

### Chapter 3

#### THE ATTITUDES AND THE INTERRELATIONSHIPS OF ATTITUDES AND ATTRIBUTES OF KOREAN PEASANTS

##### *The Attitudes of Korean Peasants.*<sup>1</sup>

The ultimate purpose in assessing attitudes is to predict behavior. It is probably true that under certain conditions modernizing behavior is accompanied by attitudes and propensities inclining people in an innovative direction. Those having propensities to change, high self-esteem, and a sense of personal efficacy should, other things being equal, be those whose behavior will include the adoption of modern techniques. But one of the chief problems in attitudinal research lies in that all-embracing phrase, "other things being equal." In the case of peasant agriculture, "other things" are rarely ever "equal," for the peasant has little control over the economy in which he operates. He has little control over the prices he receives for his rice and foodstuffs. If the markets offer high prices for his produce, he is likely to adopt methods that promise him an increased output. If the prices for crops are depressed in relation to the goods and services that he must purchase, there would seem to be less incentive for increasing his productivity for the market. While other factors encourage or inhibit the peasant in his farming techniques, the market undoubtedly affects the practices of the peasant in Korea, for that country is well on its way toward a money or market economy. Few Korean peasants are strictly subsistence agriculturalists. They generally grow farm products for the market in exchange for other products and necessities.<sup>2</sup> In traditional Korea the family might have made most of the items used in the household, but while some handicraft remains, it is now a residue of the past. Few peasants any longer make the traditional white cloth used for ceremony and mourning. Many of the peasant arts associated with times past have now disappeared, and the market furnishes most of a peasant family's needs. The fact that corrugated, slate, or tile is used for roofs more generally now than in the past attests to the degree to which the market is relied upon.

There is some doubt, therefore, concerning the actual relationships of attitudes toward behavior and particularly modernizing behavior. While these doubts must be maintained in the ensuing discussion about attitudes, conditions in 1972-1973 when the survey was made were, or could have been, contributive to efficaciousness, self-esteem, and positive morale. The Saemaul movement did promise some improvement of the peasant's condition and, insofar as the relative income of peasants had actually increased by 1974, there was at least some substance to government promises. These years would seem to have been years of hope in the countryside and, if attitudes are capable of affecting behavior at all, they would seem to have been operative during this initial era of the Saemaul movement. In spite of a history of disappointments with government promises which had not borne fruit, it was in this period, if in few others, "all other things" might truly have been considered "equal."



There are several reasons why skepticism is warranted in any report of the attitudes of Korean peasants. In an effort to provide at least some opportunity to compare the results of this study with several other surveys conducted among peasant populations questions were taken, sometimes with necessary modifications, from other interview schedules. Moreover, because some questions had never been asked of peasants and were regarded as interesting and potentially revealing, such questions were devised or taken from sources that were not focused on either the Korean milieu or on peasants. All of these questions had been formulated in English, a language quite unlike Korean in syntax and idiom. It would be presumptuous to suppose that even the most painstaking efforts at translation resolved all the problems of transferring the meaning of the English into the Korean of the interview schedules. For the full text of the Korean translation see Appendix A (3).

To this preliminary and obvious difficulty in assessing opinions among Korean peasants must be added the likelihood that meaningful attitudes in one culture may not be meaningful, or meaningful in the same way, in another culture. This problem exists over and above the translation difficulty. Since some of the questions were derived from studies of other cultures, there was the possibility that the Korean peasant might not, for instance, view his community or village in the same way as peasants in the Philippines or farmers in the United States. Some, but certainly not all, of these problems might have been resolved in the process of translation.

Moreover, the questionnaire was applied not to individuals having a high degree of sophistication in arranging their attitudes into consistent and structured patterns, but to individuals who might not have given much thought to some of their attitudes. Attempts to discern ideological patterns in the attitudes of American voters, for example, encounter the problem that in reality most voters have not given much thought to patterning their attitudes about goals, issues, and candidates. For this reason it becomes very difficult for most individuals to delineate any kind of tightknit pattern for their numerous attitudes. Any pattern that may be presented among a sample of American voters is very likely to be a loose one. It seems likely that among Korean peasants patterns that are present in the attitudinal data would be tenuous. To state this fact is not to disparage the respondents. There are many rational reasons why Korean peasants would be unlikely to attend to the structure of their attitudes or to bother whether these were mutually consistent. Peasants are pragmatists, and there are few compelling reasons to expect them to arrange their propositions and thoughts as might an ideologist. It takes time to arrange thoughts logically, and it is not likely that many of us suffer much from "cognitive dissonance" because of this inconsistency. Indeed, it is probably presumptuous of the social scientist to anticipate a well-structured system of attitudes.

Finally, there is reason to doubt the usefulness for some purposes of ascertaining attitudinal structures. We might find evidence of attitudes toward modernization, but whether these attitudes are allied to behaviors that could be characterized as modern is not simply a function of attitudes but also of the social structure in which the peasant lives and works his land. Under some conditions, we might predict that attitudes toward modernization will indeed lead a peasant to adopt certain innovations, like spending more on fertilizer or diversifying his crops. But these conditions may not exist in the particular



region or country under review, in which case some of these attitudes will be stillborn, so to speak, leading to no perceptible differences in behavior. It is not only the individual and his propensity to reform that brings about innovative behavior and activities that ultimately lead to increased productivity. The social and economic structure within which he lives rewards an action or renders it unfeasible and makes innovative activities rational rather than self-defeating. To review individual attitude patterns, therefore, is to look at only one side of the equation of modernization. The other side is the social aggregate and the interrelationship of classes, prices and social influence over which the peasant has little or no control. This criticism of attitudinal surveys has been cogently argued in a number of books and articles, and it is an argument that is very apt.<sup>3</sup> However, this is no reason to dispense with attitudinal surveys altogether. The results of such surveys and the patterns that may be uncovered are certainly of interest in themselves.

We will now discuss attitude results on the basis of percentages agreeing or disagreeing with the attitudinal statements. These attitudes will be presented in terms of clusters on the basis of *a priori* face validity. Indeed, in a factor analysis of attitudes, the first cluster, attitude toward farming, did show a remarkable interrelationship among the separate responses.<sup>4</sup> The other clusters, with the exception of village morale, were less coherent. This chapter also will report the empirical patterns among behavior, attributes, and a number of attitudes selected for their saliency in the research cited in note 4.

Referring to Table 3.1, some thirteen items were developed into a grouping called "attitude toward farming." The items in this table were selected from among a large number of scale items developed by A. M. Myster.<sup>5</sup> Although such a cluster of attitudes may be potentially related to the propensity to adopt farm improvements and innovations, it has never been studied systematically in the rural population of a developing nation. The place of these attitudes toward farming in the context of innovation and the improvement of rural conditions is not difficult to surmise. Although the Korean Third Five-Year Plan was intended to benefit the rural sector, as opposed to the heavy emphasis on the industrial sectors in the previous five-year plans, most of the development effort was to come from the peasants themselves. Those who enjoy what they are doing, who perceive their occupation as rewarding, psychologically if not economically, and who would rather remain in the countryside than cast off their rural heritage for urban novelties, will be more likely to favor innovations and the cooperation that is probably essential to the improvement of their villages. This, at any rate, is one direction hypotheses based on this group of attitudes might take. There are other possibilities, however, which also find some basis in the literature on rural populations, and it is possible, although less probable, that it is the peasants most satisfied with their present way of life who are the most conservative, traditional, and inimical to change. However, the essence of previous findings elsewhere would suggest otherwise: Innovating behavior and cooperativeness, as means of improving the conditions of oneself and his fellow villagers, demand individuals with higher morale, and high morale is presumably associated with liking one's daily work.

The table clearly shows that Korean peasants were not dissatisfied with farming as an occupation. If the transition to an industrialized society affected the peasant by devaluing his occupation, leaving him psychologically trapped

Table 3.1  
Attitude Toward Farming

	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree
Farm work is drudgery.	30.6%	6.9%	62.0%
The standard of living of peasants is below that of most other persons in Korea.	79.1	6.8	13.8
A peasant has more worries than persons who do other kinds of work.	43.6	10.7	45.3
Farming reduces one's social standing.	29.2	8.9	61.0
Work on the farm is really enjoyable.	63.2	13.6	22.2
Farming deprives one's children of an adequate education.	73.6	4.2	20.6
The disadvantages of farming outweigh its advantages.	22.9	13.4	63.0
I would move to the city if I knew for sure that I could earn more money there.	53.0	10.1	36.7
Farming requires less education than most other work.	43.1	4.9	51.6
Farming is uninteresting work.	13.7	11.5	73.8
The farm is the best place for children.	38.8	17.6	42.9
Farming offers little opportunity for meeting other people.	44.4	8.6	46.3
I think that peasants are an interesting group of people.	57.2	17.1	25.2

in the past while events swept on toward a more enviable future, such an effect was certainly not perceptible among these attitudes. These respondents seemed basically satisfied with their work, a result perhaps somewhat more surprising considering the fact that with constant media contact these peasants were well aware of social changes in the cities.

Yet there were some reservations perceptible among these attitudes. Peasants did not regard the farm as the best place for children, and this attitude may have stemmed from the difficulty of educating children in the rural areas as compared to the better schooling Koreans perceived as associated with the cities. Interestingly, a factor analysis (a technique explained in Appendix C) of peasant attitudes showed one pattern combining the notions that the farm was the best place for children with the attitude that young people were getting too much education and could learn more by working than by attending high school.

In addition, there was the almost unanimous realization that the peasant's standard of living was below that of others. This perception was probably



realistic, although peasants might have been better off economically than the recent immigrants into the cities, all of whom had come from the land. In spite of this, even the poorer urban immigrants preferred the city to the farm, according to surveys conducted in Seoul.<sup>6</sup> When such a perception of rural living standards is accompanied by the desire to increase influence, the possible beginnings of a peasant political movement can be sensed in the Korean countryside.

Associated with the assessment of the rural standard of living was the propensity of peasants to move into the city, provided that they could be sure of more money. While the tendency was by no means overwhelming, it was distinct enough to invalidate the hypothesis that sentimental "love of the land" held the peasant back from improving his life chances elsewhere. The Korean peasant seemed quite capable of assessing his condition and adjusting his life according to a rational calculation of the market.

A second set of attitudes, propensity to change, is provided in Table 3.2. Certain items seemed, on the basis of their face validity, to be obvious aspects of a favorable predisposition toward change, while two others had a more tenuous relationship to such a grouping and demand further explanation. The feeling that a person could learn more by working than by attending secondary school suggests an individual not in favor of new experiences that might enable him to accomplish his task more effectively. Birth control was evidence of a change already accepted or resisted, and a person who favored limiting family size might have also been predisposed to adopt other, possibly less radical, changes in his farming techniques and way of life. Korea, like other societies permeated with the Confucian social ethic, has regarded children, particularly boys, as highly desirable. There is a traditional positive evaluation for large families as preparation for security in one's old age and for the secular immortality afforded by ancestor worship. In spite of this, Korea has been quite successful in its program to limit the size of families. The birth rate, previously a relatively high 2.5 percent a year, had fallen to 1.8 percent at the time of this survey, and the government anticipated lowering the rate still further.<sup>7</sup> Since accepting the practice of birth control necessitated that the peasant eschew a portion of his traditional belief system, it was expected that such a breakthrough would make further changes even easier. The relationship of the propensity to change to the adoption of actual innovations and the attribute of cooperation with others in the village toward common improvements would seem to be rather direct.

The percentages show that birth control had wide acceptance in Korea. A factor analysis indicated, however, that there was little or no spillover between this attitude and other attitudes assessing change. One other attitude that seemed to be associated with birth control was that "a person should always consider the needs of the family as a whole more important than his own." This makes sense, for one possible motivation for birth control might be that fewer family members would make it easier for a peasant to provide for them economically. Although the attitude toward birth control was something of a real breakthrough from the mores of the past, it appeared to be isolated from other change factors. Another reservation must also be expressed. The attitude toward birth control need not correlate with small families; some large families result from the attempt, after several daughters, to produce at least one son who can continue the family traditions. This could occur even though the parents were for birth control.

Table 3.2  
Propensity to Change

	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree
I'd want to know that something would really work before I'd be willing to try it.	53.5%	19.0%	26.7%
If you start trying to change things, you usually make them worse.	35.9	24.8	38.7
A person can learn more by working three years than by going to high school.	14.2	11.5	74.0
The secret of happiness is not to expect too much out of life and to be content with what comes your way.	81.5	8.0	9.7
Parents should limit the number of children they have.	87.8	4.8	6.5
It is important to make plans for one's life and not just accept what happens.	81.6	5.1	12.9

Otherwise the attitudes pertaining to change suggest an ambiguous and rather complex pattern. On the one hand, peasants were quite clear about the need to plan rather than accept whatever happened, but on the other hand they were not adverse to being content "with what comes your way." Perhaps the clearest indication of the feeling toward change was in the response to the second statement, "If you start trying to change things, you usually make them worse." The answers suggested the existence in the countryside of considerable conservatism regarding change. Together with the idea that to be willing to try something new, one ought to really know whether it would work, the impression is that the long history of rural conditions had imbued the Korean peasant with at least careful attitude toward change. Whereas great changes can occur in the city environment where economic misfortune may not necessarily mean oblivion, change in the countryside could easily mean disaster for a peasant family hovering just above the subsistence level. Given the rural history of Korea and other peasant countries, such a conservative stance is rational. In light of these results, it might be tentatively assumed that change is possible in the countryside to the degree that peasants can be sure that returns to them are forthcoming and that the danger of failure is remote.

Trust, shown in Table 3.3, assumes an important role in predisposing villagers to working together. One of the barriers to improving the rural environment in some societies is the existence of mutual suspicion and the feeling that any improvement emanating from one's own efforts will not be reciprocated by others, so that it is just as well, say, not to help construct the bridge over the creek. Research in southern Italy indicates that the lack of trust, a syndrome of "amoral familism" in the colorful conceptual term of Banfield, negates efforts toward community development and projects beneficial to the whole village. Trust also plays a vital role in predisposing the peasant to accept on the word of others, e.g., that the growing of a new rice strain, such as IR-667, will be



Table 3.3

## Trust

	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree
It is not good to let your friends know too much about your life, for they might take advantage of you.	19.0%	19.4%	60.6%
Everyone in my village tries to take advantage of you.	14.1	20.4	64.9
Most people are honest.	55.1	19.7	24.4
Most people will repay your kindness with ingratitude.	22.9	17.0	59.5
You can only trust people you know well.	48.4	11.7	38.8

beneficial. On the other hand, even if this innovation were perceived as possibly beneficial, distrust might lead the peasant to suspect that any increase in his productivity might only mean an increase in the monetary outlay that he must provide for seed, fertilizer, insecticide, and other items. Risk is always involved in adopting an innovation, for the promise of future productivity might not materialize, leaving the peasant worse off than had he relied on time-tested methods. Hence trust in an administrator or extension worker would seem to be important in convincing a peasant to change his techniques. This is, of course, a generalized view of trust, and some of the items included in the questionnaire were focused on particular others, such as fellow villagers. An assumption implicit in some of the hypotheses concerning trust is that coercion is not very effective in increasing productivity in peasant-type agricultural sectors. In part, this argument may be presented as a normative choice--it is morally better to stimulate voluntary effort than to rely on force. Galtung, for example, presents this point of view.<sup>8</sup> But there is also considerable evidence that coercion without some spontaneous motivation on the part of peasants is ultimately self-defeating. Peasants are past masters at presenting a *fait accompli* of indifference or noncompliance to regimes in the face of enormous pressures. It is their traditional political *modus operandi*.

The obverse of trust would be alienation, or personal isolation, the tendency to regard oneself as isolated from others and surrounded by selfishness and self-seeking. At least one study on Korea has revealed the extent of personal isolation existing in a Korean village, contradicting the bucolic idyll of tightknit village communities.<sup>9</sup>

A dozen items pertaining to personal efficacy, Table 3.4, indicate a person's perception of the ability to control the environment and to get along effectively with others, whether peers or persons occupying a different role. A personally efficacious individual might be expected to accept change, for instance, on his own initiative, or at least to adopt new techniques when these have been convincingly demonstrated to him. If it were feasible to coerce peasants to adopt more modern techniques, it might make little difference whether or not rural

Table 3.4  
Personal Efficacy

	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree
Success is more dependent on luck than on real ability.	11.3%	7.2%	80.5%
I feel helpless in the face of what happens in the world today.	11.7	26.1	61.3
I am able to do things as well as most other people do.	81.0	9.0	9.4
There is little chance for advancement in life unless a man knows the right people.	57.1	15.4	26.5
It is only wishful thinking to believe that one can really influence what happens in society.	44.7	19.7	34.7
The average citizen like me can have an important influence on government decisions.	70.4	17.3	11.8
People in big cities are cold and impersonal. It is hard to make friends there.	43.0	22.9	34.0
Persons like myself have little chance of protecting our personal interests when they conflict with people who are richer.	44.4	27.9	26.8
I find it easy to express my ideas to others.	51.5	18.0	29.9
I believe that most public officials don't care what people like me think.	30.5	24.5	44.4
The more education a man has, the more he is able to enjoy life.	66.6	11.1	22.0
Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like myself can't really understand what's going on.	31.0	25.4	42.7

persons felt efficacious. Coercion may have diminishing returns, even though peasants may be relatively powerless to resist coercion over short periods, but in the long run they can stall through inertia any efforts to drastically change the countryside. In Korea, at any rate, some coercive efforts have been made with respect to certain innovations and changes, but much choice has necessarily been left to the initiative of the individual farm family. It follows that those peasants with a sense of personal efficacy would be expected to be most innovative.

The results of the survey indicate that the Korean peasant possessed a fairly high degree of personal efficacy. Thus when compared to a population such as



that of the United States, the Korean peasant did not seem to be mired in hopelessness. In the classic study *The American Voter*, done in the fifties, the authors found 35 percent of the respondents reporting low or medium low "sense of personal effectiveness." A study more comparable to a peasant population by Daniel Lerner showed over 50 percent of the populations of Middle Eastern countries reporting "personal impotency."<sup>10</sup> Thus Korean peasants seemed to have a psychological ability to cope with the complexities of the environment and a fairly firm belief that a person could successfully meet present and future challenges. There seemed to be reservations, however, in cases in which the peasant came into conflict with wealthier persons or when he might not have known the "right people." Several of the questions, therefore, probably provided a realistic assessment of peasant attitudes as to what is possible in acting in society. While Korea has not developed the well-structured client relationships that exist in some other countries such as the Philippines, there is certainly some tendency, resting on a firm historical base, to consider influence as a matter of personal relationships rather than personal skills alone. Indeed, the land reform removed the necessity to ply the landlord with gifts in the course of each year, a necessity that caused a considerable drain upon the tenant's resources. With this reservation in mind, the picture that emerged was not of a sense of rural powerlessness. The Korean peasants responding to this questionnaire evinced a fair degree of personal efficacy.

Patricia Bartz has commented on the sense of spaciousness in the Korean landscape that obscures the fact that the country has one of the world's highest densities of population on its arable land.<sup>11</sup> Part of the illusion is also the result of the tendency of Koreans to cluster into villages. Although fields may be distant from the village, a peasant's house is not located to be easily accessible to his lands but to be a part of the village. Many projects proposed by the government in connection with its plans at improving agricultural productivity are essentially projects that both benefit and must be undertaken by the whole village. If river embankments are to be strengthened against floods, it is the villages that must accomplish this. To some degree, the individual villager must be willing to contribute to the community welfare as well as toward his own well-being in order that rural conditions be improved and the rural-urban gap reduced. It is by no means coincidental that the most recent effort to tackle the rural-urban disparities is called the "new village movement." It is just this lack of concern for the community as opposed, in many cases, to the nuclear family that has dogged development efforts in other countries. The psychological syndrome that produces this negative behavioral effect is well delineated in George M. Foster's "image of the limited good," wherein village improvements not directly beneficial to one's own welfare are regarded relatively disadvantageous.<sup>12</sup> Since villages have some importance in the future of rural improvement, it seemed important to posit a dimension that would tap village morale. The items regarded as important in this dimension included several that are suggestive of the village as a good place to live, or an individual's feeling that he is "at home" in his village. These perceptions of village closeness might be associated with village leadership and cooperativeness. Indeed, another cluster, cooperativeness (Table 3.6) was hypothesized that associated items attesting to an individual's willingness to contribute effort to his fellow villagers' well-being, his realization that their well-being was to some extent correlated with his own and, negatively, items exemplifying isolation and individualism.

The impression derived from the respondent's answers to the items in Table 3.5, village morale, is that in general there was a sense of satisfaction with village life. In most cases, however, there was an ample minority that evinced

Table 3.5  
Village Morale

	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree
My village is very peaceful and orderly.	46.9%	17.1%	34.7%
Almost everyone in my village is polite and courteous.	42.6	21.3	35.0
Everyone in my village tries to take advantage of you.	14.1	20.4	64.9
People in my village work together to get things done for the village.	69.5	11.1	18.3
Life is better in villages where you know everybody.	82.2	6.4	11.0
I feel very much "at home" in my village.	43.9	20.7	34.4
People in my village are too critical of others.	34.1	22.8	42.6
My village lacks real leaders.	72.2	8.5	17.6
No one seems to care much how my village looks.	24.5	18.8	55.7

Table 3.6  
Cooperativeness

	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree
It is only human nature to be reluctant about cooperating.	18.8%	14.3%	65.9%
A person should be expected to join only those organizations that will promote his own interests.	23.1	11.8	64.8
Each of us can make real progress only when the community as a whole makes progress.	82.1	5.5	11.8
A community would get along better if each person would mind his own business.	50.0	7.7	41.8
No one else cares much what happens to you.	54.4	10.8	34.0



a negative assessment of the village. Obviously, conditions in the village were not bad, but they did not appear to be idyllic either. The possible contribution to cooperation on joint projects within the village and the peasants' sense of village morale seems obvious enough. In the face of this generally high morale, however, there was one strikingly discordant note. A high percentage of respondents seemed to believe that their village "lacks real leaders." If this perception revealed an actual state of affairs in the rural areas, it might suggest why the various movements to improve the condition of the countryside had generally limited results. A later section of this book will compare two villages, one exhibiting improvement and completed village projects and the other with little improvement to boast of. The chief difference between them may well have been the more vigorous leadership in the more progressive village. For this reason, one of the major efforts in the initial stages of the Saemaul movement was to develop village leaders. The problem in accomplishing this vital task has lain in the perceived legitimacy of these leaders among their fellow peasants, and tangible returns to the villagers for their efforts will undoubtedly contribute to this legitimacy.

The responses to questions on cooperativeness, Table 3.6, seemed to indicate that the Korean peasant was not reluctant to cooperate in promoting the good of the community. But with the positive tendency to cooperate, there also appeared some potentially negative responses. There was a sense that others in the village should mind their own business, which might suggest that while not reluctant to cooperate in village improvements, the peasant did not want to be prodded into participating. This would seem to suggest indirectly that if the peasant is to cooperate with others in improving the village, he wants to be sure that the improvements are in fact real ones and not simply wasted industry on his part. That "no one else cares much what happens to you" suggests that the villages may be less than the secure havens of traditional lore. A peasant's fate is in his own hands. Together with some of the responses on the propensity to change, Table 3.2, this response gives rise to the question whether the peasant's propensity to change might be increased if he were able to rely on the aid of others in emergencies. That is, given a feeling of greater security, the acceptance of greater risks might increase.

Responses to questions on personal morale, listed in Table 3.7, yielded rather mixed results. Peasants did not seem to lack skills, including skills of communication, but several responses reflected a negative personal morale. These respondents appeared low on a number of items that might roughly be conceptualized as self-esteem. Since 113 respondents were women, we studied the differences between males and females and found that women were somewhat less likely than men to answer positively some of the questions having to do with personal efficacy, including particularly a tendency to find it more difficult to express their ideas to others. But while women were slightly less efficacious than men, there was no difference on the first three items in Table 3.7. It is natural to suspect that this mutual lack of self-esteem, common to both rural men and women, was the result of a comparison of their peasant status with that of other social groups. There were additional clues suggesting that this may be the case, e.g., the strong perception that their standard of living was not as high as that of other groups in society. Improving the quality of peasant life, one of the chief aims of the Saemaul movement ought also to increase their self-esteem which, in turn, should contribute to the peasants' ability to accept innovation and work for the further improvement of their villages.<sup>13</sup> The results on personal morale

Table 3.7  
Personal Morale

	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree
I feel I do not have much to be proud of.	63.8%	16.2%	18.4%
I'm sometimes inclined to feel that I'm a failure.	72.0	9.0	17.6
I wish I could have more respect for myself.	58.8	14.1	26.2
I find it easy to express my ideas to others.	51.5	18.0	29.9
I am the kind of person who gets his share of good luck.	12.2	36.6	50.5
I feel helpless in the face of what happens in the world today.	11.7	26.1	61.3
I am able to do things as well as most other people.	81.0	9.0	9.4
Real friends are as easy to find today as they ever were.	57.8	12.2	29.0

in Korea might be compared to studies in the United States where Morris Rosenberg, for example, found in a large sample of respondents some 48 percent reporting high self-esteem, 40 percent medium self-esteem, and only 12 percent low esteem. It is evident that on similar measures the Korean peasant differed markedly.<sup>14</sup>

While it was not regarded as feasible to use certain standard questions regarding authoritarianism, which may be culturally specific, eight questions were included in the questionnaire that seemed to pertain to authoritarianism. Some additional related questions are listed in Table 3.8 pertaining to the concept of familism. A certain degree of authoritarianism was evident; for example, a sizable percentage of the respondents seemed to agree with the statement that children should not be allowed to disagree with parents. There was, however, a markedly liberal attitude toward leadership; for example, a wife's disobedience would probably have been unacceptable behavior under any circumstances in traditional times. The authoritarianism of the rural areas was probably being eroded with the social change that had taken place in Korea since 1945. There has been some support for hypotheses that authoritarian attitudes are barriers to initiative, trust, and the desire to innovate voluntarily, but it would be difficult to compare the results of this survey with similar surveys in other countries. I would only like to point out that in the United States authoritarianism has been shown to be highly related to education. Among respondents of high education, only 21 percent were found to be "authoritarian" according to one study, while among respondents of low education, usually high school and below, 48 percent could be so characterized.<sup>15</sup>



Table 3.8  
Authoritarianism

	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree
Sometimes children should be allowed to disagree with their parents.	28.7%	9.0%	61.6%
A good wife is one who always obeys her husband.	30.6	8.2	60.8
Obedience and respect for authority are the most important things for children to learn.	50.3	12.0	37.3
A good leader rarely has to talk to others when he is making a decision.	25.0	11.0	63.8
A good leader tries to find out what all the members of a group think before he makes a decision.	91.5	4.8	3.4
The good leader tries to share his responsibility with the other members of a group.	54.7	14.6	30.1
A leader is a better leader if his men are somewhat afraid of him.	30.3	8.5	60.6
Most young people are getting too much education.	16.4	10.4	72.9

Table 3.9  
Familism

	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree
Parents should limit the number of children they have.	87.8%	4.8%	6.5%
A person should always consider the needs of his family as a whole more important than his own.	77.0	12.2	9.4
The family should have the right to control the behavior of its members completely.	49.3	8.3	41.8
Sometimes children should be allowed to disagree with their parents.	28.7	9.0	61.6
A good wife is one who always obeys her husband.	30.6	8.2	60.8
Obedience and respect for authority are the most important things for children to learn.	50.3	12.0	37.3

While "familism," Table 3.9 contained some questions also listed under authoritarianism, there were two additional specific questions on the role of the family, indicating the importance of that social institution to the respondents. The peasants were divided, however, on whether the family as an institution ought to "completely" control the behavior of its members. The effect of familism on the propensity to accept innovation is debatable. On the one hand, Banfield specified a strong concern for the family and a corresponding lack of concern for the village as deleterious to cooperation and modernization. Galtung, however, discovered that familism was not detrimental to the propensity to adopt certain innovative practices if these could be perceived as contributing to family welfare.

Two questions in Table 3.10 dealt with an orientation to the future, and the responses attested to the general sense of optimism with which the peasant regarded the future. Such a result is most encouraging since most studies have shown that peasants in transitional or modernizing villages have the highest morale and expectations for the future, while those in backward villages, villages left behind by the course of change, are the most depressed and pessimistic.<sup>16</sup> Not all of the changes witnessed by the Korean peasant since World War II had been pleasant, and thus it was all the more striking to find him so sanguine about the future. The analysis of the data gathered in two Korean villages will provide some further insight into this characteristic.

Table 3.10  
Future Orientation

	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree
The young man of today can expect much of the future.	86.9%	6.6%	5.9%
It is important to make plans for one's life and not just accept what happens.	81.6	5.1	12.9

Table 3.11  
Attitude to Government

	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree
I believe that most public officials don't care what people like me think.	30.5%	24.5%	44.4%
The average citizen like me can have an important influence on government decisions.	70.4	17.3	11.8
Persons like myself have little chance of protecting our personal interests when they conflict with people who are richer.	44.4	27.9	26.8
It is only wishful thinking to believe that one can really influence what happens in society.	44.7	19.7	34.7
Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like myself can't really understand what's going on.	31.0	25.4	42.7



Finally, several questions in Table 3.11 pertained to the respondents' attitudes to the government, and where these questions specifically related to the government rather than society as a whole, the peasants tended to regard it as fairly responsive. Insofar as these answers represented actual attitudes toward the government, it could be surmised that the peasant would be influenced toward change by such government-sponsored programs as the Saemaul movement. It should also be noted, however, that as many as 20 to 25 percent of the respondents said they were uncertain. This fact gains in significance when compared to responses to all other questions of a political nature; as shown in various tables, such questions elicited the highest percentage of "uncertain" responses in the entire questionnaire. Not enough questions about the government were asked to provide a full picture of the relationship between peasants and the official institutions of society. The questions were limited, first, by the need to keep the questionnaire sufficiently short and, second, by the sensitivity of political topics at the time of the survey. It was a time of uncertainty, anxiety, and hopes. The Yushin constitution had just gone into effect, the reunification talks with North Korea still seemed viable, and political discussions were constrained. Arguments of political issues were subdued even within the *tabangs*, or tearooms, traditional arenas for political argument, for fear of violating the new restrictions on political discussion, which might bring a prison sentence of three years. Under these circumstances, it seemed best to ask a number of relatively noncontroversial questions about politics rather than risk suspicions about the purpose of the questionnaire.

The Korean peasant is, of course, alert to the risks of certain political attitudes, and questions on politics sometimes elicit almost unanimous approval of what is regarded as the "official position," either because the official position is accepted, which is less likely, or because the official position constitutes the safest answer. Thus several interpretations are possible for the results on the political questions. On the one hand, the positive attitudes toward the government were the result of acquiescence, either because of fear of the consequences of being outspoken or because government propaganda pervaded the countryside. On the other hand, the political aims and preferences of disaffected urban intellectuals, whose opinions were generally those most likely to be heard and heeded by the international news media, may not have fully represented the opinions of their rural counterparts. For example, the village respondents reported on in Chapter 5, when asked how aware urbanites were of village problems, responded "a lot," 16.4 percent, "a moderate amount," 38.6 percent, and "very little," 42.1 percent. Although this question was not asked in the national survey, it may well be that peasants perceived the Park government differently than their urban compatriots.

The percentaged results on the attitudinal portion of the questionnaire provide a picture of a Korean peasant who was neither steeped in traditionalism nor depressed about the future. He seemed to be efficacious and willing to cooperate with other villagers. Some of the authoritarianism of the past still lingered, and the peasants seemed to see their situation more from the point of view of how society might view them rather than from intrinsic shortcomings that they recognized themselves. While there was a tendency toward some conservatism in the face of change, it was certainly not pervasive. The chances for the Saemaul movement to succeed appeared good, provided that it could help the peasants see an improving quality of life.



Rather than being demoralized in the face of the future, these peasants looked forward to the future with a degree of optimism. Their qualities of trust and cooperativeness portended an improving future. This picture fits with results that have come from several studies on villages that were backward, transitional, and relatively more advanced in their acceptance of modernity. They have shown that demoralization occurs in the villages least affected by the impact of the modern industrial world. Thus as a society some distance on the road to eventual economic development and modernity Korea had not produced, according to this survey, a demoralized countryside but, by and large, a rural society that could accept, perhaps initiate, changes that it perceived as economically beneficial to itself.

#### *A Factor Analysis of the Attributes and Attitudes of Korean Peasants*

The previous section gave a descriptive assessment of Korean peasants on a variety of attributes and attitudes. This assessment suggested optimism with respect to the peasant's ability to meet the challenges of social change. This section will combine salient attitudinal items with a host of behavioral and other questionnaire items to determine the disposition of the major hypotheses enumerated in Chapter 2. It is, therefore, descriptive to the extent that it presents the pattern of relationships among seventy-eight attributes of the peasant respondents, and the structure uncovered will support or reject the hypotheses concerning innovativeness. The methodology used in this section is fully described in Appendix C.

Cursorily speaking, the factor results were not fully encouraging, for the number of factors extracted was large. This indicated that the structure of interrelationships of the variables and attributes was loose, and a full exoneration of the numerous hypotheses on modernization and the relationship of innovative attitudes and behavior is unlikely. On the other hand, as the analysis of each factor proceeds, it will be apparent that some vindication of modernization theory was obtained. In addition, although there may be some skepticism about factor analysis as a technique, one or two factors, while trivial, made obvious sense. For example, Factor 2 of the rotated matrix might have been entitled an Age Factor, for loaded on (correlated with) this dimension was the variable age which was related to marital status and the number of children. There was also a negative relationship on this factor with membership in 4-H clubs, indicating that this is an attribute of the younger peasants. The attempt to relate physical energy to any other variable failed, but it was heartening to see on the rotated Factor 13 that energetic individuals also experienced little illness. While both these results are in themselves trivial and, as it happened, stillborn in their relationship to any other variables of interest, they do indicate that the respondents were answering questions rationally. These results somewhat supported the less obvious results on some of the more interesting factors that will be discussed. In multivariate analysis the analyst hopes to find certain obvious results, for if these do not appear any less obvious or even untoward results would be dubious. The trivial provides reason to have some faith in the nontrivial.

Preceding each discussion of the chief factors from among those extracted and rotated, the higher loading variables and attributes as well as the size of their loadings will be indicated. Variables that correlated with any factor at 0.30 or above were regarded as significantly related to that dimension or



pattern, although some lower correlations were also reviewed when these seemed at least suggestive.<sup>17</sup> Like the product-moment correlation coefficient itself, the amount of variance each attribute contributed to a factor may be approximated by squaring the factor loading so that a relationship of 0.30 indicated that some 9 percent of that item's variance was associated with the pattern depicted by the factor.

FACTOR 1	Leadership
OFFICIAL*	0.46**
AGLISTEN	0.42
DISCUSS	0.50
MEETING	0.32
PAMPHLET	(0.29)
MEMBER	0.33
POSITION	0.39
CONCERN	0.60
PROBDISC	0.65
IMPROVE	0.47
DONATE	0.50
PASTDNTE	0.40
INFLUNCE	0.50
NATIONAL	(0.25)
AGSCHOOL	(0.26)

\*For convenience, items are noted by their short designations. The full questionnaire items are given in Appendix A.

\*\*In cases where the signs + and - of the correlation would make interpretation ambiguous, they have been changed to conform with the text. Thus the wording and coding govern the sign of the correlation, and changing the positive or negative sign of the factor correlation simply reverses the direction of the coding.

The most important dimension emerging from the analysis of the major attitudinal and behavioral items of the questionnaire was a cluster of items easily identified as a leadership pattern. This pattern depicts individuals who may have been, or were at the time, officials who were members in several organizations other than the farmers' cooperatives,<sup>18</sup> and who were likely to have held some office within these organizations. Providing credibility to their responses, individuals exhibiting such a leadership pattern were not merely passive officeholders but seemed to have actively engaged in discussing village problems with others. They agreed that they would donate time for village projects in the future and said that they had done so in the past. There is evidence that they were attuned to the media, listening to radio coverage of agricultural problems and reading pamphlets. Although only slightly associated with this dimension, some interest in national affairs was also evident but not any tendency to extend this interest to international affairs. This may not be a fully accurate interpretation, for one of the topics of keen interest in the Korean countryside during the course of this survey was the reunification talks that were still proceeding, though haltingly. These were probably regarded, however, as national rather than international events. These peasants averred

that they exercised influence in their villages, and they did not seem to desire or perceive a need for increased influence. Finally, there was a tendency, albeit slight, for the pattern to include the desire for an agricultural high school education for their children.

Notable in connection with this pattern of leadership was the absence of any attitudinal variables. Efforts to ally the variables present on the factor with any of the attitudes toward farming, village life or change were unsuccessful. Village activists apparently held a variety of attitudes, both pro and con, but these did not importantly relate to the pattern of leadership. While this result was disappointing, what was perhaps even more disappointing was the fact that none of the possible evidences of innovative farming practices entered into the pattern either. While leadership of this sort could have been vitally related to the success or failure of village projects, there is no warrant for assuming that such individuals were better peasants than nonleaders. Nor did they enjoy through their efforts and association with the farm media any increased output for their crops. While a leadership pattern, such as it appears to be, would seem to be an important factor in community development, the returns to such an activist were by no means apparent. Perhaps leadership is its own reward, and there are those who enjoy position without any further return than prestige. The results did not show that persons rating high on this dimension were in fact innovators; while they may have led others in common improvements for the village, there was no evidence of their being the more innovative or successful peasants. Leadership emerged in this analysis as independent of innovative propensities and measures of success as peasants. We might conclude that in 1973 it was not among leader activists that the causal patterns for innovative agriculture could be located, even though some of the pertinent innovative attributes were present on this factorial pattern.

In addition, and in spite of contacts with radio and pamphlets, it is of some surprise to note that none of the questions concerning the Saemaul movement elicited a response associated with the leadership attributes and variables. The two factors on which Saemaul responses were loaded saliently contained no association whatever with other behavioral or attitudinal traits. This would indicate that the movement had not fully defined itself in the minds of the peasants, for if anyone were to grasp its messages it would have most likely been leaders, active in their communities and alert to the national media. Either the movement had not had time to affect the villages, or it had failed to stimulate its peasant targets.

There is much to be said for the first alternative, for the movement had been in existence no more than a year before this survey, but there are other possible conjectures. It would be easy to hypothesize, for instance, that peasants have become resistant to national messages, whenever they are left with a choice, and will not begin to amalgamate messages until they discover some good results forthcoming. Without tangible benefits connected with a movement such as Saemaul, a psychological resistance to absorbing new outlooks concerning national goals will be encountered. It must again be cautioned that this is pure conjecture, not based on any positive results of this factor analysis, but nonetheless consonant with the negative results and suggestions of programs in other peasant societies. When a set of opinions and attitudes *does not* relate to any other pattern, there are undoubtedly reasons for this result.



FACTOR 3	Land
WETLAND	0.86
DRYLAND	0.30
YIELD	0.82
PARCELS	0.40
HIRE	(0.28)
OTHRWORK	(-0.27)
TONGIL	(0.22)

This dimension represents a distinct result that has to do with the size of holdings. It will be recalled that by law no peasant may hold more than 3.0 *chôngbo* of wetland, but within this limit there are variations in the size of holdings. A person with holdings pressing these limits will obviously be less likely than others to have to rely on other work than his farming, as this pattern shows. Moreover, it will be generally those with the larger holdings who will be able and find it necessary to hire others from time to time to aid with the planting, transplanting, and harvesting. It is not so obvious that the size of holdings would have anything to do with the yield, which in the questionnaire was the average yield per *majigi* and not total yield. Nevertheless, the result is convincing that peasants with the largest legal holdings of wetland obtained the largest yields per *majigi*. It would probably be spurious in 1973 to have related these larger yields to the planting of Tongil, since that new rice variety did not enjoy the success in increasing yields that had been predicted, both because of inexperience in the techniques of its culture and the inclement weather conditions during the 1972 harvest. There is some corroboration of this conjecture in the fact that this pattern does not include the response of "increased yields." In addition, the pattern includes the response that fields were broken into more than one parcel which, most likely, attests to the fact that these peasants had, on the average, more land than others. Yet fragmentation of holdings is generally regarded as an evil that should be ultimately eliminated by the consolidation of holdings. What does this result indicate? It certainly does not suggest that parcels should be consolidated in all cases. It may suggest that peasants with more than one parcel are likely to have holdings among their parcels that are better than the average of the farmland around their villages. If a single parcel of wetland is a particularly good piece of land, this would undoubtedly raise the overall average yield. If true, one would anticipate some resistance to efforts at land consolidation, although peasants have generally supported such measures.

It is disappointing, in a sense, to discover a dimension related to higher yields of agricultural output but unrelated in this pattern with any of the attitudes and outlooks generally associated with modernization and more effective farm practices. This dimension seems to be physical and economic, rather than a pattern bringing together a variety of behaviors and propensities that would help to explain the higher output per *majigi*. There is absolutely no contribution to this pattern of any of the forms of village activism, no contributions by attitudes, and no association with any of the innovative behaviors pertinent to farm practices, except for the very small association of planting Tongil. Moreover, there is not even any indication that the apparent well-being and success suggested by this pattern provided any attachment to farming as a way of life; there is no evidence here that sending one's sons to an agricultural school was an aim.

Instead there emerges a bald relationship between the aggregated size of holdings and the relatively higher yield obtained.

Cross-tabulations revealed not only the tendency to raise Tongil as the size of the farm increased, but weedicide was also strongly related to plot size, with smaller plots being more generally handweeded only. Thus the size of the farm was an important consideration in the case of several innovative farming techniques.

It is interesting that in countries practicing extensive farming rather than the intensive agricultural techniques of rice farming, the yield per portion of land likely decreases. It seems that the larger farm areas in Korea, where the limit is approximately the amount of land that can be farmed by a single family, are more productive than smaller plots. Since larger landholdings enable a peasant family to devote itself to farming rather than taking on other work with farming as a part-time occupation, the labor it expends on the land has an obvious payoff. Perhaps the upper limits of landholdings might be increased slightly, although many peasants seemed to feel that two or three *chôngbo* was about as much land as they could manage.<sup>19</sup> Some increased productivity could most likely be obtained by amalgamating smaller holdings and increasing the landholdings of some peasants with little land, while other peasants would quit farming and devote themselves full-time to other work. It was in order to make other work available in the countryside that the Third Five-Year Plan called for a decentralization of factories.

FACTOR 6	Debt
WHOLECOM	0.33
AGSCHOOL	0.59
DEBT	-0.39
DEBTINC	-0.71

Factor 6 contained a small number of items related negatively with debt and the increase of debt, as seen in the table. The pattern includes the notion that each peasant will benefit and progress only if the entire community does so, an attitude slightly related to the factor; it is the first attitude that has figured into any pattern so far. In Table 3.6 the attitude that "each of us makes progress only when the community as a whole makes progress" was regarded as evidence of cooperativeness. The factor suggests a relatively positive attitude toward farming and optimism concerning the future for young persons. This seems to relate to the tendency to choose the agricultural school over other kinds of education for sons. This attitudinal tendency was apparently related to sound financial standing, as indicated by the negative relationships to debt, but there is no evidence that these persons were any wealthier than their neighbors. It is of some interest to note that other items are missing on the pattern that in other circumstances might have appeared. There is no indication that lack of debt had anything to do with innovations or yield but that it related only with the tendency to stay with farming as an occupation and to see one's sons in the same line of work.



FACTOR 7	Dryland
DRYLAND	0.67
OTHERINC	0.73
COMCROP	0.38
OTHRWORK	0.42
TONGIL	-0.35

Several associations appear on Factor 7, Dryland, which ought not to be surprising. While Factor 3 showed a slight tendency for peasants having larger wetland holdings also to have larger dryland holdings, the factor here concerned only larger dryland holdings. Holders of dryland would probably specialize somewhat more in commercial crops, as appears here, and might also under some circumstances derive much of their income from work other than farming, since dryland is normally easier to cultivate than wetland rice. The negative relationship, or a tendency not to raise Tongil, is also an obvious relationship because Tongil is a wetland crop. While some peasants with high factor scores on such a pattern were probably associated with the land in a way different from their fellows who farmed mainly wetland, or both wetland and dryland, this seemed to be unrelated to attitudes.<sup>20</sup> Peasants in the circumstances of Factor 7 were not attitudinally different in any discernible respect from other peasants. This suggests that while attitudinal patterns may differ among peasants, this difference is unconnected with occupational differences and certain other attributes among villagers. Their common situation as villagers seemed to make their outlooks more or less homogeneous, answering to some extent the query whether villagers not actually peasants or only part-time peasants see themselves as peasants.

FACTOR 8	Villagers Take Advantage of You
POSITION	0.34
VILADV	0.56
VILLOOK	0.45
WEED	-0.40
UREA	-0.39

Persons who seemed to have some negative attitudes concerning their respective villages--e.g., that others tried to take advantage of them and that no one cared how the village looked--also tended to hold some sort of unofficial position in organizations and not to use at least two types of innovation, namely the most common fertilizer and weedicide. It is somewhat difficult to suggest reasons for these relationships, for the negative attitudes to village behavior apparently did not affect the desire to devote time to the village nor the notion that villages could be improved if everyone tried, but such individual behavior as the use of fertilizer and weeding techniques. There are not enough bridges across other attitudes and behaviors to point to convincing reasons for these associations.

During the summer preceding the administration of this questionnaire, some peasants attended brief Saemaul classes. Factor 9 provides some associations

with this particular experience:

FACTOR 9	Saemaul School
NEWSPAPR	(0.24)
RESPAUTH	(-0.28)
ROOF	0.53
SAESCHL	0.64

Once again it is apparent that the significant findings related to attendance in Saemaul summer classes are disappointing. Why didn't these persons, scoring higher on this factor, also have some strong notions about the materials and teachings imparted by the Saemaul movement? There were no tendencies to assess the movement as successful in imparting any particular form of information. It may be recalled that all of these items appeared on factors unassociated with other items. Moreover, no behaviors seemed to have been affected by this experience. We find that this pattern was related only to the attitude that disagreed with the proposition that the respect for authority is the best lesson that may be conveyed to children.

The item on the nature of the roof suggests that the peasants attending the schools may have been among the more well-to-do in the villages. This may be a good sign, although it had not yet led to any further results by the winter of 1972-1973, because it broke with a long tradition common to many rural communities throughout the less developed agricultural societies. There government-sponsored functions have usually been attended by those pressured by their villages to attend, while the more influential and wealthier opt out of what is most often interpreted as an unpleasant situation. For the same reason villages had donated the labor of the least consequential of the peasants to the old pre-colonial and colonial *corvées*. Further evidence that Korea broke with this tradition is found in a tendency, albeit slight, to read the news. These were certainly not the least capable villagers denoted in this pattern. Still, there is little doubt that the Saemaul movement had so far failed to effect some of the changes that it had aimed to produce among individuals in the villages. Perhaps it was still too early to discern ultimate changes in the villages and the peasant was still testing the sincerity of the government and the continuity of the new program.

FACTOR 10	Equipment
PARCELS	-0.31
HIRE	0.32
THRESHER	0.69
PLOW	0.57

Insofar as the pattern in Factor 10 may be interpreted, it suggests that the consolidation of land parcels made possible the use of machinery, such as the mechanical plow, but that the total size of holdings was not involved in the decision to purchase machinery. In other words, it was consolidation and not



size that was the crucial feature of farmland. The use of equipment apparently related to the occasional hiring of farm laborers to help out in the fields, but it did not relate to any increases in yields nor to any other form of innovation or innovative attitudes and behavior. Perhaps it only served to reduce the peasant's labor.

While several attitudes were aligned on Factor 15, there were no relationships to other attributes. Overall, attitudes and behaviors, whether innovative or not, did not turn out to be closely related in these results. While we have discovered in the last section that attitudes provided some interesting insights about the peasants, the real interest in them must be in their effect on behavior. The results in the factor analysis were disappointing. Factor 16 contained a few items associated with the major loading item, ownership of a working oxen. Although very slight, there was some correlation between the ownership of a working oxen and the planting of Tongil.

FACTOR 17	Decision
DECISION	0.71
IMPROVE	0.31
MOREINFL	0.56
INSTCID	(0.28)

This factor portrays peasants who wished to make the decisions in a group, who would have liked more influence than they had and who thought that villages could be improved, provided that peasants cooperated. Since the factor also contains an aspect of innovative behavior, namely the use of insecticides,<sup>21</sup> these peasants might also have had some notion of modern farm techniques. These somewhat more aggressive persons with no official capacities or experience in holding organizational positions might be expected to have been younger peasants, but age did not load on this factor. In fact, age did not figure prominently in any important findings except marriage and numbers of children. The younger generation did not appear to be any more or less innovative than older practicing peasants. While it might be conjectured that modern Korean education, as the common texts used in the elementary and higher schools suggested, emphasized values that relate to achievement and modernization, these were unlikely to have affected the young people's practices and attitudes toward farming. It may therefore be conjectured that so far as farming was concerned, Korean education had not implanted any new values, for if it had, the factor analysis would have uncovered at least some relationships between age, education, and innovative attitudes and behavior. This is, however, not an uncommon situation in other agricultural and less developed nations in which education does not relate directly to the peasants' way of life.<sup>22</sup> Education is an urban influence geared to urban life styles. It had always been so in Korea, although the old *sōdang*, village schools that taught basic literacy and the Chinese classics, might have implanted a basic respect for agriculture.<sup>23</sup>

The results in this study, together with the large number of attributes and attitudes assessed, cannot support Galtung's statement that "we would not be willing to use a measure of modernism that did not show consistent increase with

decreasing age."<sup>24</sup> While the statement may be valid for other societies, there are several reasons why it might not be for Korea. First, Korea has been subjected to innovation propaganda for a long time, ever since the period under Japanese colonialism. Second, what Korean children learn in school concerning modernization is likely to be transmitted to the home. Third, in a literate society with an active press and radio espousing modernization, few peasants are likely to escape the proselytization of new ways. Fourth, the peasants in this survey had attended Saemaul schools where innovative farming techniques were taught. Fifth, in a growing market economy other factors, such as return on investment, are likely to outweigh variables associated with age. Given the large number of possible relationships to age, it is unlikely that none of the attributes and attitudes entered into this analysis were indicators of modernization.

FACTOR 20	Competition
MEMBER	0.34
VILLOOK	(-0.27)
COMCROP	0.56
DEBT	0.43
TONGIL	(0.27)
COOPNEIG	(0.22)
COMPETE	0.55

An individual responding to this type of pattern belonged to a village that competed in some ways with other neighboring villages. Although the relationship is very slight, this competition also led to some degree of cooperation between the villages and apparently induced an increased concern about the appearance of the villages. Two kinds of innovative behavior were also displayed through this pattern, the planting of commercial crops and of the new rice strain. This suggests that innovativeness was not simply associated with raising commercial crops, but that it was related to them in a more complex way. In addition, there was a tendency to disagree that villagers do not care how their village looks, which was a possible further outgrowth of competing with other villages. Membership in organizations also tended to be somewhat higher among individuals exhibiting high scores on this pattern. Debt may not figure as an inhibiting factor but may be associated with the relatively innovative behavior of such a pattern. It does cost some money to set up a new system of commercial crops, and it does require some outlay in funds to take on the growing of a new rice strain. While competition of this sort is not unknown elsewhere, socialist systems tend to use it more widely, with competitions between communes or worker brigades encouraged in order to increase production. Competition did not result in increased output in Korea, but there is evidence that it contributed to a style of behavior that may ultimately result in increased production. The initial failures with the new rice strain in 1972 will presumably be followed by increases in productivity. The nature of the factor suggests that competition between villages deserves to be analyzed further.



FACTOR 21	Shun Cooperation
FARMDRDG	(0.22)
SHUNCOOP	0.65
CANTINFL	0.34
LESSED	0.36
PLANS	-0.34
WHOLECOM	(-0.25)
MINDBUS	(-0.28)

Factor 21 is a series of attitudes that depict a negative view of farming, alienation from the community, and a feeling of powerlessness to influence events and to plan one's life. For the purpose of this section the major significance of this pattern was the lack of relationship to any other aspect of behavior or attribute that might have been related to innovation or cooperation. The attitudes appeared to be inimical to any form of cooperative or innovative behavior, and yet not to have any effect on them, positive or negative.<sup>25</sup> In Factors 22 and 23, on the other hand, there is at least some evidence of inter-relationship between attitudes and specific behaviors and farm practices:

FACTOR 22	Conservatism
RELLYWORK	0.78
POLITE	(0.26)
INSCTCID	-0.33

  

FACTOR 23	Authoritarianism
VILADV	(0.27)
RESPAUTH	0.36
TOOEDUC	0.58
MINDBUS	(0.29)
LEADAFRD	0.59
WEED	(-0.26)
INSCTCID	(-0.24)

Factor 22 suggests a slight relationship between a relatively conservative attitude toward change and the nonuse of insecticides before plants were affected or total nonuse. A more emphatic relationship is shown in the next factor between a series of attitudes, all of which might have related to an authoritarian cast of mind, and two innovative practices. This pattern related to the nonuse of weedicide and the tendency, albeit slight, against the use of insecticide, or at least prior to insect damage to the plants. In the national sample, this is the only satisfactory evidence so far that identifiable authoritarianism may have existed in the villages and related negatively with some innovative practices. This factor seems to corroborate Hagen's thesis about authoritarianism at the very basic level of peasant behavior. It is also well to note that the authoritarian factor did not relate these attitudes to the actual holding of any office or position. Persons with these attitudes would be expected to make difficult

leaders, but there is no evidence that the pattern related in any way with the holding of office. It could be assumed that such individuals were not popular with other villagers. Yet there is also no indication that the attitudinal set either prevented or encouraged cooperation and the donation of time for village projects.

FACTOR 24	Visits to Town
DURRES	(0.27)
TOWNVIST	0.58
NEWSPAPR	0.31
AGLISTEN	-0.35
MEMBER	(0.24)
WHOLECOM	(0.24)

Factor 24 tells us little of innovative behavior or farm practices. It seems to relate in a pattern several items suggesting an orientation away from the farm and toward the town. Very slightly, possibly as a result of the somewhat higher newspaper readership, there was a notion that the whole community could indeed work together to improve things for the village.<sup>26</sup> However, this opinion was not necessarily associated with behavior.

FACTOR 25	Good Luck
POLITE	0.52
TOOEDUC	(0.24)
GOODLUCK	0.69
INSCTCID	(0.25)
UREA	(-0.27)
COOPNEIG	0.38
COMPETE	(0.25)

The relationships on Factor 25 are not easy to grasp. The attitudes indicated some amount of attachment to the village, together with a somewhat traditional attitude toward fortune, e.g., the feeling that young persons were too educated and a belief in good luck. But their relationship to the use of insecticide prior to insect attacks and to village competition was not evident. Once again we find competition among villagers associated with cooperation between them. For the present it may be best to leave this factor uninterpreted. The addition of other items in the questionnaire may possibly suggest a bridge between these seemingly unrelated items. Perhaps there are some untested questions that ought to have been included in this research, but it is difficult to guess what these might have been. The fact that other patterns seemed to be readily interpretable suggests the idea that this factor, too, might make some sense if new items were entered into the analysis.



FACTOR 26	News
IMPROVE	(-0.26)
MOREINFL	(0.24)
NATIONAL	0.58
FARMDRDG	(0.22)
CANTINFL	(-0.29)
INSCTCID	(-0.29)

Several tendencies are related on Factor 26 that are not easily explained. This pattern suggests a major interest in following national news but does not positively relate the notion that the village community can be improved. A very slight relationship with a negative attitude toward farming ("farming is drudgery") and a negative behavior (the use of insecticide, with its negative relationship) in farm practice might reveal a pattern of behaviors and opinions that oriented a peasant scoring high on this factor to the national political world rather than to the local level. Such a peasant might have believed, e.g., that he could affect politics and society and enhance his own influence by removing himself from the village sphere. If this conjecture is correct, this pattern does not indicate any consequent loss to village leadership, cooperation, or modernization.

FACTOR 27	Farmers' Standing
ENERGY	(0.24)
FARMDRDG	-0.30
FARMSTNG	-0.73
MEETPEOP	(-0.26)
AGSCHOOL	(0.28)

One of several disappointing results in this analysis was the lack of association of physical energy with other items of interest, with the exception of the result in Factor 27 and the obvious result on another pattern that energetic feelings were also associated with absence of sickness.<sup>27</sup> But there is a slight relationship between energy and three items of attitude that suggested a positive orientation to farming as an occupation. The sole result, however, aside from a psychological one, was the propensity to send boys to agricultural school. It might also be expected that such a pattern would include some tendency to innovate and accept new practices, but this is not supported.

The last factor contains the sole item of last-name, or clan, villages (0.80), unassociated with any other variable. This is in itself a somewhat revealing result, for it shows that in villages where most persons had the same name, there was neither more nor less innovation nor a greater degree of cooperation. Some sources suggest that last-name villages might in fact be less ready to innovate because they are more likely to be steeped in tradition, but that is not borne out by this analysis.<sup>28</sup> It might also be posited that such villages would have higher morale or a higher degree of cooperation, but that did not prove to be the case either. Respondents from last-name villages were no different from any other peasants, except that they were from last-name villages.

Having discussed the separate factorial results, we may now attempt to synthesize their major lessons. It should be repeated that these findings pertain only to a group of Korean peasant respondents in 1973, and that under other circumstances or at another time they may have turned out differently. For instance, the Saemaul movement was new, and its potential contribution to the countryside would not yet necessarily have been evident. While some hypotheses have been supported in the findings discussed in this section, the most notable result is that these patterns contain a good deal of amorphousness. A definite pattern of leadership emerged, and it combined concern with village problems, donations of time to village projects, influence, position, and so forth, but it did not bring into the relationship any of the more tangible innovative behaviors practiced by peasants nor any relationship with the Saemaul movement. Contact with the media did figure into the leadership pattern to the extent that agricultural programs were heard over the radio and pamphlets were read. These were very specific contacts with media, indicating a concern with farm problems rather than a diffuse interest in the media as such.

On this and many other patterns, the general conclusion must be that attitudes as such did not play a vital role in agricultural leadership on innovation. The minor exceptions to this seemed to involve the tendency to regard an agricultural education as desirable for children and some tendency for an authoritarian frame of mind to slightly inhibit certain new farm practices. If these data are analyzed in order to discern the antecedents of agricultural modernity, there are few salient hints as to how this might be accomplished. However, it would seem, unspectacularly, that the size of the wetland holdings had something to do with a large output per *majigi*, regardless of the attitudes or energy of the peasant himself. It also seems to be the case that competition between villages helped as much as any other condition in contributing to such practices as planting the new rice strain and commercial crops.

In the Korean farm context, what with holdings of limited size, type of crops planted, and so forth, the consolidation of parcels might have contributed to the use of farm machinery, but there is no evidence that it increased output. Some attitudinal questions indirectly asked whether it reduced the peasants' workload, but peasants using machinery apparently did not regard farm work as more or less of a drudgery than peasants making less use of machinery.

The results seem to lead to the conclusion that attitudes and practices had generally little to do with increased output. There is also little evidence that attitudes and practices affected income which could be determined by the nature of the roof, whether tiled or not, and by the amount of debt. Furthermore, the results show that the overall structure of the economy did not bring out the patterns that might have been anticipated if the peasants had in fact been innovating and reaping the rewards of their innovations. Leadership patterns were distinctly present in the population, innovative practices were made use of and, as clearly demonstrated in the previous section, there was good village morale and a positive attitude toward farming, but these disparate patterns were not drawn into a network that provided positive feedback to peasants. Positive feedback would have combined, say, attitudes and practices into patterns of behavior contributing, if at all possible given the state of the land and economy, to increased output which, in turn, would have rewarded innovative behavior and drawn into the pattern more attitudes of morale and leadership, until a pattern emerged that combined all of the salient attributes of modernization.



For such a positive feedback system to be established, however, there would have to be ample tangible rewards for the peasants, and at a rate sufficiently large and fast to increase and elaborate such behavior. Needless to say, there had been long periods of negative feedback, a historical training in non-innovation and resignation, particularly during the Japanese occupation<sup>29</sup> and following the military government's decision in the 1960s to channel income into the cities at the expense of the countryside. The results of this decision may quite possibly still prevail in the countryside. If there are modernizing tendencies present, and some of the patterns indicate that these existed in 1973, they are just beginning to develop. Indeed, Lee Man-Gap says that "farmers lost productive incentives because of the low grain price policy in effect until recently [1973]." <sup>30</sup> Time and future efforts will determine whether a condition of rewards to peasants for improved techniques ("positive feedback") can be established in the Korean agricultural sector. This is a common problem of the countryside well summarized on the other side of the world in a statement made to Jean-Pierre Peroncel-Hugoz by an old Egyptian farmer, "Why do they buy cotton from us at so much lower a price than they get for it abroad? I agreed to let the cooperative help me, which resulted in my product going up a third. But what's the point?" <sup>31</sup> This is the classic case of unrewarded change ("negative feedback") in the agricultural sector. It is the age-old tradition, contemptuous of the peasant, of mobilizing the wealth of the countryside for the benefit of the city, a practice that Nash likens to the practices of the ancient irrigation empires of the Khmer, the Maya, the Aztec and Pharaonic Egypt. <sup>32</sup>

One of the questions allied to attitudes toward farming, whether to send sons to an agricultural high school, turned up on several factors although it was not salient on any one of them. Certain variables are occasionally associated with a great many separate patterns and factors, bridging all of them because of some central importance; e.g., in factoring forms of international conflict, the variable "threats" is associated with the separate (orthogonal) patterns of war, diplomacy, and belligerency, because it plays an important role in all of them. This may also have been the case with sending sons to agricultural high school. Since attitudes toward farming were a critical hypothesis--they were thought to be of intrinsic importance to innovation, output, and cooperation--it seemed advisable to assess further the desire of peasants to send their sons to an agricultural high school. The results of this specific analysis are the subject of Chapter 4.