"Shim-Cheong" Psychology as a Cultural Psychological Approach to Collective Meaning Construction

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ABSTACT

In recent years the importance of an indigenous psychological approach has been asserted in the context of cultural psychological discourse, especially in the debate on overcoming the problems of the cross-cultural psychological paradigm. However, the problem of the dichotomy between particularism and universalism remains unsolved. Despite this lack of clarity the relevance of the indigenous psychological attempt to formulate a socio-cultural construction of meaning systems may not be ignored, as, in our opinion, it is essential to construct a cultural psychological ethos which allows for the discussion of the diversity and complexity of differing cultural, intercultural, and cross-cultural concepts. In our contribution we would like to introduce a number of psychological mechanisms which are of great importance in everyday Korean life: for example, "Han", "Cheong", "Shim-Cheong". These mechanisms form the foundation of Korean social interaction, and play a decisive role in the construction of "we-ness". In social interaction, especially in conflict situations, "we-ness" is, through constant reconstruction of past events, regularly redefined. In this discourse the past events are not related to actual occurrences, but rather they are the product of the joint construction of meanings. We refer this process, which is difficult to define through existing social psychological categories, as "Shim-Cheong" psychology. This could be perhaps best translated as "affection of mind" psychology. The available categories of academic psychology which are exclusively developed in European and American Universities, always imply the norms and ideologies of Western societies. If we can define the cultural psychological project as an attempt to reconstruct or deconstruct such categories, then our attempt to categorize the psychological processes, which entail differing cultural-historical backgrounds, is well suited to the task of cultural psychology. We do not imply that these mechanisms can not be understood by Western psychologists, but we wish to demonstrate that there are alternative ways and means for the construction of psychological theories.

Psychology in Korea: From the estrangement of the own meaning system to the dichotomy between 'own' and 'strange' culture

Our paper starts with the question, "why is it not easy to be both a psychologist and a Korean?" This question is not so much concerned with the problem of national identity as with the critical review of the concept "culture" in academic psychology. In parallel with this topic, the problem of the unreflected reproduction of categories such as ethnicity and nationality in psychological research concerned with culture, and the question of the role of indigenous psychologies in the cultural psychological discourse will be discussed.

In the last few years, Korean psychologists concerned with questions of how the cultural dimension can be included in psychological research have been increasingly involved in self-critical reflection (Cho, 1995; Choi, et al., 1993; Hahn & Chon, 1994; Han, 1996; Han & Ahn, 1994; Lee, 1994). The self-criticism is primarily based on the fact that they have ignored the cultural and scientific tradition in their psychological research, and have consciously and unconsciously taken over the role of consumers of psychological categories that are strange to their own meaning system.

This self-criticism initially originated in the boom of the cross-cultural studies. Within this paradigm, which in part resulted from the widespread uncertainty caused by objectless psychology, the Korean postgraduates, who wanted a recognized doctorate in America or Europe, have taken on the functions looked for in cross-cultural studies. Their main role has been to deliver raw data, which should be created by so-called 'standardized' instruments, to the 'knowledge-owner'. Thereby, the culturally specific components have been either neglected or judged as being of little worth. For example, in the application of analysis systems for the recording of 'universal' attachment qualities, the culturally specific modes of behavior of Korean mothers can not be taken into consideration. Or the 'authoritarian' manner of upbringing practiced by Korean parents or educators can be considered as developmentally restricting in the application of the assessment methods of the Western educational system, that always reflect the educational ideology of Western societies (see Choi, 1992).

Through the critical dispute over such cross-cultural studies, in which all the criteria and measures of comparison were formulated according to Western standards, there developed a more relativistic view of cross-cultural psychological studies. A representative example of this direction can be seen in the polarization of cultures as individualistic and collectivistic (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1995; Triandis, et al., 1988, 1990; Markus & Kitayama, 1994). In contrast to the first paradigm, this research direction, which has in the last few years been propagated by non-Western, above all Asian psychologists, appears to have the advantage that one's own cultural tradition has the same value as that of Western societies. Thereby, non-Western psychologists identify their cultures, without great effort, with collectivistic whereas Western cultures are categorized as individualistic. The change from the colonialization of knowledge to an apparent relativization of Western ways of thinking, or rather the rediscovery of other cultures, has not come about by coincidence. The apparent rejection of the uni-linear concept of cultural development, in which Western society was always implied as being the high point of this development, was accompanied by various social factors: globalization in the post-modern age, the dissolution of the ideological blocks, the economic boom of the Asian countries, the increase of possibilities for the exchanging of information through technological developments, etc.

This relativistic view of Western norms and ideologies through the polarization between collectivism and

individualism is however not unproblematic.[1] The first problem relates to the question of whether cultures can be categorized in the two forms: collectivist and individualistic (Han, 1996; Lalljee & Angelova, 1995; Kagitcibasi, 1990). In respect to this problem Triandis (1995) tried to refine the two categories into horizontal and vertical versions. There are then four categories: 'vertical collectivism', 'horizontal collectivism', 'vertical individualism', and 'horizontal individualism'. Every culture then moves among these four categories. The differentiation between the horizontal and vertical versions of a culture is based on whether an individual finds him/herself in a democratic or hierarchical structure of the society. When one describes the cultural developmental process using these classifications, as Triandis tries to, then the developmental order of cultures is, without empirical research, predefined: vertical collectivism moves towards horizontal collectivism or towards individualism. In relation to this, Triandis (p. 90), for example, makes a prognosis about the developmental level of China as follows: "I expect that Chinese culture is more vertical than horizontal. Perhaps 30% HC (horizontal collectivism - Choi & Kim) and 40% VC (Vertical collectivism Choi & Kim) is a good guess". Behind this prognosis is the following conceptualization of cultural development: "In short extreme versions of collectivism go with totalitarianism. Democracy, pluralism, multipluralism and the like are compatible with individualism" (p. 168).

In order to perhaps unnecessarily confirm this predefined developmental order, quantitative instruments, mostly questionnaires, are applied (e.g. Chan, 1994; Hui, 1988; Triandis et al., 1988). These instruments consist for example of questions such as: "What I look for in a job is a friendly group of co-workers.",

"Children should live at home with their parents until they get married." (Collectivist attitude items); "The most important thing in my life is to make myself happy", "I would rather struggle through a personal problem by myself than discuss it with my friends" (Individualistic attitude items) (Chan, 1994, p. 209). The research results achieved through such questions show, for the most part, only the characteristics that are a part of the semantic meaning of collectivism and individualism, as in the case of the empirical research on the hypothesis "Bachelors are male and unmarried" (Smedslund, 1995).

Apart from the over-simplified classification of cultures and the methodological problems, this form of research has another problem: specifically the 'ideologization' of culture. The fear of the Western countries of looensing economic and political hegemony and the unconscious fear of the Western scientists of being forced to give up the role of the powerful 'knowledge-owner', have been most clearly expressed by the Huntington's Hypothesis of "The Clash of Civilizations" (1993). Such an approach to the relationship between the cultures is conceived exclusively as a struggle for economical and political hegemony. In this relationship, the pseudo-relativistic theories reproduce and reinforce the ideologization of the cultures. Triandis writes, for example, as follows: "··· to understand the conflicts of the future, we need to decide if we are going to help the individualist side in these conflicts" (1995, p. 167); "Huntington (1993) argued that the conflicts of the future will be along cultural lines ···, If Huntington's prediction is supported by future events, we should decide whether we want to be sympathetic to one or the other side of the argument" (p.169).

Huntington's prophecy, however, doesn't need any confirmation through future events because the polarization of cultures will be reproduced and reinforced consistently in everyday and scientific discourse. There

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1) Our critical comments about the differentiation between individualism and collectivism, are based to a large extent on the review essay of Branco (1996) about the book "Individualism and Collectivism" (Triandis 1995).

is no real problem with the scientific confirmation of Huntington's prophecy, just as the hypothesis that "bachelors are male and unmarried" can be supported without any great effort.

Whilst the way in which non-Western cultures are compared using Western standards, can be described as ethnocentric; the way in which cultures are polarized may be called "banal ethnocentrism"[2]. The banality of these constructs lies in the concealment of the ethnocentrism, in that the criteria of differentiation between cultures, such as ethnicity or the geographic boarders between nations, are produced and reproduced in a hidden way. In contrast to the old ethnocentrism the exposure of nationality and ethnicity should be avoided in this banal ethnocentrism, in the same way that the "internationalism of American nationalism" conceals its nationalistic character in the slogan "for international peace" (cf. Billig, 1995). The principle of the "universality of particularity", which is implicated in a number of cultural psychological approaches, is also difficult to separate from this paradox. In much the same way, we are forced to use the dichotomy of Western and non-Western psychology or the term 'Korean psychology' in this paper. What, then, can we do in the name of Cultural Psychology?

Indigenous psychologies as inclusive separation

The paradox of psychologies about culture, in our opinion, lies therein that in making differentiation between cultures we are still forced to use problematic criteria such as ethnicity and nationality. Further criteria, such as religion, language or symbols, institutions and the like, are directly or indirectly linked to these two problematic criteria. We can, however, try to reconstruct these criteria not as mediums of exclusive separation but rather as mediums of inclusive separation (Valsiner, 1989; 1997).

According to Valsiner, most of the categories of the present day academic psychology is concerned with exclusive separation or dualism, in that, person is viewed as being completely separated from the environment; environment as independent and person as dependent variable, whereby the relationship between person and environment or culture is seen as being uni-linearly causal: i.e. the effect of the environment on the person or visa versa. From this point of view, the boarders between the cultures are seen as being present from the beginning and therefore unchangeable. When one constructs an indigenous psychology, in the sense of an anti-universalistic, or rather anti-ethnocentric psychology, from the dualistic point of view it appears as nothing more than an 'anti-ethnocentric ethnocentrism'. In contrast, the approach of inclusive separation, following Valsiner, can be formulated as follows:

"In contrast, the meta-conceptual strategy of inclusive separation maintains the relationship between the separated parts of the system. Even if person and environment are distinguished from each other (i.e. they are separated), the separation is the background upon which their relationship can be investigated. Inclusive separation entails distinction of three facets of the phenomena (P, E and relation P<<<>>E), whereas exclusive separation included only two (P, E)". (Valsiner, 1997, p. 9)

Were the concept of inclusive separation (P, E and relation P<<>>E) to be included in the cultural psychological discourse, then it could look like this: (cul-

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2) Billig (1995) describes the form of nationalism, which as a result of its unconscious reproduction and naturalization in everyday life is hard to recognise as "banal nationalism". In contrast to the clear nationalism in separatist movements, the chief discerning character of the banal nationalism of the Western countries lies in the hidden nature of its ideological character. The postmodern thesis of globalisation is according to Billig in the most cases nothing more than the "internationalization of banal nationalism" or "the globalisation of Fax Americana".

ture A, culture B and relation A<<>>B). The third variant is not a simple consolidation of A and B, but rather a new culture as a transformation of two cultures. We understand the cultural psychological discourse as the place where the third culture will be created. We must, however, ask concretely: "How is the third variant created?", "How can the present boarders between the cultures be removed?". Thereby, ignoring the present criterion, i.e. ethnicity or nationality, is no real alternative, just as emphasizing globalization is basically nothing more than the "globalization of the dominant culture".

In contrast to cross-cultural psychology, scientists in the cultural psychological discourse attempt to describe other cultures "from the natives point of view" (cf. Geertz, 1975), whereas the goal of cultural psychology is understood as a 'reflection of one's own culture through other cultures'. The question is, however, as follows: do such reports really reflect the perspective of the natives? Is it not the case that strange cultures are just viewed as exotic?. As a matter of fact some reports on other cultures do tend towards exotic descriptions: "They are different". In such reports any chance of describing the actual life of the other is from the start excluded, as the observer can, without using his category systems of understanding, which necessarily reflects the meaning systems of his own culture, describe nothing. Thus it is difficult to avoid the exotic description of other cultures. There are on occasions no dramatic differences between the report of the tourist and that of the psychologist. Apart from which the dangers of banal ethnocentrism are always present in such exotic descriptions. In relation to this Gergen criticises the omnipotence of hermeneutics as follows:

"One engages, says Geertz, in a 'continuous dialectical tacking between the most local of detail and the most global of global structure in such a way as to

bring both in to view simultaneously' ⋯ The hermeneutic circle that Geertz describes is ⋯ self fulfilling; or in other terms, such an analysis will inevitably redeem the conceptual forestructure with which it commences." (Gergen, 1990, p. 588)

How, then, is cultural psychology in the form of inclusive separation possible when understanding another culture from the view point of the natives is excluded from the start? We can find a possibility for inclusive separation "in the double form of the inclusive and exclusive we" (Buhler, 1934). Let us assume that someone in the present situation says "what we (1) are talking about now is different in content to that which we (2) discussed yesterday". The first 'we' is inclusive in the sense that it includes the present interlocuters (me and you). The second 'we' is an exclusive 'we' in that it can be interpreted as excluding 'you' (e.g. me and my wife at home). In everyday discourse 'we' is used in both its inclusive and exclusive form without there being any great misunderstandings.

Buhler's concept of the inclusive and exclusive 'we' demonstrates how understanding of other cultures may be possible and how cultural psychological discourse should be structured. In contrast to exclusive separation, the understanding of the other through inclusive separation implies the construction of intersubjectivity. The other is not the object of the 'knowledge constructing subject' but rather an equal subject of the discourse, who together with the other in the frame of the inclusive 'we' constructs intersubjectivity. Understanding other cultures is only possible within this framework. The reason why some cultural psychological papers are little more than exotic reports lies, in our opinion, in the neglecting of this aspect. Although the intersubjectivity between the Western psychologist and the native can be construed in the frame of the inclusive 'we', it becomes an exotic report, as soon

as it is presented to the scientific community in the home country of the psychologist.

The mutual understanding, or rather intersubjectivity between the cultures depends on the creation of communication context, within which both cultures can be subsumed in an inclusive 'we'. The cultural psychological discourse should be just such a context. Within this discourse we can as Korean psychologists, report about our Korean indigenous psychology in an exclusive form, whilst at the same the exclusive character of academic psychology, which is nothing more than an indigenous psychology of the Western society, can also be clearly presented. When the different indigenous psychologies meet as interlocutors in the cultural psychological discourse, then the exclusive criteria of both psychologies, such as ethnicity, gender, and nationality can be deconstructed and reconstructed. The cultural psychological discourse would then no longer be just an abstract language game of the American or European psychologists, but would function as a real social discourse.

In this connection the meeting of feminist psychology, as an indigenous psychology, and our Korean indigenous psychology presents an interesting example of inclusive separation. According to our understanding the starting point of feminist psychology is in the main the criticism of the absolutism, neutralization and individualization of the biological criterion, that is, gender, in academic psychology (e.g. Benjamin, 1988; Burman, 1994; Nicolson, 1995; Riger, 1995). The aim of feminist psychology is then, first of all, to make clear the constructedness of the dichotomy between man and woman and its reproduction processes in the everyday as well as psychological discourse. For example Riger suggests:

"A more appropriate strategy for the study of women would consider the ways in which gender is created and maintained through interpersonal processes ··· from this perspective gender does not reside within the person. Instead, it is constituted in the myriad ways in which we 'do' rather than 'have' gender; that is; we validate our membership in a particular in a particular gender category through interactional processes···". (Riger, 1995, p. 157)

In the same way that ethnicity and nationality are reconstructed through our behaving according to the categories of culture ("doing culture" instead of "having culture"), so are the categories of gender through our behaving according to the categories of gender ("doing gender" instead of "having gender"). The attempts of feminist psychology, however, have nothing to do with either the consolidation or eradication of gender difference. Rather it is an attempt to construct a discourse in which the gender category can be viewed as an inclusive separation. To achieve this, however, one has to start with a critical discussion within the given structure of the real discourse and with the exclusivity of the given categories.

Feminist psychology may serve as an example to other indigenous psychologies and offers us the opportunity of viewing critically the exclusivity of the categories of gender in the Korean social discourse. This self-reflection plays an important role in the theory formation of "Shim-Cheong" psychology, especially in the discovery of the exclusive nature of "Cheong". This process demonstrates to us how inclusive separation may be possible in the cultural psychological discourse. Thus, in the meeting of two exclusive categories, e.g. nationality and gender, there are new categories created: Korean men, Korean women, American men, American women.

The category of nationality in relation to that of gender, no longer maintains its exclusive nature, and visa versa. Thereby one of the two categories should not become absolute, in which case the one category would become subsumed in the other. In cultural psy-

chological discourse, the logic of the linear hierarchy between two categories, "bigger than" (gender > ethnicity) or "smaller than" (gender < ethnicity), should be avoided (see Valsiner, 1997, p. 51f). One of the decisive problems of the cultural psychological discourse lies in the linear hierarchy between culture and subculture,(e.g. individual < family < social institution < culture).

The achieving of inclusive separation in the cultural psychological discourse then depends, on the one hand, on the resetting of the uni-linear hierarchical relationships between culture and subculture, and, on the other hand, on defining academic psychology as just one of many indigenous psychologies. A precondition thereof is the open structure of the cultural psychological discourse, in which not only indigenous psychologies of Western natives, but also the other indigenous psychologies of other knowledge constructing natives can be reported.

"Shim-Cheong" Psychology as an indigenous psychology

In the attempt to construct an indigenous psychology of the Korean people, we start in the first place from the hypothesis that a number of the concepts that are used in everyday communication between Koreans represent well, culturally traditional collective representations (cf. Harr, 1984; 1986; Farr & Moscovici, 1984). One of the most important characteristics of such terms is their ambiguity, which can be clearly seen when attempting to translate them into another language or to present their context independent meanings. Therefore we can assert that the more ambiguous, the unclearer their context independent meanings are, the more culturally specific and context dependent they are (cf. Valsiner, 1994). The attempt to analyze such terms with the categories of academic psychology tends to hinder the appropriate interpretation of the

psychological mechanisms that underlie such terms.

The dilemma of the academic psychologists, who attempt to formulate the universal laws of psychological mechanisms, lies primarily in the ambiguity of the psychological research object: Mind (English), Psyche (German), "Shim-Cheong" (Korean). Therefore it is no coincidence that psychologists occupy themselves with other alternatives like "behaviour", "cognition", "emotion", and so on. In our attempt then to construct our indigenous psychology, we start by formulating a number of terms out of everyday communication that may be relevant to psychological research. Among others they are terms such as "Shim" (mind, soul, feeling), "Cheong" (affection), "Shim-Cheong" (affection of mind) and "Han" (lamentation).

"Shim-Cheong" (or "Maeum"[3]), which may be understood as the equivalent of terms such as mind and psyche, can be used separately in Korean: "Shim" and "Cheong". When used separately the word "Shim" is not so different from "Shim-Cheong", and so is seldom used in the everyday communication between Koreans, except that is when used in analysis of traditional philosophy. In contrast, "Cheong" accentuates the emotional meaning of "Shim-Cheong" in that it represents a sort of feeling of intersubjective relatedness (cf. Choi, 1994). "Cheong", however, is difficult to separate from "Han", which appears to have a more negative meaning. We can assert that "Cheong" and "Han" have a common root in their cultural construction process, and that they form two opposing poles in the construction of "Shim-Cheong". The following paragraphs demonstrate how the three terms are connected to one another.

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3) The term "Maeum" is an original Korean expression, whereas "Shim-Cheong" originates from the old Chinese letters. In modern Korean speech both term are used. We prefer here the term "Shim-Cheong" in order to make the relationship between "Cheong" and "Shim-Cheong" ("Mauem") clearer.

"Shim-Cheong" as a relational mind

The specific grammar of the term "Shim-Cheong", which from the perspective of other cultures is only partially understandable, can be frequently observed in the routine of Koreans; e.g. "Shim-Cheong of the president". This was the headline of a magazine article about a public speech made by the president to apologize the people for the suspicion of corruption against his son. Thereby the attention of the public could be diverted from the problem of corruption and directed more towards the state of the president's feelings, a state with which every father with a 'problem' child could identify. The grammar between the lines makes an appeal to the "Shim-Cheong" or empathy of the public, especially parents, who have more or less similar problems.

This demonstrates that mechanisms similar to that of melodrama can without any great problem function in the Korean public realm, and can be specifically identified in the concept of "Shim-Cheong". In understanding these mechanisms though one may not make the rather simplistic conclusion, as some sophisticated psychologists may, that the Korean people are not rational enough. Rather the question must be how and why such a mechanism can function.

In order to answer this question we start with an analysis of the contexts in which "Shim-Cheong" is most often used. The following statements are frequently to be heard in normal Korean conversation, especially in conflict situations: "If you were to give at least a little consideration to my 'Shim-Cheong', you wouldn't be able to behave like that."; "You wouldn't be able to behave like that, if you could consider your parents' 'Shim-Cheong'." "If you can't understand my 'Shim-Cheong', then who can?". Such statements, however, have nothing to do with either the understanding of the mental condition of the other person, or with the understanding of the problematic

situation. It has more to do with the recontextualization or rather reconstruction of relational qualities. Let us take the example of a fictional argument, which is a good characterization of the communication between Koreans in a conflict situation:

> (Person A has made a request of his friend person B, with which person B has not complied)
> A: Why didn't you do it? It wouldn't have been a big problem for you, and you could have done it without any great trouble. I'm very disappointed.
> B: Yes, I know your "Shim-Cheong", but you also have to take my "Shim-Cheong" into consideration. I don't mind helping you at all, and I really made an effort to do so, but it wasn't as easy as you thought.
> (There follows an explanation of the difficulty, after which A accepts the apology of B.)
> A: I understand your "Shim-Cheong", but you also have to understand my "Shim-Cheong". It was really important for me and apart from you I don't have anyone with whom I can discuss this problem.

In this exchange as the near repeating of the same sentence, the request for the understanding of "Shim-Cheong", sets an emotional and cognitive mutuality between the interlocutors as a precondition. Here it is not the case that the one has to activate his cognitive abilities in the sense of "theory of mind" and put himself into the position of the other. Rather it is related to the activating of common past experiences or an emotional, affective mutuality. The grammar of the uses of the word "Shim-Cheong" is always connected to the unmentioned definition of "we-ness". In the above example it is to do with the friendship between the two, in the stricter sense of "we-ness". Within a friendship one must always be prepared to take the "Shim-Cheong" of the friend into consideration. When person A can not take the "Shim-Cheong" of person B into consideration, that means for person B that A doesn't want to. In normal Korean conver-

sation, however, it practically seldom occurs that one says that one can't understand or hasn't understood the "Shim-Cheong" of the other. The statement "I don't understand your Shim-Cheong", is a very courageous way of destroying the "we-ness".

The mention of "Shim-Cheong" assumes a forced 'sharing of mind'. It forces the interlocutors to confirm the "we-ness", and to view the problem from a shared perspective. In this sense the mention of "Shim-Cheong" can be viewed as a ritual confirmation of "we-ness". Once the two parties in the above example have mutually forced each other to take "Shim-Cheong" into consideration, there would normally follow a discussion of past joint experiences: "We did this and that together and it was great." "In those days you were different. I can remember doing it all together." and the such like. In the following discussion the problem that should be discussed, then, remains outside of the actual discussion. The telling of past joint experiences, which on occasions has little to do with the actual occurrences, is related to a recontextualization of "we-ness". The aim of the "Shim -Cheong"-ritual is, despite the failure to solve the problem, to further confirm the 'we-ness' and to ensure that it is not damaged by the present situation.

This grammar of "Shim-Cheong" is not only found in dyadic discourse. As the example from the magazine article, "The 'Shim-Cheong' of the president", implies, that the 'we-ness' can also relate to the community of fathers with problematic children. One may also talk of the "Shim-Cheong" of mothers-in-law or daughters-in-law, in which case the community of mothers- or daughters-in-law is newly constructed. The grammar of "Shim-Cheong" demonstrates then how the scope of 'we-ness' is differently constructed and reconstructed dependent on the context of the discourse, and therefore the boarders between us and others is always temporary. Further to this it characterizes the normal life of Koreans as a being forced 'to-be-shared' in different forms of 'we-ness', which have to always be inclusive and exclusive. The process of inclusion and exclusion relates to the temporal and structural construction of relationships. When one, for example, talks of the 'we-ness' of mothers-in-law, then the 'we' of mothers-in-law is understood as structurally exclusive in relation to others; e.g. daughters-in-law. Simultaneously though the 'we' of mothers-in law must be temporally inclusive, as mothers-in-law were daughters -in-law a generation ago.

The principle of being forced to take part in 'we-ness' is reflected in the relationship between the individual and his/her group. In the inclusive and exclusive construction of 'we-ness', the individual is something which has to be completely dissolved. In the normal speech of Koreans the word 'I' or 'my' is seldom used, especially when concerned with the presentation of 'we-ness': common then are "our school", "our firm", "our parents" and even "our wife". When translating the word into English one has to translate 'our' as 'my'. The emphasis of the individual or of individual interests without some contextual connection, that is, without identifying it with some construction of 'we-ness', is morally punishable. The subject and its "Shim-Cheong" can then be seen as an overlapping of different constructions of 'we-ness'. The being forced to take part in a 'we-ness' forms the basis of the mutual understanding of "Shim-Cheong". In this connection the search for a self-identity is, for at least the older generation, of negligible importance. My identity is easily defined through my social relationships. The argument of academic psychology, is within this cultural context without much effect: the individual self must be defined in terms personality.

"Shim-Cheong" as an intersubjectivly felt and to be felt life of social relationships

"Shim-Cheong" can, with certain limitations, be translated into English as 'affection of mind'. The limitations relate to the fact that "Shim-Cheong", in this connection, does not exclusively refer to the subjects state of feeling, as the English 'affection of mind' could imply. Rather it refers to the intersubjective state of feeling, which has to be understood in some construction of 'we-ness'. Without the precondition of 'being understood', the term "Shim-Cheong" can not be used. In respect to the question of how the word "Shim-Cheong" can relate to the inclusive and exclusive construction of 'we-ness', we start with an analysis of "Cheong". As has already been mentioned the "Shim-Cheong" is considerably dependent for its content on "Cheong[4]"

In contrast to "Shim", the word "Cheong" can be used independently in normal Korean speech: "I feel 'Cheong' towards/for you". "Cheong" can be interpreted as an emotional connectedness: "I feel 'Cheong' for my friend, father or wife[5]". The word "Cheong" however does not refer to the emotionality of the individual, but rather to an intersubjective feeling of 'we-ness', as without the context of 'we-ness' the individual can not exist.

"Cheong" does not relate exclusively to a positive feeling quality. Korean women in middle age, for example, quite often cease complaining about their husbands with sentences such as, "I have just as much sweet 'Cheong' as hateful 'Cheong' for my husband", "I hate my husband, and would like to divorce from him as soon as possible, but I can't because of this damned 'Cheong'" (this could be abbreviated to the phrase "Because of this damned 'Cheong' I still live with him", "Who could apart from me put up with such a gruff man"; etc.). In this connection "Cheong" can relate to a habitual quality of feeling, which the husband and wife have mutually regulated over the years.

"Cheong" as an intersubjective feeling, created out of differing construction processes of 'we-ness', forms the decisive component of "Shim-Cheong", whereby the word "Shim-Cheong" relates to the locality of different intersubjective feelings. "Shim-Cheong" as an overlapping of different social relationships and their intersubjective feelings, that is, "Cheong", is in each context of the discourse and in the course of time constantly constructed and reconstructed. The temporal continuity/discontinuity of the overlapping of social relationships, leaves a trace that one may describe as 'felt life'. This 'felt life' is not just the product of past experiences as past experiences are always reconstructed with reference to present social relationships. In addition, it more or less defines the coming 'felt life'; the to be felt life. Therefor we define "Shim-Cheong" as an "intersubjectivly felt and to be felt life of social relationships".

The socio-cultural construction of "Cheong": an exclusive mechanism

"Shim-Cheong" is a term constructed out of socio-cultural processes just as psychological concepts such as 'mind', 'behaviour', 'cognition' and 'emotion' reflect certain ideologies of Western society. In the preceding sections we have tried to present the categorical aspect of "Shim-Cheong" as a starting point for the construc-

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4) The object of Korean psychology as not "Shim", as could be assumed from the Korean translation of psychology; "Shim-Rhie-Hak" (mind-logic-science), but rather "Shim-Cheong", as for the Korean Shim can not exist without "Cheong".

5) To make the internal relationship of feeling clearer the word "Cheong" is sometimes used with different prefixes: e.g. "Mo-Cheong" (mother's love), "Bu-Cheong" (Bu means father), "Ae-Cheong" (where "Ae" means love; the meaning of "Ae-Cheong" is therefore close to sexual love, can, however, be understood as just plain "Cheong").

tion of Korean indigenous psychology. The construction of "Shim-Cheong" psychology must, however, from the start be prepared for its reconstruction or deconstruction. The parallel processes of construction and reconstruction are possible as the socio-cultural constructedness of "Shim-Cheong" will be analyzed[6].

A long relationship can be named as one of the necessary conditions for the creation of "Cheong". In this connection the relationship entails a trustful, intimate relationship between the partners. In relationship to this, we find a number of Korean sayings that serve as good examples: "When one lives together with someone, 'Cheong' comes automatically.", "The middle-aged married couple do not live together because of love, but rather because of 'Cheong'". "Cheong", however, is not guaranteed by living together for a long time. Discovery of the weaknesses of the other is also an important precondition of "Cheong". In this connection, the independent, rational and ambitious personality, that is often implied in contemporary personality psychology as an important criterion for a mature personality, tends to be disadvantaged. The perfect, independent personality is often described by Koreans as "Cheong-fallen" (or not deserving of "Cheong"). Thus we can formulate two mechanisms that form the basis for the process of the creation of "Cheong": "The stabilization or consolidation of given relationships" and "The identification with the weaker".

The first mechanism has a certain culturally historical connection to the strict hierarchically structure or Korean society. The given structure of social institutions are perceived as being, in this context, predetermined and therefore may not be changed. In a traditional moral-philosophical discipline in Korea - "Seong-Rhie -Hak" (human nature-logic-science), there are five named relationships which are basic to human life: The relationship between father (parents) and son (children), between sovereign (ruler) and subject (people), between man and wife, between old and young and between friends. There are also certain norms that one has to observe in each of these relationships: Loyalty to the ruler, piety towards parents, differentiation between genders, order between age groups and trust between friends[7].

The question as to how far the moral-philosophical definitions of hierarchies, which can be described as the ruling ideology of the feudal society, play a role in the present day population, can not be discussed in the present paper. We consider, however, that this controlling ideology is reflected in some way or another in the present population just as it is practiced by modern Koreans. One way in which this ideology is practiced, in our opinion, can be seen in the first mechanism of "Cheong"; the stabilization or consolidation of relationships. In this connection we can't say that all relationships in this mechanism are defined as hierarchical, they tend however to be viewed as destiny, as can be seen in the widely known saying of the middle aged woman: "I live with him because of this damned 'Cheong'," "Cheong", then, as an intersubjective feeling can only arise in certain given relationships. In addition the relationship must be long standing for the partners to be bound to each other through "Cheong". The forced justification of the present relationships or social structures and the resulting resignation is reflected in the exclusive character of the relationships. Partners in a social relationship often show unfounded aggression towards others outside of the relationship. The forced inclusion in a relationship

6) The categorical construction and deconstruction, that is, the exposure of the socio-cultural constructedness of the used categories, is, in our opinion, necessary condition for the open structure of the cultural psychological discourse.

7) On the subject of the relationship between this moral philosophy and psychological mechanisms, see Hahn (1994).

is always accompanied by the exclusion of the other. The boarder between 'we' and 'the other' is, as a consequence, very difficult to remove.

The second mechanism, the identification with the weaker, however, presents a reverse side of "Cheong". The resignation that results from the forced nature of the participation in relationships and their unchange-ability, can be undone in that the weaknesses of the stronger or dominant partner are emphasized. The grammar of the second mechanism can be formulated as follows: "Because of his weak side I feel 'Cheong' for him". The old woman, who feels herself forced to continue in her marriage, will despite this stay with her husband because of his weaknesses, that apart from her no one else can discover. The strong husband is, in this "Cheong" relationship, no longer the dominant partner in the marriage, rather he is the one who always has to be cared for by her. She identifies her resignation with this weak side of her husband. The headline about the "Shim-Cheong" of the president is also based on the same mechanism. In this article the president is no longer the all powerful head of government, rather a normal father who worries about his recalcitrant son.

The exclusive character of 'we-ness' can be elimi-nated in this second mechanism, in that one, without too great an effort, identifies with those who show their weakness, or are socially disadvantaged. In this connection, those to whom I feel "Cheong", need not belong to our group. Therefore, the creation of "Cheong", can reach over the boarders of 'we-ness', and can form the basis for an inclusive relationship. In the face of the question of how the exclusive character of "Cheong" can be changed into an inclusive form, we consider that there is a structural opposite of "Cheong". This opposing factor, that makes the inclusive mechanism possible, is a collective represen-tation called "Han".

"Han" as a dialectical opposite of "Cheong"

In Korean literature, just as in anthropological, theo-logical, sociological and psychological works, "Han" is presented as a decisive characteristic of the Korean mentality and of the cultural ethos of Korea. "Han" relates to a complex emotionality that covers differing emotions such as; loneliness, remorse, regret, suffering and anger among others. This complexity is described as the "emotional residue of the mind" (Lee, 1985), or as "The mental stage of giving up, resulting from an extensive experience of frustrating and tragic life events" (K.-S. Choi, 1991).

"Han" does not relate exclusively to the emotional quality of an individual that has been promoted by his or her frustrations in their life-story. There is no individual life-experience that is independent of socio-historical experiences. Despite the differences in con-crete social contexts of individual experience, the Korean people have developed a psychological mech-anism, through which the individual can identify with his or her socio-cultural community. This mechanism is realized in the form of a collective representation, that is, "Han". The recurring cultural colonization by different imperialistic countries, the absolute control system, the strict hierarchical internal social structure and the thereto directly connected poverty in the population form the socio-historical conditions for the creation of this collective representation.

The history of Korea forms the conditions for the creation of the psychological mechanism of identifying and solidarity with the weaker. This mechanism is realized in different myths[8], religious rituals[9], fes-

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8) The fairy tale of "Emile Bell" is a well known example of how the Koreans people developed "Han" in re-sponse to the ruling ideology, in this case Buddhism (see Lee 1978; 1982). The story can be summarised as follows: A devout bell maker is given the job of making a bell for a famous Buddhist temple. Despite several attempts, however, he can't produce one with the desired tone. Shortly before the bell is supposed to

tivals[10] or in the insurrection movement against the rulers[11]. The collective representation of "Han" is also used in the description of the personality of the individual: "He has a lot of 'Han'"; "She is full of 'Han'". The description of "a woman with full 'Han'" does not necessarily imply a negative impression. Rather she can be understood, as a person who despite difficult experiences in her past, has developed a mature personality in order to rise above anger or sorrow.

In relation to this Y.-W. Kim (1989) found in his analysis of the songs of Che-Young, an internalized prototype of the collective representation of "Han". The songs of Che-Young rise out of the following story: Upon coming home he notices that there are four legs sticking out from under the bedclothes. Once he has realized that his wife was being seduced by an evil spirit, that represents the stranger or foreigner, he starts to laugh loudly, then to dance and finally to sing; "Why does a person need four legs." Kim (p.284) analyses the episode of Che-Youngs' Han as follows:

"As for Che-Young, he cannot fight the evil spirit, who abducted his wife, since he lacks the power to do so. He is overwhelmed by grief as he realizes that he is a powerless person and that he must accept his tragic fate. As a result there is anger in his laughter. Finally he detaches himself from his tragic situation and from his evil foe by singing and dancing. As he sings and dances, he longs for the safe return of his wife. In his tears one can find feelings of han and won[12]".

The pattern of behaviour shown by Che-Young in

be finished he hears the voice of a spirit that tells him that a child has to be 'melted' in the bell mould. A poverty stricken mother sells him her child and the bell maker does as the spirit had instructed and thereby makes a bell with the desired mysterious sound. The bell sounds like the cry of a child for its mother "emiliie-".

his psychological dealing with his fate is not only to be found in such literary works. Kim (1989) gives another example: towards the end of the Second World War, many Koreans were forced to work in the coal mines by the Japanese military. Whilst waiting on the train that was to bring them to the concentration camp, they demonstrated a mode of behaviour that was completely incomprehensible to the Japanese. Rather than showing anger or sorrow about their fate they were submerged in a social game in which one kicks a kind of shuttlecock, and were laughing. This loud laughter has nothing to do with an attempt to bury their sorrow, rather it is an expression of "Han".

One finds this mechanism in the so-called "dance of the handicapped", which is an established form of performance dancing in Korea. The dance of the handicapped is completely different from that of clowns in the circus that is fun for the audience. Through his movements and facial expression, that make fun of his handicap, the cripple is showing his "Han" on stage, and celebrating his handicap, similar to Che-Young. Independent of the question of how one can call such a thing art, the audience can identify their "Han" with that of the handicapped. The dance of the handicapped, religious rituals and the such like demonstrate how individualized resignation and forced

9) The healing ritual of Korean shamanism ("Kut") is concerned with the release of "Han" ("Han-pul-li"). The belief is that the illness is caused be the ghost of a dead person that due to "Han" can not ascend to heaven.

10) Just as in "Kut", the function of festivals is to do with the release of "Han", whereby here the "Han" is that of the living. Different forms of mask and mass festivals offer the opportunity for the socially weak to identify with one another.

11) One of the biggest peasant revolts in Korea at the end of the last century was called "Dong-Hak" (learn east) revolution. Directed against the Western imperialists, many researchers of this peasant movement argue that "Han" played a decisive role in forming the solidarity between the peasants.

12) "Won" means hate. One can, however, in this context define it as a sub-component of "Han".

fatalism can be changed into a form of intersubjective feeling experience. In such a process the boarder between 'we' and 'other' is dismantled, alone for the reason that the other just as myself, has "Han". One does not need any similar experience for this identification. Rather the presence of "Han" is a sufficient condition for the creation of a new 'we'.

The work of Choi (1991; 1993) shows how, "Han" and "Cheong", despite their opposing semantic implications, stand in a close representational relationship. More interesting is the causal relationship between the two. Many Koreans think that through the destruction of "Cheong", or the break-up of intimate relationships, "Han" is created. At the same time the socially oppressed feel "Han" due to the unchangeability of the hierarchical relationships, which they also express through "Cheong". In the statement of the old woman; "I live with my husband because of this damned 'Cheong.'" Cheong is to be interpreted as another expression of "Han"; So, **The destruction of "Cheong" /breaking down of 'we-ness' → creation of "Han"; Presence of "Cheong"/consolidation of the hierarchical structures of 'we-ness' → creation of "Han".**

On the other hand the presence of "Han" is an important precondition of the creation of 'we-ness'. Communication between Koreans who do not know each other becomes more intensive when "Han" is discussed: older women can, through discussing living with their mothers-in-law become friends, for example. Old men can spend whole nights talking about the time as a Japanese colony. For these people the mutual remembering of the bad times is a "Han-pul-li", a release of "Han", in much the same way as a religious ritual or a public festival. In the process of release of "Han" there develops a feeling of solidarity, although there was no 'we-ness' present beforehand. In some contexts of Korean everyday life the discussion of "Han" can promote a process in which the old boarders between 'we' and 'other' are broken down and a new 'we' in the form of solidarity between the social-
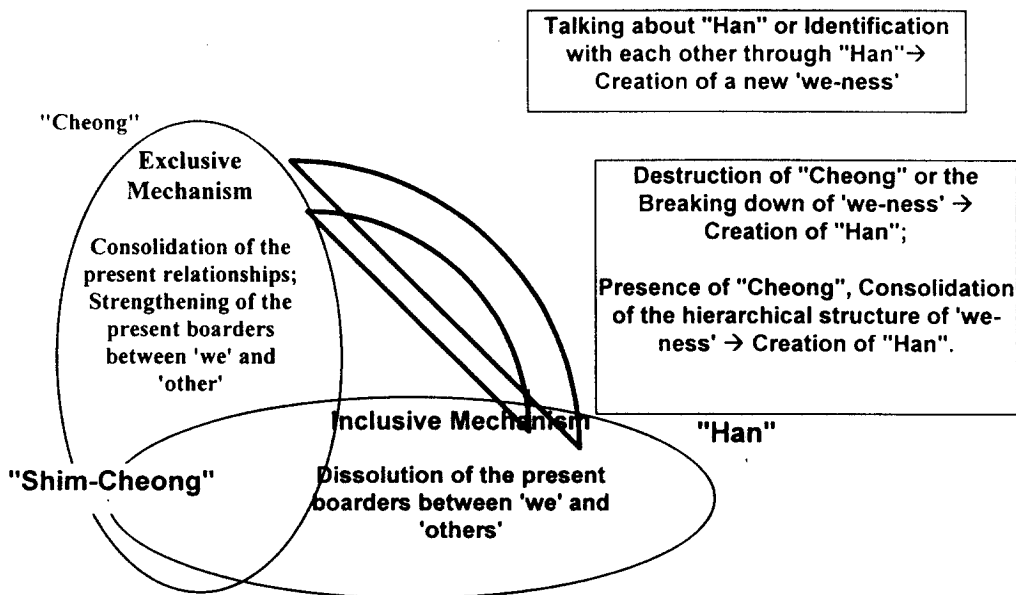

Fig. 1. Mechanisms of "Shim-Cheong": Functions of "Cheong" and "Han" and their circular causality

ly oppressed is created. Such processes formed the basis of the farmers revolt of the previous century and the opposition movement against the military dictators in the 70's and 80's.

Some feminist research in Korea is concerned with the phenomenon of "Han", on the one hand, to accentuate the hidden dominance relationships between men and women in Korean society, and on the other hand to formulate the possibilities of social change mediated by "Han".

The relationship between "Cheong" and "Han" can, from the perspective of "Han" be formulated as: **The talking about "Han", communication between people with full "Han", Identification with each other through "Han"** → **creation of a new 'we-ness'.** The exclusion and inclusion processes of 'we-ness', are accordingly to be characterized by the circular causality between "Cheong" and "Han" (see Fig. 1).

Conclusion: Does the cultural psychological discourse have an open structure?

"Shim-Cheong" is an expression of the dynamic relationship between "Cheong" and "Han", in which both relate to the socio-cultural construction processes of 'we-ness'. "Shim-Cheong" is a central category for psychology in a Korean context, as long as psychology is concerned with the conceptualization of the relationship between mind and social environment. In contrast to the usual concepts of academic psychology, the concept of "Shim-Cheong" in Korean psychology is not something to be attributed to the individual. Rather, "Shim-Cheong" is inseparable from the 'we-ness', inclusive just as exclusive, which is constructed in all social contexts. Therefore, "Shim-Cheong" is on the one hand interpreted as the overlapping of different social relationships, and on the other as an intersubjectivly felt and to be felt life. Accordingly, "Shim-Cheong" psychology is an attempt to approach

the problem of intersubjectivity in a different way, in which the dichotomy between cognition and emotion, between subjectivity and objectivity, and between individuality and collectivity is critically discussed. From this point of view "Shim-Cheong" can be seen as more than a special psychology of the Korean people. Rather, it offers the possibility for inclusive separation in the frame of the cultural psychological discourse.

However, we have to ask ourselves whether the real discourse of cultural psychology has an open structure. Without an open structure the danger of the 'banal ethnocentrism' in academic psychology is unavoidable. The banal ethnocentrism – "They are different" - always stands in an inseparable relationship to the 'anti-ethnocentric ethnocentrism' in the other cultural psychology: "we are different". These dangers will always remain as long as the open structure of the real cultural psychological discourse can be questioned.

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집합적 의미구성에 대한 문화심리학적 접근으로서의 심정심리학

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최근 비교-문화심리학적 파라다임의 문제점들을 극복하기 위한 방안으로 토착심리학적 접근에 대한 중요성이 문화심리학의 담론에서 제기되고 있다. 그러나 특수성과 보편성에 관한 이분법적인 문제점은 여전히 해결되지 않은 채 남아있다. 의미 체계의 사회-문화적 구성을 강조하는 토착심리학적 접근의 타당성이 아직까지 명확하게 입증된 것은 아니지만, 본고에서는 '한(恨)', '정(情)', '심정(心情)'과 같은 한국인의 일상생활 속에서 중요한 의미를 가지고 있는 몇 가지 심리학적 기제를 소개하고자 한다. 이러한 기제들은 한국인의 사회적 상호작용의 토대를 형성하고 있으며, '우리성'을 구성하는데 결정적인 역할을 한다. 사회적 상호작용, 특히 갈등상황에 있어서 '우리성'은 과거 사건의 지속적인 재구성을 통하여 형성된다. 이러한 담론에서 과거의 사건은 실재로 일어난 것과 것과 관련이 있다기보다는 의미의 공구성적 산물과 관련이 있다고 볼 수 있다. 본고에서는 이러한 공구성적 산물과 그것이 생성되는 과정에 대한 모델을 제시하고 논의하였다.