

THE INFLUENCE OF CULTURE ON THE CONSTRUAL OF THE SELF AMONGST
WHITE, BLACK AND INDIAN STUDENTS.

BY

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ABSTRACT

The influence of culture on the construal of the normal and abnormal self was compared for three race groups of students, namely, White, Black and Indian students. Furthermore, the effect of gender on the construal of the self for the three race groups were investigated. The subjects for the study were 102 first-year psychology students (mean age : 18.5). The test consisted of two sets of 10 psychological words. Each student completed one test by providing two synonyms for every stimulus word given. Using the Semantic Differential, the synonyms were rated by nine independent judges, against ten polar dimensions, relating to the concept of the self. Frequency scores were obtained for the number of times that a synonym was used by the subjects and cross-tabulation of these scores with race and gender were performed. Logit analysis, using 7 different models of interaction between synonym, race and gender were also performed. Using the Western vs. Non-western and the Individualism vs. Collectivism models of the self, results indicate that the White subjects fitted the Western and Individualistic models of the self. The Black and Indian subjects construed the self as being both individualistic and collectivistic and the self was seen as totally self-orientated. With the abnormal self, the Black and Indian students emphasised both the somatic and psychological complaints, while the White subjects emphasised only the psychological aspects. Regarding gender, the males in the study used mental words while the females used word depicting behaviour. Summarising, the results indicate that the White, Black and Indian subjects construe the self in a similar manner, indicating that the Black and Indian subjects are in the process of change or acculturation.

CHAPTER 1

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In South Africa, one is faced with a number of different cultures and four major race groups; namely, Whites, Coloureds, Blacks and Indians. Amongst the different race groups, differences in religion, place of origin and language exist, each creating a unique culture within the major culture. South Africa is unique in the sense that all the major cultures were allowed to exist with very little outside influence, hence the maintenance of four different major cultures. An example of the outside influence are, the coveted efforts to discredit traditional religion and beliefs, specially amongst the Black people. This was obviously the result of the apartheid system; which allowed the cultures to develop separately, but also added it's own influence with fear, insecurity, anxiety and suppression of identity.

According to Lambley (1980), apartheid had its own means of shaping a society, particularly with personality development. Individuals adapted to the apartheid environment; they adapted to racism, exploitation, to living in their own colour groups and to living just within the means prescribed for them. Hence, most of their energy and creativity were channelled towards manipulating, bending and always using the system. Theoretically they desired change, but were complacent about achieving it. However, the psychological impact of apartheid resulted in a deterioration of mental health amongst many members of the community, particularly amongst the Coloured community, leading to alcoholism and other substance abuse as a means of coping with unnatural living conditions.

According to Mazrui (1991), apartheid was a mean of White control, it was not just a lifestyle. Blacks were not just brutalised, they were humiliated, and their identities were suppressed, thus, leading to poor self-esteem. The expression of the Black and minority group identities would have led to destabilisation, resulting in an end to apartheid. The abandonment or dismantling of apartheid will lead to a process of disintegration that may result in a search for alternative means of achieving White control. What is more important, an end to apartheid leads, not only to a non-racial South Africa, but also to a multicultural South Africa. Apartheid in all respects was useful in slowing down the education of the Black people, since educating the people would produce leaders who would question and defy the old apartheid order.

Under the apartheid system, diverse cultures were separated, but in a multicultural system, the societies need to accept and respect each other. Not only are the major cultures important, but the minority or ethnic cultures need to be preserved. Racial segregation resulted in the cultures not trusting each other as well conflict between the races. It also resulted in keeping the Blacks, Indians and Coloureds lacking in education, by the process of separate education. The process of Apartheid also resulted in Africanising the Whites and deAfricanising the Blacks. Hence, the Afrikaners, because of their names, identified with the land and the continent, but not with its people. Blacks were given the names 'Native' or 'Bantu' in place of Africans, thus, in terminology, they were the last to arrive in Africa, their own land (Mazrui, 1991).

South Africa has the greatest diversity of groups of peoples in Africa, but not of cultures, since the minor cultures were not allowed to flourish freely, due to apartheid, hence, what

South Africa needs is a non-racial but multicultural state. Multicultural in the sense that it must encompass the major cultures of the land as well as the minor cultures, this together with the Western culture. Mazrui (1991) stresses that the Western culture or Westernisation is so rife that the minority or indigenous cultures, as well as the major cultures of the land, are in danger of being eliminated. This is possible when one considers that some aspects of the indigenous cultures or traditional religions are being rejected by the Blacks and Indians in favour of the Western culture; which is often viewed as the better or more progressive culture. For example, the rejection of sangomas and priests by individuals in a community in favour of people in the medical or scientific field. Furthermore, European languages are dominant, hence, even the major African and Indian cultures are endangered against the lure of the West. Respecting a religion or culture does not mean that one has to be part of it, rather in a multicultural society, one needs to accept and live with other cultures, hence, colour differences need to be rejected, not cultural differences.

Since the Indian people are part of the South African society, further integration is needed.

One unique aspect of the Asian culture that Indians are representative of, is that female leaders take over from the males in the family, particularly in the political arena. This is unique to countries in Asia such as Pakistan, Bangladesh, India, Sri Lanka, Philippines, etc., hence, women are politically empowered. This concept cuts across the barriers of religion as well as of race, since the religion of the above countries are Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and Christianity respectively. In term of race, the inheritance of the political mantle was offered to the wife of the late Rajiv Ghandi, who is not Hindu or Indian, but she declined. This concept of females inheriting the political mantle is a uniquely Asian concept and may even exist amongst the Indian people of South Africa. (Mazrui, 1991). To date, this concept has not

emerged, but it is possible that the Indian people of South Africa may have changed or are in the process of change, hence this concept may have been discarded in favour of a more Western concept, such as democratic elections.

Hence, there is a need for investigating the different cultures, (cross-cultural research) to understand the differences and similarities that may exist between them, particularly for a peaceful and accepting multicultural society. Much of the cross-cultural research that has been conducted is European or American research involving these two groups with Asian, Hispanic and African-American subjects. Much of the research available regarding the South African context was conducted in the apartheid era and may be biased with the tests used and the manner in which they were conducted. Post apartheid research, involving the different cultures is still in progress.

With this research, the aim is to understand how the different race groups construe the normal and abnormal self and if culture has any effect on this construal. The self may be defined as the entire individual, encompassing many cognitive states such as temperaments, emotions and personal actions of the individual.

Because of the unique situation in South Africa, where the different races were separated geographically and there was minimal contact between the different groups, the cultures remained relatively separate from each other, hence, race may be used interchangeably with culture. This means that race is a proxy measure for culture. However, within the South African situation, it is virtually impossible for the different race groups and the different cultures to have existed or flourished in total isolation, hence one needs to acknowledge the

influence or impact that the different cultures had/have on each other, particularly when using race as a proxy measure of culture.

In defining cross-cultural psychology Heelas (1981), states that these psychology's are statements about the nature of the person and his relation with the world. They contain rules and advice about the way people should behave, feel and how they may achieve success and happiness in life. Lock, (1981) states that indigenous psychology's are necessary for sustaining and adjusting the self towards social and cultural action as well as enabling sociocultural institutions to operate.

According to Shweder and Sullivan (1993), cultural psychology is the study of the way cultures and psyches shape each other. It is also a label for empirical studies designed to assess and reassess the uniformity of psychic unity. Furthermore, it calls for the re-examination of the methods being used in cultural psychology to study the mental states and psychological processes across cultures.

Researchers in this field are alert to the possible existence of cross-cultural empirical generalities that may arise. Cultural and institutional factors that are particular to a population may have a major impact on the processes of psychological functioning and human development. Local factors of a particular cultural environment may also interact with more widely distributed factors to produce diverse outcomes. Hence, one needs to find a way of acknowledging and documenting the variety of normal behaviour and thoughts amongst the different groups of people without underestimating the universal aspects of the self, emotion and behaviour. Furthermore, one cannot dismiss the measurements obtained as erroneous,

neither can one interpret the differences as deficiencies of the self. The goal of cross-cultural psychology is thus to explain the implicit meanings that shape psychological processes and to examine the distribution of these meanings across cultural groups and to identify the manner of their social acquisition, with the core assumption being 'universalism without the uniformity' (Shweder and Sullivan, 1993).

The concepts of the self and culture are interdependent since one cannot exist without the other. Thus, it is common to regard the self as a cultural object and to examine the environmental or cultural factors that lead to the expression or inhibition of certain aspects of the self, but one needs to remember that culture is a product of the self. Selves are constituted within a culture and the culture is maintained by the community of selves. Culture constitutes an individuals behavioural environment and provides him with a basic orientation that enables him to act in an intelligible manner in a world that is so constituted (Lock, 1981).

Much of what is known about the self is based on the Western concept of the self, which regards the individual as an independent, self-contained autonomous entity. However, amongst the Non-western cultures, the self is interdependent, generally with the surrounding context. It is the 'self' in relation to the 'other', which is the focal point in the individual's experience.

In the following chapter, the concept of culture will be reviewed, together with its association with race and psychiatry. Thereafter, the issues in cross-cultural psychology will be briefly discussed, followed by the methodology and the problems inherent in cross-cultural research. The self in cross-cultural psychology is then examined and it includes the concepts of the self,

the different models used to understand this concept and the way that the self is viewed in different cultures. In understanding the way that the self is viewed by different cultures, the Western concept of the self is used as a basis for comparisons and contrasts. Finally, the literature review ends with a discussion on the abnormal self or psychopathology and its relation to culture.

The chapters thereafter consist of the research itself; that is, the method used, the statistical analyses, results, discussions based on these results, and finally, the conclusion.

1.2 AIM OF THE RESEARCH

This research aims to examine the influence of culture on the construal of the self in three different races or cultural groups, namely, Whites, Blacks and Indians. Furthermore, it aims to examine the effects of gender on the construal of the self (normal and abnormal) amongst the three different race groups.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

1.3.1 Does culture influence the manner in which first-year students of different race groups; namely, Whites, Blacks and Indians construe the normal self?

1.3.2 Do the genders in the different race groups differ in their construal of the normal self?

1.3.3 Does culture influence the manner in which White, Black and Indian first-year students perceive the abnormal self, particularly with Depression?

1.3.4 Does gender influence the construal of the abnormal self, particularly with Depression?

1.4 SHORTCOMINGS OF THE RESEARCH

1.4.1 The instrument that was used for the research was compiled and used for the first time, hence it has no proven reliability and validity. Furthermore, a pilot study was not done, hence the appropriateness of the instrument, when measuring certain constructs of the self, was not known before the research was carried out.

1.4.2 The test was administered in English, hence students for whom English is a second language may have experienced problems with the interpreting of the test, as well as with answering or completing the questionnaire. Translation sheets were provided at the front desk, but were generally not used. However, the translations of the words were literal equivalents of the words and whether the words were equivalent in meaning is unknown.

1.4.3 Race and culture are used interchangeably, but with culture, the non-dominant cultures were not under studied, hence, aspects such as religion or ethnicity were not included in the study. Furthermore, the use of race as proxy measure for culture implies that the cultures existed in isolation and were not influenced by each other; an assumption which is incorrect.

1.4.4 All subjects were first year psychology students. The average age of the subjects was 18.5, but a number of the students were older and this may affect the results, as the older student may be more mature, independent, etc.

1.4.5 Since first-year students were used in the study, they are not totally representative of the population, since all have undergone some changes in the short time that they had been at the university and in contact with other students of different race groups or culture. Furthermore, because of their educational status, these students may be seen as belonging to a separate, minority culture, which may contribute to another nuisance factor.

1.4.6 The stimulus words used in the study were taken from a Euro-American textbook, hence the test may have already been biased towards the White culture.

1.4.7 The judges used in the study were mainly Indian, thus, their ratings of the synonyms to the polar adjectives may be culturally biased, leading to another nuisance factor.

1.4.8 Subjects were allocated to their race groups according to their names. This means that Coloured students were allocated to the White race group, thus increasing the number of White subjects and possibly affecting the results in some way.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter initially discusses the concept of culture. The relationship of culture with race, ethnicity, and psychiatry is briefly examined. The unique situation that existed in apartheid South Africa, where all races were segregated and minimal contact was allowed, impacted on the population of the country. The manner and type of medical help (including psychiatric and psychological aid) that the different races received, was based largely on, but not only on, the perception that people had of the patients, hence, the relationship of race and psychiatry needs to be examined.

The chapter also examines methodology and research of cultural issues, since it is the conclusions obtained from the research which enhances or destroys the credibility of different views. Furthermore, the methods employed in the research may lead to erroneous conclusions, hence, the need for discussion.

The concept of the self is later examined. This section includes models of the self which are relevant to the concept of culture. Furthermore, the Western concept of the self is examined in relation to the Non-Western concepts of the self. The role of gender is also discussed briefly.

The chapter concludes with a discussion on culture and mental illness. The way that Western and Non-Western cultures depict mental illness, in particular, the perception of depression, is examined.

2.1 THE CONCEPT OF CULTURE

When referring to culture one needs to first clarify the meaning of culture. According to Haviland (1975), culture refers to one's learned behaviour, which is passed on from generation to generation by non-hereditary means. Hence, culture is a way of life of an entire group of people and it represents an integrated pattern of human knowledge, belief and behaviour. The word 'culture' is derived from the Latin root 'colere' which means to till, cultivate or nurture like a plant (Slonim, 1991). Manifestations of culture may vary from place to place, but no culture is superior to another culture.

2.1.1 Defining Culture

The earliest definition of culture was proposed by Sir Edward Tylor in 1871 (cited in Haviland, 1975). He defined culture as a complex whole, including knowledge, beliefs, art, law, morals, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. By the mid-twentieth century, human knowledge was so advanced and so many other nations had been studied that numerous definitions of culture were proposed. Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1950), (cited in Haviland, 1975), concluded that culture consists of patterns of behaviour acquired and transmitted by means of symbols and artefacts, that is, mainly through art and language. The patterns of behaviour are based on traditional ideas and values and are characteristic of a specific human group. But, recent definitions of culture tend to also emphasise the abstract elements that lie behind one's observable behaviour. Hence, culture is a set of rules or standards which, when acted upon by the members of a society, produces

behaviour that falls within a range of variance which the members consider proper and acceptable (Haviland, 1975).

According to Slonim (1991), culture refers to the totality of learned behaviours in the context of a social system and it exists only amongst the human race, hence it is society's blueprint for behaviour. Since it is an individual's medium, there is not one aspect of human life that is not touched by culture. In many ways, culture designates what the individual pays attention to and what it ignores (Hall, 1977) (cited in Slonim, 1991).

Another definition of culture refers to social convention and states that culture is a plan for behaviour, and is not behaviour itself. It is learned as children grow up in society; hence it is a set of categories, plans and rules that people use to interpret their world and to act purposefully within it (Spradley and McCurdy, 1974) (cited in Slonim, 1991). Cultural norms specify what must be done, what needs to be done, what may be done and also what must not be done. It also prescribes solutions to life's basic problems, hence it provides stability, but at the same time it is dynamic in the sense that it is a product of people's responses to changing life situations (Slonim, 1991). Culture is also variable and arbitrary, but people of different cultures often think that their own culture is the best or the most appropriate way to live. This concept is generally known as ethnocentrism. It has powerful emotional reinforcement, particularly when everything one has learned and accepted unthinkingly during one's formative years, is being challenged by rules and values of another culture (Rack, 1982).

Not all individuals within a culture think and behave in exactly the same manner. Often, individuals within a group share different standards as a result of age, sex, beliefs or

occupation. This group functioning within a larger culture is called subculture and the degree to which it is tolerated varies from culture to culture (Haviland, 1975).

All culture is learned, it is not biologically inherited. All individuals learn their culture by growing up in it, hence it may be termed the human's social hereditary. This process of culture transmission from one generation to another is called enculturation. Through enculturation one learns the socially appropriate way of satisfying one's instinctual needs, for example, all animals, including human's, need to eat and drink when the urge arise, but generally, one eats and drinks at culturally prescribed times, hence one feels hungry as that time approaches.

These eating times vary from culture to culture, but, it is important to distinguish between the needs themselves, that is, that which is not learned and the learned ways in which they are satisfied, which are generally determined by the culture itself. Since culture is a shared set of assumptions, it is the common denominator that makes the actions of individuals intelligible to the group, hence people can predict each other's actions in a given situation and react accordingly (Haviland, 1975).

In every culture there are individuals whose behaviour may be different from the rest of the community and they earn themselves the titles of "queer, idiosyncratic, or crazy", depending on how different they are. These individuals are looked upon suspiciously by the rest of the group and are eventually excluded from the group for their deviant behaviour, particularly if they are perceived to be clinically abnormal. Most societies however, do have mechanisms whereby some form of deviant behaviour is incorporated into the group in an acceptable and appropriate manner (Haviland, 1975). For example, depression in a mild form is acceptable, but severe depression needs treatment.

Through enculturation, an individual may assimilate particular ways of thinking and acting which are largely common to the group, hence the individual's personality may be determined, to an extent, by the society in which he is raised. For example, in an extended family, enculturation renders the individual to become dependent on it, particularly in terms of the fulfilment of the individual's needs, especially the future economic needs. The extended family also curbs or controls the expressions of aggression or sexuality in its members in order to maintain group co-ordination and survival. On the other hand, the nuclear family places less emphasis on dependence and encourages the expression of aggression and sexuality on its offspring, thus allowing the individual a great deal of freedom in his relationships with others and it prepares them for independence. Since every society unconsciously selects (through reward or punishment) from the vast area of human potentialities certain traits which are considered ideal or normative, the result is a certain homogeneity of world view and behaviour (Haviland, 1975).

Among other things, the rules of behaviour, norms and customs that constitute culture are an expression of underlying value systems. Values are learned, group-specific and arbitrary, and they are also culturally determined, hence cultural relativism; which may be summarised as :

- a. each person's value system is a result of one's experience,
- b. values differ from one society to another because of different learning experiences,
- c. values are relative to the society in which they occur,
- d. no values are universal, however, the values of each culture need to be respected (Rack, 1982).

2.1.2 Cultural Change

Culture is the medium through which the human species adapts to its physical and social environment. Culture is a dynamic process, hence, it is continually changes as the individuals in the society change or adopt new rules. Various cultural institution such as marriage, religion and political or economic organisation join together to form an integrated cultural system which is fairly stable and which will remain so unless the conditions to which it has adapted undergoes some change.

The most common cause of change is generally the environment, which must be followed by an adaptive change in culture. Another cause of change is individual variation, in the way people within the culture perceive its characteristics, which may lead to changes in the way society in general interprets the norms and values of its culture. A third source of change is contact with other groups which introduces new ideas and ways of doing things which leads to change in the traditional values and norms. Culture change is a characteristic of all cultures, but the rate and direction of change may vary considerably. This generally depends on the degree of flexibility of a culture, the particular needs of the culture at a specific time as well as the degree of cohesion between the new traits and the existing cultural matrix. Even though the change within the culture is beneficial and adaptive, they are often difficult to accept by the individual in the community, because new ways of doing things often feel wrong and they also require relearning, hence cultural change may be resisted, particularly by older members of the community (Haviland, 1975).

The mechanisms which determines cultural change are:

Invention : the formation of a new habit, tool or principle, by a single individual that eventually gains the acceptance by others and becomes socially shared.

Diffusion or cultural borrowing : the inventor is the introducer of a new cultural element and is from another society.

Devolution : the acceptance of a new trait which leads to the loss of an old one, or the loss of a useful trait without a replacement.

Acculturation : the process whereby individuals from different cultural groups come together and major changes in the original culture patterns result, in either one, some or all of the cultural groups (Haviland, 1975).

Within the South African context, during the apartheid era, different race were kept relatively apart, hence, cultural change was generally not through contact. It is possible that cultural change amongst the Black, Indian and Coloured populations, was due largely to the advent of television, particularly amongst the more affluent members. However, post-apartheid South Africa has resulted in much contact between the different race groups, hence, change is probably due to acculturation.

2.1.3 Race and Culture

Since race and culture are used interchangeably in this research, the differences between the two, together with the impact that they have on each other, needs discussion. Furthermore, the effect of race and culture on psychiatry and psychology needs to be examined, since race and

culture had a profound effect on the treatment received by mental health patients in apartheid South Africa.

Psychiatry prides itself on having a background of basic sciences upon which to draw from; that is, from the evolutionary theories of Darwin and from the biological or medical models of science. Historically, two sets of ideas came into psychiatry from the biological sciences. Firstly, the idea that Black people are born with inferior brains as well as a limited capacity for growth and secondly, that their personalities tend towards abnormality and deviancy due to nature or genetic flaws and /or nurture or upbringing (Fernando, 1988). In apartheid South Africa, these type of ideas promoted racism and its impact on psychology meant that treatment for Black patients was neglected or avoided on these grounds.

The term race, has become an abomination, but about the existence of race, there is little doubt. Populations differ genetically and may be distinguishable phenotypically, for example, by appearance. Unlike some animal species, different race groups are able to interbreed and are fertile when they do, hence there is no 'pure breed', but rather each population or race group has different gene-pools differentiating them. Race differences are a fact of nature which needs to be studied to help one understand the continuing evolution of man and genetic racial differences are facts of nature and not signs of inferiority or superiority in themselves (Eysenck, 1971).

Thus, race is a biological term and it refers to differences in the inherited genetic constitution of different groups within a species. In humans, selective breeding evolved because of wide geographical separation between the different populations, which then led to the formation of

genetic pools which were advantageous to the populations living in a particular environment. Hence, races differ to the extent that their genetic pools differ, and individuals in that race differ to the extent that they draw from a different selection of gene-variables (Rack, 1982).

In relation to the behaviour and reactions of any individual, there is no doubt that culture is more important than ancestry. In many instances, nurture has more to contribute towards the problems experienced by the population than has nature, but genetically determined variations cannot be discounted altogether, for example, some diseases have a genetic component and may be detected predominantly in certain geographically-defined groups (for example, thalassaemia in the Asian population). There is little evidence to suggest that personality or other mental attributes are typical of a particular race, because such evidence may only be obtained by using tests which are free of all cultural bias, but, to date, no test can claim to be culture free. This then leads one to the question of using race as a social labelling device, particularly with people who are labelled 'coloured' in a predominantly 'white' population, since the colour of the skin or skin pigmentation appears to be the greatest single factor which governs society's attitude to members of minority groups and its influences on their own self-image (Rack, 1982).

According to Fernando (1988), psychiatry is affected by racism in various ways. In the field of research and observation, racism often underlies or even determines the methods used, the analysis of results, as well as the interpretation of the findings. Stereotypes based on racist assumptions derived from western culture or values are often taken over by practitioners and researchers. These then become incorporated into the practice or research in ways which reinforce the original assumption, thus leading to self-fulfilling prophecies.

2.1.4 Ethnicity and Culture

According to Rack (1982), many people abstain from using the term 'race', simply because the term appears to have discreditable associations, or because they do not wish to seem to subscribe to beliefs that they do not hold. Alternately, people also abstain from using the term 'culture' because it has a large range of meaning. Instead, the word more often used in place of the above two, appears to be 'ethnic' because of its relatively neutral connotations. Rack (1982) uses the terms 'ethnic minority' to denote groups of people that are identifiable by their culture, which may include religion, and in which marriage within the group is a norm. In this way, the culture is transmitted from one generation to another, and the group shares a common genetic pool, hence members are likely to have heritable as well as cultural characteristics in common.. Ethnicity may also be used to describe the processes that hold a group together and to maintain its separateness from the rest of society. This implies that ethnicity is something an individual can either hold on to or abandon according to choice (Rack, 1982).

Often, the words culture and ethnicity are used interchangeably to describe unique behavioural characteristics, but while culture deals with symbolic generalities, ethnicity deals with an individual's sense of identification and it provides a sense of belonging to a particular reference group. Ethnicity is usually displayed in values, beliefs, attitudes, lifestyles, rituals, and personality types who identify with particular ethnic groups. Ethnicity also describes a sense of commonality which is transmitted over generations by the family and is reinforced by the surrounding community. It is more than race, religion or national and geographic origin, and it involves both conscious and unconscious processes that fulfil a psychological need for identity

and historical continuity. Instead of just influencing events, ethnicity is often the source of events, since social and political institutions do not merely respond to ethnic interests, rather they exist for the specific purpose of serving ethnic interests, which in turn tends to perpetuate them. Ethnicity is inextricably interrelated and interwoven with culture and it must therefore be considered in the light of culture's history, that is, its economic, political and social history, which is constantly evolving and changing (Slonim, 1991).

2.1.5 The Race and Culture Argument

According to Fernando (1988), the terms 'race' and 'culture' are generally used very loosely in psychiatry in Britain. Here, culture is often used to describe a person's upbringing, their family life or childhood environment. Thus, a psychiatrist may refer to a person's culture as being different to another person's culture or they may identify one family culture as being different from another. Hence, various aspects of family life or upbringing, or the entire life-styles or experiences of certain individual or their families may be identified as cultural factors.

Alternately, when a psychiatrist is confronted with an apparently deviant form of behaviour or feeling, in a patient, it may be classified as either 'pathological' or 'cultural'. The former suggests the possibility of an illness while the latter suggests that the person's background or family context is causing the deviance, which appears to be a very inappropriate use of the term 'culture'. In this instance, 'culture' suggests that the culture in question is alien to psychiatry and this may result in the culture itself being viewed as problematic; hence cultures that are different become problematic to people outside the culture. When 'problem' cultures are applied to minority groups or to groups who are considered racially inferior, as was the

case with the Non-Whites in South Africa, the erroneous concept of pathology then arises (Fernando, 1988).

According to Gobodo (1990), there is a lack of precision surrounding the area of cross-cultural psychology in South Africa. This has led to miscommunication and poor diagnoses, hence the therapist needs to be cognisant of the Black patient's cultural background. For example : one of the cultural issues surrounding the treatment of Black patients is that religious experiences of 'hearing voices' is culturally appropriate, hence this should not be regarded as hallucinations and treated as psychoses. However, the therapist should be careful of overdiagnosing culture, to the extent that the possibility of a disorder or psychopathology existing, is then inappropriately overlooked.

The term 'race' is usually used in psychiatry in Britain to indicate a biological difference or genetic difference based on colour of the skin. But, in a multiracial society, where racism is prevalent, cultural issues are not easily differentiated from racial issues. For example, in South Africa, a white doctor treating a black patient may be ignorant about the cultural background of the patient but he may still have definite views about it. These views may be derived from the doctor's own culture and is linked to racial images. Added to this, the doctor may not understand the pressure or stress resulting from racist attitudes, neither does he have a real understanding of the patient's cultural background, all of which may lead to a serious misinterpretation of the patient's behaviour, attitude and stress that the patient may be suffering. Whether the above is linked to ignorance or value judgement or even a societal problem, it indicates the difficulty in designating the problem as one of culture or race exclusively (Fernando, 1988).

Fernando (1988), states that the presence or absence of certain symptoms, such as guilt or somatic complaints are often interpreted in a context that confounds cultural and racial matters. According to Leff (1981), (cited in Fernando, 1988), instructions imparted to trainees at the Institute of Psychiatry state that people from traditional culture tend to express their distress in the forms of somatic symptoms and they fail to distinguish between the emotions of anxiety, irritability and depression, while the people from the industrialised western countries are able to make the distinctions and they have developed a language through which they may express their emotional experience. This language is based on psychological rather than somatic terms. But, are these instructions or facts really 'cultural' or are they racist statement, where the word 'traditional' implies non-European.

According to Schlebusch, Wessels and Rzaekowolsky (1990), amongst the South African Black population, the psychopathological symptoms used as a common indicator of mental disorder which requires treatment, are different from the ones diagnosed from a western perspective. For aggressive or abnormal behaviour, familial descriptions consisted of the person being socially disruptive, committing violent acts against others, self or property and behaviour which was socially inappropriate. Hence, seeking treatment was important as a social factor instead of a psychological factor, implying that for the family and community, mental disorder was primarily a social problem instead of a psychological one. Furthermore, disturbances of mood were not reported by the family of a patient, because they were considered unimportant, or not worthy of mention or because they were not noted by the family members, again, highlighting the differences in focus between the Black community and western perspective of psychology.

If psychiatry and psychology fail to recognise the racism within their own culture or if they fail to take action to counteract the racism, then they inevitably succumb to the practice of using 'culture' as a form of racist conduct. Thus, cultural differences are pathologised and cultural behaviour is the name given to the behaviour of people from a *perceived* racially inferior class. Illness amongst the White population are assumed to be the standard against which deviant forms of illness (seen amongst the Black population and other ethnic minority groups), are analysed as being pathologically distorted, by their 'deviant' cultures. Overall, racist statements about culture and people are wrapped up as observations about culture or transcultural psychiatry. Thus, in psychiatry and psychology, attempts have to be made to disentangle race and culture, even if it is initially only at an individual level (Fernando, 1988).

In order to achieve this, the psychiatrist's or psychologist's primary duty is to confront racism by understanding its nature in society at large and the extent to which the disciplines of psychiatry and psychology are themselves involved. This then leaves the psychiatrist with the single problem of grappling with the cultural aspect of the patient. Furthermore, eliciting information about the patient from the patient itself, as well as from extraneous sources, is simpler and easier. In the normal course of events, the psychiatrists generally uses the concepts of morality, behaviour and ways of relating that he/she is used to. But in a cross-cultural encounter, the patient's own interpretations have to be considered, as well as those of his family and friends; i.e., people who are basically familiar with the patient's culture, when an assessment is being made. This facilitates communication between patient and therapist and it makes allowance for different concepts that may be held by the patient and his/her family. Ideally then, some compromise has to be found between the explanatory models of illness relevant to the culture that psychiatry and psychology spring from and those relevant to the

patient's culture. Thus, cultural difference need not be a hindrance in establishing communication, rather the overcoming of cultural arrogance may lead to a better rapport within a cross-cultural situation (Fernando, 1988).

In Britain, the extent of racism is the measure of its extent in psychiatric and psychological practice. The way racism functions within psychiatry and psychology must be viewed within the overall social context of society, particularly the multicultural nature of British society. Generally, cultural differences are seen as more of an impediment to the recognition of diagnoses rather than a matter that has to be incorporated into the diagnostic system.

Practitioners are supposed to learn how to avoid the 'pitfalls' when getting to the diagnoses that psychiatry and psychology has defined, but, these diagnoses are really concepts devised by psychiatry/psychology for particular purposes, to suit particular cultures. Hence, diagnoses are not natural conditions that have been 'discovered', rather they are devices that have been invented (Fernando, 1988).

Most British therapists do not claim to be cultural, rather they justify their positions by claiming to be traditional, sensible, scientific or fair by being 'colour blind' or by using a combination or two of the above reasons. But, racist practices carried out under a cultural label are particularly pernicious because they appear to be based on 'understanding' and cultural sensitivity. Diagnostic difficulties arising from cultural differences may often be used as a reason for negating the need for treatment in the case of Black or other racial groups.

Cultural arguments are used to justify racism in the provision of services, as was often the case in South Africa, before democracy. Often, Black people are viewed as somatising their emotional problems and preferring physical treatment to psychological treatment, but there is

a lack of reliable evidence to warrant this widespread notion held in psychiatry. On the other hand, the perception of Black people, is that White and Black people trained in White institutions are disinterested in listening to the problems of Black patients and they only take note of physical complaints. A culturally sensitive therapist needs to be sensitive to racial issues, particularly, the racism that is enmeshed within the normal practices of its profession (Fernando, 1988).

Thus far, there appears to be great confusion in the way the words 'race' and 'culture' are conceptualised and used. In practical terms, there appears to be a need for the understanding of the issues involved; namely, 'cultural factors' that are inevitably bound up with racism since the society is racist, views about culture transmitted in training are racist and psychiatry and psychology has a racist heritage with a power structure that is racist. Therefore, the identification and elimination of racist practices appears to be a primary need in psychiatry and psychology. Even though the cultural dimensions of psychiatry need to be understood, it does not seem to be possible without the issue of race, hence the promotion of cultural sensitivity without the challenging of racism may result in the reinforcement of racism by masking it and thereby inducing complacency amongst its practitioners. At a more personal level of interaction, disentangling culture and racism is easier. Initially, the professional needs to understand the nature of his/her own racist attitudes or prejudices, then to examine the depths of racism in the social processes of society, and finally to grasp the way in which racism is enmeshed within the theory and practice of psychiatry and psychology, particularly with diagnoses and assessment. Once this process is complete, the therapist may then proceed to draw on knowledge of cultural differences and to benefit from training in methods of incorporating this knowledge into his/her practice. Then, 'cultural factors' may be analysed and

a culture sensitive approach may be utilised for making psychiatric assessments and finally, cultural judgements may be made about the patient (Fernando, 1988).

According to Manganyi (1991), however, the relevance of culture in understanding Black psychopathology in South Africa is meaningless at the present time, since it imposes a narrow cultural point of view which is inappropriate for Black South Africans. Furthermore, the techniques and practice of clinicians are derived from the dominant White culture, yet most Black patients come from an urban and rural working class background, which is different from the culture of training. Even with the Black therapists, they have been trained in the techniques of the Euro-American culture, hence, *may* distance themselves unintentionally from their own community (Gobodo, 1990).

To conclude, there is still much confusion regarding the issue of 'culture' and 'race'. However, it is the duty of the therapist and the researcher to avoid the many pitfalls linked to culture and racism that they may encounter in their practice and research, which may lead to false conclusions. Furthermore, it is apparent that culture has a definite influence on the way that people perceive themselves and their illnesses, hence culture must be accounted for during the diagnosis and treatment of subjects of different cultures.

2.2 CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE AND CULTURAL THEORY

According to Keesing (1987), an ideational theory of culture does not commit one to either a monolithic view of a culture as a shared system of symbols or to a deterministic view of culture as directly generating behaviour. An ideational theory of culture can look at cultural

knowledge as distributed within a social system and it can account for the variation between individuals' knowledge of and crucial points on the cultural heritage of their people. It may also view cultural knowledge as shaping and constraining, but not directly generating, social behaviour. Keesing (1987) defines cultural codes as an idealised set of rules which was assumed, by early anthropologists, to be shared, and despite the protestations about accounting for appropriate, but not actual behaviour, it viewed humans as rule-following and appropriateness-maximizing. This then left little room for the processes of cocreation, negotiation and contextual shifting on which other social interactionists had focused. The assumption that behaviour is pervasively rule-governed led to a strategy of inference whereby unconscious rules were posited to account for observed behaviour, even when there was no evidence for the 'rules' other than the behaviour they were assumed to be generating. But, new cognitive approaches appears to be emerging, where the conception of individuals as rule-following is being transformed into more sophisticated frameworks for looking at culture and behaviour. These cognitive models constitute paradigms, which place constructions on everyday experiences; conventional metaphors represent simplified, transformed, culturally defined realities. But, these are only frameworks of interpretations, they are not sets of rules and routines which individuals have to follow in order to maximise the appropriateness of behaviour. Here, there is room for choice, for alternative constructions, for creativity, as well as for the creative social processes of co-construction of situationally shared and negotiated realities (Keesing, 1987).

2.3 ISSUES IN CROSS-CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY

The issues in cross-cultural psychology research involve methodological, ethical and practical issues. In order to achieve accurate results when researching cross-cultural concepts or constructs, one needs to be culture-fair. This may be possible if the researcher is able to achieve equivalence in the tests used to measure the concepts under investigation.

With research involving different race groups or different cultures, for example, research on the White, Black and Indian populations of South Africa, linguistic, metric and conceptual equivalence needs to be first established. Thereafter, sampling, data accuracy and methods of testing need to be reviewed. Ethical considerations, such as confidentiality and practical issues such as the generalisation of results are also important factors to be considered. Hence, the method or manner of research is an important factor if one wishes to obtain accurate results, thus, these issues need to be discussed as they pertain to this research. However, no method or test is culture free and most tests do seem to be biased towards the Western culture. This must be taken into account when drawing conclusion.

2.3.1 Problems in Cross-Cultural Research

According to Brislin, Bochner and Lonner (1975), researchers who are not familiar with cross-cultural psychology have trouble integrating the heterogeneous aims, methods, conceptual frameworks, levels of sophistication, substantive areas and theoretical leanings of cross-cultural psychologists. Cross-cultural psychology documents that interpretations of human behaviour are most accurately made in specific sociocultural environments. But, as

previously stated, behaviour portrayed by individuals in one culture is not necessarily 'better or worse' than behaviour from another culture; rather it is just manifested differently.

According to scientists, the world is largely determined by what scientists are trained to look for and the methods used to evidence it, as well as what scientists decide are the most important topics in social science, at that period in time. Hence, any attempt to enumerate the 'issues' in cross-cultural psychology (such as perspective, philosophy, research priorities and related factors) are variables, and no single orientation is necessarily better than the others (Lonner, 1979).

Another major problem lies in the reliable quantification of the data. For example, in order to obtain a reliable measure of intelligence, it is relatively easy to obtain a high score from a sample of literate British subjects. But, in order to obtain or measure intelligence amongst people from the Kalahari, such as the Khoisan, may be very difficult and it may be a very different matter; but more importantly, it may not even be meaningful in the Non-Western culture (Kline, 1977).

Thus, in order to measure a concept, such as intelligence amongst different race groups, the same test cannot be used, since meaningful comparisons may be difficult to establish. This is essentially the core problem with ability testing on the American Negroes who generally obtain low scores on these tests (Kline, 1988). This is a classic example of the search for similarities and differences in cross-cultural research. Early studies in South Africa resulted in the differences between Blacks and Whites being emphasised and Blacks were thus seen as beings

on the far side of the developmental and cultural chasm. But, this was a methodological bias towards a difference, and not a method for the search of similarities (Retief, 1988).

Hence, it is the meaning of variables in the cultural group, which is the issue. Furthermore, there is the question of whether the conceptual or cultural equivalence can be established for the variables, resulting in the Etic-Emic dilemma (Kline, 1988). An Etic, in psychological terms, is some construct, stimulus or sociological abstraction that is demonstrably and unequivocally recognised everywhere, therefore, it is a universal entity. Conversely, an Emic is a totally unique construct, stimulus, concept or abstraction. If the social-scientific world consisted only of emic or etic research, then none of the research would be of any value to the rest of the world.

Thus, in order to research cross-cultural issues, one needs to be critical of the methods used, since the issues may be deficient if strict scientific research is not adhered to (Kline, 1977).

According to Retief (1988), the presence of a difference is not as important as the difference in a certain direction, which may be achieved by formulating a directional null hypothesis, or by employing structural equation models.

2.3.2 Methodological Issues

According to Lonner (1979), two of the most persistent methodological problems in cross-cultural psychology relate to the so-called 'emic - etic' distinction and the problems in the establishment of equivalence.

2.3.2.1 The Emic - Etic Distinction

For research to have universal interest, they cannot measure concepts or constructs which are entirely emic or ethic. If the terms 'emic' and 'etic' can be considered as a bipolar continuum, then certain characteristics may be distinguished at either end, namely;

Table 2.3.2.1a Characteristics of the 'Emic-Etic' Research Methods

<u>ETIC</u>	<u>EMIC</u>
1. Behaviour is studied by an outsider to the culture.	Behaviour is studied by individuals from that culture.
2. Many cultures, as is possible, are studied for statistical generalisation purposes.	Only one culture is studied at a given time.
3. Constructs and structures are created or imposed onto the system by the researcher.	Constructs or structures are discovered by the researcher, when and if they manifest themselves as important in the culture.

X

But, most contemporary psychological research is etic, as is the one being researched, since three different cultures are being observed and the constructs being researched are being imposed by the researcher on the subjects. The independent variable, in this instance, the race of the subject is fixed, thus etic-like, while the selection of dependent measures is due to cultural nuances such as frequency of synonyms used and the language factor. Generally, in a cross-cultural study, the culture or subculture to which the subjects belong is always the independent variable. When broad or complex classes of variables are being manipulated, the rigor or precision suffer and variables tend to confound each other and alternate explanations become more confused every time an interpretation is made. Furthermore, cross-cultural

research shows up the limitations of the simpler models of behaviour and pushes the researcher into a conceptual framework containing many theoretical and methodological booby traps (Brislin *et al*, 1975).

Although the dependent variable in a cross-cultural study does not vary too much from those in general psychology, the cross-cultural framework makes it more difficult to assume that behavioural responses consist of a static and molecular responses. In general psychology, it is possible to assume that the dependent variable is a fixed entity, but in cross-cultural research, the denial of behaviour as a 'process' has to be acknowledged since the responses of individuals (the dependent variable) is an ingredients in the cultural environment (the independent variable) that contributes to the determination of those same responses (Brislin *et al*, 1975).

2.3.3 Establishing Equivalence

If comparisons are to be legitimately made across cultural boundaries, then equivalence needs to be established and this may be achieved by establishing equivalence based on concepts, linguistics and metric equivalence (Lonner, 1979).

2.3.3.1 Conceptual Equivalence

Conceptual equivalence relates to the presence or absence of meanings that individuals attach to specific stimuli, such as test items or certain words, as was the case for the research performed. One needs to ensure that the concepts used in the measures or in the translated

material are equivalent. Often, a problem may arise in that the concept which is used and is well understood in one culture may not exist in another culture, or it may appear in varied or fragmented non-equivalent forms in another culture (Retief, 1988). In practical terms, this means that one first needs to discover the local meaning of concepts within the cognitive system of the groups being researched and only if a common meaning is discovered, then a basis for comparison may be constructed (Berry, 1980). Translation of the concepts or terms from one language to another is not sufficient for the subjects understanding, which may have been the case in this research, where the literal meaning of the words were translated into Zulu, hence, in the methodology, conceptual equivalence was not achieved.

According to Frijido and Jahoda (1966) (cited in Lonner, 1979), no test is culture-fair, hence conceptual equivalence cannot be measured or obtained. One way of overcoming this problem would be to test the results against a backdrop of cultural stereotypes and depending upon which direction the results go, the null hypothesis may/may not be rejected (Lonner, 1979).

2.3.3.2 Linguistic Equivalence

This involves both the spoken and written language forms for comparative use in questionnaires, interviews, tests and instructions given during experimentation. But linguistically equivalent words, phrases and sentences cannot be translated intuitively, with the assumption that one's cultural sensitivities will render the material equivalent. Only through back translation from the subjects can the experimenter feel reasonably assured that equivalence has been established (Lonner, 1979). However, even back translation cannot achieve absolute linguistic equivalence, since semantic equivalence and the importance of the

words, together with its meaning, may differ amongst the different cultures. This was one of the problems inherent in the present research.

In a broad sense, all cross-cultural research concerns the translation of meaning since the test is an attempt to achieve an interface between the culture being tested and the culture it is being compared to. Hence, the researcher is communicating across cultures and if the communication process is unclear, then the meaning is distorted, subjects may misunderstand the instructions and inaccurate results may be obtained. Some researchers may attempt to use short phrases in communicating instructions, but the lack of context may confuse the subject, or the equivalent maybe difficult to find. Another problem is the requirement of translating the verbal problem in two or more languages, while still maintaining equivalence. In the South African tests, Retief (1988) notes that scholarly, rather than vernacular language appears in questionnaires, thus making relatively simple questions more difficult to comprehend, hence, English needs to be translated into English that is more easily understood.

Another problem concerning linguistics is the translation of responses from one language to another language or dialect, in order for comparisons to be made. Some questionnaires have a limited response alternative, while for other tests the responses need to be translated, both of which again lead to translation problems. This may be avoided by the use of coding, categorising or scoring responses in the language in which they are given. Some of the conditions for coding etc. are that the coding system must be easily communicated and relatively unambiguous, and since the coding system needs to be translated, it is preferable to have bilingual coders (Berry, 1980), (cited in Retief, 1988).

Thus, even during translation, equivalence must be maintained in all areas such as vocabulary, idioms, grammar and syntax, experiential and conceptual equivalence, particularly when transposing a research instrument from one linguistic area to another (Retief, 1988).

According to Tollman and Msengana (1990), in an attempt to translate Luria's Psychological Investigation into Zulu, found that language translation (even with back translation and grammar checks) was not sufficient for testing Zulu individuals in South Africa, for brain damage. They found that for the test to be effective, the socio-cultural aspects, language and educational environment of the respondents need to be considered.

2.3.3.3 Metric Equivalence

Generally research is based upon tests that have standardised procedures and yield numerical data. The data are usually scores that place the individuals on hypothesised continuous variables by using an interval scale (Lonner, 1979). If two groups differ significantly in their mean scores on a personality test, then the endorsement rate of the items may also differ for the two groups. If the endorsement rates differ, this may imply that the intercorrelations must differ, hence, factor loading. Generally, metric equivalence in the statistical sense, means that in some cases when members of a cultural group differ, the test appears to be unequivalent metrically, hence the comparison is ruled out. But this is only possible if a strict criterion for similarity is used (Kline, 1988).

According to Berry (1980), the requirement of metric equivalence is satisfied when the psychometric properties of two or more sets of data from two or more cultural groups exhibit

the same coherence of structure. But, it is not clear immediately, as to what conditions need to be satisfied for either confirmation or rejection of this quality (Malpass and Poortinga, 1986).

According to Poortinga (1975), three possible interpretations of the score differences between different cultures may exist; namely, that the differences may be real and absolute, possibly reflecting genetic differences, or that the test measures qualitatively or quantitatively different aspects of some hypothesised attribute.

Poortinga (1975) further states that any measure must satisfy three requirements of equivalence in order for it to be used for comparisons. Firstly, it must be functionally equivalent thus measuring the same behavioural property in different groups of people. Secondly, it must be score equivalent thus measuring qualitatively and quantitatively the same constructs in different groups. These may be measured with different instruments, but it is more desirable to use the same instrument for comparative purposes. Thirdly, it must have item equivalence which means that the items in a test, when used as independent variables, must be comparable. According to (Malpass and Poortinga, 1986) a fourth variable is that a framework must be used in order to account for the relationship between the test data and the underlying, hypothesised constructs being measured by the tests.

Despite the limitations in the ways of achieving equivalence, Kline (1988) believes that the intelligent use of the item and factor analysis, together with a flexible interpretation, subjectivity in the light of knowledge about the cultures, can indicate that items are sufficiently similar to allow meaningful comparisons. But, cross-cultural comparisons can become tenuous

when the universe of generalisations is not known completely and it is likely to be different across cultures (Malpass and Poortinga, 1986).

2.3.4 Sampling

Another issue pertinent to cross-cultural psychology is the issue of where the research is performed, the topic studied and who does the research. If one considers that many societies exist, of which only a few have been described, extracting a probability sample is difficult, hence a sampling bias is obvious and a true and complete generalisation towards all humans is not possible (Campbell and Naroll, 1972), (cited in Kline, 1977). Hence, the ability to generalise findings in cross-cultural research is limited, since a number of distinctly separate world culture exists. But, a large number of cross-cultural research is confined to a small and non-random sample of cultures, namely, those of The United States of America, India, Japan, China and a few African countries. Researchers are generally from these countries as well. According to Lonner (1979), cross-cultural research may not be totally cross-cultural, since the study of human behaviour is conducted in places that are relatively easily accessible, hence the studies tend towards a modern, western lifestyle.

In the same vein, the samples drawn from the culture, are drawn from places of convenience, namely schools, factories, institutions, etc., thus they may not be very representative of the entire culture. This then leads to partially incorrect generalisations about the culture (Lonner, 1979). When researching the influence of culture on the construal of the self, the sample consisted of first-year students of the three different race groups. However, each of the subjects had a common factor, that is, they were representatives of a tertiary educational

institution, hence, they were not *totally* representative of the different race groups, outside of the university. Furthermore, the short time spent at the university may have already begun the process of acculturation amongst the subjects.

Since language, political organisation and territorial occupancy are used to define societal boundaries, it is difficult, but not impossible to draw up a world-wide cross-cultural sample of societies, such that there is no problem in discriminating one society from another (Campbell and Naroll, 1972) (cited in Kline, 1977).

2.3.5 Data Accuracy

According to Campbell and Naroll (1972), (cited in Kline, 1977), random errors tend to lower correlations, but since significant correlations are obtained with the methods used, this implies that random error is not an important feature of data accuracy. Often a paucity of data which is relevant to certain problems, generally forms the basis of investigation. One solution would be to collect data specifically for the investigation, but if one needs a good sample of societies then the process is very lengthy. This may then lead to large matrices of correlation, which suggests that a number of correlations may be significant by chance.

2.3.6 Interviews

Another type of methodological problem is the use of interviews for personality trait assessment. Due to a language difficulty, as well as the artificial nature of the interview, this type of testing does not enhance the validity of the research. Even if the researcher has lived

long enough in the society, there is the possibility of ignorance or misinterpretation of normal non-verbal cues. This problem may be overcome by native interviewers, but again, due to differences in interviewing skills and techniques, this type of testing for cross-cultural research is not too scientific (Lonner, 1979).

A better method of testing personality across cultures appears to be the use of rating scales. Rating scales, when tied to culturally relevant behaviours may yield adequately scientific data, provided the questions asked are relatively culture-free. Another problem experienced by Non-western societies, is the attitude to test taking. Responses may be engineered to be socially desirable, hence creating a very high reliability (Lonner, 1979).

2.3.7 Theoretical Issues

The use of the term 'cross-cultural' presents problems of definitions as to what is operationally implied. Other terms such as 'cross-ethnic', 'multi-cultural' and 'race research' are also used (Verma and Mallick, 1988). According to Jahoda (1970) (cited in Verma and Mallick, 1988), the term 'culture' implies ecology as well as conceptual elements of a culture. Many researchers, having failed to distinguish between 'cross-cultural' and cross-national' research, have caused confusion regarding the interchangeable use of the concepts of ethnicity and culture. Given the lack of definition, a clearly defined model of cross-cultural research appears unlikely, since this area of psychology borrows and applies methods and tools from separate disciplines in psychology, history, sociology and anthropology, depending on the orientation of the researcher (Verma and Mallick, 1988).

Initially, in the early period of cross-cultural research, western type of tests were used to compare European and Non-European cultures; but, the validity of these results were vigorously questioned (Verma and Mallick, 1988). Cultural bias, both in the use of tests and in the test instruments vary from the subtle to the obvious and from the implicit to the explicit, hence the major problems lie with testing instruments and testing situations (Kline, 1988).

Another issue is the biasing effects for the researcher during the process of socialisation and acculturation in influencing his or her judgements of social situations. Together with this is the issue of concepts such as 'race, ethnicity and culture'. As stated previously, 'race' generally refers to a biological means of categorising people, by their characteristics such as skin, hair, etc.. Generally, such classifications serve little purpose for three major reasons :

- a. Labelling people as different on the basis of which country they live in, is difficult since even in one country, the diversity is great. (Kline, 1988). For example, people in India, with their different classes and religions are a little different from each other; the areas in India in which they live may also contribute to their differences. Likewise, these Indians are different from the Indians in South Africa. Similarly, the Blacks in South Africa may all have a common heritage, but depending on where they live and the languages they speak, they may differ a little from each other. This is what Mazrui, (1991) termed the major and indigenous cultures of South Africa, that is, a major culture in terms of their race and the country that the Blacks are living in, but indigenous cultures in terms of the languages and traditions of the different groups living in the same country.
- b. Human migration, which has resulted in a substantial dispersal of the different 'types' across the world (Kline, 1988). For example, the Indians in South Africa, originating from the

different parts of India and Asia, as well as the Whites in South Africa, who originated from the United Kingdom and Europe.

c. Migration has resulted in considerable inter-racial mixing as a result of marriages and other unions (Kline, 1988). For example, the origination of the so called Coloured community in South Africa.

All of the above are pertinent to the South African situation, resulting in a number of different cultures, most of whom remained separate, on the basis of race or skin colour during the apartheid era. Due to the development of cultures based upon race, in South Africa, it was possible to equate race and culture for the present research. Hence, the present research focuses on the major cultures of South Africa, and does not account for the indigenous cultures present, neither does it account for the impact of the different cultures on each other.

2.3.8 Practical Issues

One of the problems with cross-cultural research is the search for comparability between crudely defined ethnic groups. Furthermore, generalisations from 'average' profiles of a particular group to all its members may lead to stereotyping. Generalisation is natural and necessary in making sense of a complex world; but the process can become dangerous when over-generalised beliefs or stereotypes are used to determine responses to a particular individual (Verma and Mallick, 1988).

Cross-cultural research tend to classify and stress differences between groups. But, the criteria for such classification often lack fine calibration. Generally, the differences become

exaggerated by references to the mean scores generated by a particular instrument. Mean scores may conceal an overlap in individual scores obtained from the different groups. Hence, in order to generalise, one needs to be careful when interpreting the results obtained from the research. Furthermore, the reliability and validity of the tests used are questionable because of cultural bias. Lastly, confidentiality is needed, particularly when researching minority groups, or in the case of the Black, Indian and Coloured South Africans during the apartheid era; thus, mutual trust has to be established first.

2.3.9 Ethical Issues in Cross-Cultural Psychology

One of the main ethical issues is the choice of topic for the study. One needs to judge the extent of harm that an experiment may do to its subjects and the benefits that the society gains from the research, must outweigh the harm done. Once a topic is decided upon and the research strategy or design is decided, the researcher must be sensitive to the needs of the population he studies. Hence, the overuse of deception must be avoided and the researcher must fulfil his responsibilities to the greater segment of the culture he is studying, not just to the participants being studied. If nothing of value is left behind, then the culture does not benefit from the cross-cultural research (Brislin *et al*, 1975)

2.3.10 South African Research

With regard to research performed in South Africa, the main areas of assessment was :

- a. the process of acculturation and change. (Andor, 1983; Gilbert, 1987) (cited in Retief, 1988)
- b. selection and placement in industry

- c. cognitive abilities being assessed
- d. educational psychology and educational adaptation.

These areas of assessment were of relevance to the country, at the time, hence research such as personality, psychopathology were accorded less importance and research in this area was few (Retief, 1988). Southern Africa offers a 'natural laboratory' for the study of culture and basic psychological constructs and despite the methodological problems that exist with cross-cultural research, many opportunities exist for the research and for the solving of cross-cultural problems. As the Black people of the country become more emancipated, they will be seen less as vast pools of manpower, whose ability and adaptability have to be assessed. When they are seen as people with individual personalities, needs and hopes, and as equals, this will be reflected by the type of psychological assessments performed. These assessments will recognise the principles of individual and cultural variation and it will concentrate on the cultural and individual stresses of acculturation in the home, workplace (Retief, 1988) and in the changing lifestyles of the people of South Africa, all of whom have undergone adaptations or are in the process of adapting to the changes brought about by the new government in the Post-Apartheid South Africa.

2.3.1.1 Conclusion

The problems associated with cross-cultural research are rife, however, if strict, scientific criterion, encompassing the subjects' culture is maintained, then fairly accurate results may be obtained and generalisations are possible. Furthermore, if the problems inherent in the cross-cultural study are realised and accounted for, then validation of the results, within the specific context, is possible.

Many of the problems mentioned in this section, were encountered in the present research, however, attempts were made to rectify or account for them.

2.4 THE SELF IN CROSS-CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY

The word self is a noun whose main definition is that it is the entire person of an individual. It also encompasses many reflexive terms which relate to an extensive range of cognitive states, temperaments, emotions and personal actions of the self. It also encompasses the pronouns : 'himself, herself, itself, my, mine,' etc.

Attitudes, beliefs, intentions, norms, roles and values are all aspects of the self. The method of sampling and processing information, particularly that which is more relevant to the self compared to what is not self-relevant, and the method of assessing information, particularly information supporting their current self-structure, are all part of what constitutes the self. Hence, the self is an active agent that promotes differential sampling, processing and evaluation of information from the environment, leading to differences in social behaviour (Triandis, 1989).

The self maybe regarded as an experiential or 'emic' concept in contemporary social science as distinguished from the ego which is used in etic or externally analytic approach to personality structure in Western psychology. The experience of self is to be distinguished in a social structure of analysis of individuals in society as perceived in the context of social 'roles'. The experience of selfhood and consciousness that occurs in human beings in various cultures is not totally derivative of, or reflective of, personality structure in which an individual

participates. Using a social ecological approach, the dynamic interaction is between the total ecological system and the individual's social system. Society generally functions more or less adequately in its adaptation to the environment. But, environments change and societies change, either due to demographic or technological forces. The potential for change maybe responsible for a continuous tension and together with the fact that social systems are always interacting with other systems; there is always a complementary or destructive interaction to be considered. The conflicts or adaptations of society as it slowly changes or the influences of abrupt events, makes the self both 'emic' and 'etic', depending upon the observers emphasis or the research done (DeVos, Marsella and Hsu, 1985).

Some aspects of the self are universal, and may have elements which have the same meaning world-wide and across time. Other elements are extremely culture-specific, and may depend on a particular mythology, religion, world-view and language of a culture. Other elements of the self imply action, while other do not. Contradictions among elements of the self are tolerated more in some cultures than in others. The self may be coterminous with the body, as in the West, or with a group such as tribe and family, as in the Asian and African countries, and they may be conceived as independent of groups or as a satellite of groups (Triandis, 1989).

The self can also be viewed as a cognitive schema, implying that the self is considered to be a memory structure that is deeply involved in the interpretation, transformation, organisation and memory for personal information. This view suggests that the self-schema, when activated by a self-referent judgement task and its accompanying trait adjectives, acts as an

interpretative frame to promote deep and elaborate encoding, which is accountable for enhanced recall of self-referenced adjectives (Kuiper, MacDonald and Derry, 1983)

In the clinical sense, each self-schema represents a structural framework of negative beliefs which interact with and which influence the manner in which depressed individuals perceive and evaluate current information. These negative schemata are thought to influence the perceptions and judgements of depressives as well as their self-referent thoughts, ultimately their behaviours and actions (Kuiper *et al*, 1983).

The self can be construed, framed and conceptually represented in various ways. The exact content of the inner self may differ in varying degrees amongst various cultures, while the nature of the outer or public self, that is a derivative of the relationship which one has with other people and social institutions, may also vary considerably by culture. The relationship between the self and others and the degree to which the two are separate from others or connected to others is important in the development of cultural models of the self. (Markus and Kitayama, 1991).

2.4.1 History of the Self in Psychology

Summarising the history of the re-emergence of the person or self, Shweder and Sullivan (1990), view it as appearing in anthropology under the banner of personality centred ethnography. Its focus at this point was everyday experiences, particularly that of emotional and non-emotional feelings. These included anger, sadness, anxiety and somatic complaints amongst individuals in different cultures. The concept of the person later re-emerged in the

ethnopsychological study of the conceptions of the mind, self, body, motivation and emotion. For example, Wikan (1989) (cited in Shweder and Sullivan, 1990), found that the Balinese believe that anger, sadness, and envy are 'hot' emotions which are destructive to the vitality of the breast milk fed to infants. A similar view exists amongst the Hindu of Orissa in India, who believe that strong life forces and bodily fluids are protective shields against sorcery.

Recently, the concept of the person has reappeared in cultural psychology studies (Shweder and Sullivan, 1990). These studies examine the regional and cultural differentiation of human nature, referring to the ways in which the person-based processes of consciousness (that is; reasoning, learning, emotion and non-emotional process) are altered by the meaning systems and conceptual frameworks, within which they are embedded (Shweder and Sullivan, 1990). Results of these studies indicate that the process of consciousness may not be uniform across the cultural regions of the world.

Concepts and description relating to self extend across many disciplines of various cultures and societies over a long period of time. Despite the extensiveness over time and disciplines, a number of consistencies are recurrent. These may include the concept of self as a unitary phenomenon, referring to a particular individual and not to personality or to the addition of other factors making up the person. Hence, self is a social construction which is symbolically and signally created between individuals and social groups. It is not a structural entity comprising of factors and traits which make up a person. Neither is the self a unitary phenomenon, rather it is an interpersonal entity or intersubjective unit, with the self interacting with itself and with others (Johnson, 1985).

The introduction of the self has encompassed many of the different concepts of the self, albeit, very briefly. However, the rest of the chapter will only refer to the cultural models of the self, particularly, those models of the self which pertain to this study.

2.4.2 The Purpose of Models

Before examining the different models of the self, one needs to understand the significance of having models, particularly in cross-cultural psychology.

Cultural models are used to perform a variety of different cognitive tasks. The models serve to set goals for action, sometimes, they plan the attainment of goals, direct the actualisation of these goals and makes sense of the actions and goals of others. Cultural models also produce verbalisations which may be relevant to all of the above projects as well as in the subsequent interpretation of what has happened. Non-verbal activities are partially inherent, since speakers frequently undertake complex tasks with many goals that may or may not include producing verbal description of their tasks or implications. Hence, any task generally demands verbal as well as the concurrent non-verbal behaviour, both of which draw on a variety of cultural knowledge which is available for different purposes at different times. But, conversation itself involves complex skills and understanding, it has an important social function since it is the most important way in which people negotiate understanding and accomplish social ends. Conversation alone is able to influence social relations among people and the subsequent actions they take towards one another, hence it is a form of act, which can have powerful social consequences (Quinn and Holland, 1987).

Cultural models are not to be thought of as presenting a coherent ontology, or as a globally consistent whole. Rather, it is better to think of models as resources or tools, to be used when suitable and to be set aside when not. Because there is no coherent cultural system of knowledge, only an array of different culturally shared schematisations formulated for the performances of particular cognitive tasks, a number of conflicting cultural models exist. Some of the cultural understanding that people have are, the models of mental processes, emotional states, gender relations, marital commitments, family obligations and career choices. Despite historical models having undergone historical change, the cultural model that individuals accept most readily or forcefully, are those that are dominant at that time (Quinn and Holland, 1987).

The cultural models of self organise what are the vital understandings in ones culture. Despite the differences delineated in different cultures, they are the general source of guidance, orientation and direction in the cultural system, hence the model of self may be seen as the agent of one's fate. Cultural models gain directive force when they are recruited by understandings of oneself and one's life, either by the individual or a group of individuals. In order to be successful, ideologies must appeal to and activate pre-existing cultural understanding, which are also compelling. But ideologies do not create cultural ideas themselves, nor are they able to guarantee the power of any given cultural model, but to be convincing, the ideology must be seen as either legitimate or inevitable (Quinn and Holland, 1987).

2.4.3 Models of the Self

A number of cultural models exist, of which only a few will be discussed. Initially, the self as a semiotic subject, will be reviewed. The semiotic subject is one who has intentional consciousness and rationality. The model of the self is later seen as existing in concentric layers. This will be followed by the self as an analytical entity and then the model of the self as either individualistic or collectivistic, will be examined.

2.4.3.1 Self as a Semiotic Subject

According to Shweder and Sullivan (1990), the person or self may be seen as a semiotic subject, for whom the acquired meaning of a situation or stimulus event is the major constrain on one's response to it, and for whom different situations will elicit different responses because they activate different locally rational response sets. There are two defining features of the semiotic person, namely; intentional consciousness and rationality. The semiotic person is endowed with the powers of consciousness, hence he/she has the faculty of actions and reactions which is directive to and responsive to symbols, and their implication. For an individual to be successful semiotically, he/she must be conceptualised as an intentional, rational agent, who is also practical, moral and scientific. In a constructed world of meaning, the semiotic subject tries to pursue worthy ends efficiently and accurately (Shweder and Sullivan, 1990).

Shweder and Sullivan (1990), state that in order for behaviour to be the cause of autonomous mental states, one first assumes that a division exists between the things of the subjective

world or mental states and things of the objective world or stimulus situations. One further assumes that these categories and their analogues (inside vs. outside, trait vs. stimulus, mind vs. matter, person vs. world and gene vs. environment) are all mutually exclusive of each other and also exhaustive of each other. Hence, every causal force is either inside the person in the mental state (self-as-subject) or outside the person in the stimulus situation (self-as-object). No cause can be simultaneously inside the person and in the stimulus situation, or, neither can it be subjective and objective. However, internal states may also be objectifiable and communicable to others, while external states also involve interpretative processes, implying the subjectivity of outside interpreters (Johnson, 1985).

If different stimulus situations produce different responses, and the conditions of the stimulus situation are different for other members of the same family, and if through exposure to differential stimuli for different family members, then each member becomes a vessel for different autonomous mental states. But, the semiotic conception proposes that the members of a family, culture or society do not share autonomous mental states, rather they share conceptual schemes that are the instruments of their intentional consciousness. Thus, the various stimulus situations are effective in the way that persons with an intentional consciousness gets involved with them, that is, defining them, classifying them, hold beliefs about them, reason and evaluate them and appropriate them to some purpose, which, together is what rationality of the semiotic person is all about (Shweder and Sullivan, 1990).

2.4.3.2 Self as 'Subject' or 'Object'

Generally, the concept of self refers to the characterisation of a particular person which is persistent over time. Alternatively, it may be used to characterise the immediate situational presentations of an individual during specific encounters within different contexts. In this instance, the self may be viewed as an actor who is consciously interpreting the ongoing action in the light of previous experience and calculating responses to achieve both immediate and remote objectives. This duality is intrinsic, since the existence of an expectant self presupposes the prior existence of a developmental and experiential self. Thus in various systems, the current self is systematically described as an accumulation of behaviours over time, through a variety of contexts and experiences, continuities and discontinuities. Therefore, self-in-action implies a dynamic change as well as continuity.

Self is seen as situational as well as something that transcends the ebb and flow of transitory encounters and reflections. Self is also described as being either external or internal, but whether it is depicted as a solitary reflection or in reciprocal interaction, the surface characteristics of self may also be described as linguistic and paralinguistic constructions, which may be constitutive of words and gestures which convey complex ideas, feeling, intentions, values and interpretations, both to the self and the other individual with whom one is interacting (Johnson, 1985).

According to Johnson (1985), the self may be categorised into three levels of personal consciousness; namely, inner self, interpersonal self and social self. The inner self refers to the state of mind accompanying inner experiences involving solitary communication, as in fantasy,

prayer, or concentrated problem solving. Interpersonal self refers to the states of mind associated with interpersonal experiences featuring explicit communication in dyadic and small groups, involving direct, reciprocal interactions. The social self refers to the states of mind attending to more diffuse social experiences characterised by vague, nonreciprocal interactions within larger groups of individuals. The range of distinctive states of awareness and specialised concentration is vast within each of these states, and fluctuations between these states occur in a fluid manner as the individual experiences a variety of situations and either lapses into or consciously selects a mode of awareness appropriate and adaptive to a particular situation.

Self theory also includes a description of the loss of self in two ways; namely, as an intentional, mystical transcendence and as a loss of self encountered in the face of personal disorganisation, unexpected loss of control or as a psychological disability of existential crisis (Johnson, 1985). The concept of the bodily self is always prominent and is connected to a complex ontogeny of growth, development, experience of injury and ageing. In terms of development, any functional concept of self presupposes either evidence or strong inferences of reflective awareness. Hence, infants and pre-reflective children are assumed to have, or to manifest incomplete selves (Freud, 1923; Piaget, 1952) (cited in Johnson, 1985).

2.4.3.3 The Self in Concentric Layers

According to Hsu (1985), the elements of the human existence may be depicted as seven irregular, concentric layers, with layer 7 existing at the very centre of the circle. Layers 6 and 7 may be depicted as the 'preconscious' and 'unconscious', according to Freud's psychoanalytic theory. These layers may contain material that is semi-repressed and repressed respectively.

Layer 5 is called the 'inexpressible conscious' because its contents are generally kept to the individual. The material in this layer is usually not communicated to others for a number of reasons, namely; the individual may be afraid to communicate his thoughts or the individual may believe that others may not understand him since the material is too personal (for example; a deep aversion resulting from a childhood experience), or the individual is unable to verbalise his thoughts, or the individual may be ashamed to do so.

Layer 4 is termed the 'expressible conscious' since it contains material, ideas and feelings which the individual can communicate to others and which they in turn, respond to. These may include a variety of things such as love, greed, hatred and knowledge of the incorrect and correct ways of doing things. On a personal level these may include trivial manners such as rules of politeness, while on a national level, they may include things such as keeping ethnic groups in their place. However, the communication of some of the material of Layer 4 may be restricted to members of the same society.

Layer 3 is part of the external world with which one has strong feelings of attachment, and where one is able to form intimate relationships in the sense that the individual is able to communicate his thoughts without fear of rejection or humiliation. This layer also involves cultural usage's, artefacts, material collections, etc., hence any change in this layer results in the individual being very distressed and resisting the change strongly.

Layer 2 is characterised by role relationships, which the individual finds useful. The performance of the role does not involve intimacy or affect and the cultural rules and artefacts

are those with which the individual deals without strong or even any emotional attachment, hence the individual is less likely to resist change.

Layer 1 consists of material related to cultural rules, knowledge, artefacts and other individuals, all of which are present in the larger society, but which may or may not have any connection with the individual. In the normal course of events, the individual has no role or affective relationship with these at all.

Layer 0, the last and outer most layer, consists of people, customs and artefacts belonging to other societies with which most members of a society have no contact with or of which they have no idea or have erroneous ideas.

With regard to this model of the Self, layer 4 is the layer of importance for the attributes of personality. It is the boundary within which the internalisation of culture and moral values is supposed to occur. Together with layer 3, and slightly encompassing layers 2 and 5, the area of layer 4 is the central substance of the individual as a social and cultural being and which Hsu (1985) terms 'jen', the Chinese equivalent of 'man'. According to Hsu (1985), the central focus of personality is the individual's deep core of complexes and anxieties, while the nature of interpersonal relationships is seen as the indicators or expressions of these complexes. With 'jen', the central focus is the place of the individual in a web of interpersonal relationships, while his wishes and anxieties are judged according to whether they contribute to, or destroy his interpersonal relationships. Since the 'jen' is the view of man in terms of the larger whole, Hsu (1985) suggests that this be the basis for the understanding of human behaviour with

reference to the social and cultural stability and change instead of the individualistic concept of personality.

Summarising the concept of the 'jen'; it is not a fixed entity, it is in a state of dynamic equilibrium, it is a framework within which every human individual seeks to maintain a satisfactory level of psychic and interpersonal equilibrium, in the same way that every physical organism tends to maintain physiological stability between and within its parts. This overall process is termed psychosocial homeostasis (PSH) by Hsu (1985).

Despite the dynamic processes involved in an individual's life-span, that is, from birth to death, movement from one place to another and other external forces beyond one's control, every human being needs affective relationships with some elements of the world, in order to make one's existence meaningful. Initially, one looks to other individuals for an affective relationship, resulting in intimacy. These 'others' are constituents of layer 3. If other humans are not available, then the individual fills the gaps with things, gods or cultural rules on which his affect is lavished, since this is what gives the individual his sense of identity and fulfilment. If changes or losses occur in this level, then the individual is likely to feel aimless and if the changes or losses persist over time, without any acceptable alternatives, then the individual is likely to develop psychological problems and psychiatric symptoms. But, this layer is not entirely functional on its own, rather it relies heavily on layers 4 and 5 for the maintenance of suitable levels and varieties of psychic output, in order to make the relationships satisfactory and continuous (Hsu, 1985).

According to Hsu (1985), both the Chinese and Western cultures begin their lives with parents and siblings, who are part of layer 3. But, they differ in the sense that for the Chinese, his self-esteem and future are tied to the individuals in this first group. For the individuals in the Western cultures, their self-esteem and future depend on how well they are able to fend for themselves and develop independence, hence their parents and siblings are only temporary occupants of this layer. Consequently, his layer 3 is filled with individuals other than with whom he began life, hence he has to search for these individuals and then establish a link with them in order to secure intimacy in his life. In the process, parents and siblings may be relegated to other layer, such as layer 2 or even layer 1, or they may even remain in layer 3, depending on the choices made by the individual. Unlike the Chinese, who do not have to strive for acceptance from the people in layer 3, the individual in a Western culture has to compete for mastery and satisfaction in order to maintain a relationship. Hence, these individuals are constantly working for a psychosocial homeostasis, via a larger variety of routes, leading them to other cultures, whom they may love, try to improve, or make sacrifices for. Alternately, the individual from the Western culture may turn to his inner self for guidance, by exploring his own inner world via the use of drugs, meditation or by turning to religion. The Chinese, on the other hand, does not need to maintain his psychosocial homeostasis in the above manner, since intimacy is readily and continuously available to him through his family network. Thus, the Chinese seldom make use of layers 2,1,0, and if they do, they are able to do so without any emotional involvement, resulting in few secondary relationships outside of the family. This also results in a lack of religious fervour, since God, to the Chinese, is not one that the individual is committed to, but one that is 'consulted' when the need arose (Hsu, 1985).

According to Triandis (1989), it is the collectivistic self which Hsu (1985) is referring to in his model above, however, it may not be possible to research all of these concepts, empirically.

2.4.3.4 Self as Analytical

According to Gregory-Smith (1979) (cited in Johnson, 1985), the scientific mode of thinking amongst Westerners is deductive and analytical, emphasising causal relationships and the perception of substrates, while the Chinese mode of cognition is inductive and synthetic, with the emphasis on temporally defined dynamic relations and the systematic perception of functions. Analytic and deductive modes of cognition are probably a result of the individuals seeing reality as an aggregation of parts, that is, objects are seen as potentially divisible combinations of smaller parts, which are visible and real (trees, stars), but are presumed to constitute the structure of immaterial things (thoughts, ideas). This analytic mode of thought results in the observer objectively externalising the object, in comparisons to the Eastern mode of cognition, whereby objects are internalised. Western personality theories also tend to accentuate the boundary between the extrapsychic and intrapsychic realities which are predominant in traditional psychoanalysis. In general, western thinking emphasises the goal of the analytic and deductive mode in order to pursue the cause and to associate such causes to mechanics involving structural and particular entities (Johnson, 1985).

All of the models discussed indicate that the self is either externalised or internalised by the individual and it is the culture in which the individual lives, or has always lived in since childhood, that determines whether the self is externalised or internalised. Amongst the Western cultures, the self appears to be inner-directed and amongst the Eastern cultures the

self appears to be outer-directed, which is basically a facet of the concept of individualism and collectivism. Since this research relies on the individualistic-collectivistic model of the self, as a basis, this model of the self will be discussed in greater detail, to the other models.

2.5 INDIVIDUALISM - COLLECTIVISM

Most of what is known about the self is based on the Western concept of the self, which views the individual as an independent, self-contained autonomous entity. The individual comprises of a unique configuration of internal attributes and behaves as a result of these internal attributes. Some of these attributes are traits, abilities, motives and values. Markus and Kitayama (1991) state that the construals of the self and of others and of the relationship between self and others is very powerful and their influence is reflected in the differences amongst cultures. Comparing the independent view of the self with the interdependent view of the self, the independent self is exemplified in a large proportion of the American culture as well as in many European cultures, while the interdependent self is exemplified in the Japanese and other Asian cultures. These divergent views may have a systematic influence on various aspects of cognition, emotion and motivation. Generally, the self is viewed as interdependent with the surrounding context, and it is the 'other' or the self in relation to the other, that is the focal point in the individual experiences. When psychological processes such as cognition, motivation and emotion implicate the self, either explicitly or implicitly, as a target or a referent, then the nature of these processes vary according to the exact form or organisation of the self inherent in a given construal.

In the Western culture, the gaining of independence and the discovery and expression of one's unique attributes are common views of the self. This view is derived from a belief in the wholeness and uniqueness of each person's configuration of internal attributes. This process gives rise to processes like 'self-actualising', 'self-realisation', in general, it involves the concept of self as an autonomous, independent person, which may be referred to as the independent construal of the self. Other labels may include individualistic, egocentric, separate, autonomous, idiocentric and self-contained. The independent self is generally responsive to the environment, due to social responsiveness being used as a strategy to determine the best manner of expressing or asserting the internal attributes of the self (Markus and Kitayama, 1991).

In contrast, the interdependent construal of the self relies on the connectedness of humans to each other. Within such a construal, the self becomes most meaningful and complete when it is cast in an appropriate social relationship. This relationship features the person not as a separate entity in the social context, rather the person is more connected and less differentiated from others. This interdependence of the self may also be referred to as sociocentric, holistic, collective, allocentric, ensembled, constitutive, contextual, connected and relational. This type of self also possesses and expresses a set of internal attributes, such as opinions, abilities, judgements, as situations specific, hence they may be elusive and unreliable. Thus, the self cannot be properly characterised as a bounded whole since it changes structures with the nature of the particular social context. Of all the cultures, it is the Japanese who are the most interdependent people (Markus and Kitayama, 1991).



According to Beattie (1980) (cited in Markus and Kitayama, 1991), Africans are also very sensitive to the interdependencies of other people and they view the world and others, as an extension of one another. Marriott (1976) (cited in Markus and Kitayama, 1991), claims that conception of the self amongst Hindus, is an open entity and that a Hindu's ideal is interpersonal fusion, but this is also accompanied by separation, which results in personal distress. Indians regard responsiveness to the needs of others as an objective moral obligation to a greater extent than Americans do. These two cultures appear to be alike in the sense that both attach a greater value to proper relations with others and in the requirement to flexibly change one's own behaviour in accordance with the nature of the relationship (Miller, Bersoff, and Harwood, 1990) (cited in Markus and Kitayama, 1991).

2.5.1 Characteristics of Individualistic Cultures

Western cultures are characterised by individualistic tendencies. This evolved as a result of the increase in cultural complexity, which allowed families to become nuclear. Cities allowed an increase in individualism, since migration allowed individuals to break away from following group norms (Triandis, 1988). This reasoning may be applicable to the Black population of South Africa, particularly the males and the migrant workers, who were forced to leave their families and seek employment in the larger towns and cities, which resulted in them not seeing their families for long periods of time. The lack of social contact with their cultural societies and the contact with a different culture may have resulted in some acculturation, hence a move towards individualism.

In individualistic cultures, people have many rights, but few duties. They view themselves as separate from their roles and they take personal responsibility for anything that is done. They may belong to many ingroups which may have contradictory norms, but the individuals are careful as to conform to the norms of their groups. In the case of a conflict arising, people may change the in-group or they may ignore the conflict, or they may conform more to one group than the other, or they may find a way of integrating the conflict by developing new behaviour patterns or they may splinter the group to create a new ingroup. Because there are so many relevant ingroups in individualistic cultures, the people here tend to conform more (Triandis, 1989).

According to Hofstede (1980) (cited in Triandis, 1989), individualism correlates highly with latitude, occupational mobility, freedom of the press, extent of the support of the idea of religious belief and choice, that is, not imposed by the state or tribe, inner directedness, selfishness, emphasis on privacy, less discipline, the view that interpersonal relationships are a means to an end, instead of an end to themselves and the existence of broad ingroups consisting of family and friends as well as strangers or acquaintances who agree with one on political, religious, scientific and philosophical subjects. Countries high in individualism have individuals who are high in internal control, they emphasise private goals, pay attention to what a person does, rather than who the person is. These countries also have conditions favourable to technological change, individuals are rootless and alienated, people think that decisions made by individuals are better than those made by groups, variety is stressed, guilt is used as a mechanism of social control, the need for autonomy is high, pleasure, security and positive affect are emphasised. Furthermore, the opinion of others is not important, friendship is a matter of choice and self-sufficiency is highly approved of (Triandis, 1988).

Hsu (1981) argues that individualism explains why competition permeates all aspects of the Americans' life, beginning with the struggle of children for their parent's attention. The readiness by Americans to believe the notion that everyone has the right to happiness, as decreed by the constitution!, and the acceptance that happiness consists of fulfilment of individual wishes are all aspects of individualism. But, the strivings encouraged by individualism, are all linked to a deep insecurity which comes from an over-dependence on the self as well as a lack of social support. Insecurity leads to a constant effort to prove oneself and to prove that one is stronger and better than the others. Racism is part of this insecurity, because by proving superiority of White over Black, Whites may feel more secure (Triandis, 1988).

Within the South African situation, particularly during the apartheid era, overt racism was rife and the assumption was that Whites were superior to Blacks. According to the above theory, this implies that the Whites used racism as a means of hiding their insecurities. As Mazrui (1991) so eloquently states 'apartheid is a means to White control; its disposal is not an end to a lifestyle.' But, if apartheid was discredited, abandoned or dismantled, then a process of disintegration of White control will occur, and the responses may be uncertain.

2.5.2 Characteristics of Collectivistic Cultures

In collectivistic cultures, the self is a bundle of roles. The individuals take partial responsibility for any deed performed, the responsibility lies mainly on the ingroup. Hence, even the benefits that are due to the individual must be shared amongst the ingroup members. Individuals in such culture have many duties, but few rights. Fewer ingroups exist and the norms are

consistent. In collectivistic cultures, shame and guilt are the most powerful mechanism of social control and even though shame and guilt exist in most cultures, they may be of differential importance in various cultures or they may change in meaning (Triandis, 1989).

According to Hofstede's report (1980) (cited in Triandis, 1989), collectivistic countries report more acquiescence response sets, individuals are more tradition- or other directed and the person is embedded in the social context. Religion is the belief of the ingroup, political conversion occurs at a group level instead of individual level. Loss of face or humiliation are mechanisms of social control, sometimes tyranny exists in the group and interpersonal relations are an end in themselves. There are narrow ingroups, and there is concept of limited good. Individuals have more external control of motivation, people tend to think that planning is not necessary, goals tend to be group goals and who does something is more important than what is done. Organisations are responsible for members' welfare, emphasis is on morality and loyalty. Companies are responsible for the welfare of their employees and workers stress the importance of pleasant co-workers instead of earnings. The function of family and kin emphasise security, friendship, prestige, duty and expertness. Identity description is usually based on family and friends instead of the work one does. Because of the lack of competition, individuals are more co-operative and have a stronger sense of self-worth. Information management is used extensively, since people are not told unpleasant truths so that they will not be upset (Triandis, 1988)

According to Lau (1995), Chinese people tend to be more subtle and indirect compared to Westerners. By using questionnaires and interviewing undergraduate students at the City University of Hong Kong,, Lau (1995) found that family relationships were constantly

emphasised and nourished throughout life. Second to the family were close friends and peers, who were often consulted when a problem arose, instead of the Chinese going to a stranger such as a counsellor. Furthermore, Chinese officials appeared to be less assertive and more reserved and more conforming. They were also more dependent on authority for instructions or directions, compared to Westerners and these may be indicative of the family life of Chinese, where the roles of individuals are rigidly defined (Bond, 1991), (cited in Lau, 1995).

In terms of therapy, Bond (1991) (cited in Lau, 1995) reports that Asians expected direct treatment instead of non-directive therapy, hence they want to be told what to do.

Furthermore, the Chinese are concerned with privacy and the maintenance of a distant relationship with their counsellors. The idea of individualism, which stresses the importance of self-direction and self-development, is conspicuously absent amongst the Chinese, since the Chinese people tend to think of themselves using group-related concepts and their personal 'self' as being closer to their interpersonal or social self (Lau, 1995).

In the case of extreme collectivism, individuals do not have personal goals, attitudes or values or they are indistinguishable from the in-group's needs. In this case, both the individual and the society are collectivistic. If there is no overlap between the individual's and the in-group's needs, then one may have an individualistic culture (where the people act in reference to their own goals) or a collectivistic culture (where one subjugates own's goal to the goal of the group) or one may have an individualistic person living in a collectivistic culture (Triandis, 1988).

An implication of the Hofstede's (1980) construct of individualism and collectivism (cited in Triandis, 1989), is that in collectivistic societies, the self will be more absorbed in and attached

to a group, whereas in the individualistic societies, the self is more autonomous and separate. Grouping Malaysia as a collectivist society and Australia and Great Britain as individualist societies, Bochner (1994), found that Malaysians were generally more group anchored and less individualistic. The self-concept of Malaysians were also more group anchored compared to those of the British and the Australians. Between the Australians and the British, no significant differences were detected in their self-concept. These results reveal a core cultural value of these societies which is consistent with Hofstede's (1980) model.

According to Bochner (1994), using a modified version of the Twenty Statements Test (TST), provided support for a pan-cultural model of the self that does not fall into the trap of treating the culture-specific 'emic' attributes of the self as categorically differentiating members of contrasting cultures. Rather, this test or technique leads to a construction of the self in terms of the differential salience of its various components, but it does not specify what the components are.

Apart from the basic individualistic-collectivistic self, other related or sub-components of the self may exist. These may include the private, public and expanding self, all of which will be briefly discussed.

2.5.3 The Private, Public and Collective Self

According to Triandis (1989), the self may be divided into three categories, namely, the private self, the public self and the collective self. The private self consists of cognition involving traits, states or behaviours of a person, while the public self encompasses cognitions

concerning the generalised view of the self and collective self consists of cognitions involving a view of the self that is found in some collective group. People sample these three kinds of selves with different probabilities which has specific consequences for social behaviour. Hence, the private self is an assessment of the self by the self, the public self is the assessment of the self by the generalised other, while the collective self is the assessment of the self by a specific reference group (Triandis, 1989).

In individualistic cultures, child-rearing practices emphasise self-reliance, finding oneself, and self-actualisation. This type of child-rearing increases the complexity of the private self and because there are more elements of the private self to be sampled, more are sampled. Thus, the probability of the private self being sampled increases with individualism. Hence, one expects that the loose, complex and individualistic cultures to sample the private self more than the public self, since, complexity, individualism and looseness all lead to a more complex private self (Triandis, 1989).

In collectivistic cultures, child-rearing emphasises the importance of the collective; hence the collective self is more complex and more likely to be sampled. Since being polite and pleasant to in-group members is highly valued, one expects in most situations a display of harmony, implying that the public self is an extension of the collective self. The importance of sampling the collective self is that norms, roles and values become salient. Child-rearing in many societies emphasises conformity to family norms in the lower classes and self-direction, creativity and independence from the in-group in the upper social classes. Since collectivistic cultures are associated with child-rearing pattern emphasising conformity, obedience and reliability, and these patterns are associated with rewards for conforming to the in-group

goals, this then leads to internalisation of the in-group goals. Thus, people do what is expected of them even if it is not enjoyable. Since peace of mind and being free of worries have been emphasised as aspects of the self in India, these reflect Indian values that are easily recognisable in early Hinduism and Buddhism (Triandis, 1989).

2.5.4 The Expanding Self

According to Roland (1990), Asians differ from Americans in the sense that Asians are more collective compared to Americans, but within the Asian societies, the degree of collectivism varies. He views the Indians as having a 'familial-communal self', which is primarily related to family, secondarily to community or caste and thirdly one has the spiritual self, which refers to the finite self (Jin) and infinite self (atman). This encompasses both the familial self, the individualised self and the infinite self, with highly differing experiential components of consciousness. The Indian culture assumes a psychological process of self-transformation from gross to more refined self. The fourth conceptualising concept of the self, is the expanding self which accounts for historical social change, which may result in anxiety and inner conflict. An example of this would be the change resulting from the women's movement in America, where the women began to integrate traditional roles with new opportunities in careers and changing of the marital relationships over the last three decades. Similar types of change may have been generated when the British colonised India, hence forces of Westernisation/modernisation were released on the population which may have profoundly affected the Indian society, which may have resulted in a new integration of an expanding self, probably with some painful conflict (Roland, 1990).

In South Africa a similar type of conflict may have occurred with the Blacks upon the arrival of the Whites. Hence, the expanding self may have experienced conflict during the integration of the changes brought about by Westernisation as well as by apartheid. The expanding self may still be in the process of change for many South Africans, who now have to adapt to the changes brought about in the post-apartheid South Africa.

According to Roland (1990), bicultural change is observable in the Asian population who have emigrated to America. They encounter a lifestyle which is based on a value system, social patterns and inner psychological makeup that is often opposite to their own, hence considerable anguish and conflict results. Gradually they internalise the more individualised modes of functioning while retaining the basic facets of their own familial self, which results in a new integration of a bicultural or expanding self (Roland, 1990).

This type of acculturation may have occurred when the Indians first appeared in South Africa as field labourers and later as businessmen. Conflict within the self may have occurred during the process of internalising norms, resulting in an integration of the expanding self. Conflict generally arises when the integration of the Western values results in the Indian values being denigrated, then the people identify with the new attitudes which are part of the upper layering of the self, but devalue the more deeply rooted layer of the self that is anchored in the indigenous culture in the maternal matrix. This can then result in intense inner conflict and psychological paralysis.

The integration of the expanding self also results in greater individualisation, particularly in the urban areas. This is a key component in the expanding self but it also involves considerable

emotional distress when it conflicts with traditional expectations. In the United State, Indians and Japanese encounter very different life-styles, dictated by a culture of individualism. This can engender considerable conflict particularly in a hierarchical relationship. This may be because of a lack of nurturing from the individualised superiors; or the lack of intimate relationships of the type that they are used to and lastly, the degree of assertiveness and probably confrontations that are common in American work relationships, which may be completely foreign to the Asians. Thus, conflict is generated by differences between the emotional responses of the indigenous cultural self and that of the American life-style (Roland, 1990). It is possible to speculate that this type of conflict may be also present amongst the Black and Indian populations of South Africa, particularly those in urban areas and to those who are adopting the Western culture.

2.6 ACCULTURATION

In order for the self to expand by intergrating new ideas, the process of acculturation is essential. The process of acquiring more than one culture either as part of one's original enculturation or as a result of a successful acculturation to one or more new cultures, without the loss of the older culture is termed multiculturalism. In this instance, the individual is able to function in more than one culture with the minimal of adaptation. In the general realm of culture, multiculturalism may lead to enrichment of resources for coping with situations and an increase in the possibilities of communicating with a diverse group. But, a multicultural individual may be vulnerable to all kinds of pressures and conflicting messages and is likely to take refuge from his/her lack of a clear cut identity by becoming alienated from society. The debilitating effects of multiculturalism on a person is specific to situations where one's identity

is held in lower esteem by the dominant society. Any person who makes contact with a culture, but intends it to be superficial, might in time become assimilated to it, in spite of themselves. Complete assimilation may be one way of coping with an unfamiliar culture but, it is not always appropriate or even possible (Taft, 1977).

Acculturation is a multifaceted process that refers to individual change over time in identification, attitudes, values and behavioural norms through contact with different cultures, but the way it influences peoples self-concepts and which self characteristics are most important, is still unclear. What is clear though, is that acculturation is uneven, in the sense that people may subjectively identify with an ethnic group and have ethnic friends, but they may not speak the ethnic language. According to Berry (1980), Asian Americans may be divided into four groups depending on the mode of acculturation used by Asian Americans. Those who mention their ethnic identity *and* national groups may be, what Berry (1980) terms, rejecters or people strongly asserting their ethnic distinctiveness. Those who stressed either the ethnic *or* national groups on the Twenty Statements Test (TST) are the integrators, or singly identified Asian Americans, while those who stated *neither* their ethnic nor their national groups maybe the assimilators or unidentified Asian Americans (cited in Rhee, Uleman, Lee and Roman, 1995).

According to Rhee *et al* (1995), using the TST on Asian American revealed that unidentified Asian Americans were similar to Euro-Americans in that both used abstract and autonomous descriptions the most, while the doubly identified Asian Americans used descriptions the least, being in line with the Koreans who were considered to be the most collective group of the sample. Singly identified Asian Americans fell between the Koreans and the Euro-Americans.

Singly and doubly identified Asian Americans also used more specific self-descriptions, instead of abstract descriptions. Unidentified Asian Americans were more extreme than the Euro-Americans since they used significantly more traits and fewer social identity and physical descriptions. It was assumed by Rhee *et al* (1995) that this group over extended themselves in adopting the Euro-American perspective in their self-descriptions and as a result, they overshot the norm of the dominant culture. This may be explained if one considers the self-image of this group of Asian Americans; in trying to maintain a positive self-image, these individuals may have left the group that they belonged to and tried to 'psychologically pass' as members of the dominant group, thus identifying with the mainstream culture.

Thus far, the Western concept of the self has been discussed in relation to the Non-western concept of the self. However, the following section is an overview of the Asian concept of the self. South African Indians may identify fully or partially with these cultures, but this is dependent on the extent of acculturation that the Indians may have undergone.

2.7 THE ASIAN CONCEPT OF THE SELF

Amongst the Indian and Japanese, a structural hierarchy exists, which is a form of social etiquette observed by the superior and subordinate, but this hierarchy is more strictly adhered to amongst the Japanese compared to the Indian. Subordinates are loyal, deferent and receptive to the superior, while the superior is nurturing and responsible to the subordinate. Another psychosocial dimension is that of hierarchy of the person, in which distinctions are made between those who are superior and those who are in a formal superior position, who may or may not be superior. Aspects of the structural hierarchy and the hierarchy by quality of

the person, are central to understanding the mirroring and the idealisation processes of self psychology, as these are played out in both Indian and Japanese relationships in a more dominant modes than in the West (Roland, 1990).

Furthermore, the self in the Indian and Japanese cultures is experienced not so much as an integrated identity that is relatively consistent with various others, as it is in the Western cultures, rather it is more relational and varies according to the relationship. Ego boundaries are also more permeable, particularly the outer boundaries, with continuous affective exchanges and often warmly nurturing attitudes.

With respect to the innermost ego boundaries, the Indians are more in touch with their feelings and fantasies compared to Americans, except in the area of anger and aggression.

Distinguishing the Indians from the Americans, with regard to ego boundaries, is the presence of another inner boundary, which maintains a highly private self and inner psychological space containing fantasies, thoughts, etc. Dependence and interdependence are strongly fostered in Asians and separation is discouraged. The mothers of these cultures tend to be more involved with their children, and give a much greater degree of gratification and less frustration.

Individuation is fostered without the kinds of separation, autonomy and limit setting that are the norms of Western psychology. It is within this environment that strong empathic capacities are formed and may include the remarkable attunement to non-verbal communication. Indians are also constantly asking and manoeuvring in their relationships, to get what they want, but they are involved in a far greater degree of giving and asking compared to Americans (Roland, 1990).

The ego ideal of Asians is generally stronger compared to Americans whose superego ideal is stronger. It is highly situational and it is governed by an acute sensitivity to norms of different groups and hierarchical relationships. Hence, Indians become acutely aware of the norms of different groups that they are in, thus enabling them to adapt to highly foreign situations. They are also able to act and dress differently according to the situation, and they may express different things on the same topic, to different people, depending on the relationship, without experiencing any inner conflict. Both the Indian and Japanese have strong superegos which arouse intense feelings of anxiety and inhibits expressions of anger, particularly at a hierarchical superior. Hence, many somatic and other symptoms are related to intense feelings of anger generated in the family and group hierarchical relationships from which there is no escape, hence feelings need to be inhibited or suppressed. But, Asians cope with this problem by enlisting the Spiritual Self, since it enables them to individuate and emerge from the more symbiotic emotional enmeshment with the inevitable frustrations generated by disappointed expectations or difficult superiors (Roland, 1990).

2.8 CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIVIDUALS IN DIFFERENT CULTURES

The discussion thus far has concentrated on the characteristics of the self in either an individualistic or collectivistic culture. The Black as well as the Indian cultures have been examined, together with other cultures, including the Western culture. However, the following sections are a summary of the characteristics of the Western, Asian and Black cultures.

2.8.1 Characteristics of Asian Families

Slonim (1991) based her studies around the Asian cultures of East and Southeast Asia, with an emphasis on the Japanese, Chinese, Vietnamese and Cambodian societies. She states that in general, Asian families do not stress independence and autonomy, rather the individual is secondary to the family or group. Roles, relationships and behaviour are specified by tradition. Emphasis is on harmony and maintenance of good relationships with others, hence confrontations and refusing or denying another person anything, as well as expressions of anger and displeasure are all avoided. Embarrassing oneself or shaming the family are not tolerated, since one person can cause the whole group or family to shame. Parents demand strict obedience. Traditional observance, decorum and proper forms are important and strictly adhered to in social practices and customs. Communication is often indirect and displays of emotion are discouraged, laughter may indicate embarrassment or distress instead of amusement.

In terms of gender roles, men are traditionally expected to earn the money while women are expected to manage it well. But, women do have a strong influence in all family decisions even though they are raised to be passive and submissive.

2.8.2 Characteristics of the Black Culture

Slonim (1991) uses the term 'Black Culture' to refer to the group of African Americans and Caribbean Blacks. According to Slonim (1991), a hallmark of Black Cultures is the strong, often complex kinship network inherent amongst them.

Hsu (1961) (cited in Slonim, 1991), states that a definite correlation between kinship and lifestyle exist. He divides society into four groups; namely, Oriental, Western or European, Hindus in India and Muslims of the Subcontinent and Africans south of the Sahara. Amongst the Orientals, kinship is based on a pattern of mutual dependency, with emphasis on the father-son relationship. Western society is rooted in self-reliance with a strong husband-wife relationship, while Hindu and Muslim societies are based on a supernatural reliance on God, with an emphasis on mother-son relationships. In contrast to all, the Africans constitute a society characterised by a kinship pattern of mutual dependence together with an emphasis on brother-brother relationships.

Other distinctive features of the Black culture is the conditioning of individuals to be competitive, to have a present time orientation and there is a lack of written language. Rulers maintain direct contact with their subjects, but they expect obedience and awe from them in order to maintain their power.

Family structure is patriarchal in authority and the male's role is that of protector and provider of the family. Family roles and relationships are generally flexible and interchangeable, thus promoting interdependence, rather than reliance on specific members of the family.

2.8.3 Characteristics of the Western Culture

Western people exhibit self-reliance and maintenance of the husband-wife relationship at the expense of the other relationships. This relationship pattern is strongest in the United States of America and weakest in Eastern Europe. Other distinct traits are the nuclear families and the

encouragement of individualism and creativity. Intergenerational conflict is common and rulers are generally government bodies of national states, which are highly organised and are either authoritarian or democratic (Slonim, 1991).

Having examined the literature, one can conclude that culture certainly does have an impact on the development and perception of the self amongst the different cultural groups. However, the research has concentrated on population groups outside of Africa, particularly in America, Asia and Europe. The pertinent question now is : in the South African context, what effect does culture have on the perception of the self amongst the Indian, Black and White populations. Furthermore, do these cultures exhibit the same cultural effects as their overseas counterparts, or have they undergone/are undergoing a series of cultural changes resulting in an expanded self. Furthermore, what effect does culture have on gender or the ways in which males and females are socialised.

2.9 SELF AND GENDER

According to Ember (1981), sex differences are consistent across cultures since most societies face similar life conditions and socialise for similar behaviours. Sex differences have adaptive advantages and they appear early in life, due to socialisation.

Many important gender differences may be linked to divergent construals of the self. An awareness of and sensitivity to others is described as one of the most significant features of women. If this is true, then self-esteem and self-validation should depend not only on being able to do a job well, but also on fostering and sustaining relationships. Furthermore, the

willingness and the ability to care are standards of self-evaluation for many women. Being dependent is very much of an Eastern view of women, but this does not invariably mean that the women are powerless, helpless or without control. Rather, it means being interdependent, hence signifying a conviction that one is able to have an effect on others and is willing to be responsive to others and to become engaged in them. This implies that there is an alternative to selfishness apart from selflessness and that is defining the self in relation to others (Markus and Kitayama, 1991).

In terms of the self concept, one aspect that has been cross-culturally studied, is the locus of control, whether it is internal or external. Indian, Japanese and American males all appear to have more personal control over their lives than females. But, these results may have been due to the samples tested, all of whom were university students, hence their experiences may have been similar, implying that the results may not be culturally significant. Since most cultures award more power to males, this may reflect more personal control cross-culturally (Ember, 1981).

According to Ember (1981), women have more mental illness in societies where there are constant changes in the role of the women, compared to women who are isolated, implying a conflict of identity. Another reason may be due to identification with a particular culture, but not being able to achieve what that culture has.

Josselson (1990), states that the development of men seems to move towards increasing autonomy, culminating in the image of 'man on the top', who is beholden to no one, is independent and self-actualising. Women, appear to have less clearly bounded selves since

they are caught up in the process of caring for and responding to others and are seen to be implicitly less mature. In terms of Erikson's (1968) concept of identity, it is stressed that the attainment of identity is a prerequisite for the foray into intimacy (cited in Josselson, 1990). In his study, using the case histories of men, the anguish of striving for a place in the world that betokens identity, is depicted. When this concept is applied to the study of women (Josselson, 1990) it was found that women, even those in high achieving careers, strive towards relationships and not towards autonomy, which is secondary, if it is found. Since women define themselves in terms of relationships, Josselson (1990), argues that any developmental orientation that equates growth with autonomy will automatically relegate women to the lower end of development, particularly in this industry stage which stresses skill development and the growth of competence. But the important area of competence for girls, is the art of getting to know others by means of learning their attributes, attitudes and behaviours that they value, hence promoting herself as desirable to others for communication and interaction, thus increasing her capacity for harmony and pleasure in relating to others. This indicates women's development of the self which revolves around the making and maintaining affiliations and relationships, thus, the loss of an important relationship is often experienced as a loss of the sense of self. Women are generally mothered by the same sex, hence they never develop an opportunity to individuate as much as men, but in the place of greater individuation, is a greater capacity for empathy, sensitivity and responsiveness to others.

The course of growth of the self, according to Josselson (1990), lies in the ongoing tension between the needs for inclusion and the needs for autonomy. At both ends lies anxiety since one dreads the merging of the self and hence identity loss while at the other end is the fear of exclusion and aloneness. Hence, the development of humans is an effort to create a balance

between these needs and between these fears. This would result in the self being poised between self-expression and relatedness, between the need for self-assertion and social involvement, which could result in a theory of the self being interwoven with a theory of relationships (Josselson, 1990).

2.10 CULTURE AND THE CONCEPT OF MENTAL ILLNESS

The discussion of the self has generally referred to the normal self, however, studies have indicated that the concept of mental illness, or the abnormal self also differ across cultures (Draguns, 1980; Marsella, 1985; Manganyi, 1991). The extent to which different cultures differ, and the diagnosis of mental illness varies across different cultures

This section examines the concept of culture and mental illness; the universality of behaviour, as well as the expression of mental disorder across cultures. Furthermore, it examines the pathology of depression amongst different cultural groups and the models, theories of depression as well as pitfalls in research, which are relevant to culture, are discussed briefly. This section also discusses the manifestation and interpretation of schizophrenia and anxiety across cultures.

2.10.1 The Cultural Concept of Mental Illness

The questions generally asked by psychologists are :

a. is psychological disturbances essentially uniform all over the world, with differences only in the custom, language, imagery and information, or

b. does each culture shape manifestations of behaviour at the lowest limits of social appropriateness and personal effectiveness independently. Hence, what percentage of the variance in psychopathological expression is accountable for by cultural influences (Draguns, 1980).

Generally, psychopathology is classified according to the medical model; hence it is described as a disease which largely discounts the possibility of cultural influences on the individual. This implies that different cultures do not have any influence on the creation/definition/shaping of psychological disorders (Draguns, 1980).

Looking across culture, many differences may be found, firstly, in the manifestation of distress and secondly in the interpretation of these manifestations. When a member of a Non-Western culture develops a mental illness, the manifestations may be the same as that of a Western culture and once communications problems are overcome, treatment may proceed along familiar lines, but, if the manifestations are different, then misdiagnosis and wrong treatment is possible. Generally, when a person behaves in ways which are odd or bizarre to practitioners, it may be considered mental illness, but in the patient's culture, it may be normal. Conversely, the patient's behaviour may appear odd in the cultural context, but may appear to be normal to a practitioner in the Western culture (Rack, 1982).

Cultural differences in the manifestations, interpretation and assignment of causality of distress, represent diagnostic pitfalls for practitioners. Hence, one needs to consider whether a familiar illness such as depression has a different presentation in different cultures, or whether familiar symptoms have different meanings in different cultures, or whether one is dealing with

the same illness at all. Thus, one needs to assess abnormal behaviour against an unfamiliar background and one needs to take care not to diagnose someone as mentally ill just because he/she is a little different from the rest of the society (Rack, 1982).

According to Marsella (1979), all behaviour is linked to culture and since cultures vary, it is logical to expect cross-cultural differences in mental disorder. The important sources of cultural influences are basically dependent on :

- a. cultural variation in defining abnormality
- b. cultural variation in stress inducers
- c. cultural variation in personality.

In order to avoid erroneous conclusions, it is necessary to study normal behaviour before recognising pathology amongst specific groups of people. Thus, the researcher needs to begin with the social and cultural factors which influence a family or community, hence moulding it. The family or community then mould the individual. Social forces outside of the family and community cannot be discounted, since they also influence the individual, particularly in complex societies. Hence, social disturbances, such as community disintegration can cause psychological disturbances (Sanua, 1980).

Both normality and abnormality are relative to particular cultures, hence the definitions of abnormality may occur in greater/lesser degrees in different cultures. By defining 'normal' and 'abnormal', every culture draws for itself certain patterns of acceptable behaviour (Marsella, 1979), some of which will be discussed further on in the chapter.

But, behaviour is not simply a function of the person, rather the person exists at any moment in time, in a situation. Hence, behaviour is continual adjustment to the person-situation interaction. Within this framework, culture, physical environment, biology and psychology are all reciprocally related. In this way, behaviour may be seen as the ultimate reflection of life, be it normal or abnormal (Marsella, 1985).

With regard to stress, cultures vary with regard to both the amount and type of stress they induce in their members. Some of the culturally related stressors are :

- a. Value Conflict Stress : generally occurs when there are many conflicting values in a given society, which then serve to elicit psychological uncertainty and confusion because a stable framework of reference is absent,
- b. Social Change Stress : occurs when a society is undergoing change due to modernisation or urbanisation. The members then experience stress because of the challenges brought about through adaptation to the new rules, for example, the death of apartheid which led to the moving of Black, Coloured and Indian people into the formerly 'White' residential areas.
- c. Acculturation Stress : involves the changes set in motion when different cultures come into contact, as the different races in South Africa now do.
- d. Goal Striving Discrepancy Stress : is generally present in cultures when there are large discrepancies between aspirations and achievements,
- e. Life Event Stress : is generally due to new adaptive responses which are required from the organisms, during ongoing patterns of adjustment. Cultures generally vary with respect to the number of and severity of life-event changes to which their members are exposed,

f. Role Discrimination Stress : most cultures have a great deal of stress associated with certain social strata (for example; age, race), since status discrimination places pressure on individuals by fostering feeling of inadequacy and self-worth,

g. Role Conflict Stress : when the roles individuals engage in are in conflict, then disparities may elicit stress because of the continual switching in role requirements and demands (Marsella, 1979; Sanua, 1980).

2.10.2 Variations in Personality

Normal and abnormal behaviours run along a continuum and personality is the basis of both behaviours. Since personality structure and dynamics vary across cultures, it is logical to then expect cross-cultural differences in mental disorders. According to Marsella (1979,1980) personality variations across cultures are related to the etiology, experience and expression of mental disorder. From the etiological perspective, certain personality styles may be more or less resistant to stress by virtue of temperament, cognitive and psychological coping patterns and general personality orientation. Similarly, personality is also related to actual experiences associated with mental disorder, as well as with any particular forms that they may assume.

Marsella (1985) reports many differences in the expression of depression across cultures. In the Western culture, depression is characterised by disturbances in somatic, affective and cognitive aspects of functioning, whereas in the Asian and Black or African cultures, somatic features are prominent in the presentation of symptoms.

2.10.3 The Universality of Normal and Abnormal Behaviour

Ackerknecht (1942) (cited in Marsella, 1979) attempted to categorise behaviour across cultures as either normal or abnormal, hence dividing behaviour into four categories :

- a. autopathological - behaviour which is abnormal in one culture, but normal in all other cultures,
- b. autonormal - behaviour which is normal in one culture, but is abnormal in the rest,
- c. heteronormal - behaviour which is normal in all cultures,
- d. heteropathological - behaviour which is abnormal in all cultures.

But behaviour cannot be so easily classified and the system does represent an oversimplification of a complex problem, nonetheless it does sensitise researchers to cultural differences.

In 1969, Katz, Gauderman and Sanborn (cited in Marsella, 1979) attempted to rate behaviour from normal and abnormal individuals in different ethnocultural groups in Hawaii; using a standardised adjustment scale measuring ten behavioural categories. They were able to develop profiles of normal and abnormal Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, Caucasians, Hawaiians and Samoans, based on these behaviour categories. The major problem with this approach was that the items forming the various categories were derived from factor analysis of the Caucasians and do not reflect the variations that may have existed amongst the other ethnocultural groups.

According to DSM-IV (American Psychiatric Association, 1994), it is important for clinicians to account for the individual's ethnic and cultural identity when evaluating an individual on the

DSM-1V axes, in order to avoid misdiagnosis or underdiagnosis the problem. The term 'culture-bound syndrome' indicates a recurrent, locality-specific abnormal behaviour or experience that may or may not be linked to a DSM-1V category, however, there is seldom a one-to-one equivalence of a culture-bound syndrome with a DSM-1V diagnostic entity. In brief, sensitivity to the relativity of normal and abnormal behaviour is essential and this could be achieved by conceptualising health and mental disorder amongst different cultures. This could then lead to studies of individuals in different cultures using both the emic and etic methods of research for purposes of comparisons (Marsella, 1979).

2.10.4 The Expression of Mental Disorder Across Cultures

It has already been stated that mental disorders, such as depression and anxiety, vary across cultures, but many of the same behaviours which are considered deviant in Western cultures may also be considered deviant in Non-Western cultures, but it is the patterning of the deviant behaviours which often varies across cultures. Some of these deviant behaviours are extreme sadness, motor retardation, agitation and hostility. In studying the cultural variations in the manifestations of mental disorders, Marsella (1979, 1980) characterised five major research strategies, namely; culture specific disorders, matched diagnosis, matched sample, international survey and factor analysis.

2.10.4.1 Culture Specific Disorders

According to Marsella (1985), a number of disorders are culture specific, namely; the Latah which is hypersensitivity to sudden fright, often with echolalia (DSM-1V, 1994), is found in

many parts of the Orient and is characterised by hysteria, Koro which is found amongst Chinese males and is characterised by the fear that the penis is shrinking into the body. It has been assumed that a number of these disorders are culture specific, but some researchers such as Kiev (1972) (cited in Marsella, 1979) have argued that variants of them may be found around the world. Research strategy generally support the conclusion that cultural variants in the manifestation of mental disorders do exist.

2.10.4.2 Matched Diagnosis

In this approach individuals who are from different cultural backgrounds and who share a common diagnosis are compared for symptom variation.

2.10.4.3 Matched Samples

This type of research strategy matches individuals from different cultural groups according to variables such as age, education, gender, social class and rural-urban residence. The different cultural groups are then compared with regard to variation in the frequency or severity of different symptoms. Generally, if these variables are held constant, it is possible to attribute any differences in the symptom pictures to cultural factors.

2.10.4.4 International Survey

This approach involves the studying of symptom pictures associated with a particular disorder, by comparing survey results obtained from numerous countries around the world. One study

conducted by Sartorius, Jablensky and Shapiro (1978) (cited in Marsella, 1979), in a survey of nine countries, found that with Schizophrenia, the prognosis and outcome varied considerably across cultures. Symptoms of schizophrenia were similar across the nine countries, however, it was found that the patients from the poorer and less developed countries recovered much more rapidly compared to the patients from the more economically developed countries.

10.4.5 Factor Analysis

This strategy involves the use of mathematical calculations to objectively cluster symptoms of mental disorder. Prior to this method, symptoms were generally observed by clinicians and if there was an agreement amongst clinicians about the cluster of symptoms, then a syndrome was posited. Factor analysis lends itself to efforts to understand symptom patterns in different cultures as it reduces the risk of adopting Western notions about the existence of certain patterns of psychiatric disturbances.

Regardless of the research method used, results indicate that cultures do differ in the manifestations of mental disorders. Cultural variants clearly have an influence on deviant behaviour patterns as well as on 'normal' behaviour patterns. Despite the biological or biochemical processes which are universally operative in the etiology of certain mental disorders, such as depression or premenstrual stress, the appraisal and behavioural responses to these processes is through culturally conditioned experiences and the social responses to the behaviour patterns indicate cultural influences (Marsella, 1985).

Another point with regard to cultural variations in the manifestations of mental disorders, is the fact that many cultural groups do not have words or terms to describe the mental disorders specified in the Western manuals. This is possible if the mental disorder is considered as a normal behaviour in that culture, or if the words or terms have no significance or meaning for individuals in the specified culture. According to Marsella (1979) many cultures, such as the Chinese, Nigerians or Japanese do not have equivalent terms to describe depression. This indicates that depression, as viewed by the Western cultures, does not have a similar pattern or meaning in many Non-Western cultures. Even amongst the Non-Western cultures, language differences limit equivalence.

A consideration of symptom pattern observed in Non-Western societies and of indigenous practice indicate that categories of mental illness developed in the West are probably useable for describing the emotional disorders encountered in Non-Western societies, except that the possession state needs to be considered as a separate entity, which may or may not be an illness. Western categories may be useable, but are not superior or even equal to indigenous categories in terms of indicating treatment or prognosis within the culture. They would of course, have the advantage of opening up the possibility of Western treatment being applied (since treatment is geared to diagnosis), but this raises the issue of efficacy and relevance to treatment across all cultures (Murphy, 1986).

A drawback to using Western nosology becomes apparent where Non-Western systems of medicine are examined. Since these symptoms represent modes of thinking within cultures, the imposition of a structure, to evaluate illness, that is inconsistent with their basic tenets, may be useless and may undermine the society itself, unless the alien structure is considered superior

in some way. Although Western nosology may be useable, it may not be the best way of describing emotional disorder in Non-Western cultures. Nosology is useful when it leads to an understanding of the 'illness' and an approach to treatment. Western nosology may in fact miss important aspects of the illness and may even miss the meaning of the illness in its cultural totality. But, illness within a Non-Western society can be forced into a Western psychiatric society. If the ultimate aim of studying emotional disorder in Non-Western cultures is to benefit the people who are studied, then one may question whether the use of Western nosology is useful, justifiable or even the most economical way of proceeding. But, if the aim is to ensure that Western ways of conceptualising illness are spread around the globe, then there is no argument (Murphy, 1986).

If psychiatry is to develop a theory and practice that is of universal relevance cross-culturally, the first step would be to re-assess its diagnostic system. But Murphy (1986) states that the existing classification system is orientated towards European and North American practices and pays only superficial attention to numerically more important syndromes afflicting the rest of the world, hence the writings and teachings of European origin may be distorted by cultural factors. In essence, it appears that looking for a universal concept of mental illness is only possible if every culture is studied and every symptom or manifestation of a particular illness, from every culture is noted and then used. However, diagnosis and treatment is then problematic, since the so-called mental illness may be normal in some of the cultures.

2.10.5 Depression Across Cultures

The following section concentrates on the different aspects of depression as it pertains to culture. These include, the expression of depression across cultures, theories of depression and the research relating to depression amongst the different cultures. The section ends with a brief look at depression in the South African context, particularly, in the way it is manifested amongst the different races.

2.10.5.1 The Concept of Depression

Marsella (1979) states that the expression of depression is related to a culture's conditioning of the self-structure. Societies placing emphasis on the self in terms of somatic functioning, will have somatic symptoms dominating, while the society that conditions a sense of self in terms of existential functioning will have existential complaints dominating the depressive picture. Furthermore, the actual experience of depression varies across cultures because of basic epistemological orientations. Hence, cultural groups having a subjective epistemological orientation towards life will tend to depsychologise experience and thus not experience guilt, loneliness, detachment, etc.. Furthermore, language, self-schema and mode of expressing reality are the dominant influences in the development of an epistemological orientation.

Depression has been variously referred to as a mood state, an affective disorder, thought disorder, syndrome or a complex of symptoms. It has also been subtyped as psychotic, neurotic, involution, agitated, endogenous, psychogenic and manic.

According to DSM-1V (American Psychiatric Association, 1994), culture can influence the experience and communication of symptoms of depression. For example, in some Asian and Chinese cultures, weakness and fatigue are used to express the symptoms of depression, while individuals in the Mediterranean cultures experience 'nerves' and headaches, all of which constitute somatic complaints as opposed to psychological complaints. Furthermore, cultures may also differ in the judgements about the seriousness of experiencing or expressing dysphoria.

In terms of gender, DSM-1V (American Psychiatric Association, 1994) states that a significant number of women experience a worsening of symptoms of a Major Depressive Episode, few days before the onset of menses. Furthermore, depressive episodes occur twice as frequently in women as in men.

2.10.5.2 Theories of Depression

Current psychological research in depression has generally revolved around Lewinsohn's behavioural model (Lewinsohn, 1974), Seligman's learned helplessness model (Seligman, 1975) and Beck's cognitive perspective (Beck, 1967). Beck's model has accorded cognitive factors a central role in depression. According to Beck (1967) in the past, cognitive and/or perceptual disorders were deemed to be secondary or contingent upon the presence of mood disorders. But if the traditional affective-cognitive sequencing of depression was reversed, then the cognitive components of depression are the primary etiological factors, which result in subsequent affective disturbances (cited in Kuiper, MacDonald and Derry, 1983).

According to Beck (1967) (cited in Kuiper et al, 1983), one of the primary features of depression is the negative manner in which depressed individuals view themselves. The individual views himself as being deficient in one or many of the attributes which are considered essential for happiness. Another aspect of depressives attitude towards themselves is that of blame. Depressives generally blame themselves for their deficiencies and for their very existence. Theoretically, this negative attitude occurs as a function of biased personal information processing. The exact nature of the processing is determined by the interaction of incoming information and the operation of negative cognitive schemata (Kuiper et al, 1983). A self-schema model for depression focuses on the self-schema of content specificity and efficiency and it maps out changes in these parameters as a function of depth or severity of depression. In the normal, non-depressed individual the self-schema has been revealed as a well-organised cognitive structure, specific to non-depressed or positive content. Hence, normals not only recall more positive than negative self-referent content, but they process this non-depressed content in a highly efficient manner.

At low levels of depression, the self-schema undergoes both content and efficiency changes as the individuals begin to notice depressive symptoms. Self-referent judgement recall benefit both categories as the individual begins to incorporate depressed content in their self-schema. Hence, at this level of depression, the structural aspect of the self-schema has been reorganised to reflect content of both a pathological and nonpathological nature. The loss of efficiency of the information processing time indicates that the transition from non-depressed content to depressed content entails a subsequent decrease in schematic efficiency. This decrease may result from the inclusion of a wealth of new information in the individuals' self-schema pertaining to depressive experiences and symptoms. The new information also

'overloads' the memory structure and until it is properly assimilated, it may impair efficient processing of all self-referent material. Increased severity of symptoms over a lengthy period of time, may result in the continued emphasis of depressive symptoms to the detriment of the non-depressed content.

Mild depressives process both the positive and negative content in terms of the self-schema, but, the more severely clinical depressive patients are only capable of effectively self-referencing pathologically orientated material. Furthermore, efficient processing at this level indicates that the depressed content is fully assimilated in the clinically depressives' self-schema. In relation to all self-referent recall, Beck (1967) stresses that the information processing, whether it is positive or negative, are all automatic in nature, and in the case of the depressive, it is not attention demanding (Kuiper et al, 1983).

Theories of depression generally revolve around social and psychodynamic frameworks. Some of these variables include the family structure, conformity, social cohesion, and psychological defences. With regard to family structure, Non-Western cultures, because of extended families, serve to minimise early frustrations with 'multiple mothering' and generalisation of 'object interest' to many family members. Furthermore, a close mother-child relationship, together with long periods of permissiveness, reduces psychological insecurities in childhood and acts against personality types susceptible to endogenous depression. However, those cultures which encourage the development of conforming personalities, may have individuals who rebel against their parent's expectations, but are unable to express it, hence, the development of hostility, guilt and masochistic tendencies. Individuals who are highly socialised, but who tend to conform to societal and parental pressure are also more susceptible

to depression. Some Non-Western cultures sanction the use of psychological defences and a reliance on these may result in less depression amongst the individuals of that community. For example, the American Blacks were generally immune against depression, since they had a tendency to limit self-expectations and demands. As a result, failure did not occur often and self-esteem was maintained (Marsella, 1980).

2.10.5.3 Symptoms of Depression in Different Cultures

Marsella (1980) states that with regard to depression amongst Blacks in Africa, psychotic depression is extremely rare and if it does occur, it does not assume forms which are similar to Western depression. Thus, self-blamed and suicidal ruminations are absent. According to Pfeiffer (1968) (cited in Marsella, 1980), a study of twenty-two Non-European countries revealed that the core symptoms of depression amongst these individuals involved loss of sleep and libido, appetite dysfunction and abnormal body sensations. Mood changes were often absent due to cultural variations in self-descriptions. Sometimes motor agitation, retardation and apathy may be found.

Guilt, however, as it is conceptualised in the West, in its most direct and extreme form, was not found. If guilt did occur, in some isolated cases, it manifested itself as self-accusatory ideas (Draguns, 1990). However, Pfeiffer (1968) (cited in Marsella, 1980), states that loss of relationships and persecutory feelings if the environment assumes a threatening role, may be considered a variant of Western guilt. According to Matsumoto (1994), however, reports of subjective distress when defining abnormality is problematic, since cultures vary in the degree of distress that they report as experiencing, in association with psychological disorders. For the Chinese and African individuals experiencing depression, guilt and shame are reported less

often than depressed Euro-American and European individuals, but the Chinese and African individuals report more somatic complaints. These variations may be due to the cultural groups having values that prohibit reporting or focusing on subjective distress, compared to the Western notion of the importance of self-disclosure. Furthermore, somatising the distress may be due to the cultures locating different feeling states to different parts of the body.

According to the World Health Organisation (1983) the common elements of depression in four different countries, namely, Iran, Japan, Canada and Switzerland, were sad affect, loss of enjoyment, anxiety, tension, loss of energy and interest, inability to concentrate, thoughts of insufficiency, inadequacy and worthlessness (Draguns, 1990). These results were compatible with earlier studies (Marsella, 1980), which found that the more cross-cultural manifestations of depression were loss of sexual interest, lack of appetite, weight loss, fatigue, and self-accusatory ideas. However, no clear universal manifestations of depression were found. Furthermore, in the Non-western countries, the expression of emotion was through agitation, ideas of influences and partial mutism, resulting in the condition of depression going undetected by outsiders to the culture (Draguns, 1990).

Rao (1973) (cited in Marsella, 1980), in his examination of thirty depressed South Indian patients found that all experienced sleep difficulties and had suicidal tendencies, some of the patients also experienced anxiety, libido change, diurnal variation, agitation and loss of energy, all of which is not different from the Western experience of depression. However, these patients were all Westernised and did not represent Indians who maintained traditional lifestyles. But, even amongst these patients, guilt and motor retardation was only present in eight of the patients.

A similar study by Teja, Narang and Aggarwal (1971) (cited in Marsella, 1980), found that of all their 100 patients, all experienced depressed moods and work difficulty. Insomnia, suicidal tendencies, somatic and psychic anxiety, motor retardation and loss of insight was also common. Guilt, however, was present in only 48% of the cases and it was considered to have more of an 'impersonal' nature compared to that found in the West. Teja et al (1971) state that the basic difference between the Indian and Western patients who were depressed, was the degree of somatic complaints experienced by the Indian patients, since the Indian tended to express the inner tensions via the body.

In terms of the guilt feeling being absent amongst Non-Western cultures, Marsella (1980) suggests that the experience of guilt may be extended beyond traditional notions regarding violations of individuals conscience to failure in meeting social expectations and norms. This implies that guilt may be experienced but it assumes another form compared to that of Western guilt. Guilt may often be missed in patients from Non-Western societies since blame is often projected onto others. In Rao's (1973) (cited in Marsella, 1980) study, of the patients who expressed guilt, it was found that guilt was in relation to a lack of care of children and duty towards family. Hence, one needs to question the meaning of the word 'guilt' amongst Non-Western patients and also its conceptual equivalence to guilt in the Western world.

With respect to the Blacks in Southern Africa, Manganyi (1991) stresses that they are not a homogenous group, as is often assumed, rather, each group, from the peasants in the agriculturally depleted areas to those people in the metropolitan areas, as well as the elite in the metropolitan areas and the Black states, are all different. This heterogeneity may be useful for the study of manifestations of psychopathology as it occurs in Black South Africa.

But, in terms of psychopathology, Blacks experience the same kind of psychopathology experienced by other cultures as they experience the impact of modernism. Since Blacks are being sucked into the industrial ethos of the West and are subsequently losing some of the cultural mechanism which served as a form of protection against individualism and consequently, alienation; together with the process of dehumanisation due to apartheid and oppression, some individuals are left with a sense of futility. This is probably why the incidence of anxiety neurotics and those with a character disorder, as well as depressive trends in anxiety, were usually found amongst Black patients. Patterns of symptoms specific to anxiety emerged and these included the warping of character in the form of passive-aggressive individuals, obsessional intellectualising and a denial of affect. Manganyi (1991) stresses that the somatisation of psychological disturbance still exist amongst many Black communities, but this pattern is changing towards character disorders. Since cultures sanction the symbols used for registering distress, which may be either somatic or psychological, a change in the culture towards industrialisation, leads to an uncoupling of the body from the distress (which is prominent in the West) resulting in subjective experience and psychological complaints.

Thus, Blacks do suffer from neuroses, but it is the social meanings of the neurotic metaphors that are presented by the patient to the practitioner, which need to be unravelled. It was the oppression which bred insecurity and a dissipated sense of self and left psychological problems of varying degrees of chronicity (Manganyi, 1991).

Apart from the Blacks, the Coloured community of South Africa appeared to have been severely handicapped through experiences with apartheid. This was evident in the study by Lambley (1980), who found that Coloured males and females were close to peaking on the

Schizophrenic Scale on the MMPI. They also scored high on the scales measuring depression, obsessive-compulsive functioning and hypomania, compared to their English and Afrikaans counterparts. In relation to gender, the profiles of both the Coloured males and females were very similar, compared to the English and Afrikaners. They also manifested a degree of ill-directed rebelliousness, and scored high on the psychopathic scale. This was due to the pressures and dangers of living in the apartheid South Africa; they were aware of their fears, anxieties and suspicions found in their reality, and in order to survive they had to maintain a chronically disturbed personality organisation, in order to steer away from becoming psychotic or borderline.

But the use of the MMPI must be viewed with caution, particularly when contemplating cross-cultural studies. Firstly, it is a Western view of etiology and psychological classification, hence, it is culture bound and may not be applicable to the Coloured community of South Africa. Secondly, its use with ethnic minorities in the United States of America has been cautioned, on the basis of there being inadequate norms (Lonner, 1990). Furthermore, culturally determined thought processes, such as worldview and etic preoccupation, may have predisposed the interpretation of the MMPI to unintentional bias, due to the lack of consistent group differences in responding. In the case of the Coloured population, no norms were available and neither was the test adapted for this population, hence the results of psychopathology obtained were probably biased.

Of the Indians in South Africa, very little research has been done. When research has been done, it is generally done by post-graduate students, for their theses, and is seldom published. But, the Indian community is an acculturating community, and the acculturation appeared to

have been occurring in isolation, with its influence from the media and economic environment instead of the actual reality. Furthermore, the Indian group, like the Blacks in South Africa, have various religious groups, language groups and groupings in terms of origin, hence cross-cultural research is difficult (Bhana, 1987).

Tension often exists between the politically defined reality and the Indian group's cultural heritage. Since the group has to operate within the economic and technological systems of the West, it has to develop coping mechanisms, values and competence in order to operate successfully. This may result in tension between those competencies regarded as being valuable in terms of cultural heritage and those values required for success in the Western environment (Bhana, 1987).

This type of value-conflict stress or tension may manifest itself in stressful behaviour patterns, such as Type A Behaviour Patterns, or somatic complaints. According to Barry and Wassenaar (1996), Indian males who manifest Type A Behaviour Patterns are more likely to suffer from Myocardial infarction, compared to those who do not manifest the Type A Behaviour Pattern (TABP). The TABP consists of behaviour such as time consciousness, hostility and competitiveness. Furthermore, anger and the manner in which anger is expressed, seems to play an important role in the onset of TABP (Dembroski, MacDougal, Williams, Haney and Blumenthal, 1985). But, Indian men stem from a collectivistic culture which does not sanction the expression of hostility, competitiveness and anger, all of which are characteristic of individuals in individualistic culture, hence, a value conflict exists within the individual, probably resulting in severe somatic disorders. However, another possibility for the results obtained, is that the coronary heart disease may have caused a change in the personality, thus influencing the TABP scores.

According to Barry and Wassenaar (1996), the Jenkins Activity Survey (Jenkins, Zyzanski and Rosenman, 1979) and the Survey of Affective Stress (Goldstein, Edelberg, Meyer and Davis, 1988) were used to measure TABP and anger as well as the expressions of anger. However, these test were standardised on a sample of American men and not for the South African Asian males, hence they could be unreliable for this sample. Furthermore, some of the items in the test were not fully understood by some of the subjects, thus creating confusion.

In a study by Naidoo (1985) (cited in Bhana, 1987), competencies of value by mothers in their children as well as in themselves were examined. Good and bad mothers were conceptualised as having positive or negative psychological characteristics, but good and bad children were conceptualised in terms of behaviour. Hence, a well mannered, well behaved, obedient, respectful and quiet child was more valued than a child possessing features of independence and intelligence.

According to Pillay and Schlebusch (1987), parasuicide, one of the symptoms of a Major Depressive Episode, is rare amongst the Black population in South Africa, however, this may be attributed to a lack of published research on both the Black and Indian population. Bhamjee (1984) states that the Indian population is in a state of acculturation, a factor which may be associated partly with parasuicide in certain patients.

Parasuicide, according to Wassenaar (1987), must not be seen as manipulative behaviour, but rather as an attempt to communicate to the family the adolescents desire to individuate and his/her inability to do so. This scenario is encountered when patients are caught in a cultural transition, due to having grown up in families which adhere to traditional norms and

expectations, but having received a western education and being exposed to the mass media. Furthermore, the gradual shift from extended to nuclear families also results in increased stress during the developmental process, all of which may be associated with a high rate of parasuicide in the South African Indian population.

In terms of gender, parasuicide rates may be associated with role discrepancies created by deculturation, which then negatively influences the stability of the marital and parental dyad, which results in a negative effect on effective parental functioning (Wassenaar, 1987).

According to Pillay and Schlebusch (1987), parental restrictions were the primary reasons for parasuicide, particularly if the parents were overly authoritarian, prohibited joint peer entertainment and the development of heterosexual relationships. The number of females attempting suicide appears to be greater than those for men. The Indian females are more socially restricted compared to their male counterparts, furthermore their exposure and attraction to the western way of life which results in acculturation and an attempt at female emancipation, leads to greater levels of psychological stress, hence a higher rate of potential parasuicide in the community (Bhamjee, 1984).

Wood and Wassenaar (1989), in a controlled study of Indian parasuicide patients from the Northdale hospital in Pietermaritzburg, found that families with parasuicide patients were generally more rigid in their control of behaviour amongst the younger generation, probably to reduce the possibility of family change. The restrictions, which were viewed by the younger generation as excessive, may be an impediment to the patients' need to individuate, but are used by the family as a means of maintaining traditional extended family obligations.

Furthermore, the families of parasuicide patients were also characterised by masked and indirect communication patterns, which probably stemmed from an inability to express needs openly. This also leads the parasuicidal patients' families having greater difficulties with problem-solving skills, resulting in increased conflict between the older and traditional members of the family and the younger, more westernised generation. Furthermore, affective involvement in terms of emotional over-involvement, by the family of parasuicides, created an atmosphere of over-intrusiveness and over-protectedness, resulting in more conflict. Hence, the socio-cultural transition which the Indian population in South Africa is experiencing, is resulting in increased psychological stress and cross-generational conflict, which is being ineffectively handled by the families of parasuicidal patients. Thus, with treatment, Wood and Wassenaar (1989) suggest that family therapy may be more effective, compared to treating the parasuicide patient alone.

2.10.6 Cultural Pitfall in the Recognition of Depression and Anxiety

2.10.6.1 Somatisation

Somatisation of emotional distress applies to endogenous and reactive depression as well as to anxiety. It is common among the British, and is well recognised by clinicians in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Hong Kong and various parts of Africa. Amongst the African, the Indians and Pakistanis, somatic complaints are predominant and psychological symptoms fade into the background. This may be explained in various ways, the simplest being, that it may relate to the belief of what a doctor is. For the British patients, they have learnt about depression and anxiety, thus they realise that these have medical causes. But, for the Asian patient, one sees

the doctor for physical complaints. If no physical complaints are apparent, then the emotional distress experienced by the patient is generally resolved by non-medical sources, such as the family (Marsella, 1979).

A second explanation is that somatic complaints are expressed as metaphors, for example, 'butterflies in my tummy'. Similarly, in different cultures, metaphors may be used to express the psychological symptoms, either because the correct terms are not known to the patient or because it is the customary means of expression, or because the holistic view of the self results in there being no split between the mind and the body.

A third possibility is that the physical symptoms may be the only acceptable one to the patient due to the fact that mental illness carries a great stigma, for examples, in China, only psychotic behaviour is labelled 'mental disorder' and minor psychiatric problems are labelled as medical illnesses or the somatic aspects are labelled as medical disorders and the psychological aspects are left unlabelled (Marsella, 1979). According to Draguns (1990), the Chinese rarely complain of sadness or depression, rather, their symptoms are often somatised. These types of explanations are also common amongst the Indian and Pakistanis in Britain, all of whom emphasise the somatic aspects of their illnesses and ignore the category of 'mad' (Marsella, 1979). Hence, for these cultures, somatisation serves as a channel for the communication, for the expression of despair and helplessness and it is a culturally sanctioned cry for help (Draguns, 1990).

Separately or together, these explanations may be sufficient to explain why Non-Western cultures tend to somatise their emotional distress and to explain why reports on the incidence of depression amongst other cultures are unreliable.

It has been assumed that all cultures experience distress in the same manner; that is, that both mental and physical aspects exist and people differ only in those aspects that they choose to emphasise. Alternately, one needs to consider that people do not all experience the same emotions. Since endogenous depression has genetic aspects, it is quite possible that its prevalence varies in genetically different groups. But, experience of any kind includes not only what is happening to the individual, but also how one interprets it. Thus, with depression, it is not just what is happening to the individual but also how he/she interprets it. If the interpretation is culturally valid and is not considered shameful, then it can be used to eliminate the mystery of the experience. Hence, the interpretation of the experience alters the quality of the experience itself (Marsella, 1979).

2.10.6.2 Linguistic Factors

The English language is extremely rich in words to describe different mood states. For 'depressed' one may also use 'desolate, despondent, sad, melancholy' etc., which are not exactly synonyms, but seem to have fine shades of similar meaning. In many Non-Western languages, no such vocabulary exists and one word suffices for a number of different emotions. This is because each culture develops a rich or extensive vocabulary around issues which are of particular importance to those people, at that point in time. If the formulation is correct, then it is almost impossible to ask a patient of a different culture, whose vocabulary for an emotional experience is limited, whether he is feeling anxiety or sadness, if both mean

the same to him/her. But, psychiatric diagnosis depend heavily on such explanations.

Furthermore, vocabulary serves not only to record and communicate experience, but also focuses, verifies and to some extent, alters it. Language is a way of reporting experience and defining experience (Marsella, 1979).

In order to make a distinction between distress in the mind and in the body, one needs to describe each separately and one needs to dichotomise the concepts of 'mind' and 'body' (Marsella, 1979). Such a dichotomy, which is acceptable to Western cultures, has no inherent validity or universality, since most cultures, such as the Black, Indian and Asian cultures generally take a holistic view of the self, hence there is no mind-body separation.

In many Non-Western cultures, people derive their sense of identity and self-concept from their roles and positions in society and their interactions with others. They are not accustomed to visualising themselves in terms of what is in their minds. If language serves to chart an experience introspectively, then it is possible that internal experiences concerned with 'depression' are modified by words available. Hence, two patients of differing cultures may have similar emotional experiences, but whether they are identical is debatable (Marsella, 1979).

2.10.6.3 Guilt

As stated earlier, it is an important feature of depression in Western cultures, but it is culture bound, thus is not a reliable indicator of depression for other cultures and it should not be

expected to appear in all cultures. Close to guilt is shame, which in some cultures carries more influence than guilt (Marsella, 1985).

2.10.7 Schizophrenia Across Cultures

In some cultures, the important criterion of health is the ability to carry out one's obligations and to fulfil one's role. If these can be done, then one is well and if not, then one is ill. In terms of schizophrenia, there is no general agreement about the boundaries of the category.

Symptoms may be explicitly psychological in one culture, but not in another. Generally, schizophrenic symptoms include hallucinations, passivity and ideas of influence that lend themselves to supernatural explanations. Thought disorder is apparent and thought processes and thought disorder are affected. Thought processes, when detected are diagnostically significant since they are relatively specific, hence they are useful when dealing with other cultures, particularly if other signs are unreliable. Again, all the information received is dependent on language (Marsella, 1979).

According to Sartorius, Jablensky, Korten and Ernberg (1986) (cited in Draguns, 1990), the following characteristics of schizophrenia were apparent in nine culturally different locations. The nations included China, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, India, Nigeria, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States, hence encompassing both the individualistic and collectivistic cultures. The symptoms of schizophrenia included restricted affect, poor insight, thinking aloud, poor rapport, incoherent speech, unrealistic information and bizarre and nihilistic delusions. Despite the similarity in symptoms, it was found that patients in the poorer and less developed countries recovered more rapidly and in higher

proportions than their counterparts in the more economically developed countries, leading to speculation about world-wide modernisation and the increase in rates of schizophrenia.

Furthermore, Sartorius *et al* (1986) (cited in Draguns, 1990), found that high occupational and educational indicators were good predictors of better prognosis in the economically developed countries, and good predictors of poor prognosis in the underdeveloped countries, such as Nigeria and India. This is possible if one considers, that in the Third World countries, there exists an incompatibility of high social status and 'fitting in' at a lower level of functioning. Alternately, only extremely disturbed individuals of high status may be found in psychiatric hospitals and the poor prognosis is due to the severity of their psychopathology and not to their high status (Draguns, 1990).

Furthermore, Sartorius *et al* (1986) (cited in Draguns, 1990), found that there was a higher proportion of undifferentiated and catatonic schizophrenia in the developing countries, compared to the paranoid and related manifestations, found in the developed countries. Symptoms in the Western world are generally more specific and cognitive compared to the Non-western locations, which are global and confused states. This may be due to emotional differentiation, a concept employed by traditional cultures to diffuse emotions of anger, depression and anxiety. Hence, these emotional expressions are shifted from somatic to the psychological mode in order to increase the differentiation between them (Draguns, 1990).

Even though the symptoms of schizophrenia have a common core amongst the nine different countries studied, cultural variation in the manifestation, course and outcome must be acknowledged.

2.11 CONCLUSION

It is apparent that great caution needs to be used when studying personality or pathology across cultures. Most of the concepts in personality and pathology are ill-defined or vague, thus to study them across cultures automatically compounds definitional and methodological problems. But, the concepts themselves are real and essential, and the characteristic vagueness must not totally inhibit research into cultural variation. Reliable tests already available, for example, the MMPI, may be used for cultural testing, but, as stated earlier, on its own it may have many disadvantages cross-culturally. Alternately, the researcher may construct his/her own test, thereby shaping the device to the specific concept and culture being studied (Guthrie and Lonner, 1986).

2.12 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

- 2.12.1 Does culture influence the manner in which first-year students of different race groups; namely, Whites, Blacks and Indians construe the normal self.
- 2.12.2 Do the genders in the different race groups differ in their construal of the normal self.
- 2.12.3 Does culture influence the manner in which White, Black and Indian first-year students perceive the abnormal self, particularly in terms of Depression.
- 2.12.4 Does gender influence the construal of the abnormal self, particularly in terms of Depression.

CHAPTER 3

3.1 METHOD

3.1.1 Sample

The subjects for the study were first-year psychology students, who were asked to complete the questionnaires as part of a tutorial session. The age of the subjects was not requested, but a mean or average age of 18.5 was obtained from the Department of Psychology's records.

A total of 381 students completed the questionnaires, with 202 completing the first questionnaire and 179 students completing the second questionnaire (Appendix A). For the first questionnaire, there were 152 White subjects (42 male and 110 females subjects), 16 Black subjects (4 males and 12 females) and 20 Indian subjects (6 males and 14 females). For the second questionnaire, the total numbers of White subjects were 132 (44 males and 78 females), the Blacks subjects totalled 24 (11 males and 13 females) while the Indian subjects totalled 18 (7 males and 11 females). Of the total number of questionnaires received, 14 questionnaires from the first lot and 15 questionnaires from the second, were discarded, because they were either incorrectly completed, or the names given were ambiguous and the gender of the subjects could not be determined.

Due to the small number of completed questionnaires received from the Black and Indian students, the number of completed questionnaires received were randomly scaled down. Initially, each completed questionnaire was allocated a number. Regarding the first

questionnaire, from the 42 White males, every fifth male was chosen, while for the White females, every thirteenth student was chosen, bringing the total number of completed questionnaires from the White students to 16. The number of female Indian subjects (total = 13) were scaled down by discarding every fourth student, to obtain 10 female subjects, since only 6 of the Indian male subjects completed the questionnaire.

For the second questionnaire, the total number of Indian students was 18. The total number of questionnaires from White male students was 78 and these were scaled down to 9 by selecting every eighth student. For the females (total = 43), every fifth student was chosen. For the Black students, of the 13 male subjects, every fourth subject was dropped and of the 11 females, every fourth subject was dropped, bringing the total number of Black subjects to 18.

The total number of questionnaires were thus 102, with 48 subjects having answered the first questionnaire and 54 subjects having answered the second questionnaire. To de-emphasise race amongst the subjects, the subjects' names were used to determine their race groups as well as their gender. This procedure resulted in the incorporation of the Coloured students amongst the group of White students, hence increasing their numbers. This also resulted in the exclusion of the Coloured subjects as a separate race group for this research.

3.1.2 Instrument

The test consisted of two sets of questionnaires of which the subjects had to complete only one. Each questionnaire was composed of ten psychological words, selected from five different areas of psychology; namely, Social psychology, Personality, Developmental

psychology, Psychopathology and Psychotherapy (Appendix A). Some of the words included 'Attitude', 'Conformity', 'Reward', 'Shame', 'Neurosis', 'Defensiveness'. The words selected for the questionnaires were from Euro-American textbooks, hence they are automatically biased in favour of the Western culture or the White subjects.

3.1.3 Procedure

In completing the questionnaire, each student was asked to enter his/her name. They were asked to provide two synonyms or two similar words, for each given word in the space provided, as well as two sentences using the given word. This indicated the students understanding of each stimulus word. This procedure may then indicate the differences or similarities, regarding the choice of words, amongst the three different race groups.

To overcome the language barrier for some Black students, for whom English is a second language, the Zulu equivalent of the word was available at the front desk or from the tutor. The students were informed of this facility, but, unfortunately, not many students made use of it.

3.2 STATISTICAL ANALYSES

Initially, all the synonyms used by the subjects were listed. Thereafter, some of the synonyms were grouped together if they appeared to be similar in meaning. This procedure was necessary to facilitate the use of the technique of Semantic Differential, on the existing data.

3.2.1 The Semantic Differential

This technique was developed by Osgood and his associates as a tool for research on the psychology of meaning; although its possibilities for personality assessment were soon recognised (Osgood, Suci and Tannerbaum, 1957) (cited in Anastasi, 1982).

The semantic differential represents a standardised and quantified procedure for measuring concepts. Even though every person sees things a little or maybe too differently from each other, there must be a common core of meaning for different concepts; thus any concept has a common cultural meaning. Each concept is rated on a seven-point or a three-point scale; as being more closely related to one or the other, of a pair of opposites. Hence, for each concept a pair of bipolar adjectives must be employed. Osgood *et al* (1957) originally developed a general set of fifty bipolar adjective scales. Intercorrelational and factorial analysis of the fifty scales reveal that the fifty scales may be subdivided into three groups; namely, evaluative, potency and activity scales. Evaluative scales include scales such as good-bad, clean-dirty; potency scales include items such as strong-weak, heavy-light; while activity scales includes items such as active-passive, fast-slow. Of the three groups, the evaluative factor is the most common and it accounts for the largest percentage of total variance (Anastasi, 1982).

In order to construct the semantic differential, appropriate scales or adjectives must be selected, particularly in terms of factor representiveness as well as relevance to the concept under study. Again, the scales generally fall under the factors of Evaluative, Potency and Activity. Sometimes investigators opt to use only one of the three factors or by forming another appropriate group (Anastasi, 1982).

3.2.2 Scoring Method

In order to construct the appropriate Semantic Differential instrument for this study, all the synonyms given by the subjects were recorded. Thereafter, ten polar-dimensions or adjective pairs, relating to the concept of the self were chosen from a Euro-American psychology textbook (Appendix B). Some of the polar dimensions included ideas such as 'inner directed-outer directed', 'positive-negative', 'materialistic-spiritualistic', 'abstract-concrete' and 'thoughts-feelings'. The synonyms were then rated on a Likert Scale ranging from one to five, against each of the polar dimensions. An example of the rating sheets for two of the stimulus words, appears as Appendix C.

The rating sheets were given to 10 independent judges, four males and six females. Of the ten judges, nine judges successfully completed the ratings, with one of the male judges not returning the rating sheet. Two of the judges were practising psychologists with a Masters level in psychology, two of the judges had their Honours in Psychology, another three had completed Psychology 111 and the last two judges had completed Psychology 11, hence, all of the judges had a relatively good knowledge of psychological concepts. In terms of race, two of the judges were White, one was Black, while the rest were Indian.

The judges' ratings were then averaged to give an average score for each synonym rated against each of the polar dimensions for each of the twenty stimulus words appearing on the original questionnaire. Interjudge reliability was then carried out using the Kendall Coefficient of Concordance Test. An example of the reliability co-efficient for the stimulus word 'Attitude' over the ten adjective scales is : $W = 0.512$, indicating some consistency amongst the judges.

Furthermore, over the ten adjective scales the chi-squared value = 41.501 (degree of freedom (df) = 9, significance = 0.00), indicating that the degree of consistency is significant.

Before proceeding with further tests based on the Semantic Differential and the judges' ratings, the following tests were performed on the subjects scores themselves, in order to obtain results independent of the judges' scores. Since the judges were mainly Indian, their ratings of the synonyms to the polar adjectives may be culturally biased, but the reliability scores indicate that some consistency does exist amongst the judges.

Once the synonyms were grouped together, those groups with the highest frequency ratings were used to allocate scores to the subjects. For each stimulus word, there were four synonym groups or response categories, giving a total of eighty response words (groups). On the basis of whether the subject used a word from the group or not, they were given a score of one or zero, respectively. These scores were then used for the analysis.

3.2.3 Analysis

Initially, the scores were cross-tabulated to form two and three way tables of analyses. Thus, the eighty response words or group of synonyms used for a stimulus word ('word'), were cross-tabulated with race and then with gender (two-way tables) and then again with race and gender (three-way tables). Chi-squared analyses were then performed and Pearson's co-efficient was calculated for the 'word' by 'race', as well as 'word' by 'gender' interactions, and again for the 'word' by 'race and gender' interactions in order to test for significance.

Furthermore, on each of the response groups, the Logit version of the Loglinear model of analysis was used on seven different 'models' of interactions, namely,

1. the independent model, with no interaction,
2. race interaction,
3. gender interaction,
4. race by gender interaction,
5. race; gender interaction,
6. race and the race by gender interaction and
7. gender and the race by gender interaction.

The logit model was chosen as a means of statistical analysis since it fitted the data in the sense that it is able to distinguish between a response/dependent variable and an explanatory/independent variable. Since it is able to explain a binary, nominal dependent variable in terms of one or two independent variables, it appeared to be the most appropriate. The group of synonyms or 'word' used for each stimulus word developed the status of an independent variable, hence the logit analysis appeared to be appropriate for the data.

The 80 response 'words' together with the many models of interaction used, also increased the chances of finding significance. Using frequency counts, this method provided a more detailed analysis of the data, compared to just cross-tabulating the data, hence the chances of finding significant interactions were enhanced. Significance was set at the 0.005 level, again to increase the chances of finding anything significant from the data.

The SPSS ran the data and produced approximately 3000 pages of analyses, which included parameter estimates, Likelihood Chi-squared Ratio values, Pearson's' co-efficient values, Z-Scores, Residuals and much more information. Much of the information obtained goes beyond the scope of this thesis and is not discussed. However, only the chi-squared analysis which were significant for the different groups and 'models' were noted, but, the rest of the analyses are available on disk and may be obtained from the researcher, via the Department of Psychology, Pietermaritzburg.

CHAPTER 4

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section consists of the results obtained using statistical analyses such as the cross-tabulation of two- and three-way tables as well as the logit analysis. The following section consists of a brief description of the two sets of frequency scores for which there were no analyses performed. These scores consisted of the number of times that the different race groups and the genders did not provide a synonym for a particular stimulus word. Furthermore, the variety of synonyms used by the different race groups and genders for a stimulus word was also tabulated and discussed.

4.1 RESULTS

The questions that are being asked are :- does culture have an influence on the construal of the normal and abnormal self, amongst White, Black and Indian subjects and does the gender influence the way that the different cultures construe the normal and abnormal self.

Cross-tabulation of the 160 two-way chi-squared tables, consisting of 'words' by 'race' and 'words' by 'gender', indicate that many of the interactions were non-significant. Of the 160 tables, using the Pearson chi-squared method, only 29 interactions were significant (with some being just barely significant), with the 'words' by 'race' interaction having 23 significant interactions and the 'words' by 'gender' having 6 significant interactions. These significant interactions indicate that culture /race does influence the construal of the self and that gender has an influence on the construal of the self. These interactions were calculated at the 0.005 level of significance in order to reduce a family-wise error, given that the number of computations that have been conducted were numerous.

Of the seven models of interactions on which the Logit method of analysis was performed, for every stimulus word and its four synonym groups, most of the interactions were non-significant. As stated earlier, only those interactions which were significant will be discussed, but the rest of the results (approximately 3000 pages, on disk) may be obtained from the researcher, through the Department of Psychology, in Pietermaritzburg. The frequency scores for all of the significant interactions of the stimulus words (and synonym group) with race and gender are listed in Table 4.1.1c.

The significant race x gender interactions for the words listed on Tables 4.1.1a, b and d were broken down into race x gender frequencies (Table 4.1.1c) to determine which culture or gender group used a particular synonym most frequently. Using the judges' ratings of the particular synonym to polar dimensions of the self, obtained from the Semantic Differential, the resultant group was then allocated certain traits from Appendix B, relating to the self. For example, for the word, Conformity 2 (obedience/agree/accept), Table 4.1.1a indicates that the word is significant and Table 4.1.1d indicates that it is significant on the independent model, the word x gender model, race x gender model and the saturated model. Examining Table 4.1.1c, none of the White subjects used the word, 4 Indian subjects (2 males and 2 females, N = 18) used the word, while 8 Black subjects used the word (6 males and 2 females, N = 18). Table 4.1.1c thus indicates that Conformity 2 is used more by the Black, male subjects, as indicated by its significance on the different models on Table 4.1.1d. Using the average of the judges' rating for the stimulus word 'Conformity', synonyms (obedience/agree/accept), the descriptions of the Black male subjects using Conformity 2 are outer-directed, collectivistic, thoughts are concrete, the subjects are self-orientated and are in the process of thinking as opposed to a state of feeling.

Table 4.1 List of the Reliability coefficients (W) obtained for the Judges' ratings.

STIMULUS WORDS	KENDALL (W)	X ²	DEGREE OF FREEDOM	SIGNIFICANCE
Attitude	0.512	41.501	9	0.00
Aggression	0.445	36.074	9	0.00
Emotion	0.642	52.017	9	0.00
Self	0.543	43.955	9	0.00
Intention	0.594	48.1104	9	0.00
Incentive	0.516	41.816	9	
Attention	0.520	42.083	9	0.00
Intelligence	0.732	59.266	9	0.00
Neurosis	0.514	41.611	9	0.00
Insanity	0.493	39.906	9	0.00
Shame	0.502	40.654	9	0.00
Guilt	0.542	43.899	9	0.00
Consciousness	0.646	52.361	9	0.00
Reward	0.480	38.867	9	0.00
Motivation	0.596	48.289	9	0.00
Perception	0.682	55.265	9	0.00
Concept	0.583	47.239	9	0.00
Depression	0.603	48.818	9	0.00
Defensiveness	0.583	47.239	9	0.00

The reliability test for the judges' ratings, the Kendall Co-efficient of Concordance (W) indicates that the judges are in accordance with each other, or that there is some consistency amongst them. Furthermore, the chi-squared values indicate that the degree of consistency is significant. Table 4.1 is a list of the reliability scores obtained by the Kendall-coefficient of concordance.

TABLE 4.1.1a : CROSS TABULATION OF 2-WAY CHI-SQUARED TABLE FOR STIMULUS WORD BY RACE INTERACTION

<i>Stimulus Word</i>	<i>Synonym</i>	<i>Race using the Word</i>	<i>Pearsons X^2 value</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Probability</i>
Attitude 2	Opinion/Outlook/Viewpoint	Whites	16,577	2	0,0002
Aggression 3	Force/Bully/Rough/Fearless	Indians	15,590	2	0,0004
Emotion 1	Feelings	Whites, Blacks and Indians	8,727	2	0,012
Emotion 4	Thoughts	Indians	5,805	2	0,05
Intention 1	Will	Whites	6,400	2	0,04
Intention 3	Aim	Blacks	10,457	2	0,005
Incentive 1	Reason/Motivation/Inspiration	Whites and Indians	9,473	2	0,008
Attention 4	Warning/Alert	Whites and Blacks	5,700	2	0,05
Neurosis 2	Paranoia/Obsession	Whites	11,163	2	0,003
Neurosis 3	Brain Sickness	Indians	8,727	2	0,012
Neurosis 4	Nerves	Whites and Blacks	5,700	2	0,05
Insanity 2	Mentally Abnormal/Unstable	Whites	5,744	2	0,05
Conformity 2	Obedience/Agree Accept	Blacks	10,286	2	0,005
Conformity 4	Abide/Align	Blacks	11,020	2	0,004
Shame 1	Disgrace/Scandal	Blacks and Indians	9,818	2	0,007
Shame 3	Embarrassment/Humiliation	Whites and Indians	9,050	2	0,01
Shame 4	Guilt	Whites	7,875	2	0,019
Guilt 2	Conscience	Whites	5,786	2	0,05
Consciousness 2	Awake/Alive/Alert	Whites and Indians	13,500	2	0,001
Motivation 1	Encouragement/Sanction/Praise	Blacks	7,422	2	0,024
Concept 2	Term/Word	Indians	5,576	2	0,06
Concept 3	Thoughts	Whites	8,217	2	0,016
Depression 1	Sad/Unhappy/Low/Dent	Whites and Indians	9,500	2	0,008

The following results encompass both the cross-tabulation of the two- and three-way tables as well as the logit method of analysis, together with the descriptions of the self in the different cultures and genders, as rated by the nine independent judges.

4.1.1 Does Culture/Race have an influence on the construal of the Self

The 23 'word' by 'race' interactions are all listed in Table 4.1.1a. Examination of the table reveals that not all of the interactions were significant at the 0.005 level, but generally, race or culture does have an effect on the construal of the self which is dependent on the synonyms that they chose to use in relation to a stimulus word.

According to Table 4.1.1c, the White subjects obtained high scores for words such as Attitude 2 (Opinion/outlook/viewpoint), Intention 1 (Will), Shame 4 (guilt) and Concept 3 (Thoughts). The chi-square values X^2 , df , N and p values are all listed in Table 4.1.1a. According to the judges' ratings, the choice of these words indicate that the subjects construe the self as being inner directed, individualistic, spiritualistic and 'self orientated' as opposed to 'other orientated'. Furthermore, the self is viewed as a thinking, mental process.

The Black subjects scored high on the following synonyms, namely, Intention 3 (aim), Conformity 2 (obedience/agree/accept), Conformity 4 (abide/ align) and Motivation 1 (encouragement/sanction/praise) (Table 4.1.1a). These words indicate that the Black subjects are more outer-directed, collectivistic, concerned with materialism instead of spiritualism and they are self orientated. The self is also construed as a positive, thinking entity and is involved with concrete thought. However, contrary to the literature (Triandis, 1989), Blacks are more

spiritualistic and other-orientated, but the results obtained may be due to the Black population striving to meet the basic needs for living, hence relegating the spiritualism to a secondary position. Furthermore, the process of urbanisation and the inculcation of capitalist values, may have shifted the individual's focus from other-directed to self-directed.

The Indian subjects obtained high scores on words such as Aggression 3 (force, bully, rough, fearless), Emotion 4 (thoughts) and Concept 2 (term/word). From the judges' ratings, the choice of these synonyms indicates that the self is construed as being outer directed but individualistic, it is an active, self orientated entity, and it encompasses both thoughts and feelings. Furthermore, it is a mental self as opposed to a physical self. According to Roland (1990), these traits are indicative of a bicultural change, which occurs when the individuals in the society, encounter a lifestyle and psychological makeup that is opposite to their own. Gradually, they internalise the new modes of functioning, but they retain the basic facets of their own familial self or culture, resulting in a new integration of a bicultural self.

For word such as Emotion 1 (feelings), Incentive 1 (reason/ motivation/inspiration), Shame 3 (embarrassment/humiliation) and Consciousness 2 (awake/alive/alert), the frequency scores (Table 4.1.1c) for the White and Indian subjects, indicate that both the cultures used the synonyms equally well. These word indicate that both the races view the self as being inner directed, individualistic, spiritualistic and self orientated. The self is further construed as being concerned with abstract and concrete thoughts, mental processes and thinking as well as feeling states or processes.

TABLE 4.1.1c : BREAKDOWN OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF SUBJECTS USING A WORD BY RACE AND BY GENDER

<i>Stimulus Word</i>	<i>Synonym</i>	<u><i>GENDER</i></u>	<u><i>RACE</i></u>			<i>Total for each (N)</i>
			<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Indian</u>	
Attitude 2	Opinion/Outlook/Viewpoint	Male	8	1	2	11
		Female	4	1	1	6
Attitude 3	Mental Image	Male	8	4	6	18
		Female	1	0	0	1
Attitude 4	Behaviour	Male	0	0	2	2
		Female	2	5	5	12
Aggression 3	Force/Bully/Rough/Fearless/Fierce	Male	0	0	1	1
		Female	0	1	7	8
Emotion 1	Feeling	Male	8	3	6	17
		Female	8	9	10	27
Emotion 4	Thoughts	Male	0	0	3	3
		Female	0	1	1	2
Intention 1	Will	Male	2	0	0	2
		Female	1	0	0	1
Intention 3	Aim	Male	4	4	2	10
		Female	3	7	0	10
Intelligence 3	Awareness / Common Sense	Male	2	0	1	3
		Female	0	0	0	0
Incentive 1	Reason/Motivation/Inspiration	Male	5	0	1	6
		Female	4	1	6	11
Incentive 2	Prize/Stimulus/Reward	Male	4	3	3	10
		Female	2	2	0	4
Attention 4	Warning / Alert	Male	1	1	0	2
		Female	2	4	0	6
Neurosis 2	Paranoia/Obsession	Male	3	0	0	3
		Female	2	0	0	2
Neurosis 3	Brain Sickness	Male	0	0	1	1
		Female	0	0	3	3
Neurosis 4	Nerves	Male	0	2	0	2
		Female	3	3	0	5

Table 4.1.1c (Continued)

<i>Stimulus Word</i>	<i>Synonym</i>	<u><i>GENDER</i></u>	<u><i>RACE</i></u>			<i>Total for each (N)</i>
			<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Indian</u>	
Insanity 2	Mentally Abnormal / Unstable	Male	3	1	1	5
		Female	3	0	1	4
Conformity 2	Obedience/Agree/Accept	Male	0	6	2	8
		Female	0	2	2	4
Conformity 4	Abide/Align	Male	0	4	0	4
		Female	0	1	0	1
Shame 1	Disgrace / Scandal	Male	1	5	3	9
		Female	1	3	8	12
Shame 3	Embarrassment/Humiliation	Male	5	1	4	10
		Female	8	3	5	16
Shame 4	Guilt	Male	4	0	0	4
		Female	1	1	0	2
Guilt 2	Conscience	Male	3	2	1	6
		Female	4	2	0	6
Consciousness 2	Awake/Alive/Alert	Male	6	1	4	11
		Female	8	2	5	15
Motivation 1	Encouragement / Sanction / Praise	Male	2	8	2	12
		Female	2	4	5	11
Concept 1	Idea	Male	8	6	7	21
		Female	9	6	7	22
Concept 2	Term / Word	Male	0	2	1	3
		Female	0	1	4	5
Concept 3	Thoughts	Male	3	1	0	4
		Female	3	1	0	4
Concept 4	Theory/Principle	Male	4	3	1	8
		Female	1	0	0	1
Depression 1	Sad / Unhappy / Low / Dent	Male	7	3	6	16
		Female	8	4	8	20
Defensive 2	Not Vulnerable / Strong	Male	2	3	0	5
		Female	1	0	0	1

However, for the stimulus word Emotion 1 (feeling), the White, Black and Indian subjects used the synonym, 'feeling', similarly (Pearson's $X^2 = 8.727$, $df = 2$, $N = 47$, $p = 0.012$), but since chi-square is significant, one needs to look at Table 4.1.1c. which examines the breakdown of the number of subjects according to race and gender. Table 4.1.1c. indicates that all of the White and Indian subjects ($N = 16$ each) used the synonym 'feeling', but not all of the Black subjects ($N = 12$) used the word, hence, chi-square appeared significant. But, logit analysis of Emotion 1 is significant for the saturated model (M7) which is 'gender, and the race by gender interaction', meaning that it is not just race or gender which accounts for the differences, but rather a combination of all the factors. For the White subjects, both genders used the word once, but for the Black and Indian subjects, 'feeling' appears to be a female word.

According to the logit analysis, for all of the interactions that were significant for the cross-tabulation of the tables, only Incentive 2 (prize/stimulus/reward) was significant for Race or Culture alone ($X^2 = 12.717$, $df = 3$, $N = 14$, $p = 0.005$). Table 4.1.1c. indicates that the White subjects ($N = 6$), followed closely by the Black subject ($N = 7$), used the synonym 'reward/prize/stimulus' most. The judges' ratings of the self in relation to this word is that the self is outer directed, materialistic, active, positive and physical ($W = 0.516$). Thoughts are concrete and the self is thinking instead of feeling. Furthermore, the Race x Gender interaction (M4) ($X^2 = 13.500$, $df = 3$, $N = 14$, $p = 0.004$) is also significant, since it is the males who used the word most often, while the Indian females did not use the word at all. Model 6, which is a saturated model for race, (Race, and the Race x Gender interaction) ($X^2 = 12.220$, $df = 1$, $N = 14$, $p = 0.000$), is highly significant. Table 4.1.1c. indicates that it is 10 males

compared to 4 females who use the word and the word is used most often by the White and Black subjects.

Examining Table 4.1.1a, Shame 1 (disgrace/scandal), Shame 3 (embarrassment/humiliation) and Shame 4 (guilt), the synonyms used most frequently came from the Black and Indian subjects, the White and Indian subjects and the White subjects respectively. The judges' ratings of the self for the Black and Indian subjects which corresponded to these synonyms were that the self is active instead of passive, but it is negatively construed. Furthermore, it is self-orientated and it is in a state of feeling or emotion. For the White and Indian subjects, the self is again construed as being inwardly-orientated and in a state of feeling. However, the self is also construed as being inner-directed, individualistic and it is the physical self which is being tapped. For Shame 4, the White subjects construe the self in a similar manner as the subjects using Shame 3, however, these subjects refer to the mental self as opposed to the physical self.

According to Table 4.1.1d, Shame 3 ($X^2 = 9.819$, $df = 2$, $N = 27$, $p = 0.007$) and Shame 4 ($X^2 = 10.734$, $df = 2$, $N = 6$, $p = 0.005$) are significant on the saturated model, and not on the 'word x race' model. This means that it is not race alone which has an effect on the construal of the self, rather it is a combination of gender, race and other variables which may account for the significance.

For most of the stimulus words, significance was obtained at the Race x Gender interaction or the Race and Gender interaction, or on the M6/ M7 which are the saturated models.

4.1.2 Does gender influence the construal of the Self amongst the different cultures

The significant 'gender' and 'word' interactions are all listed in the above table (Table 4.1.2b).

Again, not all of the interactions were significant at the 0.005 level, indicating that gender alone, may not have as great an effect on the construal of the self in terms of the stimulus words chosen. However, on the logit analysis, gender and word interaction, as well as race and/by gender interactions indicate that gender is quite influential on the construal of the self.

TABLE 4.1.1b : CROSS TABULATION OF 2-WAY CHI-SQUARED TABLE FOR SIGNIFICANT STIMULUS “WORD” BY “GENDER” INTERACTION

<i>Stimulus Word</i>	<i>Synonym</i>	<i>Gender using the Word</i>	<i>Pearsons X^2 value</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Probability</i>
Attitude 2	Opinion/Outlook/Viewpoint	Males	8,313	1	0,004
Attitude 4	Behaviour e.g. Charm, Rebel	Females	4,545	1	0,033
Incentive 2	Prize/Stimulus/Reward	Males	9,708	1	0,001
Intelligence 3	Awareness/Commonsense	Males	5,333	1	0,020
Concept 4	Theory/Principle	Males	7,880	1	0,005
Defensive 2	Not Vulnerable/Strong	Males	3,724	1	0,05

According to the both the logit and cross-tabulation analyses, Table 4.1.1b and Table 4.1.1d, the following stimulus words are significant for gender, namely, Attitude 2 (opinion/outlook/viewpoint), Attitude 4 (behaviour e.g.. charm, rebel), Incentive 2 (prize/stimulus/reward), Intelligence 3 (awareness/ common-sense) and Concept 4 (theory/ principle). Examining Table 4.1.1c, it is the male who use the synonyms given, only for Attitude 4 ($X^2 = 4.545$, $df = 1$, $N =$, $p = 0.033$) the synonym 'behaviour' was used by the females. The judges' ratings of the self in relation to the Attitude 4 is that the self is outer

directed, positive, materialistic, self-orientated, active, positive and thinking instead of feeling. Furthermore, thoughts are concrete. The synonyms chosen by the males indicate that the male self is construed as mainly inner directed, individualistic, spiritualistic as well as materialistic, self-orientated, positive, active and physically orientated, thoughts are concrete and the self is geared towards thinking as opposed to feeling.

For the word Attitude 2, gender was significant for M3 ($X^2 = 15.38$, $df = 4$, $N = 17$, $p = 0.004$), as well as for M4 (race x gender) ($X^2 = 21.07$, $df = 3$, $N = 17$, $p = 0.000$), M6 (race, and race x gender) ($X^2 = 9.02$, $df = 0$, $N = 17$, $p = 0.003$) and M7 (gender, race x gender) ($X^2 = 16.13$, $df = 0$, $N = 17$, $p = 0.000$). From Table 4.1.1b, it is the White subjects who use the synonym most frequently, but, it is the White males who use the word the most. According to the judges' ratings, the White male thus construes himself as being inner directed, individualistic, spiritualistic, self-orientated and concerned with mental thoughts instead of feelings.

Logit analysis provides significant results for few more stimulus words. Attitude 3 (mental image) ($X^2 = 2.84$, $df = 1$, $N = 19$, $p = 0.092$) is a 'male' word, with 18 of the males using the word and only one female using it. However, it is the White males who use the word most frequently, meaning that they construe the self as inner directed, individualistic, self-orientated, spiritualistic and an active, feeling entity. Conformity 2 (obedience/agree/accept) ($X^2 = 14.813$, $df = 4$, $N = 12$, $p = 0.005$) is also a 'male' word, with 8 males using the synonym, hence, from the ratings of this word, the self is construed as being outer directed, collectivistic, positive, self orientated and a concrete, thinking self. Table

4.1.1c, indicates that it is mainly the Black males who use the word, hence, the contrast of the self between the White and Black male is highlighted by the use of these two synonyms. For the White males, from the Western or Individualistic cultures, psychological processes such as abstract thought and feelings are encouraged from an early age, hence the use of the synonym 'mental image'. For the Black male, however, the synonyms 'obedience/agree/accept' were concepts that were forced onto the individual from an early age, during the apartheid era, in an attempt to force the society to conform to the governmental rules and regulations.

Furthermore, Table 4.1.1d, indicates that the Race x Gender interaction (M4) ($X^2 = 14.464$, $df = 3$, $N = 12$, $p = 0.002$) and the overall interaction (M7) ($X^2 = 11.788$, $df = 2$, $N = 12$, $p = 0.003$) are also significant, hence, it is gender as well as race which accounts for the differences in the construal of the male self.

Table 4.1.1d, further indicates the significant results obtained for the females with the word Aggression 3 (force/bully/rough/fearless/fierce) ($X^2 = 16.60$, $df = 4$, $N = 9$, $p = 0.002$). This word is also significant on Model 4 ($X^2 = 12.40$, $df = 3$, $N = 9$, $p = 0.003$) and on the saturated model M7 ($X^2 = 29.24$, $df = 2$, $N = 9$, $p = 0.000$). Table 4.1.1c indicates that it is the Indian females ($N = 7$) who use the word most frequently. This means that the Indian female views herself as being outer directed but individualistic, active as opposed to passive and she views herself as a self-orientated individual governed by feelings. This implies that even though the Indian female is individualistic and self-orientated, she also focuses on others, hence, she may allow herself to be forced or bullied, in order to form and maintain relationships.

TABLE 4.1.1d : SIGNIFICANT INTERACTIONS USING THE LOGIT ANALYSIS

<i>Word</i>	<i>Total Number of Subjects (N)</i>	<i>Pearson's Chi-squared value</i>	<i>Degree of Freedom (df)</i>	<i>Probability value</i>
Attitude 2	17	M1 : 22,21	5	0,000
		M3 : 15,38	4	0,004
		M4 : 21,07	3	0,000
		M5 : 1,40	2	0,495
		M6 : 9,02	-	0,003
		M7 : 16,13	-	0,000
Attitude 3	19	M3 : 2,84	1	0,092
Aggression 3	9	M1 : 22,73	5	0,000
		M3 : 16,60	4	0,002
		M4 : 12,40	3	0,006
		M7 : 29,24	2	0,000
Emotion 1	44	M7 : 14,35	2	0,001
Intention 3	20	M1 : 19,59*	5	0,001
		M3 : 17,31*	4	0,002
		M4 : 17,96*	3	0,000
		M6 : 7,79*	1	0,005
		M7 : 15,60*	2	0,000
Incentive 1	17	M3 : 14,916*	4	0,005
Incentive 2	14	M2 : 12,717*	3	0,005
		M4 : 13,500*	3	0,004
		M6 : 12,220*	1	0,000
Neurosis 2	5	M4 : 12,374*	3	0,006
		M7 : 10,769	2	0,005
Neurosis 3	4	M7 : 11,305	2	0,004
Conformity 2	12	M1 : 17,409*	5	0,005
		M3 : 14,813*	4	0,005
		M4 : 14,464*	3	0,002
		M7 : 11,788*	1	0,003
Conformity 4	5	M1 : 16,917	5	0,005
		M4 : 13,232	3	0,004
Shame 3	27	M7 : 9,819	2	0,007
Shame 4	6	M7 : 10,734	2	0,005

Table 4.1.1d (Continued)

<i>Word</i>	<i>Total Number of Subjects (N)</i>	<i>Pearson's Chi-squared value</i>	<i>Degree of Freedom (df)</i>	<i>Probability value</i>
Consciousness 2	26	M3 : 16,195*	4	0,003
		M4 : 13,970	3	0,003
		M7 : 13,922	2	0,001
Concept 1	43	M5 : 5,522*	2	0,002
Concept 4	9	M6 : 10,716	1	0,001

Notes :

1. Values with an * are likelihood Chi-squared ratios; not Pearson's Chi-squared values
2. M1 = Model with no interaction
M2 = Word X Race interaction
M3 = Word X Gender interaction
M4 = Race X Gender interaction
M5 = Race; Gender interaction
M6 = Race; and the Race X Gender interaction
M7 = Gender; and the Race X Gender interaction

The word Incentive 1 (reason/motivation/inspiration) ($X^2 = 14.916$, $df = 4$, $N = 17$, $p = 0.005$) is a word which Table 4.1.1c indicates as a White and Indian 'female' word. Consciousness 2 (awake/alive/alert) ($X^2 = 16.195$, $df = 4$, $N = 26$, $p = 0.003$) is another White and Indian female word. Judges' ratings of the self in relation to these words depict the self as being inner-directed, individualistic and a positive, abstract but concrete self which is concerned more with thinking as well as with mental and physical processes.

4.1.3 The Effect of Culture on the Construal of the Abnormal Self

According to the cross-tabulation method of analysis (Table 4.1.1a), Neurosis 2 (paranoia/obsession), Neurosis 3 (brain sickness), Neurosis 4 (nerves), Insanity 2 (mentally abnormal/unstable), Guilt 2 (conscience) and Depression 1 (sad/unhappy/low/depressed) are all significant at the 0.005 level. However, only Neurosis 2 ($X^2 = 12.374$, $df = 3$, $N = 5$, $p = 0.006$) on the Race x Gender model (M4) and ($X^2 = 10.769$, $df = 2$, $N = 5$, $p = 0.005$) for the

saturated model (M7) and Neurosis 3 ($X^2 = 11.305$, $df = 2$, $N = 4$, $p = 0.004$) for the saturated model (M7) are significant with the logit analysis.

According to Table 4.1.1c, for Neurosis 2, it is the White subjects ($N = 5$) who used the word, while none of the other race groups used it. Furthermore, only the Indian subjects chose to use the synonym 'brain sickness' Neurosis 3 ($X^2 = 8.727$, $df = 2$, $N = 4$, $p = 0.012$) while the Black subjects chose to use the synonym 'nerves' ($X^2 = 5.700$, $df = 2$, $N = 7$, $p = 0.05$). From the judges' ratings, the abnormal self, in relation to the choice of these synonyms may be construed as being inner directed, individualistic, self-orientated and negative, concrete, states. However, the Black and Indian subjects differ from the White subjects in that they construe the abnormal self as a physical state, while the White subjects construe the abnormal self as a mental state.

Table 4.1.1a indicates that the stimulus words Insanity, Guilt and Depression also produce significant interactions for race and synonym, further indicating that culture does have an influence on the construal of the self. For Insanity 2 (mentally abnormal/unstable) ($X^2 = 5.744$, $df = 2$, $N = 9$, $p = 0.05$) and for Guilt 2 (conscience) ($X^2 = 5.786$, $df = 2$, $N = 12$, $p = 0.05$), it was the White subjects produced the highest frequency scores ($N = 7$ and 6 respectively). For Depression 2 (sad/unhappy/low/dent) ($X^2 = 9.500$, $df = 2$, $N = 36$, $p = 0.008$), the White and Indian subjects both used the synonym equally well ($N = 15$ and 14 respectively). Judges' ratings of these words view the abnormal self as being individualistic, inner directed, self-orientated and in a state of concrete thoughts and feelings. Furthermore, particularly for Depression 2, the abnormal self was still viewed as a positive entity ($W = 0.603$).

Apart from the above, no other significant results were obtained for any of the other interactions, both on the logit analysis and the cross-tabulation of tables.

4.1.4 The Effect of Gender on the Construal of the Abnormal Self

Examining Table 4.1.1b, only Defensiveness 2 (not vulnerable/strong) ($X^2 = 3.724$, $df = 1$, $N = 6$, $p = 0.05$) produces a significant interaction of 'word by gender'. This means that, of the words depicting abnormality, which were chosen, not many were significant enough to make assumptions about the construal of the abnormal self with regard to gender. However, from the word Defensiveness 2, used mainly by the Black and White males ($N = 3$ and 2 respectively), the abnormal self is construed as being individualistic, positive, and in a concrete state.

4.1.5 Summary of Results

The results indicate that race or culture does have an influence on the construal of the normal and abnormal self, however, the differences between the cultures are greater with the normal self compared to the abnormal self. In general, the normal and abnormal self is construed as being self-orientated by all the cultures and both genders. However, for the White subjects, the self is construed as being inner-directed, individualistic, generally spiritualistic, thought and feeling orientated, positive, active, concerned with both concrete and abstract thoughts and they generally refer to mental processes.

For the Black subjects, the self is construed as both inner and outer directed, individualistic and collectivistic, materialistic, positive, with concrete thoughts, active as opposed to passive, concerned with thoughts instead of feelings and with both physical and mental processes and states.

For the Indian subjects, the self is generally construed as inner-directed, individualistic, positive, active, with concrete and abstract thoughts, physical and mental processes as well as with thoughts and feelings.

The abnormal self is construed by all the subjects in a similar manner to the normal self, but in a negative way, generally. Furthermore, the White subjects concentrate on the mental processes, while the Black and Indian subjects concentrate on the physical aspect of the abnormality.

In terms of gender, the male construes himself very much as above, but the female appears to be more outer-directed.

In conclusion, the choice of synonyms chosen for a particular stimulus word can be used as an indicator of the self, or the construal of the self is possible from the choice of words that an individual uses. The above results indicate that culture does influence the manner in which individuals construe themselves. Furthermore gender alone, does not have as much influence on the construal of the self, but gender together with race/culture does influence the manner in which individuals construe themselves.

4.2 FREQUENCY SCORES NOT USED FOR ANALYSIS

This section briefly examines the frequency scores obtained from the raw data. These scores are not used, ultimately, they are obtained by counting the number of times that the subjects did *not* provide a synonym. Furthermore, the variety of synonyms provided by the different race groups as well their relationship to gender, is also examined.

4.2.1 The Null Category

One of the striking features upon examination of the individual answer sheets is that the subjects did not always provide two synonyms per stimulus words, hence the formation of another category called the Null category. The scores in the Null category consist of frequency counts resulting from the subjects not producing a synonym for the stimulus word. Taking all the words into consideration, no one group of students of the different cultures produced the highest score on the Null category. Rather, with certain words one group would score high on the Null category and later score very low on the same category, but with different stimulus words. (Table 4.2.1). The scores for the Null category were obtained by doing a frequency count for each stimulus word.

For words such as Neurosis and Insanity the Black subjects scored high on the Null category, while the Indians scored very high on words such as Guilt, Motivation and Reward. While the group of Whites did not obtain an exclusively high score with any of the stimulus words they did obtain high scores with one or both of the other groups, for example, all three race groups obtained high scores on the stimulus word Neurosis. This may indicate that these words were

difficult for all the subjects, in that they did not understand the word or they were unable to express the meaning of it.

Table 4.2.1 Scores on the Null Category

WORDS	WHITE MALE	WHITE FEMALE	BLACK MALE	BLACK FEMALE	INDIAN MALE	INDIAN FEMALE
Emotion	2	4	4	6	2	3
Incentive	1	2	2	4	4	0
Neurosis	8	5	3	16	5	9
Insanity	0	2	3	9	4	4
Guilt	9	6	7	7	12	14
Motivation	4	2	3	4	7	6
Reward	2	3	3	5	7	6

A gender effect was also noticeable amongst the Black females, particularly with the word Neurosis and Insanity. A null score for neurosis was also popular amongst the White males, and the Indian females, reflecting unfamiliarity with the word. This may be possible if one speculates on the type of magazines that the subjects read. If magazines such as Cosmopolitan and Fair Lady are the popular choice, then examinations of these magazines reveal a number of articles pertaining to different neuroses, hence the White females' familiarity with the word. If magazines such as Bona, Drum and True Love, which are targeted towards the Black females are examined, the use of the word neurosis and articles on neuroses, are rare, hence, the Black women's unfamiliarity with the word. Furthermore, the word neurosis amongst the Blacks may not have the same meaning as it does for the Whites, or it is an idea or illness that is unfamiliar to them.

Likewise, the same pattern was obtained for each of the other categories per stimulus word, that is, none of the different cultural groups produced a consistently high/low score for each of the stimulus words.

4.2.2 Variation in Synonyms

Another variation occurred when one noted the number of different synonyms produced for each stimulus word. With words such as Aggression, Attitude a number of synonyms were produced, while with other words such as Self, only a few synonyms were produced. (Table 4.2.2). Some of the synonyms produced were appropriate, indicating the subjects' understanding or knowledge of the word, while other words produced were totally inappropriate indicating a distinct lack of understanding of the word. For example, some of the synonyms produced for the stimulus word Attitude, was Starvation, Aim and Repetition, indicating that the subjects were not familiar with the word or that they were unable to express the meaning of the word in the given language of the test, that is, in English. Examining the stimulus word, Incentive, the White subjects produced inappropriate words such as 'vigour, sense' while the Black subjects used words such as 'stimulus, careful, observation, will' and the Indian subjects used the words 'vigour, meaning and approach'. Considering the large variety of words produced overall for this word, as well as the number of inappropriate synonyms chosen, may indicate a lack of comprehension amongst all the subjects. For the Black subjects, this is further compounded by the use of relatively fewer synonyms as well as the exceedingly high score obtained in the Null category. Again, this may be due to English being a second language, hence the word was not familiar, or the word and its meaning may not be important within the culture, hence not much attention is paid to it.

Table 4.2.2

Variety of Synonyms Used

WORDS	WHITE MALE	WHITE FEMALE	BLACK MALE	BLACK FEMALE	INDIAN MALE	INDIAN FEMALE
Attitude	7	7	7	10	7	11
Aggression	3	5	4	8	7	8
Emotion	5	5	2	8	3	4
Incentive	6	7	4	7	6	7
Conformity	6	5	8	9	6	12
Depression	8	5	10	9	3	7
Defensive	7	5	6	7	4	4

For the word Depression, some subjects used the synonym Recession. This however, does not indicate a lack of understanding of the word, rather it indicates that the subject viewed the word, not from a psychological perspective, but from a commercial or financial perspective. It is also possible to speculate on the Faculty that these subjects were from, namely the Faculty of Commerce, or the Faculty of Arts, with history being one of their subjects. Another possible explanation for the use of this word, is the need to be different from the rest of the subjects.

This section examined the stimulus words which produced high frequency scores for the Null categories. It also examined those stimulus words that produced a variety of synonyms from the subjects in the three race groups, as well as those synonyms which were inappropriately used by different subjects. The words that were most widely used by a particular cultural group was examined earlier in the chapter where quantitative analyses were performed on the frequency of the synonyms used per stimulus word.

CHAPTER 5

5.1 DISCUSSION

The influence of race/culture on the construal of the normal and abnormal self were examined. Furthermore, the influence of gender on the construal of the normal and abnormal self, amongst the White, Black and Indian students were examined. In general, culture does have an influence on the construal of the normal and abnormal self, however, the influence of culture appears to be greater for the normal self compared to the abnormal self.

The characteristics of the self amongst all the cultures, as indicated by the results, is that the self is construed as being inner orientated, as opposed to being other-orientated, positive as well as active. For the White subjects, the self is construed as being inner-directed, individualistic, spiritualistic, thought and feeling orientated, concrete as well as abstract and involved in mental processes. For the Black subjects, the self is construed as inner and outer directed, collectivistic and individualistic, materialistic, involved with concrete thoughts as well as with physical and mental processes and states. For the Indian subjects, the self is construed as being inner directed, individualistic, concerned with concrete and abstract thoughts, physical and mental processes as well as thoughts and feelings.

For the abnormal self, the self is construed similarly to the normal self, except in a negative manner. However, the White subjects concentrate on the psychological aspects of the illness while the Black and Indian subjects focus on the somatic complaints.

Results for the effect of gender on the construal of the self indicate that the self is construed similarly to the normal self for the males, but the females tend to be more outer directed.

The concept of the self, as perceived by the different cultures, White, Black and Indian populations in South Africa, do not perfectly fit Hofstede's (1980) individualistic - collectivistic models of the self, neither does it fit the Western Vs Non-western concepts of the self (Triandis, 1989) perfectly. For the White subjects, the construal of the self is similar to that proposed by the two models, but for the Black and Indian subjects, the construal of the self appears to be in a transitional state.

5.1.1 The Influence of Culture on the Construal of the Self

The White subjects in the study construe the self in a similar manner to individuals in an individualised or Western culture. They are inner-directed, individualistic, self-orientated, thinking as opposed to feeling, concerned with the abstract and concrete and they access the mental states and processes to a greater degree than the physical states and processes. The synonyms that they chose to use for the different stimulus word, e.g.. opinion, will, motivation, thoughts, inspiration all relate to the mind. Synonyms relating to the somatic aspects of the self were sometimes used, however, it is the abstract, thinking and mental states which are generally encouraged throughout the developmental stages, for competitiveness and independence, during adulthood, hence the choice of these words. According to Hsu (1985), the Westernised individual's self-esteem and future are dependent on how well they achieve independence. Furthermore, the choice of mental words is indicative of the subjects accessing the private self. In the Westernised cultures, child-rearing practices emphasise self-reliance and

self-actualisation, hence, the complexity of the private self is increased, hence there are more elements of the private self to be sampled (Triandis, 1989). This is important if one considers that the independent self needs to be responsive to the environment, it needs to be analytical and deductive in order to achieve autonomy and independence, hence the vast strategy of social responsiveness is used to determine the best way of expressing or asserting the internal attributes of the self (Markus and Kitayama, 1991).

The physical aspects of the self, for individuals in the Western culture, are generally referred to in relation to fitness, health and beauty. They are encouraged by their social network and by the media, to have a good, slim physique and model-like looks, which may be obtained by exercising, dieting and using different products. This creates an image which is pleasurable to oneself and to others, furthermore, it may be a means of obtaining emotional security and positive affect (Triandis, 1988). If the correct image cannot be obtained, the individual *may* manifest psychological disorders such as anorexia or depression, or the individual may seek other methods of gratification. This implies that the strivings which are encouraged by individualism are linked to insecurities arising from an over-dependence on the self and a lack of social support. These insecurities lead to constant efforts to prove oneself and to prove that one is better than others, hence, the use of mental processes and the sampling of different elements of the self, for enactment. However, a lack of social support, coupled with insecurity, may also lead the individuals to conform to a greater degree to a group or groups, in order to belong, hence the attitudes, behaviours and the languages of the groups are adopted and used frequently. This may account for the use of only a few synonyms per stimulus word, given by the White subjects, compared to the variety of synonyms used by the Black and Indian subjects.

However, the Black and Indian subjects in the study do not fit the concepts of the self as depicted by the Non-western cultures. They do not appear to be totally outer-directed, collectivistic, concerned only with physical processes, feelings, concrete thoughts, etc., rather, the subjects are inner and outer directed, more individualistic, concerned with both physical and mental processes, and thoughts are both concrete and abstract. The greatest contrast to the literature (Triandis, 1989; Markus et al, 1991) however, is that for all the cultures, the 'self-in-relation-to-other' is inner-orientated and not other-orientated as is expected in other Asian and Black cultures. In general, the poor living conditions of the Black and some of the Indian populations, during the apartheid era, may have resulted in the individuals becoming more self orientated, in order to survive. However, it may be argued that the poor living conditions would have resulted in the communities sharing and helping each other, hence, becoming more collectivistic and other-directed instead of self-orientated. Furthermore, with the process of urbanisation, nuclear families were formed and the extended family structure was broken down or not easily available. This probably led to the individuals from these collectivistic cultures having to learn to depend on themselves, instead of others. However, the subjects in this study were university students and may not be representative of the general population, since they have had 12 years of Western education and have been exposed (via their education and the media) to the lifestyle and values of the Western culture, hence, they appear as self-orientated.

The choice of synonyms on which the Black subjects scored highest were agree, accept, obedience, abide, warning, alert. These words are indicative of behaviour and mannerisms which were required for survival during the apartheid era and which were indoctrinated into the individuals from the early developmental stages. However, these words are also indicative

of a collectivistic culture, where the individuals are encouraged to be pleasant to each other and to conform to the rules of the community. These communities also emphasise friendship, duty and co-operation, hence, the use of the words agree, accept, obedience. The words warning and alert are also indicative of a collectivistic culture, and may be used when individuals in the culture deviate from the accepted norms (Triandis, 1989). Furthermore, individuals in the collectivistic cultures have more external control of motivation, hence, warnings may be a form of social control.

Contrary to the literature (Triandis, 1989), the Black subjects in the study appear to be more materialistic instead of spiritualistic. Again, the general poor living conditions and low subsistence levels of the Black population may result in the individuals being concerned more with meeting their basic needs for survival, hence relegating spiritualism or religion to the background. However, one may argue that it is the poor who are more spiritualistic, as they may look to the higher order for comfort and hope. This implies that the Black subjects in the study may be more affluent, hence their concern with the material aspects instead of the spiritual aspects of life. Furthermore, the subjects of the study were university students and their constant exposure to the lifestyles and capitalistic values of the Western culture, via magazines, television, education, employment and urbanisation may create the impression of a better lifestyle, hence the subjects strive towards emulating these lifestyles, thus becoming more materialistic and individualistic. According to Hsu (1985), the Chinese, like the Black subjects, hail from a collectivistic culture. The Chinese however, lack a religious fervour, because the individual does not need to maintain his/her psychosocial homeostasis through drugs, competence, mastery and religion, rather, intimacy is always readily and continuously available through the family network and 'God' is not one that the individual is committed to,

but one that is 'consulted' when the need arises. Similarly, the Black culture has a strong sense of interdependence and a complex kinship network which is inherent amongst them (Slonim, 1991), hence, the need for spiritualism may not be so great. Another explanation for the low spiritualistic score is that the test or measure used in the research was not adequate for eliciting the concept of materialism and spiritualism, hence, a more appropriate test may be useful.

The choice of synonyms by the Indian subjects included words such as 'force/bully/rough', 'thoughts', 'reason/motivation/inspiration', 'disgrace', 'humiliation', 'awake/alive', etc.. The choice of synonyms indicate that the subjects are using behavioural words as well as mental words or processes. Words such as 'force, bully, disgrace, humiliation, alert' are words that imply physical harm and warnings. Considering that the collectivistic cultures use disgrace and humiliation as a form of social control, the choice of these words may indicate the Indian subjects affiliation to these cultures. Furthermore, the choice of the synonyms 'alert, force, bully' may be indicative of coercive attempts by the older generation to get the younger generation, to conform to the norms of the collectivistic culture. As stated by Pillay and Schlebusch (1987), it is the intergenerational conflict caused by the younger generations' attraction to the Western lifestyle and the older generations' prohibition of Western values, that lead to attempts at controlling the behaviour of the deviant individuals. Since the subjects for the study are the younger generation, their choice of synonyms may indicate experiences of behaviour or thought control.

The Black subjects, however, do construe the self as outer- and inner-directed, in contrast to the Indian subjects, who see the self as only inner-directed. Furthermore, the Black subjects do

tend towards collectivism, together with individualism, however, the Indian subjects appear to be totally individualistic. These type of discrepancies are possible when one considers the process of acculturation which the Indian culture has undergone and the Black culture is undergoing (Bhamjee, 1984; Bhana, 1987).

However, these discrepancies may also occur if the individualistic-collectivistic model is inappropriate for these subjects. If one considers the self as a semiotic subject, for whom the acquired meaning of a situation is the major constrain on one's response to it, and for whom different situations elicit different responses, then the discrepancies amongst the Black and Indian populations are possible (Shweder and Sullivan, 1990). This implies that the characterisation of the individual is not persistent over time, rather the self is an accumulation of behaviours over time, through a variety of contexts and continuities, hence the self is situational, but it also transcends the ebb and flow of transitory encounters (Johnson, 1985). Furthermore, the self is meaningful to the individual when it is cast in an appropriate social relationship, where it may express or possess internal attributes which are situation specific, hence they may be elusive and unreliable (Markus and Kitayama, 1991). According to Miller et al (1990) (cited in Markus and Kitayama, 1991), Indians regard responsiveness to the needs of others as an objective moral obligation, furthermore they attach greater value to proper relations with others and may flexibly change their behaviour in accordance with the nature of the relationship. All of these models of the self may be appropriate for the characteristics of the self obtained for the Black and Indian subjects.

For the dual nature of the characteristics obtained for the Black subjects, i.e., individualistic and collectivistic, inner and outer directed, physical and mental processes and states, and

thoughts which are both concrete and abstract, the model of the self which encompasses the private, public and collective self may be appropriate. This model postulates the self as being divided into three categories, the private, public and collective self, which are sampled by the individual with different probabilities, which has specific consequences for social behaviour. For the collectivistic cultures, the child-rearing emphasises the importance of the collective, furthermore, being polite and pleasant and creating a situation of harmony implies that the public self is an extension of the collective self. Furthermore, these cultures emphasise conformity, obedience, and reliability, and these are associated with rewards for conforming to the in-group goals (Triandis, 1989). The choice of synonyms by the Black subjects, for the stimulus word 'conformity' (obedience/agree/accept) (abide/align) and of the stimulus word 'incentive' (prize/reward/stimulus) may also be indicative of the conditioning that the Black subjects undergo in the collectivistic culture.

However, the process of acculturation also results in many conflicts within the individual and the individuals' society, resulting in psychological stress. The psychological stress and conflict accounts for the apparent parasuicidal potential in the Indian community (Bhamjee, 1984) which the adolescents in the society use as a form of 'distress behaviour'. Basically, this is a form of inappropriate problem solving behaviour (Schlebusch, 1986), due to their inability to equate their new values and ideas with their old values and staunch cultural roots, together with the authoritarian attitude of their parents and older family member (Pillay and Schlebusch, 1987).

According to Roland (1990), the degrees of collectivism varies, however, anxiety, stress and conflict arise when the individuals from a collectivistic culture encounters a lifestyle, value

systems, social patterns and inner psychological structure which is contrary to their own. Over time, however, they imbibe or internalise these individualised modes of functioning, but at the same time they retain the basic facets of their own familial self, resulting in an integration of a bicultural or expanding self. However, if the individuals over-identify with the new attitudes which are part of the upper layering of the self, but they devalue the deeper layers of the self, which are anchored in the indigenous culture, then intense inner conflict and psychological paralysis results. Furthermore, the degree of acculturation is uneven for individuals and these may result in four types of acculturating individuals, namely, the rejecters, who state their ethnic identity and national group, the integrators, who identify with either their ethnic or national group, the assimilators and unidentified individuals who do not state identification with either the ethnic or national group (Berry, 1980) (cited in Rhee et al, 1995).

According to Rhee et al (1995), self descriptions, using the TST, are able to identify the four groups of acculturating individuals. The unidentified individuals use abstract and autonomous descriptions the most, while the rejecters used descriptions the least. Furthermore, the integrators and rejecters use more specific self-descriptions, instead of abstract descriptions. Furthermore, the assimilators or unidentified individuals use more trait and fewer social identity and physical descriptions, however, they do tend to overextend themselves, thus overshooting the norm of the dominant culture. According to Rhee et al (1995) it is thus possible to construe the self from words and descriptions given by individuals. However, self descriptions may not be very reliable as subjects tend to describe themselves differently from what they are, or they may present themselves in gender-stereotypic ways. Furthermore, the instruments used to measure traits in individuals, may not be adequate for those individuals with a greater behavioural flexibility (Martin and Ruble, 1997).

Examining the synonyms used for the stimulus words Shame, clear cultural perspectives are apparent. The White subjects use of the synonym 'guilt' depicts an inner mental state (as in individualistic cultures) while the Black and Indian subjects chose the synonyms 'disgrace/scandal' and 'embarrassment/ humiliation', respectively, implying more of an outer physical state. This is in keeping with the collectivistic culture, which uses shame and humiliation as a means of social control (Triandis, 1989).

Similarly, for the word Neurosis, two different perspectives were apparent. The White subjects tended to use the synonym 'paranoia/obsession' which is again referring to the psychological state, while the Black and Indian subjects used the synonyms 'nerves' and 'brain sickness' which refer to the physical state of the person, hence, demarcating between the individualistic and collectivistic cultures. However, collectively, the demarcation between the Western and Non-western cultures in South Africa, is not clear, due to acculturation.

Furthermore, the sample of subjects used were university students, hence, they are not representative of the total cultural group. These students, by virtue of being at the university, have already undergone a process of acculturation, first, by being indoctrinated with the Western mode of education and secondly, by being in contact with each other in the few months on campus. Hence, the results obtained may not be totally representative of the population.

Despite the test having been based on Euro-American lines, the differences in the cultural groups were minimal, again, probably due to the Western education that the subjects had previously obtained.

5.1.2 The Influence of Gender on the Construal of the Self

With regard to the differences in gender, Josselson (1990) states that men tend towards autonomy and independence, while women tend towards caring and responding to others, hence, men may then construe themselves as inner-directed and individualistic, while women construe themselves as individualistic, but outer-directed. According to Martin and Ruble (1997), men tend to construe the self as independent while females tend to be more interdependent, hence the male will concentrate primarily on his own self while the female will focus on the comfort and nurturing of others.

Furthermore, with regard to the choice of synonyms chosen by the male and female subjects for the stimulus word, Attitude, the males, particularly the White males, tended to use words such as 'opinion/outlook/viewpoint' and 'mental image' which are mental word, while the females used synonyms depicting behaviour, e.g., 'charm/ rebel'. According to Josselson (1990), females use behaviour or behavioural words since it is the physical activity which has a greater effect on the building or maintaining of relationships, compared to mental processes. But, the mental processes are important for the proper implementation of the required behaviour. However, the choice of mental words for the males is indicative of the males need to control or to have personal control over his life (Ember, 1981) hence his choice of words such as opinion, viewpoint, etc., which are thoughts held by an individual and which cannot be removed or changed unless the individual decides to make a change. Alternately, the choice of words by the male subjects may be indicative of him accessing the private self, while the female may be accessing the public or the collective self, depending on the situation.

For the stimulus word, Incentive, 'reason/motivation/inspiration' appears to be a 'female' word, which is used particularly by the Indian and White females as well as by the White male. These synonyms imply mental processes for the implementation of behaviour, furthermore, the judges' rating of the synonyms characterise the construal of the self as being inner directed, individualistic and feeling, that is, the characteristics of individualism.

The synonyms 'prize/ stimulus/reward' appears as a 'male' word which is indicative of competitiveness and gain, both of which are part of the socialisation process in male children. According to Slonim (1991), men from a collectivistic culture, or the Indian and Black cultures, are expected to act as protectors and providers of the family, hence, they are conditioned from an early age to be competitive. For the White male, being autonomous and independent means that he has to be competitive in order to be better than the others, which is a feature of individualism. Furthermore, he has to be in control to be independent, thus, throughout the developmental stages, autonomy, independence and competitiveness are encouraged.

Attention 4 (warning/alert) is a White and Black female word, while Aggression 3 (force/bully/rough) is an Indian female word. All of these words imply caution and coercion, which is possible if one considers the greater restrictions imposed by all three cultures on women. Regarding the choice of synonyms by the Indian subjects, one may assume that having received a Western education and being in a tertiary educational institution, these subjects may be in the process of acculturation or the self may be expanding. This may result in attempts by the subjects extended family, to rigidly control the behaviour of the females, probably using force or bullying tactics. However, it is possible that for all the females, the self may be

expanding, and the 'warning/alert' signals may be the systems internal alarm which may signal the onset of a possible psychological distress.

For the word Conformity 2 (obedience/agree/accept) and Conformity 4 (abide/align), it was the Black males who use these synonyms most frequently. As stated earlier, the choice of these words may be indicative of the conditions of the apartheid era, in which the Black male had to learn to conform to the governmental rules, or it may be the conditioning of the Black culture, which is collectivistic, hence, it demands conformity from its members.

According to Cross and Madson (1997) (cited in Martin and Ruble, 1997), females construe themselves as having a lower status than men, hence they are motivated to 'read' and understand others since the feelings of others may influence their own behaviour. However, the extent of any gender related behaviour being exhibited, is dependent on a set of specific factors, which include, the expectations of the perceiver, self-conceptions and goals of the target and situational factors that affect the salience of the gender. Furthermore, the construal of the self as independent versus interdependent, is the central guiding element in behaviour. According to Martin and Ruble (1997), in general, men are considered to be independent while women are interdependent. As Josselson (1990) state, men in both individualistic and collectivistic cultures, strive towards autonomy and self-actualising. Women, however, get caught up in the process of caring and responding to others, hence they never fully reach independence, but retain interdependence. Furthermore, their dependence and attachment to their mothers (whom they often emulate) is a concept that they carry throughout, with the 'mother' changing in the different stages of life, hence, the female is constantly seeking and striving to maintain relationships. However, this does not mean that the women are powerless,

helpless or without control, rather, it means that women are able to affect others and are willing to be responsive to others and to become engaged in them.

In concluding, the results indicate that there aren't many gender differences in the construal of the self. However, a gender by race interaction does elicit many significant interactions, indicating that culture together with gender does influence the construal of the self.

5.1.3 The Influence of Culture on the Construal of the Abnormal Self

The study was unable to find significant differences in the construal of the abnormal self, apart from the psychological and somatic process employed by the different cultural groups, particularly in terms of the stimulus word 'Neurosis'. According to Matsumoto (1994), cultures vary in terms of differentiation and communication of emotions, hence they differ in the way that they experience and express depression or psychopathology. Some cultures have few words to express emotions such as sadness, etc., while other cultures locate feelings states in various parts of the body, hence, these cultures have a tendency to somatise their complaints. Furthermore, some cultures have values that prohibit reporting or focusing on subjective distress, in contrast to the Western culture which focuses on the individual and self-disclosure. However, this research did not tap into any of these concepts, probably because the test used, did not contain too many stimulus words relating to psychopathology, hence, another, more effective test may be required for this type of study.

With regard to the word Neurosis 2 (obsession/paranoia), Neurosis 3 (brain sickness) and Neurosis 4 (nerves), they were used mostly by White, Indian and Black subjects respectively.

Neurosis 2 is indicative of psychological complaints, while brain sickness and nerves refer to somatic complaints. According to the literature (Triandis, 1988, 1989; Slonim, 1991), this is indicative of individualistic and collectivistic cultures respectively. Amongst the collectivistic cultures, psychological complaints are downplayed, instead somatic complaints are mentioned and given prominence. For the word Insanity 2 (mentally abnormal/unstable), the psychological aspect of the illness is mentioned and it was the White subjects who used the word the most frequently

Regarding the word Depression 1 (sad/unhappy/low/dent), the synonyms were used by all of the subjects equally well. This indicates that all the subjects had a good understanding of the concept of depression. However, it was the females amongst all three cultures who used the synonyms more often than the males. The literature states that it is the females who suffer more from psychological distress and depression than the males, particularly in cultures where there are constant changes in the role of women, compared to women who are isolated (Ember, 1981), hence, the women in South Africa, who are probably in a state of acculturation, may be familiar with the synonyms. Furthermore, these type of words constantly appear in the magazines that women read, e.g. *Cosmopolitan*, *Fair Lady*, hence, the females familiarity with the word depression. However, according to Wassenaar (1987) and Wood and Wassenaar (1989), the social restrictions imposed on Indian women as well as the role discrepancies associated with deculturation or acculturation, negatively influence the stability of most relationships, resulting in stress, conflict and psychological distress. Given the similar processes that are occurring in the other cultures, it is possible to expect similar results amongst the women.

In conclusion, culture and gender do influence the construal of the normal and abnormal self. However, the test used may not have been appropriate or adequate for researching the influence of culture and gender on the abnormal self.

5.1.4 Conclusion

The model of the self based on individualism and collectivism is not totally appropriate for the South African population at present. For the White subjects the model appears to fit their construal of the self. However, for the Black and Indian subjects, the collectivistic model is applicable to an extent, however, the self appears to be expanding or in a state of acculturation, resulting in the subjects accessing the private self as much as it accesses the public and collective selves. With regard to gender and the construal of the self, the choice of synonyms indicate that the situation may elicit a different aspect of the self, in general, either as independent or interdependent.

However, the results obtained must be treated with caution as the subjects of the study were university students and may not be totally representative of the population. Furthermore, the constituents of culture are vast and cannot be bilaterally linked to race alone, hence, other factors, such as age, religion, etc., need to be accounted for.

The instrument used to test the construal of the self, may not have been appropriate or applicable to all of the concepts being examined. As stated earlier, the instrument was not useful for all of the constructs or dimensions tested, hence a more appropriate test or instrument is required.

CHAPTER 6

6.1 CONCLUSION

This research has attempted to study the influence of culture/race on the construal of the normal and abnormal self. Furthermore the effect of gender on the construal of the self was also examined. Due to the unique situation in South Africa, where the different races were separated and there was a lack of contact between the race groups, the cultures remained relatively separate from each other, hence, race was used interchangeably with culture. This means that race was a proxy measure of culture.

Results of the research indicate that culture does have an effect on the construal of the self, particularly with the normal self, however, the test did not contain enough stimulus words pertaining to the abnormal self, but, the results indicate that culture has an effect on the construal of the self. Furthermore, results indicate that gender does influence the construal of the normal and abnormal self, but it is the race and gender interaction which is greatest.

In general, the White subjects construe the self in a Westernised or individualised manner. They are individualistic, self-orientated, inner directed, spiritualistic, thought and feeling orientated, concerned with both concrete and abstract thought and they access the mental processes often. The Black and Indian subjects, however, appear to be in a state of transition or acculturation. The Black subjects appear as both individualistic and collectivistic, inner and outer directed, materialistic, concerned with thoughts as well as physical and mental processes. For the Indian subjects the self is construed as being inner directed, individualistic, concerned

with concrete and abstract thoughts, physical and mental processes and thoughts and feelings. Furthermore, all the races construed the self as being 'self' or inner orientated, positive and active.

The abnormal self is construed in a similar manner, but it is negative instead of positive. Furthermore, the White subjects focus on the psychological complaints while the Black and Indian subjects focus on the somatic complaints. In terms of gender, the self, for the male is construed as stated above, but for the female, the self is construed as other directed or interdependent.

In general, the results indicate that the difference between the race groups is not as pronounced as was expected. Within the South African situation, the Western and Non-western concepts of culture do not apply totally, probably due to the process of acculturation that is taking place amongst the different populations.

6.1.1 Implication of the Study

The study highlights the changes that are occurring amongst the White, Black and Indian populations of South Africa. Due to a variety of factors, the perception of the self amongst these individuals are in the process of change and based on these results, future research may need to focus on the individual's and the population's transitional states. Furthermore, the impact of change on the individual, including the psychological stress and adjustment need to be researched.

Marsella (1979) states that since culture determines the expression of symptoms of universal and culture-specific disorders, assessment and treatment of psychological disorders need to account for the role of culture in the disorder. Wassenaar (1987) and Wood and Wassenaar (1989) suggest that, in the South African situation, the patient must not be assessed or treated in isolation, rather, a more holistic approach, such as family therapy is required. According to Wood and Wassenaar (1989), their study on the families of parasuicide patients amongst the Indian population in South Africa, indicates that the families demonstrated greater pathology in the areas of disturbed role functioning, poor problem-solving and communicational processes, general functioning, problematic affective involvement and excessive behavioural control. Furthermore, all these processes appear to be developmental ones. Thus, with the South African Indian population undergoing socio-cultural change, there is an increase in psychological stress and cross-generational conflict, hence, intervention needs to utilise a family framework in order to be more comprehensive and effective. However, as this research indicates, it is not only the Indian population which is undergoing a transition, the Black population and possibly the White population as well, are undergoing a socio-cultural change. The socio-cultural transition may be due to the influence of the Western capitalist values and systems (for the Black and Indian populations) and the adaptation to a post-apartheid South Africa (for all three race groups). The process of acculturation and urbanisation is a stressful one and may contribute to an increase in mental illness. Furthermore, social change has a different effect on different groups of people in a culture, and is particularly influential in the younger generation. Hence, when intervention is necessary, it is more effective at a family level instead of an individual level (Wood and Wassenaar, 1989).

6.1.2 Limitations of the Study and Recommendations

The major limitation to the results obtained for the study was the use of university students as subjects. Due to their educational status, that is, having had a Western education for 12 years and being on campus with students of other cultures, these students were not representative of the larger population, hence, these results cannot be generalised for the population at large. Furthermore, race and culture were used interchangeably, but subject details such as religion and ethnicity which pertains to the non-dominant culture were not requested, but they may have been useful in enhancing the results.

The instrument used in the study has no proven reliability and validity. The stimulus words for the test were taken from a Euro-American textbook and may have been appropriate for the sample used, however, for the general population, culture-free words need to be used. A more appropriate method of testing the subjects would have been to obtain sentences or descriptions of the stimulus words given, together with the synonyms, thus, obtaining a meaning and understanding of the subjects' knowledge of the words. However, this type of test also relies heavily on Western methods and philosophy and it may not be applicable to the cultures being tested.

A more appropriate method of testing the concepts of the self amongst the different cultures would be to test the people of different cultural groups in their own environment, using their philosophy of life, their behaviour patterns, language and other constructs which are important to that group of people. This implies that the researcher needs to discard the Western notions of scientific modes of research and philosophies and to concentrate on more qualitative

research. However, the process is a lengthy one, but it may yield more accurate self perceptions compared to quantitative studies based on proper scientific methods.

The various limitations of the present study does not imply that cross-cultural research on these cultures must be shelved or discarded, rather, further research is needed for understanding the individuals in this multicultural society, and helping them to cope effectively with the psychological stress and conflicts arising from the process of change.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A.

Appendix B.

Appendix C.

Appendix A : Instrument used for first group of subjects

NAME : _____

BELOW YOU WILL FIND A LIST OF TEN WORDS TO DO WITH SOME ASPECT OF PSYCHOLOGY. PLEASE FIND TWO WORDS THAT ARE SIMILAR IN MEANING TO EACH WORD, AND THEN WRITE TWO DIFFERENT SENTENCES SHOWING HOW THE WORD IS USED IN CONVERSATION. THANK YOU.

A	ATTITUDE	SIMILAR(1)	SIMILAR (2)	A
	SENTENCE (1)			
	SENTENCE (2)			
<hr/>				
	AGGRESSION	SIMILAR(1)	SIMILAR (2)	
	SENTENCE (1)			
	SENTENCE (2)			
<hr/>				
B	SELF	SIMILAR(1)	SIMILAR (2)	B
	SENTENCE (1)			
	SENTENCE (2)			
<hr/>				
	EMOTION	SIMILAR(1)	SIMILAR (2)	
	SENTENCE (1)			
	SENTENCE (2)			
<hr/>				
C	INTENTION	SIMILAR(1)	SIMILAR (2)	C
	SENTENCE (1)			
	SENTENCE (2)			
<hr/>				
	INCENTIVE	SIMILAR(1)	SIMILAR (2)	
	SENTENCE (1)			
	SENTENCE (2)			
<hr/>				
D	ATTENTION	SIMILAR(1)	SIMILAR (2)	D
	SENTENCE (1)			
	SENTENCE (2)			
<hr/>				
	INTELLIGENCE	SIMILAR(1)	SIMILAR (2)	
	SENTENCE (1)			
	SENTENCE (2)			
<hr/>				
E	NEUROSIS	SIMILAR(1)	SIMILAR (2)	E
	SENTENCE (1)			
	SENTENCE (2)			
<hr/>				
	INSANITY	SIMILAR(1)	SIMILAR (2)	
	SENTENCE (1)			
	SENTENCE (2)			

Appendix A : Instrument used for second group of subjects

NAME :

BELOW YOU WILL FIND A LIST OF TEN WORDS TO DO WITH SOME ASPECT OF PSYCHOLOGY. PLEASE FIND TWO WORDS THAT ARE SIMILAR IN MEANING TO EACH WORD, AND THEN WRITE TWO DIFFERENT SENTENCES SHOWING HOW THE WORD IS USED IN CONVERSATION. THANK YOU.

A	CONFORMITY	SIMILAR(1)	SIMILAR (2)	A
	SENTENCE (1)			
	SENTENCE (2)			
	SHAME	SIMILAR(1)	SIMILAR (2)	
	SENTENCE (1)			
	SENTENCE (2)			
B	GUILT	SIMILAR(1)	SIMILAR (2)	B
	SENTENCE (1)			
	SENTENCE (2)			
	CONSCIOUSNESS	SIMILAR(1)	SIMILAR (2)	
	SENTENCE (1)			
	SENTENCE (2)			
C	REWARD	SIMILAR(1)	SIMILAR (2)	C
	SENTENCE (1)			
	SENTENCE (2)			
	MOTIVATION	SIMILAR(1)	SIMILAR (2)	
	SENTENCE (1)			
	SENTENCE (2)			
D	PERCEPTION	SIMILAR(1)	SIMILAR (2)	D
	SENTENCE (1)			
	SENTENCE (2)			
	CONCEPT	SIMILAR(1)	SIMILAR (2)	
	SENTENCE (1)			
	SENTENCE (2)			
E	DEPRESSION	SIMILAR(1)	SIMILAR (2)	E
	SENTENCE (1)			
	SENTENCE (2)			
	DEFENSIVENESS	SIMILAR(1)	SIMILAR (2)	
	SENTENCE (1)			
	SENTENCE (2)			

Appendix B : Rating for the Polar Dimensions

Inner directed	1 2 3 4 5	Outer directed
Individual	1 2 3 4 5	Collective
Material	1 2 3 4 5	Spiritual
Passive	1 2 3 4 5	Active
Positive	1 2 3 4 5	Negative
Concrete	1 2 3 4 5	Abstract
Self	1 2 3 4 5	Other
Thinking	1 2 3 4 5	Feeling
Physical	1 2 3 4 5	Mental
Process	1 2 3 4 5	State

Appendix C : An Example of the Judges' Rating Sheets for the Synonyms Against the Polar Dimensions for a stimulus Word

ATTITUDE

	Opinion Outlook Viewpoint	Perception Thought	Feeling Mood	Nature Personality	Behaviour e.g Charm Rebel	Conduct Concern	Manner Way Approach	Space	Starva- tion	Mental Image	Ideal Belief	Liking	Reputation	Intention Aim	Condition
Inner Directed VS Outer directed															
Individual VS Collective															
Material VS Spiritual															
Passive VS Active															
Positive VS Negative															
Concrete VS Abstract															
Self VS Other															
Thinking VS Feeling															
Physical VS Mental															
Process VS State															

Appendix C : An Example of the Judges' Rating Sheets for the Synonyms Against the Polar Dimensions, for a Stimulus Word

AGGRESSION

	Rage Anger Frustration	Violent Violence Attack Rape Destructive	Hostility Hate Unkind	Force Bully Fierce Rough Fearless	Selfish Arrogant Unpleasant	Rebellion Warlike Struggle	Steadfastness Forthcoming Assertive	Annoyance Impatience	Uptight	Vigour Stamina
Inner directed VS Outer directed										
Individual VS Collective										
Material VS Spiritual										
Passive VS Active										
Positive VS Negative										
Concrete VS Abstract										
Self VS Other										
Thinking VS Feeling										
Physical VS Mental										
Process VS State										