

Indigenous Psychology, Westernized Psychology, and Indigenized Psychology: A Non-Western Psychologist's View^{*}

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Abstract

Three kinds of coexisting contemporary scientific psychologies, namely, indigenous psychology (IP), Westernized psychology (WP), and indigenized psychology (IZP), can be meaningfully distinguished and defined. Historically speaking, IP, the first of the three, was directly and spontaneously generated under the sole influence of Euro-American sociocultural factors. This Western psychology was then imported to and implanted in many non-Western countries to form various kinds of WP. The WPs in some of the major non-Western nations have been gradually transformed into IZPs by local psychologists under the academic movement of indigenization. This article systematically describes the dynamic process of the successive formation of the three psychologies. These psychologies represent not only three disciplines but also three methodologies which, in turn, produce three distinctive kinds of psychological

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knowledge. The three knowledge systems are then compared in terms of such epistemological aspects as cultural basis, production method, indigenous autonomy, indigenous contextualization, indigenous compatibility, and indigenous applicability.

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In human history, there have been three different kinds of psychology: folk psychology (including common-sense psychology), philosophical psychology, and scientific psychology. *Folk psychology* refers to the ordinary psychological views, assumptions, beliefs, concepts, conjectures, theories, preferences, norms, and practices that have been naturally and gradually acquired through socialization and that are commonly held by the general population of a society (Heelas, 1981; J. B. P. Sinha, 2003). The content and structure of a folk psychology are not themselves scientific knowledge, but they can be used as original data for scientific analysis by anthropologists (e.g., Dickason, 1984; Heelas, 1981) or psychologists (e.g., Heider, 1958; Wundt, 1916). The folk psychology of a society may be regarded as part of that society's little tradition in Redfield's (1956) sense. In contrast, *philosophical psychology* refers to the formal systems of psychological thought as proposed by a society's philosophers. For example, philosophical psychological theories and concepts are plentiful in Indian philosophy (Moore, 1967a; Radhakrishnan and Moore, 1954; I. B. P. Sinha, 2003), Chinese philosophy (Fung, 1948; Moore, 1967b), and Western philosophy (Burnet, 1980; Copleston, 1962-1977). Philosophical psychology may be regarded as part of an ethnic or cultural group's great tradition in Redfield's (1956) sense. Different from both folk and philosophical psychologies, *scientific psychology* denotes a psychological knowledge system constructed by academic or expert psychologists using scientific methodology.

Nearly all societies have their own naturally developed folk and philosophical psychologies, but only some Western societies have an endogenous scientific psychology. The emergence of these scientific psychologies is a rather late historical phenomenon. They originated in European countries in the late nineteenth century and have flourished, especially in the United States, since World War II. European and American scientific psychologies have been continuously imported by non-Western countries (e.g., Adair, 1999; Churck and Katigback, 2002; Jing and Fu, 2001; Oyama, Sato, and Suzuki, 2001; Ustun and Smith, 1999). As a result, various versions of the Western scientific psychologies have been formed in various non-Western societies.

This article explores why and how this importation has occurred. One tenable explanation may be made from the perspective of Wallerstein's (1974, 1980) world-system theory, which addresses the influence of globalization on all countries.

Wallerstein pointed out that the original expansion of European colonial powers in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries is the historical beginning of the capitalist world-system of international relations. According to his framework, in the early capitalist world-system, core nations (mostly European) had advanced military, political, economic, cultural, and educational capacities that they tended to use to increase their own advantages by exploiting their unequal-power relations with peripheral nations (mostly underdeveloped or developing non-Western countries). In the contemporary capitalist world-system, core nations are the highly industrialized powers (mostly Euro-American), peripheral nations are the less developed countries (mostly non-Western), and semiperipheral ones (also mostly non-Western) are those that occupy the intermediate position between the core and the periphery. Within this capitalist world-system, internationally political, military, economic, cultural, and educational influences have been basically unidirectional, that is, from core nations to semi-peripheral and peripheral ones.

In fact, these unilateral influences have not been limited to the military, economic, political, cultural, and educational realms, but have also occurred in the academic domain. Just as there is a Western-dominated world-system for the international economy, there is a Western-dominated world-system for international psychology as an academic discipline. The persistent importation and transplantation of scientific psychologies indigenous to Europe and America into non-Western countries, especially in the last century, can thus be understood in terms of the structural and functional factors of international relations and interactions as defined by Wallerstein's world-system theory.

In most cases, what has been formed by the continuous, powerful importation and transplantation of Euro-American scientific indigenous psychology is a sheer mimic of Western psychology, which may be called Westernized psychology in almost all major non-Western countries. However, many scholars (e.g., Adair, 1999, 2006; Atal, 1981; Azuma, 1984; Doi, 1992; Enriguez, 1989, 1992, 1993, 1997; Gibson, 1985; Kim, 2000; Kim and Berry, 1993; Kim, Park, and Park, 1996; Pandrey, 2004; D. Sinha, 1997; and I. B. P. Sinha, 2000) have repeatedly pointed out that Western psychological theories are highly culture-bound and thus have only limited cross-cultural validity, generalizability, and applicability. There has been a worldwide need or call for the indigenization of

psychological research in the various countries in Americas, Asia, Europe, the Middle East, and Oceania (Adair, 2006; Allwood and Berry, 2006; Kim and Berry, 1993a; Kim, Yang, and Hwang, 2006a). More specifically, the first academic movement of establishing an indigenous psychology was promoted in the Philippines in the 1970s, under the leadership of the late Virgilio Enriquez and his followers (Enriquez, 1989, 1992, 1993, 1997; Pe-Pua, 2006; Pe-Pua and Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). Since then, “other energetic centers of indigenization have appeared, notably in Taiwan, Japan, Korea, and India” (Ho, Peng, Lai, and Chan, 2001: 927). All in all, in the last three decades or so, local psychologists in an increasing number of non-Western nations have been earnestly engaging in an academic movement to create an indigenized local psychology to replace their Westernized one. Thus, there now exist three coexisting scientific psychologies in contemporary world psychology, namely indigenous psychology (IP), Westernized psychology (WP), and indigenized psychology (IZP). This paper first defines each of these three psychologies from a historical perspective, and then examines indigenized psychology as a discipline and a methodology.

1. Indigenous, Westernized, and Indigenized Psychologies: Their Formation in a Historical Perspective

This section delineates the three psychologies in a psycho-historical context and defines them in terms of their respective salient characteristics. Figure 1 shows the historical sequence in the emergence and development of indigenous, Westernized, and indigenized scientific psychologies.

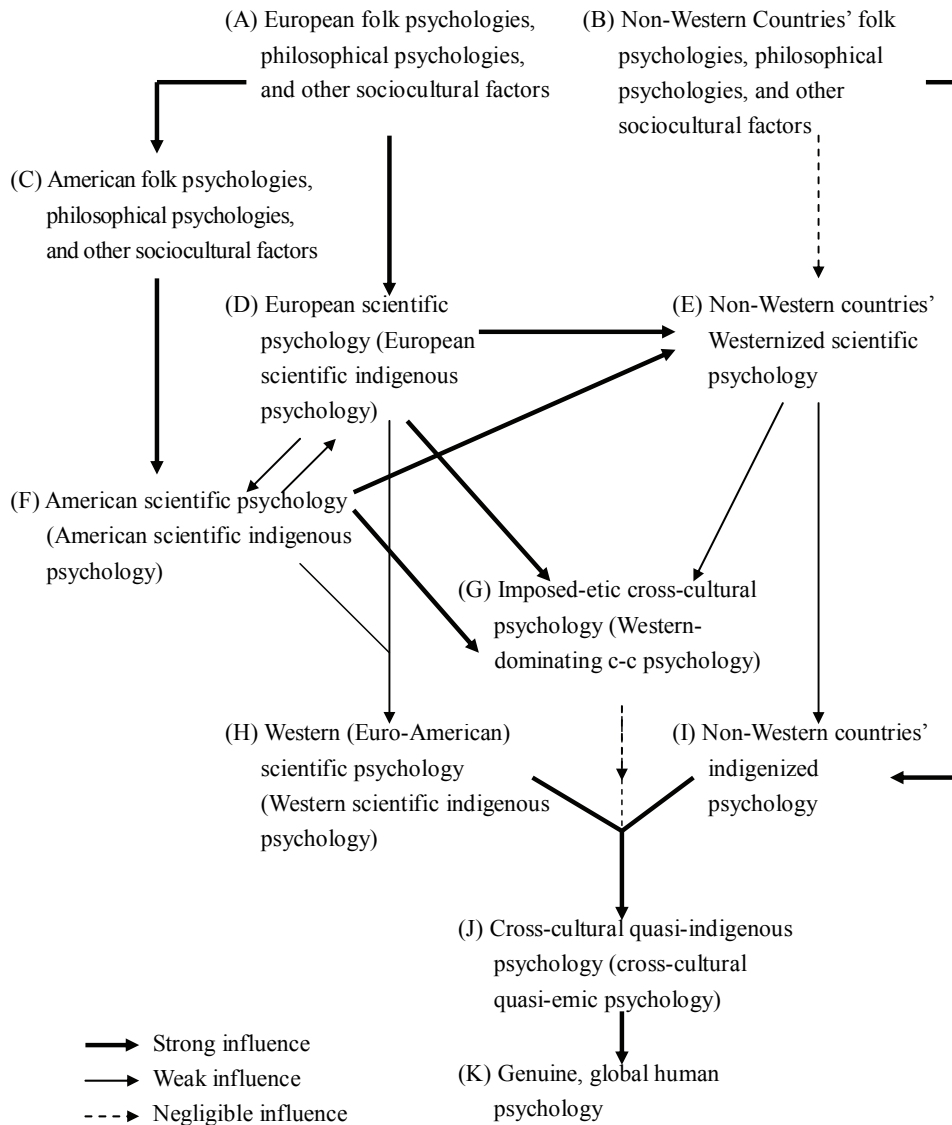


Figure 1: Historical Developmental Relations of Indigenous Psychology, Westernized Psychology, Indigenized Psychology, Imposed-etic Cross-cultural Psychology, Cross-cultural Quasi-indigenous Psychology, and Genuine, Global Human Psychology

(1) Indigenous Psychology (IP)

The first scientific IP in the world emerged in Europe (especially Western Europe) in the late nineteenth century (Jahoda and Krewer, 1997). It was one of the last basic disciplines to split from philosophy to become an independent field of scientific inquiry. As can be seen from Fig. 1, European scientific IP (D) was directly, spontaneously, and naturally formed mainly under the influence of local folk and philosophical psychologies and other sociocultural factors (A) already existing in European countries, without any conspicuous interruption or intervention from a powerful non-European scientific IP (no such psychology existed at that time). It is a pure form of scientific IP, which may be defined as a discipline that applies the scientific method to the study of the psychological and behavioral phenomena of people in a specific ethnic group or cultural tradition for developing a systematic psychological knowledge system. This system has been constructed in such a way that its theories, concepts, methods, and tools are highly compatible not only with the studied psychological and behavioral phenomena themselves but also with their ecological, economic, social, cultural, and historical contexts.

As pointed out by Kim and Berry (1993), IP is “the scientific study of human behavior that is native, that is not transported from other regions, and that is designed for its people” (p. 2). After reviewing Kim and Berry’s (1993) and several other indigenously-oriented psychologists’ definitions (e.g., Ho, 1998; Yang, 1993, 1997b), Yang (2000) defined indigenous psychology as “an evolving system of psychological knowledge based on scientific research that is sufficiently compatible with the studied phenomena and their ecological, economic, social, cultural, and historical contexts” (p. 245). He pointed out that all these definitions “express the same basic goal of developing a scientific knowledge system that effectively reflects, describes, explains, or understands the psychological and behavioral activities in their native contexts in terms of culturally relevant frames of reference and culturally derived categories and theories” (pp. 245-246). European scientific IP is indeed highly native in nature, specifically designed for its people, and definitely not transported from countries in some other continent. The knowledge system generated by such a psychology tends to be highly compatible with European people’s psychological and behavioral functioning in daily life and is thus particularly useful in understanding, explaining, and predicting

European people's psychological and behavioral characteristics and in solving their personal and social problems.

Just after its beginning in the late nineteenth century, European scientific IP (D in Figure 1) was introduced into the United States at the early stage of the development of American scientific IP (F). American IP has formed on the basis of the mainstream American folk and philosophical psychologies and other sociocultural factors (C), which were once under the heavy influence of European folk and philosophical psychologies and sociocultural factors (A). Accompanying the United States' unprecedented rapid expansion of military, political, economic, cultural, educational, and academic power in the international arena (especially after World War II), American IP (usually called *American psychology*) has rapidly developed to such an extent that it has become the most comprehensive, full-fledged, and dominant psychology in the world. As the superpower in world psychology, American psychology has also affected European psychology and psychology in Canada and Australia. Together, European, American, Canadian, and Australian psychologies can be labeled *Western scientific IP* (or simply *Western psychology*) (H). In the past, Western and non-Western psychologists alike tended to believe that the theories, concepts, methods, and tools of Western psychology are universally or cross-culturally applicable.

(2) Westernized Psychology (WP)

As indicated in Figure 1, non-Western folk and philosophical psychologies and other sociocultural factors (B) have not had significant influences on the formation of non-Western countries' Westernized scientific psychology (E). Instead, their Westernized psychologies have been shaped predominantly by European and American scientific IPs (D and F). Over the last century, Western scientific IP's hegemonic influence on the initiation and development of scientific psychology in non-Western countries has been overwhelming.

In most cases, non-Western countries did not have a scientific psychology before the Western one was introduced by visiting Western scholars, missionaries, and returned local students who had studied psychology at a Western university. In order to quickly establish a scientific psychology for their own people, psychologists in non-Western societies have depended on Western IPs, especially the American one, as an ideal model

of scientific psychology. They have uncritically adopted or even completely copied Western theories, concepts, methods, and tools in research and application with local people as respondents (Enriquez, 1989, 1992, 1993; Kim, 2001; Yang, 1993, 1997a, 1999). As a result, local psychologists in almost all major non-Western societies have developed the same kind of artificially transplanted psychology, namely, WP (or more narrowly, Americanized psychology), which is simply the progeny of the unthinking adoption of a Western IP into a culturally exotic non-Western society. Such an imposed-etic psychology, in Berry's (1989) sense, is nothing more than a distorted non-Western copy of Western psychology. It is impossible for a WP to generate a psychological knowledge system that is able to adequately and effectively reflect and understand the culture-bound psychological and behavioral characteristics of local people in culturally diverse non-Western societies.

The imposition of one culture-bound IP on the development of a WP in so many culturally diverse societies is mainly due to non-Western psychologists' unwitting ignorance of the cultural differences between Western and local societies. It is in this sense that WP may be called a culture-ignoring psychology, or more aptly, an *imposed-etic psychology* or *pseudo-indigenous psychology*. As a pseudo-indigenous psychology, WP can only attempt research in which the theories, concepts, methods, and tools used are congruous with neither the studied local psychological and behavioral phenomena nor their ecological, economic, social, cultural, and historical contexts. Such a culture-irrelevant or culture-alienated psychology can only produce knowledge that has very limited utility in understanding, explaining, and predicting local people's psychological and behavioral characteristics and resolving their personal and social problems. Despite this limitation, a fully developed WP in a non-Western country may be as comprehensive as Western IP in the scope of fields (e.g., perceptual and cognitive, personality and social, developmental and educational, clinical and counseling, personnel and organizational psychology) and in the multiplicity of research paradigms (e.g., positivism, post-positivism, critical theory, and constructionism, as defined by Guba and Lincoln, 1994).

(3) Indigenized Psychology (IZP)

In the last 30 years or so, an increasing number of local psychologists in a number

of non-Western societies (e.g., Cameroon, Hong Kong, India, Iran, Japan, Korea, Latin America, Mexico, New Guinea, Taiwan, and the Philippines) have expressed their dissatisfaction with the artificiality, superficiality, and incompatibility of their WP in understanding, explaining, and predicting their local people's psychological and behavioral functioning. Collectively they want to transform their WP into an indigenized local psychology (e.g., Adair, 1999; Church and Katigbak, 2002; Yang, 1999). In order to accomplish this grand goal effectively, they have to consciously indigenize their research in such a way that the theories, concepts, methods, and tools used are sufficiently compatible with the studied psychological and behavioral phenomena as structurally and functionally embedded in their ecological, economic, social, cultural, and historical contexts. What is needed is a strong cultural consciousness, or cultural-mindedness, through which non-Western psychologists will be able to give up their habit of ignoring their own culture and pay attention to the cultural factors potentially involved in their research. More specifically, during the indigenization stage, local psychologists prefer to criticize Western models and methods as culturally inappropriate, to adapt psychological tests and methods to the local language and culture, to choose research topics in the national interest, and to study culturally unique thoughts and behaviors (Adair, 2006). Adair also pointed out that the spread of Western psychology around the world follows the following sequential stages: Importation → Implantation → Indigenization → Autochthonization. He defined autochthonization as "the processes leading to a self-perpetuating discipline independent of its imported source, the culmination of the indigenization process" (p. 472). A purposely created IZP in the autochthonization stage can be gradually formed in a non-Western country as a "critical mass of mature, established scholars focus on research problems that are culturally appropriate and nationally important" (p.472). A well-developed non-Western IZP can be as comprehensive as American IP in the scope of fields and in the multiplicity of research paradigms.

The primary purpose of the indigenization of WP is to help non-Western psychology re-find its sociocultural roots so that the knowledge generated will have sufficient sociocultural relevance to the mind and behavior of local people. The process of indigenization, however, can never be as effective and complete in its cultural footing as endogenous formation (as in the case of the development of Western IP) because of

three major factors. First, the process of indigenization has to be carried out on the basis of an already existing Westernized local psychology, and the Western elements of this underpinning can not be completely eliminated and replaced by indigenous elements. Instead, cross-fertilization (Ho, 1998) of Western and native ideas may frequently occur in various ways (Yang, 1998). Second, the process has to be carried out under the continuing powerful influence of Western psychology whose new theories, concepts, methods, and tools are incessantly imported into non-Western societies. In many non-Western countries, English texts and journals will continue to be used as teaching materials in the psychology departments of local universities, and successive generations of Western-trained local psychologists will return from abroad and teach at local universities. Third, the process has to be carried out under the condition that a considerable number of local psychologists will persist in conducting Westernized research, and many of them may not sympathize with the indigenization movement for various reasons.

Because of these factors, no matter how successful the indigenously minded investigators are in indigenizing their WP, their IZP will never become as genuine and pure an IP as the one that spontaneously developed in Euro-American societies. Non-Western psychologists must realize that they have already lost their historical opportunity to develop a pure IP. It is their duty to strive to construct their country's own IZP with a sufficiently high degree of indigenusness, and then be satisfied with a less than perfect but still useful psychology. But, non-Western societies need IZP simply because it is much more functional or useful in understanding, explaining, and predicting local people's mind and behavior as well as solving their personal and social problems. Moreover, all the IZPs developed in various non-Western countries can be creatively integrated with all the IPs formed in Western countries to construct a genuine, balanced global human psychology (K in Figure 1) as envisaged by Yang (2000).

2. Indigenized Psychology as a Discipline

In *Webster's II New Riverside University Dictionary* (Soukhanov, 1984), *discipline* is defined as "a branch of knowledge" (p. 383). According to this definition, the three psychologies delineated in the last section may be considered three distinct disciplines

of psychological science because they generate different kinds of psychological knowledge. Shams (2002) portrayed IP as an independent discipline, although for other reasons. The question is whether or not WP and IZP are also two separate disciplines. To answer the question, this section provides a comparative analysis of the knowledge systems actually or potentially constructed by the three psychologies with respect to six related major aspects of knowledge: cultural basis, production method, indigenous autonomy, indigenous contextualization, indigenous compatibility, and indigenous applicability.

(1) Cultural Basis of Knowledge

The three psychologies differ in the cultural context upon which their respective knowledge systems are based. A knowledge system is composed not only of established empirical findings, but also of theoretical and methodological accomplishments. The IP knowledge system is based on folk and philosophical psychologies and other sociocultural factors in European and North American countries. It is in this sense that IP knowledge has its own native cultural roots or sources. It is a kind of culturally embedded knowledge.

In contrast, WP knowledge is generated by a psychology that was developed by importing and transplanting Western theories, concepts, methods, and tools into non-Western societies. Since all these transported items have their roots in Western culture, WP knowledge is at least indirectly based on Western culture rather than being solely based on a non-Western one. This kind of knowledge has nothing to do with the local folk and philosophical psychologies and other sociocultural factors. It may thus be said that WP knowledge does not have a non-Western local context. It is a kind of psychological knowledge without native roots in a non-Western culture.

Unlike both IP and WP knowledge, IZP knowledge is generated by a psychology in which research is done in such a way that the theories, concepts, methods, and tools are well adapted to, or sufficiently congruent with, the local sociocultural context. Through the indigenization process, IZP knowledge is re-rooted in the native culture of a non-Western society. However, this regained non-Western native cultural basis of IZP knowledge may not be as firm as the Western native cultural basis of IP knowledge.

The IP, WP, and IZP knowledge systems have not been produced in vacuum but in

their respective sociocultural contexts. In order to understand these specific environmental factors, empirical research from the viewpoint of the sociology of science (SoS) should be done. Adair (2006) has conducted studies to identify the sociocultural factors that facilitate or impede, in one way or another, the indigenization process across several countries. In contrast, Gabrenya, Kung, and Chen (2006) did a SoS study particularly on the indigenized psychology movement in Taiwan, focusing on the understanding of the individual, interpersonal, organizational, and contextual factors affecting the community of psychologists engaging in indigenizing psychology in a single society. More research by the SoS approach of the Gabrenya type should be carried out to intensively investigate the indigenized psychology movement in such societies or countries as Cameroun, India, Japan, Korea, Mexico, and the Philippines.

(2) Production Method of Knowledge

The three psychologies also differ in the way in which knowledge is produced. IP knowledge is created by doing research to construct theories or principles of Euro-American mind and behavior in their ecological, economic, social, cultural, and historical contexts. This monocultural knowledge tends to be emic in the sense that it is culture-specific, rather than culture-general (or universal) (Berry, 1969; Berry, Poortinga, Segall and Dasen, 1992; Segall, Dasen, Berry, and Poortinga, 1990).

WP knowledge is generated by WP research in which Western theories, concepts, methods, and tools are directly applied to the study of non-Western people's psychological and behavioral functioning under the assumption that the Western concepts and methods are universally or cross-culturally applicable. Since this sweeping assumption is groundless, non-Western psychologists' adoption of Western theoretical and methodological notions gives rise to the fallacy of the imposed-etic approach, which is why WP is a kind of imposed-etic psychology.

IZP aims to transform WP into a psychology that is sufficiently culture-specific in a non-Western society. But, in this case, "culture-specific" is different in nature from "culture-specific" in the case of IP psychology in Euro-American societies. There are at least two reasons for this difference. First, non-Western cultures have been contaminated by Euro-American culture through the process of Western-dominated modernization. Second, it is rather difficult for non-Western psychologists to make their

research really locally specific because most of them are Western-trained, or at least have habitually depended upon Western psychology to such an extent that it is no longer easy for them to conduct culture-specific studies. Their approach is at best quasi-culture-specific or quasi-emic. The knowledge produced by the quasi-emic approach is of course quasi-emic in nature.

(3) Indigenous Autonomy of Knowledge

Indigenous autonomy refers to the indigenously self-directing freedom or independence of a knowledge system. The IP knowledge system has the Euro-American native culture as its indigenous root and is produced through Western theories, concepts, methods, and tools as if it were universally or cross-culturally applicable.

In the case of IZP, a knowledge system is gradually formed through indigenized research in which indigenous-minded non-Western psychologists try to re-root their theoretical, methodological, and empirical accomplishments into their own native culture through a quasi-emic approach. These local researchers are especially sensitive to and dissatisfied with the WP's lack of indigenous autonomy and strive to make the IZP knowledge system as indigenously autonomous as possible. The main purpose of indigenization is to convert a psychology without indigenous autonomy to a psychology with moderate or high autonomy. It is quite understandable that indigenously oriented psychologists are highly conscious of the moderate or high autonomy of IZP knowledge.

(4) Indigenous Contextualization of Knowledge

The IP knowledge system is highly indigenously contextualized in the sense that its theories, concepts, methods, and tools have been endogenously developed in the ecological, economic, sociocultural, and familial contexts existing in Euro-American societies. These local contextual factors also determine or facilitate the formation and manifestation of Western people's mind and behavior for which the IP knowledge system has been established.

The WP knowledge system lacks indigenous contextualization simply because its theories, concepts, methods, and tools have been imported from countries that have nothing to do with non-Western countries' ecological, economic, social, cultural, and

historical contexts. For a non-Western culture, WP knowledge is simply misplaced, dislocated, and decontextualized.

The IZP knowledge system is generated by a process of indigenization, the major purpose of which is for non-Western investigators to locally contextualize the theories, concepts, methods, and tools for their indigenized research. Consequently, the obtained knowledge tends to be moderately contextualized.

(5) Indigenous Compatibility of Knowledge

Yang (1997b, 1999, 2000) recommended that indigenous psychological research be conducted in such a way that the researcher's theory, concepts, methods, tools, and findings sufficiently reflect, represent, and reveal the natural structure and process of the studied local psychological or behavioral phenomenon as embedded in the sociocultural context. He termed this condition of congruity *indigenous compatibility* (IC). Since the IP knowledge system is derived from highly indigenous research by Euro-American psychologists, it has a high level of indigenous compatibility.

On the other hand, the WP knowledge system is produced by Westernized research in which a non-Western investigator's theory, concepts, methods, tools, and findings do not adequately reflect, represent, or reveal the natural structure and function of the studied phenomenon in its local context. Consequently, a WP knowledge system tends to lack indigenous compatibility.

Unlike either of these knowledge systems, IZP is created by indigenized research in which a non-Western investigator consciously strives to make his or her theory, concepts, methods, tools, and findings sufficiently reflect, represent, and reveal the structure and function of the studied phenomenon in its local context. A knowledge system so developed has a moderate level of indigenous compatibility.

(6) Indigenous Applicability of Knowledge

The primary purpose for psychologists to establish a knowledge system is to interpret, understand, predict, and change people's minds and behavior such that personal adjustment can be improved and social problems prevented or solved. Since the IP knowledge system has high indigenous autonomy, contextualization, and compatibility, it can thus be effectively applied to deal with practical problems in

Euro-American people's personal and social lives. It is in this sense that this system has high indigenous applicability.

In contrast, the WP knowledge system lacks indigenous autonomy, contextualization, and compatibility, and hence cannot be applied effectively to cope with practical problems in non-Western people's personal and social lives. The system has only negligible indigenous applicability.

The IZP knowledge system is in between. It has moderate indigenous autonomy, contextualization, and compatibility, and can therefore be somewhat effectively applied to deal with practical problems in non-Western people's personal and social lives. This system may be said to have moderate indigenous applicability.

So far in this section, the IP, WP and IZP knowledge systems have been systematically compared in terms of six aspects of knowledge. The qualitative and quantitative differences identified from the comparative analysis are summarized in Table 1. This systematic comparison makes it clear that the three psychologies produce distinctive knowledge systems that differ from each other on important points. If a discipline is defined as a branch of knowledge, the three psychologies can be considered to be three separate disciplines in contemporary psychological science. If psychology as a whole is a discipline, the three psychologies may be regarded as three subdisciplines. As a psychological discipline or subdiscipline, IZP makes special sense for non-Western psychologists.

Table 1: Major Differences among the Three Kinds of Psychological Knowledge Generated by Indigenous, Westernized, and Indigenized Psychologies

Aspects of knowledge	Knowledge from indigenous psychology in Euro-American countries	Knowledge from Westernized psychology in non-Western countries	Knowledge from indigenized psychology in non-Western countries
1. Cultural basis	Directly based on Euro-American culture (directly rooted in Western native culture)	Indirectly based on Euro-American culture (indirectly rooted in Western native culture)	Directly based in a non-Western local culture (re-rooted in a native culture)
2. Production method	Emic approach	Imposed-etic approach	Quasi-emic approach
3. Indigenous autonomy	High autonomy (low or moderate consciousness of autonomy)	Lack of autonomy (low consciousness of autonomy)	Moderate or high autonomy (high consciousness of autonomy)
4. Indigenous contextualization	High local contextualization	Lack of local contextualization	Moderate local contextualization
5. Indigenous compatibility	High compatibility	Lack of compatibility	Moderate compatibility
6. Indigenous applicability	High applicability	Low applicability	Moderate applicability

3. Indigenized Psychology as a Methodology

Methodology studies “the methods by which science arrives at its posited truths concerning the world and explores alleged rationales for these methods” (Audi, 1995: 611). As a psychological discipline or subdiscipline, IZP represents a unique methodology for exploring non-Western people’s psychological worlds and makes the production of an IZP knowledge system possible. IZP methodology is unique not only in the sense that it differs from the methodologies of IP and WP, but also in the sense that it is a methodology specifically designed for non-Western psychologists to indigenize WP. The unique purpose of this methodology is to gradually convert WP into a culture-specific IZP.

IZP methodology involves a set of methodological issues or problems that Western indigenous psychologists have never encountered in conducting research. One such

issue, the issue of indigenous compatibility, is how to judge whether or not a piece of research is indigenized. Another, the issue of the ways to achieve indigenous compatibility, is how to achieve a sufficient level of indigenizedness for a specific study. These two essential issues are discussed in the following.

(1) Indigenous Compatibility as a Criterion for Judging the Degree of Research Indigenizedness

In order for a non-Western psychologist's research to be indigenized, the theory, concepts, methods, and tools used must be sufficiently congruous with the native participants' psychological and behavioral contents, processes, mechanisms, and patterns as embedded in their ecological, economic, social, cultural, and historical contexts. Yang (1993, 1997, 1999, 2000) has termed this requirement of congruity for indigenized psychological research *indigenous compatibility* (IC). Yang (2000) distinguished two major types of IC: context-dependent and context-independent.

Context-dependent IC stresses the compatibility of the non-Western researcher's theory, concepts, methods, and tools with the studied local psychological or behavioral phenomenon-in-context as a whole, instead of the phenomenon in isolation from its context. In other words, this type of IC requires that the phenomenon, its context, and the phenomenon-context relationship have to be analyzed in the same study and the concepts and methods have to be designed so as to be compatible with the phenomenon, the context, and their relationship. In doing indigenized psychological research, non-Western psychologists with a cultural-psychological perspective especially tend to prefer this kind of IC.

In contrast, context-independent IC emphasizes the compatibility of the investigator's theory, concepts, methods, and tools with the studied psychological or behavioral phenomenon itself, without taking its context into direct consideration. As Yang (2000) pointed out, in studies stressing context-independent IC, the studied psychological or behavioral phenomenon itself is observed as naturally embedded in its original context, but the context itself is just implicitly assumed to be there as a silent given, without actually identifying and assessing its content and relationship to the phenomenon. Because the researcher does not want to pay much attention to the context, he or she can simply try to make research activities sufficiently compatible with the

focused phenomenon. Decontextualized IC may be called phenomenon-focusing IC or implicit-context IC.

There are at least two factors that greatly benefit the accomplishment of IC. One is the native researcher's use of self-reflection to understand personal psychological and behavioral characteristics and functioning. This inner understanding can be formed through a researcher's self-experiencing and self-observing over time and through intensive introspection of personal motives, thoughts, feelings, and actions that fall into the same category of mind and behavior under study. Given that the researcher as a local person tends to be similar in psychological and behavioral characteristics to other members of the society from which the research sample is drawn, such a reflective understanding can facilitate the intensification of IC (Yang, 1999).

Another facilitative factor is the native researcher's understanding of participants' psychological and behavioral characteristics and their functioning through an imaginative role-taking process. This outward understanding can be formed in three ways: (a) investigators extensively and intensively review the relevant research literature that bears on the psychological and behavioral characteristics to be studied with certain kinds of local people as participants, and then imagine what the potential participants as typical local people would think and feel, and how they would behave under specific conditions or situations; (b) they take advantage of their tacit knowledge (Polanyi, 1962) acquired in the past about local people's mind and behavior, and then imagine what potential participants would think and do in specific conditions or situations; and (c) they exercise their empathetic ability to imagine what potential participants would think and do in specific conditions or situations. These imagined or anticipated thoughts and actions can serve as an important basis upon which sufficiently indigenized theory, concepts, methods, and tools can be created or developed. In other words, use of imagination and role-taking can substantially raise the level of IC.

IC is the basic general criterion for judging whether or not a piece of research is sufficiently or adequately indigenized. Only research with at least moderate or high IC can help build a real IZP in non-Western societies. In this sense, IZP is a knowledge system based on the accumulation and integration of theoretical, methodological, and empirical accomplishments of research with a sufficient degree of IC (Yang, 2000). In contrast, WP in a non-Western society is a knowledge system formed on the basis of

research with no or low IC. The concept of IC is also applicable to IP in Western countries as a general criterion for judging the degree of indigenusness (rather than indigenizedness in the case of IZP) of research.

Hwang (1999) and Yang (1999, 2002) advocated a multi-paradigm research strategy for conducting indigenized studies. Indigenously oriented psychologists from the same non-Western nation should adopt ontologically, epistemologically, and methodologically different or even conflicting paradigms like positivism, postpositivism, critical theory (and related positions), and constructionism, as delineated by Guba and Lincoln (1994). The first two paradigms tend to adopt natural science as the theoretical and methodological model, whereas the last two tend to apply human science as the model. Yang (2000) recommended that all the four paradigms and the two models be adopted for indigenized research. This recommendation is in consonance with Kim and Berry's (1993) assertion that the indigenous approach does not assume an inherent superiority of one particular theoretical or methodological perspective over another on *a priori* grounds. However, the four paradigms and two models differ in their emphasis on cultural-contextual factors. The positivism and post-positivism paradigms and the natural science model tend to stress cultural-contextual factors less than the critical theory and constructionism paradigms and the human science model. Psychological research that adopts a paradigm or model with greater emphasis on cultural contexts is likely to have a higher degree of IC. This should be true of research not only in IZP, but also in IP, and may be partly the reason why Kim and his associates (Kim, 2000, 2001; Kim, Park, and Park, 2000) have repeatedly recommended that the human science model and paradigms other than the positivistic kind be adopted in indigenous psychological research.

(2) Effective Ways to Enhance Indigenous Compatibility of Indigenized Research

Given that IC is the hallmark of indigenized as well as indigenous psychological research, the next important question in IZP methodology is how to achieve a sufficient degree of IC in research. Yang (1993, 1997, 2000) recommended seven *Don'ts* and ten *Dos* as specific ways for non-Western psychologists to indigenize their studies. The seven *don'ts* denote seven things not to do in order to avoid decreasing IC, and the ten

dos remind the researcher of ten things that increase IC. Some of the most relevant *don'ts* and *dos* are elaborated below as examples of useful measures for enhancing IC.

One of the *don'ts* stresses that indigenously oriented non-Western psychologists should never habitually and uncritically apply Western theories, concepts, methods, or tools before thoroughly immersing themselves in the natural concrete details of the local psychological or behavioral phenomenon and its context under study. With sufficient understanding of a phenomenon and its context, the investigator will be able to realize that Western concepts and methods can be no longer applied to his or her research. The typical non-Western psychologist tends to ignore the detailed content, function, and cultural basis of a local phenomenon to the extent that it becomes easy for the researcher to impose a Western theory, concept, method, or tool on the study of the phenomenon. The best policy is to begin with an interesting local phenomenon, rather than an interesting Western theory, concept, method, or tool.

Another *don't* reminds researchers that indigenously minded non-Western psychologists should not overlook Western colleagues' important experiences or methods in developing their indigenous theories, concepts, methods, and tools in studying Western people, for the reason that those experiences may well be usefully transferred to the development of non-Western indigenized theories and methods. The prime purpose of constructing IZP in a non-Western country is to create a knowledge system that can adequately reflect, explain, and predict local people's mind and behavior and to solve their personal and social problems effectively. As a discipline, a non-Western IZP may have nothing to do with the researcher's nationalistic sentiments. This is especially true of the Chinese IZP as developed in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and China. However, there have been some misunderstandings about the purpose and nature of Chinese IZP. One of them, as pointed out by Leung and Wu (1997), is that this IZP is anti-Western and nationalistically Sinocentric in its basic orientation. It does not make sense to place this stigma on Chinese IZP, just as it does not make sense to say that Western IP is an academically imperialistic knowledge system forcibly imposed on psychological research in non-Western countries.

Still another *don't* recommends that non-Western researchers should not think in terms of English or any other foreign language during the various stages of the indigenized research process in order to prevent inhibition or distortion of the

indigenous aspects of the investigator's contemplation involved in the research activities. According to Whorf's (1956) linguistic relativity hypothesis, language determines thinking. This hypothesis has received partial or mixed support (e.g., Carroll and Casagrande, 1958). Other studies have shown that language can influence perception and/or memory (Carmichael, Hogan and Walters, 1932) and cognition (Hunt and Agnoli, 1991). These findings seem to provide a plausible cognitive account of the Whorfian hypothesis. More specifically, a non-Western local language has its own terms to denote and conceptualize local people's culturally unique psychological and behavioral phenomena and their functioning (e.g., Church and Katigbak, 2002; Yang and Ho, 1998). English or any other Western language may simply not have locally relevant terms and hence be unable to adequately denote or describe culturally unique psychic activities and their functioning in non-Western societies. For this and other reasons, Western-trained non-Western psychologists who want to conduct indigenized research with high IC must think in terms of their own native language rather than in a foreign one during the research process.

On the affirmative side, one of the ten *dos* suggests that local researchers should try to be a typical native in the cultural sense as they design and conduct a study, and that they should let their indigenous ideas, tacit knowledge (in Polanyi's sense), and native ways of thinking be fully reflected in the whole research process. Local psychologists (especially Western-trained ones) in non-Western societies have often observed that when they do research, they temporarily become Westerners in the sense that they think and act like a Western psychologist in their research activities with respect to conceptualizing, theorizing, designing, data-collecting, and results-interpreting. They no longer experience themselves as a carrier of local culture, but instead as a carrier of Western culture. Under these circumstances, there is no way for local cultural elements to be incorporated into the various research stages and activities. This transformation is exactly the way in which the Westernized theoretical, methodological, and empirical accomplishments necessary for the formation of WP are obtained. In order to obtain the truly indigenized accomplishments with high IC needed for the development of IZP, non-Western psychologists must refrain from thinking and behaving as Western psychologists and try to be a typical native when functioning as researchers.

Another *do* urges local investigators to tolerate vague and ambiguous states and suspend decisions as long as possible in dealing with theoretical, methodological, and empirical problems until something sufficiently indigenous emerges in their minds during the research process. Almost all non-Western psychologists have been directly or indirectly trained with Western psychology as the only real scientific psychology in the world. They have learned, or even overlearned, Western theories, concepts, methods, and tools to such an extent that in making research decisions they tend to respond quickly in terms of the Western psychological knowledge system. Such responses are very useful for them to eliminate unpleasant feelings due to vague or ambiguous states when they lack a solution or decision. But, these responses are basically Western in nature and they effectively inhibit the emergence of indigenous and indigenized solutions. In order for indigenous and indigenized solutions to have a chance of being manifested consciously, indigenously-minded non-Western psychologists should suppress their Westernized responses as long as possible until an indigenous or indigenized solution emerges. This process is an effective way of lifting the level of IC in research.

The third *do* emphasizes giving priority to the study of local people's culturally unique psychological and behavioral phenomena. Examples of notably unique phenomena are Filipino *pakikisama* (getting along with or making concessions to others) (Lynch, 1973) and *kapwa* (recognition of shared identity with others) (Enriquez, 1977), Japanese *amae* (depending and presuming upon another's benevolence) (Dai, 1956), Chinese *face* (Ho, 1976) and *yuan* (predestined relational affinity) (Yang and Ho, 1988), and Korean *woori* (an inclusive group: we or us) and *cheong* (human affection) (Choi and Kim, 2003; Choi, Kim, and Choi, 1993). Since these and other culturally unique psychological phenomena have never been studied in Western psychology, there are no relevant Western theories, concepts, methods and tools available for non-Western psychologists to adopt in investigating them. This means they have to rely upon themselves to conceptualize and theorize these local phenomena and to design proper methods and tools for assessing them. This is a perfect way to wean local psychologists from their overdependence on Western psychology. They themselves have to develop innovative indigenized theory, concepts, and methods for a systematic study of each of the unique phenomena in their respective societies. Through such a process, they can

learn how to do indigenized research with a high level of IC from start to finish without depending upon Western psychology.

The fourth *do* urges non-Western psychologists to base their research on the intellectual tradition of their own culture rather than on that of Western culture. As shown in Figure 1, Western IP is well grounded in the Western intellectual tradition formed mainly from European and American folk psychologies, philosophical psychologies, and other sociocultural factors. Figure 1 also indicates that non-Western societies' WP is based on Western IP, which in turn has been shaped by the Western intellectual tradition. In other words, the WP prevailing in non-Western countries has been indirectly and mistakenly connected to the Western intellectual tradition. In order to successfully create an IZP in a non-Western society, native psychologists should strive to do research under the direct influence of the local culture's intellectual tradition rather than under the Western culture's intellectual tradition. This shift in intellectual tradition will greatly enhance the level of IC in local research.

4. Conclusion

This paper has delineated three psychologies in contemporary world psychology from a psychological historical perspective: indigenous psychology (IP) in Western (Euro-American) countries, and Westernized psychology (WP) and indigenized psychology (IZP) in non-Western nations. Western psychology is the only IP in the world and its hegemonic and powerful transplantation to non-Western societies has resulted in the same kind of WP in almost all of them. Since WP does not correspond to local people and culture and can not be effectually used to help solve their personal and social problems, increasing numbers of psychologists in many non-Western societies have been trying to convert their WP into a local IZP.

The three psychologies have produced three corresponding knowledge systems that may be systematically compared with respect to six aspects of knowledge: cultural basis, production method, indigenous autonomy, indigenous contextualization, indigenous compatibility, and indigenous applicability. The qualitative and quantitative differences among the three systems indicate that the three psychologies represent three distinctive disciplines in contemporary psychological science.

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IZP is not only a discipline, but also a methodology. IZP methodology is unique in the sense that it differs from IP and WP. Specifically, it explores the rationales and methods that are most effective for conducting indigenized research in non-Western countries. Two closely related issues of IZP methodology were discussed: (1) indigenous compatibility as a general criterion for judging the degree of research indigenizedness, and (2) effective ways of enhancing the indigenous compatibility of indigenized research.

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三種心理學

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摘 要

在華人社會中，有三種心理學同時並存，即本土心理學(IP)、西化心理學(WP)、及本土化心理學(IZP)。從世界史的觀點來說，歐美本土心理學是在歐美社會文化因素的影響下形成。此種西方心理學傳入眾多非西方國家，逐漸形成不同的西化心理學。在有些主要非西方國家中，當地心理學者已在推動本土化的運動，自會形成本土化心理學。本文有系統地闡述三種心理學逐漸形成的歷程。三種心理學不只代表三類方法論，也形成三套心理學知識系統。最後將從知識論的下列六方面加以比較：文化基礎、創新方法、本土自主性、本土脈絡性、本土契合性、及本土應用性。

關鍵詞：本土契合性、本土心理學、西方心理學、西化心理學、虛假本土心理學、本土化心理學

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