning are detected and eliminated.

However, certain discrepancies may remain even with different methods when translating Rorschach response from Chinese to English, because of the difference in the two languages and cultural appropriateness. One of the problems involves the

translation of terms that describe subjective emotional states. It is these affectively laden terms that are especially difficult to translate realistically and effectively, because they often differ in intensity, commonality, and range of usage even when their dictionary usage may be identical. For example, in English, one could say: "I am scared to death" and there is an equivalent sentence in Chinese. However, in Chinese language, one may say: "I am happy to death" but in English there is no exactly the same sentence. We may translate this sentence as: "I am so happy," or "I feel so happy." Therefore, with the best resources of judgment and expertise, some distortion may remain evident in the use of specific words and phrases.

An accurate translation is essential for the cross-cultural equivalence of measures. But since no two languages are identical, "either in the meanings given to corresponding symbols or in the ways in which such symbols are arranged in phrases and sentences" (Nida 1964, p. 156), it is understandable that there can be no absolute correspondence between languages. There can be no fully exact translations. We should not expect that a word in one language will find its equal in another. A translation can never equal to the original; it can approach it, and its quality can only be judged as to accuracy by how close it gets (Rabassa, 1989). Nida (1964) describes two types of equivalence, formal and dynamic. The formal equivalence focuses attention on the message itself, in both form and content. This type of translation is a "gloss translation", which seeks to reproduce as literally and meaningfully as possible the form and content from the original. From this orientation, the translation should match as closely as possible the different elements in the source language.

Whereas dynamic equivalence is based on the principle that the relationship between the receptor and message should be substantially the same as that which existed between the original receptors and message. In line with this orientation, Nida and Taber defined dynamic equivalence as follow:

Dynamic equivalence is therefore to be defined in terms of the degree to which the receptors of the message in the receptor language respond to it in substantially the same manner as the receptors in the source language. This response can never be identical, for the cultural and historical settings are too different, but there should be a high degree of

equivalence of response, or the translation will have failed to accomplish its purpose. (Nida and Taber 1969, p. 24)

It is my opinion that when translating from one language to another language, the translator has to deal with both dynamic and formal equivalences in order to make translation as close as possible to the original language and to make sense on the target language as well. For example, in China, people often say: "Have you eaten your meal?" when meeting each other. It actually means "How are you ?" It would be very confused to Americans if a translator translates this sentence directly from Chinese to English language. Another example can also be used to illustrate. When writing an letter, the English writer often puts the word "dear" prior to a person's name. While in Chinese language, the word "dear" is only used among people who are very close and intimate. If one uses the word "dear" in a formal letter, it is considered as socially unappropriated. However, one could use the word "respected" instead of using "dear so and so." Therefore, when translating an English letter to

Chinese language, the translator sometimes has to translate "dear" to "respected" in order to be more understandable to Chinese people.

The difference between the vocabularies of the different languages in the translating process are more subtle than they may seem at first sight. Vocabulary is a very sensitive indication of the culture of people. The words cannot be considered in isolation. No two words of the same language are exactly alike. Furthermore, no two words of different languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. Seidensticker (1989) explored the difficulties and impossibilities of translating texts from an Japanese language into the structure of English language. He demonstrated what levels of noncommunication can be reached when translators try to carry meanings across two languages by only focusing on the words without considering the larger realm of the context of the work and its placement within cultural and historical frame. Hence, these words are fragments, and the meanings of them are difficult to capture since their affect can be determined only in their social environment. For example, in Chinese, there is a word equivalent to the English word "turtle" that defines the specific animal. However, if a man is called a turtle in China, it implies that the man's wife has an affair with another man. This is clearly a different implication when the word turtle is used in English language. Another example, one can say "a bear's foot" in Chinese language but in English, one has to say "a bear's paw", even "foot" in Chinese and "paw" in English here mean the same thing. Thus, when translating "a bear's foot" from Chinese to English, the translator has to interpret as "a bear's paw" in order to be understood

by English-speaking people. From these two examples, the same words do not ensure the same meanings but the different words may imply the same meanings. The translator must assess the boundaries of two different cultural situations to define both the sameness and the differences. He/she engages not only in the transplantation of words, but also in his/her interpretative acts dealing with the exploration of situations that are constituted by an intense interaction of linguistic, psychological, anthropological, and cultural surroundings (Schulte 1987, Biguenet & Schulte, 1989, Gutt, 1991). Therefore, translators have to take it upon themselves to reconstruct the total image and situation that is conveyed through the limiting possibilities of language. What the translator discovers is not only the equivalent words inherent in two different languages, but also the refined references. Thus, when translating even a single word from another language, the translator has to deal with such matters as intended meaning, implied meaning, and presupposed meaning (Hatim and Mason, 1990).

Equivalence in translation, then, should not be defined as a search for sameness (Bassnett-McGuire, 1980) since sameness cannot even exist between target language (TL) and source language (SL). Once we accept that sameness cannot exist between two languages, it becomes possible to discuss the question of loss and gain and untranslatability in the translation process. Catford (1965) distinguished between two type of untranslatability, which he names linguistic and cultural. On the linguistic level, untranslatability occurs when there is no lexical or syntactical substitute in the TL for an SL item. There might be inevitable loss in translation simply because one

language lacked the expressive strength of another: its vocabulary might be insufficient or its grammar might be inadequate by comparison (Graham, 1985). However, cultural untranslatability is due to the absence of relevant situational features in the TL culture for the SL text. For example, a personal experience based on a unique cultural background is untranslatable.

Mention also needs to be made of the translator's own perspective. Translation puts the translator under pressure not simply to produce a version of the original that reads well or sounds right in the target language, but also to understand and interpret the original skillfully so as to reproduce its message faithfully (Lewis, 1985). Therefore, interpretation seems to focus on the ideas expressed in live remarks rather than on language itself (Seleskovitch, 1981). Translation should offer an accurate interpretation, a re-presentation of original. The fact is that no translator can avoid a certain degree of personal involvement in his/her work (Nida 1964). In his/her interpretation of the source language message, the translator's selection of corresponding words and grammatical forms, and his/her choice of stylistic equivalents, he/she will inevitably follow his/her own understanding and unique experience of both source and target languages and leave the sign of his/her own personality on any translation he/she makes. Therefore, we have to be concerned how the translator is to achieve interpretive objectivity given the influences of his/her own linguistic-cultural background (Feleppa, 1988).

In summary, the work of translation is a process of the discovery of the relationship between languages. Although translating Chinese to English language,

or vice versa, is quite complex, no theoretical subtleties should be allowed to obscure the fact that the gaps between these two different languages have often been crossed. The differences that function as barriers raise a challenge, and, they can function as bridges as well. However, it is inevitable that there will be some degree of distortion when translating between Chinese and English because of different linguistic, psychological, anthropological, and cultural backgrounds.

Part IV: Cross-cultural application of Rorschach Technique

Cross-cultural psychology has few unique theories. Rather, it has borrowed a variety of broad theories from psychology. However, it does have some unique sets of methods. Thus, cross-cultural psychology is defined by its methodology rather than by its theory (Triandis, 1980). The attempt now is made to integrate the multidisciplinary approach with the understanding of the relation between culture and human behavior. For many years, the cross-cultural psychology has been inventing, discovering or borrowing for new techniques that (a) provide an integral picture of the personality organization of the individual; (b) be adaptable to use among non-literate groups; (c) elicit data under semi-controlled conditions, so that valid comparisons could be made, and (d) lead to results which would lend themselves to group characterization as well as provide data on intra-group variability in personality structure (Hallowell, 1945). The search was also for an instrument which could measure personality as whole, was not culture-bound, was applicable to a large number of individuals, and was relatively short and easy to administer. The

Projective techniques, in general and the Rorschach in particular, which involve a standardized procedure for eliciting a person's response to ambiguous stimuli, were regarded as fulfilling all these requirements.

Before going further it seems reasonable to describe the nature of projective techniques. However, before approaching directly the projective test, it seems natural to ask: What is projection? In attempting to answer this question, it seems necessary to examine briefly the origin and meaning of the term projection and then summarize the development of the major projective technique, specifically, the Rorschach Test.

Originally, the term projection came into existence in the psychological literature as one of the main constructs in psychoanalytic theory. Projection is one of the defense mechanisms that was early identified and explained within Freud's own writing (Lindzey, 1961). In later years Freud and some of his followers extended the meaning of the term. Some time after the introduction of the term, Freud (1911) wrote concerning projection that

... it makes its appearance not only in paranoia but under other psychological conditions as well, in fact it has a regular share assigned to it in our attitude to the external world. For when we refer the causes of certain sensations to the external world, instead of looking for them (as we do in the case of others) inside ourselves this normal proceeding, too, deserve to call projection [p. 452].

In Totem and Taboo, Freud (1919) also suggested the broader meaning for projection:

But projection is not especially created for the purpose of defence, it also comes into being where there are no conflicts. The projection of inner perception to the outside is a primitive mechanism which, for instance, also influences our sense perceptions, so that it normally has the greatest

share in shaping our outer world. Under conditions that have not yet been sufficiently determined even inner perceptions of ideational and emotional processes are projected outwardly, like sense perceptions, and are used to shape the outer world, whereas they ought to remain in the inner world [pp. 107-108].

It was Murray (1938) who first introduced the term projection tests. He described these methods as "an attempt to discover the cover (inhibited) and unconscious (partially repressed) tendencies of normal persons, and these procedures are simply different methods of stimulating imaginative processes and facilitating their expression in words and actions."

Frank (1939) described a projective technique as a tool of studying the personality by confronting the subject with a situation to which he will respond according to what the situation means to him and how he feels when he responds. He (1948) further stated that the crucial feature of a projective technique is that it elicits from the subject what is in various ways expressive of his private world and personality process. The "private world" referred to by Frank is one which is created by the individual himself as a result of his special experience under the influences of the geographical, cultural, and social environments throughout his development (Rabin, 1981).

More recently, after an analysis of several definitions of projective techniques, Lindzey (1961) proposed the following definition:

A projective technique is an instrument that is considered especially sensitive to covert or unconscious aspects of behavior, it permits or encourages a wide variety of subject responses, is highly multidimensional, and it evokes unusually rich and profuse response data

with a minimum of subject awareness concerning the purpose of the test (p. 45).

He added further that

The stimulus material presented by the projective test is ambiguous, interpreters of the test depend upon holistic analysis, the test evokes fantasy responses, and there are no correct or incorrect responses to the test [p. 45, Lindzey's italics].

Thus, projective techniques are indirect methods of assessment of personality resulting from analysis of an individual's responses to ambiguous stimuli presented in a standard manner. Arising originally from clinical approaches based upon psychoanalysis and related psychodynamic theories of personality, the general idea underlying projective techniques is designed to invoke projections of individuals' inner feelings, wishes, anxieties, fantasies, values, and other personality traits.

The Rorschach technique, as one of the projective tests, holds a historically prominent place in the study of culture and personality. The Rorschach Test was devised by Hermann Rorschach, a Swiss psychiatrist. Working from a different set of premises, in 1911 Rorschach started his experiments on inkblots. He stressed the importance of analyzing a person's mode of perception-whether the inkblot was interpreted as a whole or in part; whether the form, color, or shading of the inkblot was primarily responsible for evoking the response; and whether the person reported a fixed, lifeless percept, or one filled with life and action.

The standard Rorschach Test consists of ten symmetrical inkblots, five in black and white, and five with various colors that are shown to an individual one at a time. The subject is asked to tell the examiner what the inkblots look like to him/her while

the examiner records his/her responses. After responding to each inkblot in a fixed order of presentation, the subject is then asked to look at each blot again. This time the examiner asks questions about the location of each percept and what characteristics of the inkblot seemed to determine the response. The resulting protocol is then scored for location, determinants, and content and so on, based on one of several systems for scoring and interpretation.

In the Rorschach Test, the particular sample of responses obtained is assumed to reflect significant aspects of the individual's personality since the specific perceptions and interpretations the individual makes arise at least in part as a unique expression of the individual's personality. The individual projects his personality into his response (Holtzman, 1980). This assumption is based on: (a) belief that a test record is a sufficiently extensive sampling of the personality to warrant making judgments about it; (b) belief that the psychological determinants of the responses are basic and general; and (c) belief that projective techniques tap the durable essence of personality equally in different individuals across a wide range of ethnic, socioeconomic, and cultural variations (MacFarlane & Tuddenham, 1951).

The Rorschach Test is the first projective technique to be used among non-European people (Hallowell, 1945). It is used so often in cross-cultural studies because it is better adapted than other projective tests to meet the following requirements: (1) it provides an integral picture of the personality organization of the individual; (2) it is relatively not culture-bound, for the blots do not represent anything in particular; (3) it can be given to people of different age levels. (4) the

raw data in the Rorschach are obtained from the verbal responses of the subject, who usually speak his/her native language.

The crucial issue with regard to the Rorschach Test is whether the Rorschach Test developed in Western culture, with Western norms, can be meaningfully applied in another culture. If the varied cultures of the world did not selectively influence perception and response to the Rorschach blots, we would expect that in different societies people would give the similar kinds of Rorschach responses; but they do not. Although inkblots are presumably equally ambiguous to each individual, cultures differ in the extent to which they "foster and inhibit the kind of conditional suspension of disbelief that the task of responding to such projective stimuli requires" (Al-Issa, 1982). Thus, record collected in one culture may be different in another culture. There is support in the literature for the view that Rorschach responses vary in different cultures.

In the field of cross-cultural psychology, Rorschach study has more often involved the analysis of protocols drawn from a specific society and comparisons have been made between the Rorschach characteristics of two or more societies. In order to arrive at group generalizations and to make cross cultural comparisons, some researchers have subjected their data to statistical analysis. For example, comparisons have been made between the percentage of color responses in a group of subjects from society A with a group from society B. Similar comparisons have been made with regard to different Rorschach categories.

Cook (1942) gave the Rorschach Test to a group of 50 Samoan high school students (aged 16-17), 30 of whom came from families of chiefs. These students were all training to become pastors. One feature of these Samoan Rorschach protocols is a high percentage of white space (s) responses, which they are usually interpreted as signs of oppositional tendencies. The question here is: Should this be interpreted in the traditional way? Cook reported that 31 of 50 students stated white (regarded as symbolic of purity) as their favorite color. These Samoan Rorschach records also gave many pure color responses which would usually be held to express emotional impulsiveness. But Cook explained that because the Samoans had not developed abstract names for colors, their color words all have an object reference. For example, the Samoan word for blue or green may mean either sky-colored or deep-sea-colored. Their color vocabulary is thus a limited one.

Hallowell (1945) studied the popular response of Rorschach in six Native American groups. He found that three categories of popular responses could be distinguished: one which did seem to be universal in the six American Indian cultures, a second group of populars which were found in some but not all of the six cultures, and a third group of "unique" populars found only within a single culture.

In another Rorschach study of three Native American groups, Hallowell made use of mean frequencies in a comparison of three Chippewa groups representing different levels of acculturation. Hallowell (1955:350) presented a table giving the means of responses for various Rorschach determinants, locations, content, and certain percentage scores for each of the three groups. This approach provided a

group profile that can be compared with those of other groups. Hallowell found both similarities and differences in his three groups. In all three there was a very low percentage of color responses and a low percentage of answers to the last three cards. In each of three groups, the mean for the sum of color responses was very low: 0.5 for Inland, 1.7 for Lakeside, and 1 for Flambeau. In contrast, a sample of Americans (157 Rorschach subjects) cited by Hallowell had a mean of 3.11 (Hallowell 1956:527). The low incidence of color responses would suggest that the Chippewa individual "expects very little from others and is not apt to develop close emotional tie with them" (Barnouw, 1985, p. 289).

Kaplan and Lawless (1965) have examined the Rorschach protocols of adults from 11 cultures drawn from four main geographical world areas: American Indian, West Indies, Western Pacific, and South Asia (India, Pakistan). They discovered that there were differences in the characteristic responses of these groups. For example, both men and women in the Palau group responded with Bat 40% of the time to Card I, but no Ifaluk or New Ireland individuals gave that response. Also, on Card II, almost 50% of Menomini men gave the response Bear to the whole card, but this response was found with substantial frequency in only the Hindus. This indicates that there are different ways in which people of different cultures respond to the same Rorschach inkblots.

Some recent studies between Eastern and Western cultures on Rorschach responses have been reported from Asian countries. However, the interpretation of Rorschach responses is complex in these different cultural groups due to the fact that

responses of European and American subjects were scored with strict reference to statistically established norms. Moon (1983) examined the relationship between Korean and American cultures and languages on Rorschach responses. The Rorschach Test was individually administered to 20 Korean monolingual, 20 American monolingual, 20 Korean bilingual, and 10 American bilingual. His results indicated that some of the Rorschach variables were significantly different between these two cultures. For example, the Korean natives had lower score of whole responses (Ws), lower F+ % and X+ %, fewer total number of responses (Rs), but more card rejections (Rej) than those of Americans. He considered these findings are consistent with the Korean culture which is much more restrictive and controlled than the American society since Korean natives' behaviors are "to a large extent governed by complex social proprieties" (p. 348).

Takeuchi and Ralph (1986) compared Rorschach protocols of 20 Japanese 5- and 6- year old with norms of age-matched Americans. They found that Japanese children profiles were characteristic of fewer whole responses, higher proportion of major and minor details, more responses, a greater breadth of content categories, and lower scores on form quality, When compared with the American group. They suggested that these differences may be associated with cultural factors.

Since the late of 1940s limited Chinese Rorschach studies were conducted. Abel and Hsu (1949) studied Chinese Rorschach protocols among China-born and America-born Chinese. The investigators collected Rorschach protocols from 15 males who had been born and mainly educated in China, 10 males who were born

and educated in America, 12 females who were born and mainly educated in China, and 19 females who were born and educated in America. Some of the tests were administered in 1945 and others in 1948, with three different female examiners collecting the data. They found their China-born groups, were more consistent with the Chinese cultural pattern of controlling their impulses and emotional expressions, maintaining balanced relationships between inner self and outer world, and establishing a relatively distant interpersonal relationship. Meanwhile, they also found that their America-born subjects displayed high evidence of greater anxiety, as well as more spontaneity, and expression of emotion, when compared to the China-born group.

To the credit of Abel and Hsu is their relatively explicit consideration of personality characteristics to specific differences in Rorschach scores. However, there is little information provided concerning the circumstances under which the Rorschach Test was administered and the subject were selected. It is said that the tests were administered by three different examiners at separated time periods. If these different examiners and times were not evenly balanced, it is possible that some of the differences reported from this study could have been the result of this weakness in design. Furthermore, there is little information whether the Chinese- and American-born subjects may have varied in ability of the English language, age, level of education, and other factors that would have effected test responses.

Richard (1954) studied 35 Chinese in Hawaii with Rorschach protocols. The subjects included 27 males and 8 females and ranged in age from 16 to 60. They

were selected from the upper socioeconomic class, and most of them had completed high school or had some college education. His study showed that the Chinese subjects used pure form to greater degree, but used less human movement and pure color than Caucasian Americans, indicating that Chinese "are more situation-centered in their orientation and consequently tend to be more pliable to the restraints of the external world" (p.89). Additionally they have a more rational approach to emotions, but generally "less imaginative activity."

The problems in this study is evident. First, there is little or no background information provided in the research, other than that the subjects were Chinese and lived in Hawaii. Second, since there is an absence of a proper control group of non-Chinese Hawaiians, it is difficult to interpret meaningfully the obtained findings.

Yang et al. (1963) investigated Rorschach popular responses in 347 normal Chinese adults from North Taiwan. They considered the Rorschach popular responses represent the common way of perceiving things or represent "social conformity" (Yang, et al, 1963). Their research showed that some popular responses in Rorschach Test is closely culturally related.

In summary, the limited cross-cultural research conducted, revealed that people from disparate cultures respond to the Rorschach inkblots in distinct ways. For example, group differences were found in the use of pure color, white space, popular responses, and integration of percepts. Additionally, the protocols of some Chinese subjects have shown an increase of pure form and a decrease of human movement and pure color when compared with American subjects.

Although some important patterns of Rorschach responses were found among different cultures, the problems in cross-cultural study of Rorschach are apparent. First of all, some analysis of the protocols was carry out with little or no knowledge of the individual subjects and their culture. Second, almost no report of the conditions under which the Rorschach Test was given. There is little or no information concerning details of administration process. Therefore, there is no serious effort to explore the influence of the culture upon the testing process (Lindzey, 1961). Third, many researchers recognize the different patterns of Rorschach performance in their study but do not fully analyze their potential impact upon the obtained results. Fourth, some investigators have failed to make a adequate review of the nonpersonality factors that may have presented to the aspects of Rorschach performance upon which their interpretations are made. In addition, only one study addressed the issue of language differences, so it was unclear if the subjects' native language or English was used in the studies. As discussed in Part III, translation is a very complex process and it is surprising and unfortunate that the cross-cultural studies on personality did not address this issue.

Problems other than language differences and translation issues were also apparent in the Chinese Rorschach studies.

1. These limited studies were conducted either in America or Taiwan and the samples may not be representative of such a large and varied populations as those of China and the United States.
2. These studies were studied almost 30 years ago and since 1960s

there have apparently been no further published studies using Rorschach techniques involving empirical comparisons of Chinese subjects with those in other cultures.

3. The studies were exploratory in nature. They did not discuss hypothesis testing and there was limited use of inferential statistics.
4. Although these limited studies explored some patterns of Chinese Rorschach performances, there is a lack of consideration of the meanings of these patterns in Chinese society. It seems that no attempt is made to answer that to what extent these patterns mean a lack of capability, psychopathology, or these patterns are developed based on the Chinese culture norms.

The present study is a modest attempt to provide additional information by using samples recently collected from mainland China and America to study some Rorschach responses of American and Chinese adult subjects with respect to cultural and personality differences. Translation issues will also be addressed in the study. It was my hypotheses that, based on the characteristics of the Chinese culture and on several research the Chinese subjects, when compared with the American subjects, would present decreased spontaneity, increased emotional control, and distant interpersonal relationships.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

Hypotheses

This study was designed to investigate some Rorschach scores of American and Chinese adult subjects with respect to cultural and personality differences. In particular, the following hypotheses were tested:

1. When compared with the American subjects, the Chinese subjects will give a significantly lower total number of responses (R) and more card rejections (Rej). This difference would be indicative of less spontaneity, and more constriction and blocking of associations for the Chinese subjects.

2. When compared with the American subjects, the Chinese subjects will give significantly less color (C, C'), human emotion (HE), movement (HM, AM, OM) and malevolent (M) responses, but more benevolent (B) responses and a higher percent of pure form (F%). The decreased color and human emotion responses are indicative of a more rational, less emotional approach. Research studies have concluded that Chinese have more emotional control, and are less anxious or emotionally disturbed by their environment. The increase in benevolent responses and decrease in malevolent responses lends support for Confucian theory of the mind's power. The Chinese show a more positive outlook which further diminishes the negative effects of the environment. An increased F% will add additional evidence of the Chinese sample's emotional constriction. Increased F% demonstrates more

control over impulses and an increase in the balance between the self and the external world. The hypothesized decrease in movement represents less imaginative activity. Additionally, since Chinese society is more structured, and people are taught to value the group principles, the decreased movement may represent a diminished need for fantasy to delay spontaneous impulses or responses.

3. When compared with the American subjects, the Chinese subjects will display significantly less articulation of human percepts (HA). This would be in accordance with Chinese research, indicating that Chinese favor a more distant role in their interpersonal relationships.

The rationale for choosing these variables are the followings:

In Rorschach study, movement and color responses are frequent and perhaps the most important "determinants" in the Rorschach Test.

Let us first consider movement response. The movement responses are scored differently by different Rorschach scoring and interpretation systems. According to the Burstein-Loucks system, responses scored as HM, are those in which human movement was perceived; responses scored as AM, are those in which animal movement was perceived; and responses scored as OM, are those in which object movement was perceived. According to the Burstein and Loucks system, human movement responses (HM) generally tend to be interpreted as indications of the imagination of a world informed by human motives and feelings; animal responses represent the conflict innate in human interaction is "diffused by the Disneyesque defenses of symbolization, repression, and displacement" (1989, p. 12), and object

movement can be interpreted as instinctual pressures. The OM responses can also be regarded as signs of experiencing excessive tension, frustration and hostility (Exner, 1974). It is considered that the HM responses involve a more sophisticated inner experience, indicated by organization and reasoning, whereas the AM and OM responses are less well created and probably less controlled than HM. Each of these three types of inner activity facilitate to protect and reorient the individual in his/her environment (Exner, 1974). It seems that the most spontaneous projection of the personality into the Rorschach response is the movement response, and that the clearest identification of the subject and his production is represented by human movement (Richards, 1953).

The way in which an individual handles color in the Rorschach responses is supposed to reveal his or her characteristic response to outside emotional stimuli. The color (C) responses are important as affective demonstrations relating to the interaction between the subject and his/her environment. They display a looseness of cognitive control, wherein the mental activity of the subject is overwhelmed and controlled by emotion. The C responses can be interpreted as sensitivity, irritability and suggestiveness. However, they are not associated with all emotions. They tend to disappear in distress affect state. Therefore, they seem to be more related to external stimuli. The achromatic color (C') responses often indicate an anxious form of adaptation and depressive feelings. They may also illustrate a form of affective restriction. This restriction can be described as a form of internal expression of affect. The affect is released in C' responses, but not exhibit directly into the external

world. The experience associated with the C' responses are usually distress and tension.

In the Burstein-Loucks system, there is a sector evaluating interpersonal expectations. They are illustrated by articulation of human percepts (HA), motivational articulation (MA), which involves imagining human movement (HM) and or human emotions (HE), and motivational valuation (MV), which consists of benevolent (B) and malevolent (M) responses . These responses are indicators of the individual's ability to conceive his/her interpersonal world in terms of "social roles and interpersonal motivations", and the extent to which the environment is perceived as desirable or intimidating.

The less total number of responses and more number of card rejection may suggest constriction, defensiveness and lack of spontaneity.

F% indicates the percentage of pure form used without an intervening expression of fantasy or emotion. This can be a good index of affective control. A greater rate of F% may also indicate some form of defense and constriction (Exner, 1974). The high or low F% probably provides some information concerning the "style of response" to situation associated with affect. In some cultural situations, overly expressive emotion is appropriate. However, in other cultural situations, such as in Chinese cultural situations, the restriction of emotion is a desirable phenomenon. Table 1 summarizes the hypotheses with the respect to the Burstein-Loucks system.

Table 1

Prediction of Some Rorschach Performance in the Chinese Subjects

Rorschach Variables	Rorschach Responses
All B	more
All M	less
AM	less
C	less
C'	less
F%	more
HA	less
HE	less
HM	less
MA	less
OM	less
R	less
Rej	more

Subjects

This study will utilize 53 Chinese and 50 American adult volunteers. Here, the adjective Normal is used to describe those respondents who were never hospitalized for mental illness and who did not manifest any gross signs of it.

The Chinese sample was collected from May 1986 to April 1987 and consisted of a specific, non-random population chosen from several schools, factories and companies in Changsha city, Human Province, south of China. They were selected by Shenggang Li (1988), a Chinese Rorschach researcher, and were chosen on certain

psychological and socially desirable traits such as being formally educated, economically stable, presently employed or enrolled in school, and relatively free of a history of psychiatric and physical symptoms.

The participants in this study were 53 adult volunteers, 28 male and 25 female subjects. Twenty five percent of these subjects were students and thirteen percent of them were office workers. Subjects ranged in age from 16 years old to age 38.

The male group ranged in age from 16 to 37 years, with a mean age of 26.11. The range of formal education in this group was between 7 through 15 years of schooling with a mean education of 11.68 years.

The female group ranged in age from 16 to 38 years old, with a mean age of 24.88. In formal education, the group ranged from 9 through 16 years of schooling with a mean education of 12.12 years. As a total sample, the group had a mean age of 25.52 years and mean formal education of 11.89 years.

The American group also consisted of a specific, non-random population selected on certain psychological and socially desirable traits. To be included in this sample, subjects had to meet the following criteria: some college education; either employed or engaged in family rearing; engaged in civic activity; and a minimum of psychiatric symptoms.

The participants in this study were 50 adult volunteers, including 25 male and 25 female. Subjects ranged in age from 18 through 60 years. The subjects volunteered to participate in this study while they were attending a training seminar at the Ecumenical Center in San Antonio. All testing was conducted during the years

1970 to 1975. Thirty percent of these subjects were clergy and seventy percent of them were members from community service organizations.

To screen for psychiatric symptoms all perspective subjects were administered the Cornell Index (1948) which contains one hundred and one questions designed to identify persons with significant bodily symptoms and personality disturbances. A subject was determined eligible for participation in the study if a Cornell Index score was less than 13 since scores above this cut off level indicate persons with serious neuropsychiatric and psychosomatic disturbances (Cornell Index Manual).

The male group ranged in age from 22 to 59, with a mean age of 39.12. The group's range of formal education was between 14 to 18 years of schooling with a mean education of 16.48 years. The female group ranged in age from 22 to 60 years old, with a mean age of 40.0. In formal education, the group ranged from 12 to 18 years of schooling with a mean education of 14.80 years. As a total sample, the group had a mean age of 39.74 and the mean of formal education was 15.73 years.

Tables 2, 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3 summarize the comparison of Chinese and American group in sex, age and education level. Mention needs to be made that Chinese educational system is different from that of American system. For example, it requires ten years of education to graduate from high school, while in America it needs twelve years. Therefore, the author converted the years of education from China to American years of education in order to compare the difference of education level between the two groups.

Table 2

Comparison of Chinese and American Groups in
Sex, Mean Age, and Mean Education Level

Group	N	Male	Female	Age	Educational Level
Chinese	53	28	25	25.52	11.92
American	50	25	25	39.74	15.73

Table 2.1

Comparison of Two Groups in Sex

Group	N	Male	Female
Chinese	53	28	25
America	50	25	25

Chi Square = 0.083 P = 0.7739

Table 2.2

Comparison of Two Groups in Age

Group	N	Mean	SD
Chinese	53	25.52	6.7
American	50	39.74	11.27

$t = 7.529$ $P = -0.0000^*$

$* = p < 0.05$

Table 2.3

Comparison of Two Groups in Education Level

Group	N	Mean	SD
Chinese	53	11.92	1.51
American	50	15.60	2.14

$t = -9.98$ $P = -0.0001^*$

$* = p < 0.05$

Test Materials

The Rorschach Inkblot test was individually administered to each subject. The Burstein-Loucks system was used for administration and scoring in the American adult subjects. The Exner system was used for administration and scoring in Chinese adult subjects originally when these data were collected in China, and the Burstein-Loucks system was used for rescoring these protocols. The following variables were selected All B, All M, AM, C, C', F%, HA, HE, HM, MA, OM, R, and Rej responses.

Procedure

All the sessions with the subjects involved individual administration of the Rorschach Inkblot test. For U.S. subjects, instructions used were from the Burstein-Loucks scoring system while for the Chinese subjects, the instructions used were from Exner's scoring system when this group was examined in China. All American protocols in this study were scored twice by independent scorers and the differences were reconciled by a third scorer. All Chinese protocols were scored originally on the Exner system and were rescored twice by independent scorers and differences reconciled by a third and a fourth scorer based on the Burstein-Loucks scoring system.

Translating Chinese to English

The American subjects in this study were administered by American researchers. Both examiners and examinees used their native language, English.

Protocols obtained from this group were scored independently and reconciled by American researchers. Therefore, there were no translation issues for these subjects.

The Chinese subjects were administered by Chinese Researchers in China where both examiners and examinees speak Chinese language. The data then was brought to Burstein-Loucks personality research lab by Shenggang Li, a Chinese Rorschach researcher who was a research scholar in this lab in 1990. These Chinese protocols were translated into English by Li and this author who are Chinese-English bilinguals and familiar with the Burstein-Loucks system, scored independently based on the Burstein-Loucks system and, and reconciled by a native English speaker who is also familiar with the Burstein-Loucks system. Therefore, it is essential to discuss the process of how we translated Chinese Rorschach protocols into English.

When translating Chinese Rorschach responses to English, the translators tried to choose an existing English word which had the closest equivalent meaning in Chinese language. The translators also took into account the affect and emotion, as well as any information in the message and interpreted the cultural context between the two languages during the translating process. It is beyond dispute that problems for the translator are created when two languages lack a one-to-one relationship between grammatical structure, including tense system, demonstrative and adverbs of time and place. The translator had to assess the boundaries of Chinese words and the situations they created within the Rorschach responses.

Another translation technique used in this study was multiple translations: the same text translated by more than one translator. The Chinese Rorschach responses

were translated twice by two different translators. It is recognized that two different translators do not come up with the exactly the same translation, since translators' initial way of seeing a response varies according to different interpretations of elements from the Chinese language into English language.

In conclusion, when translating Chinese Rorschach responses to English, the translators worked on the following three steps: 1. analysis of the respective languages, source and receptor; 2. careful study of the source-language text; 3. determination of the appropriate equivalents.

Interscorer reliability

Twenty protocols in this study were randomly selected for the purpose of scoring reliability check. The scores were partitioned into such variables as justifications, imaginal aspects, articulation of human concepts, motivational articulation and explicit motivational valuation in accordance with hypotheses.

Statistical Analysis

A series of statistical analyses were performed between the responses of the American and Chinese groups.

1. To compare the group differences between Chinese and American subjects on each selected Rorschach variables, a t test was conducted. The means and standard deviations of the Rorschach variables of the two groups were compared with each other.

2. To compare the group differences between Chinese and American subjects on each selected Rorschach variable, a covariance analysis method with the age and sex as the covariate variables was used in order to control the variances accounted for from those two non-Rorschach variables.

3. To further compare the group differences on selected Rorschach variables, the percentage of these variables were also compared.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Interscorer Reliability

Interscorer reliability is presented in Table 3. The interscorer agreement for each variable was above 85% and the average agreement was 95.02%.

Table 3

Interscorer Agreement of the Chinese Rorschach Responses

Rorchach category	Interscorer agreement (%)
Justifications	96.5
Imaginal aspects	96.3
HA	95.6
MA	96.7
MV	99.4
(MV)	85.6
Total agreement	94.7

Statistical Analysis

The means, standard deviations, and t tests of the responses of the American and Chinese groups are presented in Table 4 and Figure 1. The statistically significant differences among Chinese and American groups can be summarized as following: the Chinese adult subjects gave more Benevolent responses (all B), less Color and Achromatic Color responses (C, C'), less Human Articulation responses (HA), less Human Movement responses (HM), less Motivational Articulation responses (MA), less Object Movement responses (OM), a lower number of Total Responses (Rs), but a greater number of Card Rejection responses (Rej).

The t test also showed that there were no significant differences in some Rorschach responses between Chinese and American adult subjects. They were animal movement (AM), pure form percent (F%), human emotion (HE), all malevolent responses (all M).

The results of the covariance analysis method with age and sex as the covariate variables are presented in Tables 5 and 6. A significant group effect was found for the variables of all B, C, C', HM, MA, OM, R, and Rej. No significant effect was found for sex differences on any of the variables. A second group effect study also found a significant group effect for the variables of all B, C, MA, OM, R, and Rej.. The only significant effect for age was found for the variable OM.

The results of the percentage of selected Rorschach variables in Chinese and American groups are presented in Table 7 and Figure 2. A significant group difference was found for the variables of all B, AM, C, and Rej.

Table 4

Means, Standard Deviations, and t tests of Some Rorschach Scores
in Chinese and American Groups

Rorschach Variables	Chinese		American		t	Prob
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD		
All B	6.83	3.79	2.04	1.94	8.14	.0001*
All M	4.38	2.28	4.80	2.68	0.86	.3929
AM	3.00	2.30	2.64	2.20	0.81	.4193
C	1.66	1.90	3.06	2.26	-3.39	.0010*
C'	0.74	1.21	1.46	1.67	-2.53	.0130*
F%	49.93	18.59	48.40	13.56	0.48	.6327
HA	2.71	0.62	3.32	0.41	-5.67	.0001*
HE	0.34	0.68	0.58	0.95	-1.48	.1448
HM	2.60	2.29	3.52	2.19	-2.08	.0404*
MA	2.60	2.32	3.86	2.64	-2.56	.0121*
OM	0.49	0.87	0.92	1.16	-2.12	.0368*
R	19.88	7.47	24.42	7.40	-3.09	.0026*
Rej	0.45	0.75	0.04	0.20	3.87	.0003*

* = $p < .05$

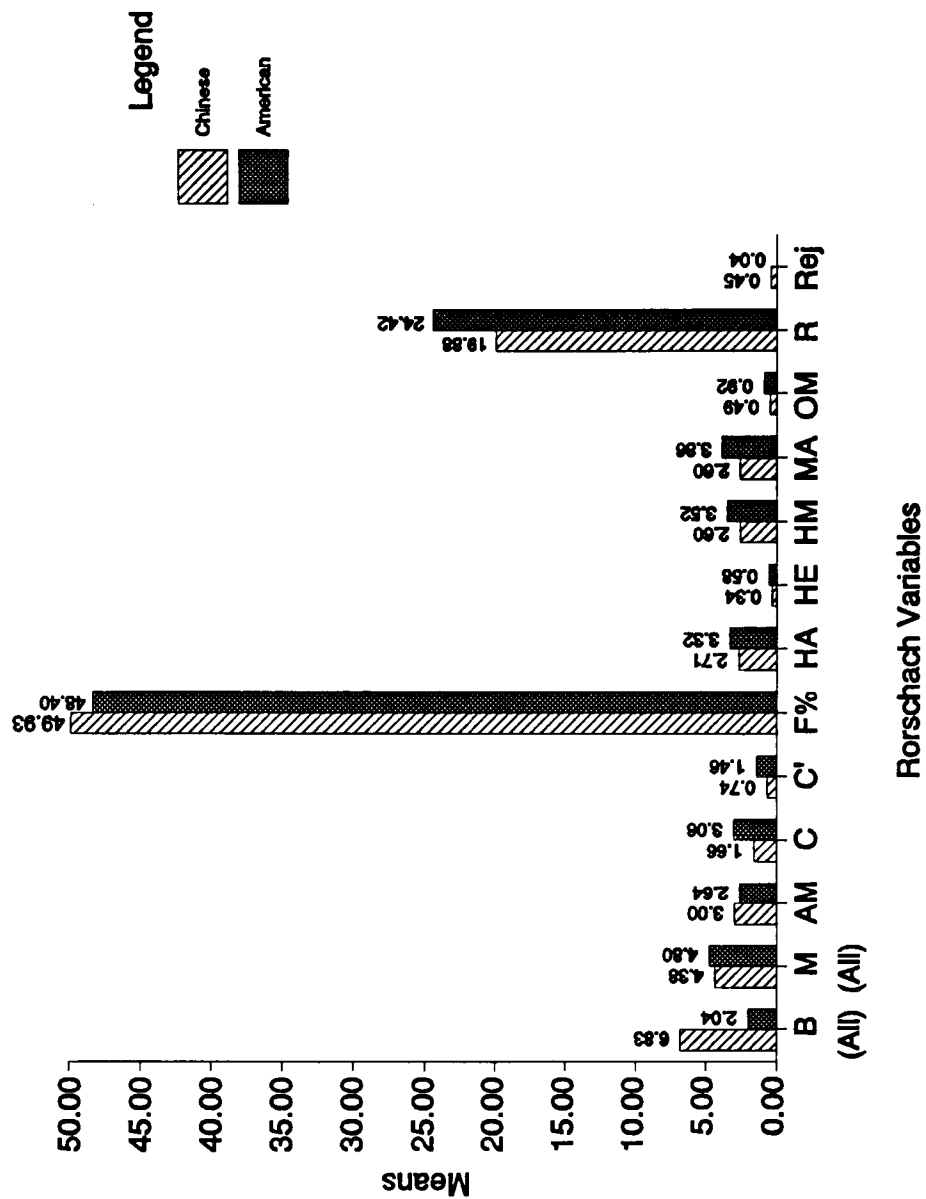


Figure 1. Comparison of Means of Some Rorschach Scores in the Chinese and the American Groups.

Table 5

Comparison of Some Rorschach Scores in Two Different Sex Groups

Rorschach Variables	Prob	Prob Sex	Prob Group
All B	0.0001*	0.1053	0.0001*
All M	0.5188	0.6451	0.4031
AM	0.0013*	0.8388	0.3334
C	0.0062*	0.2208	0.0011*
C'	0.0421*	0.3516	0.0151*
F%	0.5108	0.8558	0.6685
HA	0.2819	0.1618	0.2576
HE	0.0580	0.2058	0.1397
HM	0.2197	0.6525	0.0420*
MA	0.0650	0.4405	0.0121*
OM	0.0158*	0.2064	0.0398*
R	0.0137*	0.8740	0.0030*
Rej	0.0005*	0.1329	0.0003*

* = $p < 0.05$

Table 6

Comparison of Some Rorschach Scores in Two Age Groups
(The two groups were divided by less than median and greater than median.)

Rorschach Variables	Prob	Prob Age	Prob Group
All B	0.0001*	0.3578	0.0001*
All M	0.5299	0.4098	0.7165
AM	0.1383	0.1316	0.1463
C	0.0091*	0.5402	0.0015*
C'	0.0235*	0.0715	0.1540
F%	0.8046	0.6838	0.8304
HA	0.2109	0.5737	0.2253
HE	0.1409	0.7478	0.1545
HM	0.0612	0.7427	0.0523
MA	0.0388*	0.9309	0.0243*
OM	0.0075*	0.0072*	0.0018*
R	0.0036*	0.6522	0.0041*
Rej	0.0034*	0.5038	0.0004*

* = $P < 0.05$

Table 7

Percentages and t tests of Some Rorschach Scores
in the Chinese and the American Groups

Rorschach Variables	Chinese Mean %	American Mean %	t	Prob
All B	.33	.08	12.17	.000*
All M	.22	.19	1.33	.187
AM	.15	.11	2.13	.036*
C	.08	.12	-2.51	.014*
C'	.04	.06	-1.39	.160
F%	.50	.48	.48	.633
HA	.20	.19	.31	.755
HE	.02	.02	- .30	.763
HM	.13	.14	- .55	.585
MA	.13	.15	-1.10	.274
OM	.02	.04	-1.74	.084
Rej	.03	.002	3.53	.001*

* = $p < .05$

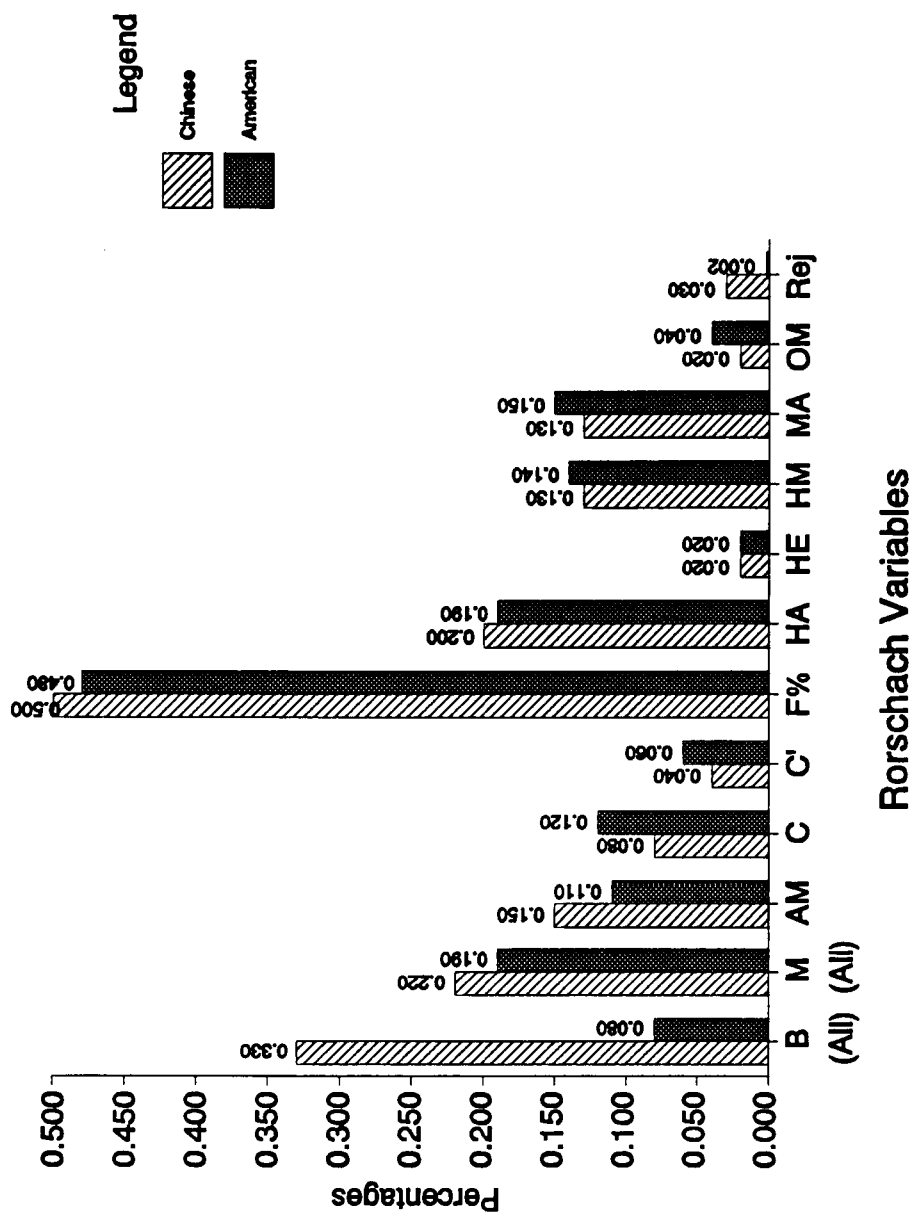


Figure 2. Comparison of Percentages of Some Rorschach Scores in the Chinese and the American Groups.

Discussion

In accordance with the hypotheses of this study, the statistical analysis showed that 9 of 13 prediction were confirmed with regard to group differences between Chinese and American subjects. More specifically, when compared with the American group, Chinese subjects showed significantly higher rates of all benevolent responses (all B), but lower rates of color and achromatic color (C and C'), human articulation (HA), human movement (HM), motivational articulation (MA), object movement (OM), and total number of responses (Rs). The Chinese subjects also showed significantly higher rates of card rejection (Rej). These findings are in agreement with Chinese culture and personality characteristics and generally confirms the results of Abel et al. (1949) and Richard (1953) as discussed before.

Contrary to the hypotheses, the statistical analysis did not show significant differences in responses of some other Rorschach variables in two groups, such as animal movement (AM), pure form percent (F%), human emotion (HE), and malevolent (M) responses.

The movement response is the prototype of subjective interpretation of the blot that going beyond justifying one's perception. It is considered that the most spontaneous projection of the personality into the Rorschach response is the movement response. Human movement responses are generally interpreted as indications of the imagination of a world informed by human motives and affect. Therefore, the under-emphasis on human movement in the Chinese group suggests a lack of spontaneity and lack of inner imaginative life indicative of having all life

activities defined with less toleration of deviation. OM responses can be interpreted as signs of experiencing excessive tension, frustration and hostility, and feeling of loss in a world and out of control, the lower OM responses may indicate that the Chinese adult subjects in this study feel less tense, frustrated, and less hostile in a more predictable environment.

Color responses in the Rorschach are taken to imply a response outside emotional stimuli; characteristic response to outside emotional stimuli, individuals who lack control over their emotions are thought to give many color responses. Thus, the fewer color and achromatic color responses indicate that Chinese people may have a more rational than emotional approach. They may be less anxious, and less emotionally. This also is consistent with the Chinese culture which emphasizes restraint and inhibition of strong feelings, especially negative feelings. Emotions are expressed and controlled in different situations.

The Chinese culture has emphasized the importance of the formal relationships the Chinese maintain with people, the control they show over impulses, and the balance that they keep between themselves with other people. It is not encouraged that one approaches a stranger too closely or reveals excessive spontaneity and impulsivity. At the same time, the Chinese society favors individuals who manage their environment and are not disturbed by negative stimuli when interacting with other individuals or their environment. Perhaps these factors may explain the decreased emphasis on human articulation and motivational articulation responses in the Chinese subjects.

The lower total number of responses and greater number of card rejections in the Chinese group suggest constriction, defensiveness and lack of spontaneity. These findings are also consistent with the Chinese culture. Typically, the Chinese society is more restrictive and controlled than the American society.

The non-significant differences between these two groups among some Rorschach variables such as pure form percent, human emotion, and total malevolent responses may be interpreted to mean that the Chinese and the American subjects in this study have equal use of displacement and constriction, equal ability to externalize, and equal optimism in spite of culture differences between the two groups.

Abel and Hsu's (1949) conclusion on Chinese personality, is worth quoting here:

Students of Chinese personality and informants interviewed investigations on Chinese culture have repeatedly stressed the fact that the formal relationships the Chinese maintain with people, the control they show over impulses, and the balance they keep between the self and the world around (nature), is related to the role each person is expected to play throughout his life. It is felt that if one approaches stranger too closely, reveals excessive spontaneity and impulsivity, one loses one's role and one forsakes one's equilibrium (p. 299).

In summary, the findings from the Chinese subjects' Rorschach responses are consistent with the Chinese culture, which emphasizes control of impulse, balance between inner self and outer world, and maintenance of psychological distance between self and others. The Chinese subjects also display a tendency toward conformity, management of emotional expression, and distant interpersonal relations. Spontaneity and impulsivity are not encouraged.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSIONS

Limitations

This study leads to many questions regarding the applicability of Western theories, concepts, and methods to the Chinese setting. One concern centers on the use of Rorschach Test in the Chinese society because local norms are often not developed, although a few studies have developed some local norms (Li, 1988). One should also be reminded not to lose sight of the individual-difference variability found in all cultures and the subgroup variability found in most of them. In China, considerable diversity exists with respect to ethnicity, language, education, urbanization, and modernization. Since this study involves only a small population from one province in China, the results obtained may not be a good representative of such a large population as China. Therefore, one should avoid a marked tendency to overgeneralize findings based on this limited sample to large population subgroups. Additionally, the American sample consisted of individuals involved in church related volunteers, while the Chinese sample consisted of students, office workers, and factory workers, about whom nothing similar is known. As discussed above, the Chinese data was conducted in China in an attempt to develop a local norm. Thus, it was not designed to compare with the American group while the data was collected. We utilized this Chinese group in the study mainly because the data convenience since Shenggang Li brought these data to Burstein-Loucks personality

research lab when he was a research scholar in the lab. The two groups therefore varied on a number of characteristics outside of cultural differences and the discrepancies and/or similarities in their Rorschach responses may be based in part of these differences. There is also the possibility that the subjects vary a great deal in their attitudes toward the test and the testing process. The Chinese subjects are likely to feel uncomfortable with the unfamiliar examiner in the testing situation and tend to report less spontaneously toward Rorschach stimuli based on the culture and personality characteristics as discussed above. It is also evident that the Chinese examiner seems to make less inquiry compared with those of American examiners in the testing process. This lack of inquiry may lose a lot of important information. In addition, the Chinese data was originally administered and scored based on Exner system and then rescored according to Burstein-Loucks system which is different from Exner system in some degrees. In conclusion, all of these factors may impact the confidence in the reported findings.

The differences in a variety of personalities have been demonstrated in this study, but they, as a rule, assume the form of overlapping curves with significant differences in central tendency. Moreover, cultural groups are likely to vary on several dimensions and to form several factors, similar or different across culture lines.

Research Implications

It can be expected that there will be culturally based personality differences between different cultural groups. Once the problem of choosing measures is settled, the cross-cultural study of personality must take the problem of intragroup variability into account. The assumption that national character is one distinct construct needs to be addressed. The investigator must understand that probably all cultures allow more than one formula of adaptation among their members and this applies even more so to the large-scale national cultures, such as American and Chinese cultures.

An adequate cross-cultural study of personality must also account for meaningful variations of personality characteristics among its members. For example, in Japan, a contrast exists in the socialization of the offspring of businessmen and salaried employees, clearly prepared for different slots in life, with different values (Vogel, 1963). Some researchers restrict themselves to the descriptions of subgroups in their particular environment, without considering the commonalities of fisherman, businessmen, or agriculturalists across a variety of settings.

Not only is there intragroup variability that complicates cross-cultural comparison of personality, but individual variability across situations, and across levels of consciousness, must be integrated into the cross-cultural study of personality. The prototypical approach has been to assume the unity of personality within culture. Casual observation, clinical study, and systematic research converge in suggesting that such a state is an exception rather than a rule. This is especially

evident in countries, like China, undergoing rapid economic, social and political transformation. The complexities of the relationship between personality and culture intrude upon and obstruct the establishment of clear-cut links between cultural characteristics and personality variables.

One further point deserves note. In the attempt to compare Chinese cultural groups with American norms as a baseline, differences may not reflect a "disability" related cultural influence or a sign of mental "illness". For example, in the case of Chinese subjects, a lower amount of human movement may not represent defensive failure to utilize fantasy, but instead may reflect a calm, straight forward, realistic mode of perceiving and thinking, and subjective life structured in different ways.

It is hoped that future studies in the field of cross-cultural psychology will have a wider scope while using the Rorschach techniques to assess different cultural groups. In order to confirm the findings presented here, it is necessary to further study Chinese from different cultural, educational, and age groups. This study represents a step towards more structured empirical cross-cultural research in the area of personality theory.

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