Palzha as Self-Reflective Mode and Attributional Dimension for Korean Women's Rugged Life Story

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This study was to conceptualize "Palzha' in daily life' and investigate Palzha attribution as the Koreans' self-reflective mode. In Korea, people like to attribute their unhappy and unfortunate life events to Palzha. According to analysis of open-format data concerning Plazha, Palzha indicated 'luck', 'uncontrollable situation', or 'fate' given by supernatural being. The present authors developed non-fiction scenarios focused on women's Han(恨)ful life. Subjects were asked to respond to each scenario, and evaluate how the character of scenario would feel in each situation, why the character lives in that way, and what made the characters live that way. The results revealed that the emotions divided into two kinds, i.e., 'Shin-se(self-reflective emotion)' and 'Won(Grudge)'. The former was closely related with 'uncontrollable fate' and 'Palzha', and the latter influenced on 'the first step of Han(lamented) life' positively and Palzha negatively.

Key Words : lay attribution, Palzha, Shinse(self-reflection), Han(lamentation), fate

Broadly, attributions are the inferences people draw about the causes of events and their own and other's behaviors. Attributions also represent the ways we understand the world around us and the behavior of others(Gilbert, Fiske, & Lindzey, 1998, pp. 70-75; Semin & Zwier, 1997, p. 55). One issue is the type of attributions people make, esp. in relation to the locus of causality. Another concept in attribution research concerns the distinction between internal and external attributions. Internal attributions specify the cause of behavior within a person; external attributions locate the cause of behavior outside a person.

Fundamental attribution error implies that there are cultural difference in perceiver's explanation for behavior. Perceivers from individualist cultures tend to favor dispositional explanations for behavior where as perceivers in collectivist cultural tend to prefer situational cultures. Correspondence bias is that perceivers label people's dispositions their behavior. This tendency does not compare dispositional or situational judgements. Rather, research on the correspondence bias investigates the extent to which perceivers take situational forces into account when they draw dispositional inference. Correspondence bias exists across culture(Krul, Hui-Min Loy, Lin, & Wang, 1999).

However, recently, many studies have showed how people of other cultures differ from Americans in their attributions. That is, attributional styles are quite different across cultures(Choi, 1992; Choi & Choi, 1989; Choi, Nisbett, & Norenzayan, 1999; Krull, Loy, Lin, & Wang, 1999; Matsumoto, 1996, pp. 165-169; Kashima & Triandis, 1986; Semin & Zwier, 1997, pp. 55-57). For example, correspondence

bias may not be universal, especially to the extent that the bias is based on a lay theory of behavior, which may differ across culture. westerners are held to be analytic, paying attention primarily object, categorizing it on the basis of its attributes, and attributing causality to the object based on rules about its category membership. In contrast, East Asians are held to perceive and reason holistically, attending to the field in which objects are embedded and attributing causality to interactions between the object and field. East Asians are more likely than westerners to avoid the correspondence bias as long as situational constraints are salient (Choi, Nisbett, & Norenzayan, 1999).

Feagin(1972, 1975) developed two conceptual dimensions of external casual explanation for poverty; 'structural explanation'(poverty is attributed to social and economic forces such as lack of education and low wages) and 'fatalistic explanation'(poverty is blamed on such variables on illness and bad luck). Also internal explanation were labeled "individualistic" (poor people themselves are responsible for their poverty because of such traits as lack of thrift and effort, loose moral, or drunkenness). Turkey people attribute the cause of poverty mainly to structural reason(Morcol, 1997).

According to Crandall and Martinez(1996), ideology are social construction, embedded within particular cultures. place of antifat in an ideological network will differ from culture to culture. They found that antifat attitudes were lower in Mexico than in the United States. Mexican were less likely to believe that weight is under the control of an individual's will power. In addition, the social ideological variables largely followed the predicted

pattern. They found that belief in the just world, political conservatism would be greater in the United States than Mexico, and differences between the samples in their cultural or social ideology contribute to the difference in antifat prejudice. Not only does ideology in the United States appear to contribute to antifat attitudes directly, but it also appear to have an indirect effect on prejudice by increasing the tendency to make an internal, controllable attribution about weight.

People who believe in destiny are not necessarily headed for poor relationships, and people who believe in growth may stay in a bad relationship for too long. When problem arise, growth theorists view them as obstacle to be conquered together, challenges that may bring them closer through coping and planing. Fatalist, on the other hand, may withdraw from the relationship or engage in denial, figuring that it will work itself out if it's meant to be(Hohn, 1998).

In a recent study, Korean adolescents interpreted scenario in terms of Korean just-world belief (in-kwa-eung-bo). Belief in a just world is concerned with people's general belief that the world in which they live is just and that people who suffer(or benefit) must deserve their fate(Hong, 1997).

Conceptualization of causal thinking were developing within one setting and for limited purpose, should not assumed sufficient for export into new setting(Weiner, 1983, Yang & Bond, 1990). Two general approaches, attribution dimension and attribution category, have been widely applied to identify differences in attributional patterns and their relations to other variable

(Anderson, Jennings, & Arnoult, 1988; Anderson & Riger, 1991). With regard to categorical approaches, concern has arisen that a priori determined categories may be confound their underlying dimensional structure. Weiner(1983) argued that this concern is particularly pertinent to attributional analysis within new research context(e.g, domain of behavior, cultural setting). Moreover, the basis of these assumption likely involves a socio-cultural component that could further confound results intended for more culturally-based exploration and comparison. Thus the decision to employ the attribution dimension approach stemmed from the view that as our knowledge of this area expands to include cultural variation, more distinctive and valid information will be available through the exploration of the underlying dimensional structure of casual beliefs(Yang & Lin, 2000). Yan and Gaier(1994) observed that compared to Asians, Americans reported significantly greater effort attributions for successful achievement events than for failure.

Indigenous Form of Lamentation in Korea, Han and Paizha Attribution

Weiner's attributional paradigm(1986) proposed that casual research is more likely undertaken when an event is negative, unexpected or important. According to Furnham and Hayward(1997), result shows how certain strategies were seen as ineffective for overcoming all 22 disorders(dyslexia, fear for flying, amnesia, learning difficulties) studies(and thus, with a large number of problems addressed,

probably recognized as inadequate solution to overcoming problems generally): there were luck and belief in God(i.e, fatalistic factor).

In Korean culture, people would talk about their behaviors and causes of events such as 'Becuase of my Palzha'. Palzha indicated 'luck', 'uncontrollable situation', or 'fate' given by the supernature. Palzha attributions develope in the steps of Han(恨) experience. Han is a indigenous form of lamentation in Korea(Choi & Kim, 2000; Choi, Kim, & Kim, 2000; Kim, 1984; Lee, 1977). The concept of Han is considered by scholars as well as by the general public to represent the underlying psyche of Korean mentality and ethos of Korean culture(Choi, Kim, & Kim, 2000; Choi & Kim, 1993; Choi & Lee, 1995; Choi & Yu, 1993). Han can be traced by examining historical events, literary works, and folk customs in Korea.

Choi(1991, 2000) has divided Han experiences into four different stages. Korean people experience Han in a tragic life events such as an accidental death of beloved spouse or family members, bankruptcy, disability. The nature of these tragic life events can be further divided into three categories as follows: relative deprivation, exploitation (injustice, discrimination), and mistake.

As depicted in Figure 1, in the first stage, reactive phase, an individual experiences a tragic event, a series of tragic events, or a tragic situation. In this phase, a person feels full of anger and fury, and blames others. In the second stage, individuals are forced to accept their unjust situation and deal with their emotions such as anger and fury. Additionally, individuals fatalistically accept their tragic situation. That is, they begin to blame themselves.

In the third stage, individuals tend to return to the first stage and second stage. They feel anger again and calm down repeatedly. However, consequently, they accept their unjust situation and ascribe it to Palzha. In the last stage, individuals don't protest against the fate and Heaven. They become calm and peaceful and view their selves as the third person's perspective. The reason why they face a tragic event and situation is to their fate, Palzha, or luck.

In sum, persons full of han or rugged life ascribe their tragic life events to their fate or Palzha in Korea. As mentioned earlier, attributional styles are different across cultures. In Korean culture, lay people ascribe their unfortune or tragic life events to fate, luck, or Plaza given by the supernature.

Method

This study was to perform by 4(4 situations) × 2(gender) factorial and between subjects design. The present authors developed the open-ended questionnaires for exploring the meaning of Palzha and situations occurred Palzha attribution. According to this preliminary study of Palzha, Palzha indicated 'luck', 'fate', 'uncontrollable situation given by the supernature' and the who attributes Palzha is the person who has lived a rugged life and fully experienced the life of Han (恨). Based on such analysis, the authors developed four kinds of scenarios which were manipulated negative and positive life events in order to the difference of degree of Palzha attribution.
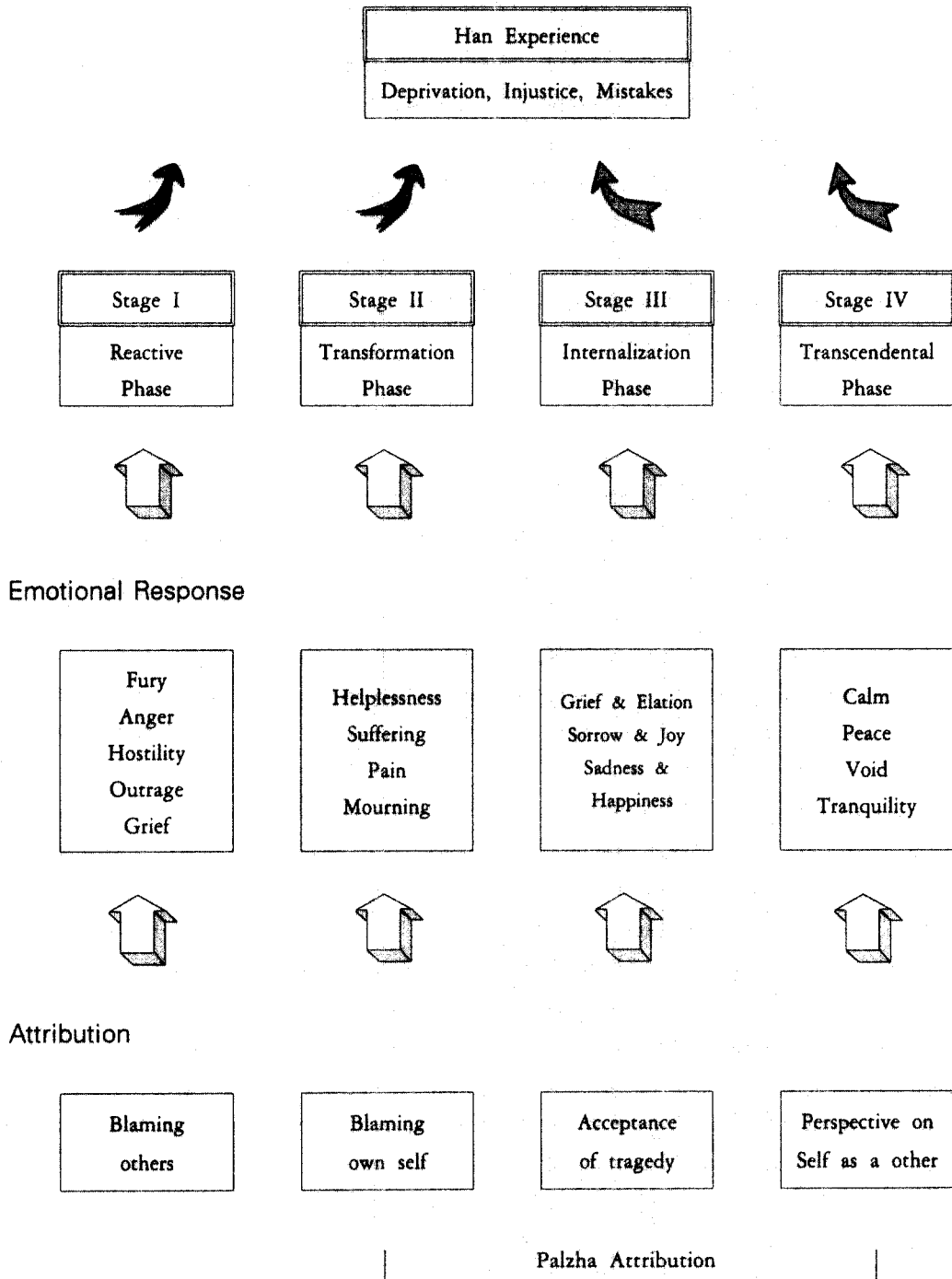
Han Experience
Deprivation, Injustice, Mistakes

Stage I	Stage II	Stage III	Stage IV
Reactive Phase	Transformation Phase	Internalization Phase	Transcendental Phase

Emotional Response

Fury Anger Hostility Outrage Grief	Helplessness Suffering Pain Mourning	Grief & Elation Sorrow & Joy Sadness & Happiness	Calm Peace Void Tranquility

Attribution

Blaming others	Blaming own self	Acceptance of tragedy	Perspective on Self as a other

Palzha Attribution

Figure 1. The Development of Han Experience

Subjects

A total of 160 university students participated in this study. 40 students(Male: 20, Female: 20) were allocated in each scenario. Each student was asked to respond to each scenario. Participants read the scenario, then evaluated the emotions the character would feel in a tragic situation. Additionally, they evaluated why the character faced a tragic event.

Materials

The authors developed two kinds of tragic events as follows; First, an old woman was full of han life. She had a hard life struggled with poverty and loneliness. Although she got married, her husband left her and her son was drowned to death. After that, she had to live with her grandson because her daughter-in-law ran away left her son. She worked so hard for their life. Secondly, an old woman is forced to prostitute for the Japanese soldiers during World War II. She left her homeland and lived in mainland China.

In the first scenario, the present authors manipulated the end of scenarios. In the first tragic situation, she was asked to invest her earned money to brothers's business. However, he went bankrupted. In the second situation, her husband returned to her and her grandson went to the university. In the second scenario, an old woman returned to homeland in positive situation whereas in negative situation she never returned to mother land even though she wanted to do that.

Respondents were asked to read these scenarios, and then evaluate how she would feel in that

situation and how they define their life such as rugged life, full han life and so on. Finally, they responded why the character of the scenarios has lived such life and had such tragic life event. At this time, the researchers would like to investigate to what dimension of attribution(e.g, internality, externality, fate, Plaza, and globality) the participants ascribe the character's life.

Results

Two factors in principal component analysis with Varimax rotation were extracted from the emotions the character feel in the scenarios. Emotions such as piteous, poor, grief, suffering, agony, resentment are loaded in the first factor labelled 'emotion related Shin-se(perspective on own self)' with 46.85 % of explained variance and .86 Cronbach alpha.

The second factor was consisted of 5 items with 10.57% of explained variance and .80 Cronbach alpha. The loaded items are anger, bun-ha-da(rage), dap-dap-ha-da(feel heavy), uk-uuk(mistreated), sadness. These emotions are closed related with the emotions which are invoked in the first stage of Han experiences. Those emotions are reactive with anger and sadness.

At first, the researchers integrate the attributional dimension of Palzha including luck, uncontrollable situation, fate, and Plaza according to the results of preliminary study. This means Palzha attributional dimension is more complex than we expected. The other attributional dimensions are internality(i.e., effort and ability) and externality(situation and luck). Then, when these emotions correlate with

Table 1. Factor Analysis of Emotions

items	factor 1	factor 2
Shin-se related Emotion		
piteous	.85	
poor	.77	
grief	.74	
suffering	.67	
agony	.66	
resentment	.62	
injustice	.51	
Won(怨, Grudge) related Emotion		
anger		.88
bun-ha-da(rage)		.81
dap-dap-ha-da(feel heavy)		.60
uk-uul(mistreated)		.55
sadness		.51
% of Variance	46.85	10.57
Cronbach α	.86	.80

rugged life, Han life and Plaza. Even though Shinse and grudge correlated highly(r=.69, p < .01), Shinse correlated significantly with rugged life, Han life, and Palzha. However, the emotion Grudge didn't correlate with Palzha. This indicated that Palzha attribution occurred in the second and third stage of Han experience. Because the emotion Grudge evoked at the first stage of Han experience.

Table 2. Intercorrelation among Emotions, Life, and Palzha

	Shinse	Grudge	Rugged life	Han life	Palzha
Shinse	1.000				
Grudge	.69**	1.000			
Rugged life	.46**	.27**	1.000		
Han life	.45**	.22**	.45**	1.000	
Palzha	.36**	.14	.27**	.23**	1.000

* p < .05, ** p < .01

Table 3. Stepwise Regression Analysis Using Shinse and Grudge to Predict Palzha

criterion variable	predictor variable	R	R²	Adjusted R²	R²Change	B	β	F
Palzha	shinse	.358	.128	.122	.128	.313	.358	23.05**

** p < .01

Table 4. Stepwise Regression Analysis Using Rugged life and Han life to Predict Palzha

| criterion variation	predictor variable	R	R²	Adjusted R²	R²Change	B	β	F
Palzha	rugged life	.271	.074	.068	.074	.26	.27	12.57**

** p < .01

Then, in order to investigate the influence of Shinse on Palzha attribution, we performed regression analysis. Shinse related emotions such as poor, resent, agony, suffering influenced Palzha attribution with 12% of explained variance(see Table 3). However, the emotion of Grudge didn't explain Palzha attribution.

As shown in Table 4, the predicting variable, i.e., rugged life, explained with 7% Palzha attribution. However, Han life didn't predicted Palzha attribution. Therefore, Palzha attribution can be said to occur when an individual had a rugged life and felt Shinse emotion.

Based on these analyses, we wanted to examine the relationship among life, emotion and Palzha dimension. Thus, we conducted path analysis in order to investigate the relationships among emotions, defined lives, and Palzha attribution. The rugged life correlated with emotion Shinse($\gamma=.29$, $t=3.55$, p < .01) and full of Han life influenced positively on emotion Won(grudge) with $\gamma=.22(2.85$, p < .05). As seen in regression analyses, emotion Grudge correlated closely with full of Han experience, esp. in the first stage of Han experience. That is, a person full of Han would feel anger and sadness, then begin to blame others about the causes of his or her facing tragic event. However, at this stage, he or she doesn't ascribe his or her tragic life events to her or his own self. So, emotion Grudge influenced negatively on Palzha attribution($\beta=-.18$, $t=-2.50$, p < .05). Whereas, emtion Shinse influenced positively on Palzha attribution ($\beta=.48$, $t=4.59$, p <. 01). More interestingly, emotion Grudge influenced positively on emotion Shinse($\beta=.59$, $t=10.64$, p < .01)(see Figure 2). The fitness index were as follows; $X=25.1$, df=4, p=0.00, RMR=.08, CFI=.90, NFI=.88, NNFI=.74).

Finally, we performed 4×2 analysis of variance. There is no gender difference and interaction between gender and situation. In Shinse emotion analysis of variance, there is significant differences among situation. As shown in Table 5, the emotion Shinse was felt in situation 1 more than in situation 2, in situation 3 more than situation 2, and in situation 4 more than in situation 2.
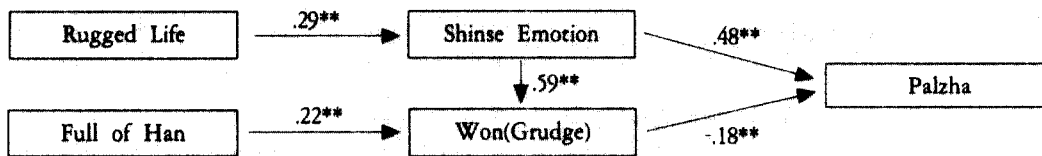
Figure 2. Path Model for Life, Emotion and Palzha Attribution

Table 5. Analysis of Variance for Situation to Shinse Emotion

situation	M	SD	sum of squares	df	mean square	F
situation 1	4.14	.70				
situation 2	3.35	.89				
situation 3	4.06	.50				
situation 4	3.85	.76				
situation			14.92	3	4.97	10.07*
gender			.17	1	.17	.35
interaction			.64	3	.21	.43

* p < .05, ** p < .01

Table 6. Analysis of Variance for Situation to Shinse Emotion

situation	mean	st.d	sum of squares	df	mean square	F
situation 1	4.06	.69				
situation 2	3.63	.77				
situation 3	4.13	.65				
situation 4	3.93	.75				
situation			5.70	3	1.90	3.52*
gender			3.03	1	3.02	.06
interaction			2.22	3	.74	1.37

* p < .05

In Won(grudge) emotion analysis of variance, there is also significant differences among situation. As shown in Table 6, the respondents evaluated the emotion Won was felt in situation 3 more than in situation 2.

Discussion

A Korean full of Han(恨, lamentation) has experienced a tragic life events or a tragic situation. Tragic life events are an accidental death of a beloved person including spouse and family members and disability. They could act as a devastating turning point in a person's life. For example, in colonial age, so many Korean women had been forced to prostitute for Japanese soldiers. They are a examplar of full of Han experience(Choi, 1991, 2000; Choi & Kim, 1993). They would feel anger and resentment to Japanese soldiers and blame them. However, they have became to calm down and blame themselves. Many years are gone, when they see themselves, they thought the reason is their fate or Palzha.

However, lay people would ascribe their tragic events or uncontrollable events to their Palzha. For example, they would tell like this "Because of my Palzha" after they fought with one another. This study began to at this point. Moreover, attributional styles have to be considered socio-cultural influences. So many studies have showed that there are cultural differences of attributional styles.

Generally, in the first stage of Han experience, a person would feel anger and agony. However, he or she would be calm down and transcend that situation. Additionally, he or she begin to blame himself or herself. The results of this study revealed that a full of Han experience(or rugged life) ascribe their negative life events to Palzha(Choi, Kim, & Kim, 2000). Also, Palzha dimension composed of luck, uncontrollability, and fate. A person full of

Han who faced a rugged life felt anger, bun-ham, uk-uul, and dap-dap ham as much as sadness in the first stage of Han experience. However, he or she was less likely to blame himself or herself than others while he or she reflected his or her life and own self and thought the reason of event. That is, he or she didn't attribute tragic life event to Palzha.

However, when he or she step into the second and third stage of Han experience, he or she felt resentment, poor, agony and injustice. Thus, he or she reflected himself or herself and he or she was less likely to blame others than himself or herself. He or she attribute a tragic event to Palzha.

This research has some limitations. First, Palzha as a attributional dimension is too broad to explain causality. Secondly, the difference between Shinse emotion and Won emotion is ambiguous as two emotions intercorrelate highly. Nevertheless, Palzha phenomenon does exist in Koreans' everyday life.

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한국인의 자기신세조망양식으로서의 팔자귀인

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본 연구에서는 팔자에 대한 개념화와 더불어 귀인 양식으로서의 팔자귀인 탐색을 시도하였다. 사람들은 흔히 자신들의 불행하거나 운이없는 생활사건들에 대해 팔자탓으로 돌리곤 한다. 개방형 질문지를 통해 사람들이 팔자에 관한 생각을 분석한 결과, 팔자는 초자연적 존재에 의해 주어진 '운', '통제불가능한 상황', '운명' 등을 뜻하는 것으로 나타났다. 따라서 본 연구자들은 그러한 상황을 담고 있는 실제의 이야기를 바탕으로 시나리오를 개발하여 실험을 실시하였다. 피험자들은 각각의 시나리오를 읽고, 시나리오상의 주인공이 느끼는 감정을 평가하고 주인공의 삶이 왜 그러했는지를 귀인의 네 가지 차원(운, 과제난이도, 노력, 능력)과 더불어 운, 어쩔 수 없는 상황 및 팔자의 차원으로 평가하도록 하였다. 실험결과, 자신의 신세와 관련된 정서 및 원(怨) 관련 정서를 구분되었고, 신세 관련 정서(한(恨) 발생의 3, 4 단계에 발화되는 정서)는 한 많은 인생, 기구한 운명과 높은 상관을 보이고 있으며 그러한 인생은 팔자(운과 통제불가능한 상황을 포함한) 귀인에 영향을 미치고 있는 것으로 나타났다. 또한 원관련 정서(한 발생의 1, 2 단계에 발화되는 화(火) 감정)는 신세관련 정서와 관련이 있으나 팔자 귀인에는 부적인 영향을 미치고 있는 것으로 나타났다.

주제어: 일반인의 귀인양식, 팔자, 자기신세조망, 한, 운명