

**EXISTENCE CHALLENGED, PROGRESS ENVISIONED,  
CULTURE COMPROMISED:  
THE EFFECTS OF WESTERN INFLUENCES ON TRADITIONAL  
VALUES IN SOUTH KOREA**

A Thesis

by

CRYSTAL DAWN MIN

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of  
Texas A&M University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

May 2006

Major Subject: Sociology

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**ABSTRACT**

Existence Challenged, Progress Envisioned, Culture Compromised: The Effects of

Western Influences on Traditional Values in South Korea. (May 2006)

Crystal Dawn Min, B.A., Indiana University of Pennsylvania

Chair of Advisory Committee: Dr. Stjepan Mestrovic

This thesis is an exploratory one, which examines the relationship between Western influences (such as the media, education, work, travel, and friendships) and traditional values in South Korea (such as those related to family, social relationships, nationalism, social order, leisure time, work, religion and women's issues). The relationship between these was investigated in light of modernization theories and Riesman's stages of societal progress. Furthermore, a survey was conducted among 579 individuals from the younger and older generations in Seoul and Daegu, to determine the degree of Western influences among the generations, and the adherence to traditional values. It was found that the younger generation clearly had more exposure to Western influences, and also adhered much less to traditional values, while the opposite held true for the older generation. A case was made that South Korea's unprecedented development following Independence opened the country, especially the younger generation, to influences from the West as they had never experienced before. The generation gap that came as a result of this is extreme, and without express effort to preserve those traditional values that have shaped Korean society for so long, there may be serious ramifications for Korean society in the future.

## **DEDICATION**

To my husband

For your love and support, you are the stronghold in my life.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Within twenty years at the most, he reflected, the huge and simple question, “Was life better before the Revolution than it is now?” would have ceased once and for all to be answerable. But in effect it was unanswerable even now, since the few scattered survivors from the ancient world were incapable of comparing one age with another. They remembered a million useless things...And when memory failed and written records were falsified – when that happened, the claim of the Party to have improved the conditions of human life had got to be accepted, because there did not exist, and never again could exist, any standard against which it could be tested.

Winston’s dilemma, 1984

And grandma replied, “Now a days life is really so much easier. We can learn of the events that take place in far away lands thanks to TV, and we can talk directly with people who are far away by using our telephone.” After listening to her grandmother’s words, little Sunho pondered how much better life was today than long ago.

Passage from a South Korean third Grade Social Studies book

The quotes above<sup>1</sup> represent the pinnacle of what I am attempting to discover in this thesis, and the reason for the title of this project. It is unfortunate, but no one seems to talk about the nation of South Korea, forgetting about its cultural struggles and tumultuous history of occupations and invasions, despite its noncombatant tendencies. Yet occupations repeatedly plagued the nation throughout its history because of its strategic geographical location in Asia. Beginning with the Japanese occupation and the subsequent independence through the United States, the Republic of South Korea<sup>2</sup> underwent one of the most dramatic and rapid social, economic, political, and thus cultural changes in any nation’s history. I have heard the saying in Korea that

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This thesis follows the style of the *American Sociological Review*.

<sup>1</sup> Quotes are borrowed from Dennis Hart in “From Tradition to Consumption: Construction of a Capitalist Culture in South Korea.”

<sup>2</sup> Henceforth, the Republic of Korea will be referred to as South Korea or Korea.

“development is changing things so rapidly, that when I get on the bus, I don’t know if the stop I was going to get off will be there anymore.”

“Existence challenged,” in the title, refers to the continual struggle of Korea to preserve its culture and land. Particularly, however, it refers to the period of Japanese colonialism where blatant efforts were undertaken to repress and destroy anything of traditional Korea. “Progress envisioned,” refers to the motivation derived out of this experience, to rebuild themselves, and somehow modernize to the point of becoming an independent nation in the world’s economic and political order. “Culture compromised” refers to the sacrifices and subsequent struggles to preserve traditional culture and values, and develop a true Korean identity, while still accepting the necessary changes that have to occur in order to modernize. All of these notions will be analyzed throughout this thesis and in the end, the reader should have a much deeper understanding of not only the quotes above, but of the deep cultural struggle that has been occurring as a result of modernization throughout the past several decades in South Korea.

## BACKGROUND

Regardless of discipline or field, when thinking of East and Southeast Asia, the first countries which come to mind for the majority of individuals are the People’s Republic of China and Japan. Most of the general public has a basic idea of where these countries are located on the map, and have some knowledge about them, however basic it might be. The field of Asian Studies, as well as many sociologists who study Asian cultures, have a preoccupation with these two nations, reflected in countless journal articles, books and presentations about them. We tend to generalize those findings

across most of Asia, encompassing a score of other countries within them, which may have very different histories, cultures, religions, traditions and customs that could easily interfere with those generalizations.

In the summer of 2002, I took my first trip to Asia, choosing to go to the less popular and less known Republic of South Korea. After this trip, I became increasingly more interested in this country and eventually decided to undertake research in Asia and to specialize on the somewhat forgotten treasure of South Korea. Just as when speaking of Asia, the first things which come to mind are China and Japan, when speaking of Korea, the first things which come to mind, regardless of discipline, are North Korea, nuclear weapons, the “axis of evil” (an interesting term which deserves deeper attention in another work), and in the field of economics, Korea is thought of as one of the most rapidly developing economies in the world. But speak of values, traditions, customs, Western influences and how these affect the intricacies of South Korean society, and virtually no discussion in academic literature can be found.

Why has a country with such a unique and important history, which plays such an integral role in Asian affairs and that provides such deep sociological insights, been virtually unexplored in these areas? I make a claim that not only has the West erred in its lack of attention to this country (other than in the political/economical arenas noted above), but Western academia *needs* to take a closer look at this nation if we seek to understand what is truly going on as a result of modernization and globalization throughout the world. South Korea is an extremely important case study because we can examine the effects of modernization as they are occurring. Much of Korea’s

modernization has occurred only within the last 50 years or so, after official American occupation ceased, the Korean War ended, and an “American style democracy” was adopted. Specifically, the research in this thesis will begin to consider a virtually unexamined relationship between modernization and its effects on traditionally held cultural values. This thesis research holds great value in that it seeks not only to help fill a major void in academic research, but also to promote a better understanding of Korean culture in the West.

Sheridan makes an important point about South Korea, noting that we need to know more about Korea, not only because of its economic potential and its strategic centrality (which is what we tend to focus on when think of how to deal with North Korea or how rapid economic development occurs), but also because of its intricate and august culture, which is bound in time to play a more prominent role in the great human discourse (Sheridan). Sheridan is one of the few authors who discusses the very issue in which I am interested and asks the same questions, such as, “Will Korea lose the very things that make it Korean?...Many Koreans fear their society could lose, in their embrace of the West, something of what makes them special” (Sheridan 1999: 219). Among sociologists in South Korea, this is a well-known and often discussed issue which has been approached from different angles, through many different means, but it has not been so readily considered by sociologists in the West.

Clearly, the topics of modernization, globalization, values and Western influences in South Korea are too large to be covered by any one individual, let alone one thesis project, and I do not claim this as my objective. I have, however, in this thesis

and in my research, narrowed down specific values and specific western influences to study. These have been combined with research previously explored in Asia on these topics, as well as the topics of globalization and modernization. The importance of the sociological study of Korea (rather than its incorporation into the general Asian Studies of China and Japan) will be established, and a clear foundation for future research in the areas mentioned above will be laid.

## INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, I am exploring the effects of Western influences as a result of modernization on the attitudes and values of young and old persons in South Korea. This “hermit kingdom,” as South Korea has been known in the past, provides a unique opportunity to study the effects of Western influences on a society that has had little exposure to such influences throughout its history. Since the Korean War, the exposure to outside influences has increased at an unprecedented rate in the country. In recent decades, South Korea has been exposed to a greater degree than ever before to Western influences through travel, study, media, and the U.S. military presence in the country. Koreans have been exposed to many typically held Western attitudes and values, which are often quite different from their traditionally held beliefs.

To a great extent, the younger generation of Koreans has had the opportunity for exposure to these outside influences far more than their parents. Many in the younger generation have experienced Western culture through movies, music, the internet, study or vacationing abroad, and personal friendships with Westerners in their country. In my thesis, I am hypothesizing that this increased exposure may contribute to a cultural shift

in Korea, away from traditionally held values and beliefs. The older generation, with less opportunity for direct positive interaction with Western culture, may have been more inclined to continue to preserve traditional Korean values and customs. Sheridan points out very clearly the existing generation gap by quoting a leading novelist in South Korea, Yi Munyol, as follows:

The changes of the last 20 or 30 years should really have taken place over two or three centuries, they're so big and so rapid. The generation gap used to occur over 20 or 30 years. Now it's people just a few years apart who feel the generation gap. Both the older generation and Generation X might have difficulty with some of the changes. The older generation is not familiar with the psychology of modern people and is still tied to tradition. Generation X have their lives dominated by television and computers. It's hard for them to understand older people in their own society (Sheridan 1999: 224).

In the coming years, without an expressed effort towards preservation, many of the attributes for which Korean society has been known may change. This could have serious ramifications for the preservation of traditional Korean values and beliefs in the future.

Before beginning a deeper discussion of the above issues, it is necessary to explain briefly some of the key terms and contents of this study, and to present some of the statistical, structural and cultural characteristics of Korean society. This information will shed greater understanding on the chapters that follow, and the terms will be discussed in even greater detail later.

Values. In this research, the primary values being studied are those which relate to the topics of family, social relationships, nationalism, social order, leisure time, work, religion and women's issues. Areas that I am not focusing on in the current study,

involve internal politics, economics, or international relations (including issues related to North Korea).

Western Influences. Areas of focus addressed in this thesis related to Western influences involve the media (television, movies, music, internet), education (study abroad, English language training), work, travel, and friendships with Westerners. Again, some may argue that Western influences also include clothing, architecture, food, political structure, trade, and economics. Though some of these may be touched on briefly, they are not the focus of this particular study.

#### COUNTRY FACTS ON SOUTH KOREA

For reference and background information on South Korea, I have included two tables below with important country characteristics. Table 1 includes important demographic information, and Table 2 includes a quick look at ethnicities, language, religion, economy and government in the country.

Table 1:

<b>Comparative Demographic Data<sup>3</sup></b>		
	<b>South Korea</b>	<b>United States</b>
<b>Land area</b>	38,022 sq. mi (about the size of Indiana)	3,537,438 sq. mi
<b>Total Population</b>	48,641,000	295,734,000
<b>Births per 1,000 population</b>	10	14
<b>Deaths per 1,000 population</b>	6	8
<b>Annual Rate of Growth</b>	0.4%	0.9%
<b>Life Expectancy at Birth (years)</b>	76.8	77.7
<b>Infant Death Rate (per 1,000 live births)</b>	6	6
<b>Total Fertility Rate (per woman)</b>	1.3	2.1

As you can see in the table above, South Korea's land area occupies a space approximately the size of the state of Indiana. The country is approximately 1/93 the size of the United States, yet has a population of about 1/6 that of the United States. This leads to extremely dense areas of population, large urban areas and fewer rural areas. The land/population difference, and the total fertility rate, which is almost half that of the United States and one of the lowest in the world, are the two most significant differences between the countries when considering this demographic information for background purposes.

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<sup>3</sup> Information gathered from most recent information for 2005 posted on <http://www.census.gov>



Table 2:

<b>Country Quick Facts on South Korea<sup>4</sup></b>	
<b>Ethnicities</b>	Homogeneous except for a small Chinese minority (approximately 20,000)
<b>Language</b>	Korean (English, Chinese and Japanese are taught widely in public schools)
<b>Religion</b>	Approximately half the population has no religious affiliation. Of the remainder, there are Christianity (49%), Buddhism (47%), Confucianism (3%), and Traditional religions (1%).
<b>Economy</b>	GDP growth rate (2004) 4.6%
<b>Government</b>	Republic with powers shared between the president and the legislature

South Korea is considered to be one of the most homogeneous populations in the world. The Chinese minority is so small that in many sources it is not even mentioned. The language of use is Korean, and Christianity is the religion adhered to most by those practicing religion, with Buddhism at a close second. There is controversy over the consideration of Confucianism as a religion in and of itself, and while the statistics above list only 3% as claiming this as their religion, there is significant evidence that Confucian *beliefs*, as a way of life, are adhered to widely throughout the society, regardless of the religion being practiced.

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<sup>4</sup> Information gathered from the United States Department of State Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs background notes on South Korea as of August 2005. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2800.htm>

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND<sup>5</sup>

While an analysis of the historical background is not the focus for interpreting the effects of Western influences on traditional values in South Korea, history is still an important factor in understanding how its modern society developed, and why individuals might hold the beliefs that they do today. Legend dates the beginning of Korea to 2333 B.C. when the son of the Heavenly God and a woman from a bear-totem tribe established the first kingdom. Historians refer to this earliest era as the Gojoseon (Ancient Joseon) period. The people living there today have an extremely long ancestry, dating back thousands of years. It would be impossible to analyze all of the events leading up to the present state, so I will begin with the Japanese occupation and invasion, which began in 1592 and continued through the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Korea has long been known as the “Hermit Kingdom” for its policies and oppositions against allowing outside influences into the country, for fear of losing its cultural identity. Its strategic location in East Asia, however, has meant a long history of battles over control of its land. Japan, after winning wars against China and Russia, forcibly annexed Korea and instituted colonial rule in 1910. This led to one of the harshest periods of occupation in Korea’s history, and to great exploitation of the land and people. Protests and uprisings from the Koreans, and a country divided by ideological differences caused by the emerging Cold War, led to US occupation of the southern half of the country, and Soviet occupation of the north. The 38<sup>th</sup> parallel was established as the boundary between these two powers, and the first elections in Korea

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<sup>5</sup> Historical information in this section is taken from *Facts about Korea* (2003), developed by the Korean Overseas Information Service. <http://www.korea.net>

were held in May 1948. A president was elected in the south, and a Communist regime was established in the North, which in June of 1950 led a full-scale invasion into the South. The Korean War lasted from 1950 until 1953 and brought in nations around the world. The peninsula was virtually torn apart by destruction of property and loss of life. A cease-fire occurred in 1953, with the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel remaining the dividing boundary between the nations, and the US has had a military presence in the country ever since. Since this time, the North has remained a closed nation, and the South has become increasingly more open, perhaps not by choice, but can no longer be considered a “hermit kingdom” as it once was. In fact, since the 1960’s, the history of economic development in Korea has proven to be one of the fastest in the world. Despite an economic crisis in 1998, which they recovered quite quickly from, the country is working hard to become a leading economic and industrial power in East Asia.

With American occupation, and democracy, came a constitution and government modeled after the United States. South Korea went from a long history of outside occupation and aversion to international trade, to a self-ruled democracy with a judicial, legislative and executive branch. Its international relations also changed rapidly, with a sudden shift to an outward-economic development model. Korea is now one of the world’s largest import markets, with an import volume exceeding that of China in 1995.

#### IMPLICATIONS FOR THIS STUDY

The ramifications of this extremely rapid development can be seen throughout the country. This is especially so regarding opportunities afforded to the younger generation that had never been seen or perhaps considered acceptable by the older

generation. The older generation, having lived through the Korean War, American occupation and democratic development, may still maintain some of the “hermit kingdom” mentality for which Korea has been known for so long. They may also be more likely to have negative attitudes about foreigners in the country, because they lived during an era of great turmoil because of foreign presence. This presence is still seen today in American military bases or in soldiers who do not respect the culture. The younger generation, on the other hand, has not had this negative experience. They have grown up in a country of relative peace, with a government extremely open to foreign investment and imports. They may shop and eat at restaurants with Westerners in the country for military purposes, have opportunities to study abroad, and are taught from a very young age the English language, which is often taught by Westerners brought into the country with special visas for that purpose. These two generations have had drastically different experiences, due not to a normal progression of “technological” change, but to an extremely rapid change in politics, government, technology, trade policy, and educational opportunities, which most societies take multiple decades to go through.

South Korea may be a unique case for these reasons, but American occupation justified through our policy of “spreading democracy” throughout the world is something that is becoming more of an issue for countries around the globe. The rapid change of entire political systems and subsequent “openness,” forced or welcomed, of foreign influence, can have consequences for future generations in those countries. These generations, like those in Korea, may have extremely different attitudes towards

foreign influences and the preservation of traditional culture. This thesis, while dealing specifically with South Korea, is important for the insights it may provide in the understanding of cultural shifts for countries in similar positions around the world.

This background and statistical information about South Korea should prove to be very helpful in placing the current research into its historical and contemporary contexts, and referring back to it throughout the reading may be helpful. With this background information and historical context explained, the general purpose of my research, in short, will be to investigate the relationship between exposure to Western influences and a decreased emphasis on traditional values and beliefs. The central goals of my thesis will be:

1. To examine the relationship between modernization and value change
2. To determine the applicability of Riesman's theory to modernization in Korea
3. To define traditional values and beliefs in Korean culture
4. To investigate whether there is a stronger adherence to those beliefs by the older generation
5. To determine if a lack of adherence to traditional beliefs among the younger generation results from a greater degree of exposure to Western influences than the older generation typically has

These questions will be examined in part with the data and experience that I have gathered in the Republic of Korea during July and August 2005. An older and a younger group of Koreans from two major cities were surveyed with identical questionnaires.

Literature, research and previous surveys were used to construct the questionnaires, all of which will be presented in further detail in Chapter IV.

In the next chapter, I will review the relevant literature starting with sociological theories about modernization and globalization. I will then examine the literature related to Asian values and Western influences. I will also discuss topics related to social change and Confucianism, one of the dominant belief patterns affecting values in South Korea. The cultural theories of Riesman in light of Giddens' modernization will be looked at in Chapter III. Chapter IV will discuss the data to be used in this thesis and explain the methodology. It will describe the instrument used, how the questions were developed, tested and reviewed. A description of variables, methodologies and guiding questions for the research will be presented. In Chapter V, a breakdown of the sample and the results of the data analysis will be discussed in light of the literature presented earlier, answering the posed questions of the study. Finally, in Chapter VI, I will present some concluding remarks on the state and future of Korea, along with suggestions for future research.

## CHAPTER II

### WESTERN INFLUENCES AND CULTURAL CHANGE

South Korea has a very long and unique history of cultural development, advancing through stages of openness, to forced intrusion by other countries, to being a closed nation and then reopening itself in efforts to advance. Its ancient cultural heritage is shared in large part with the Chinese, and later with the Japanese, who had various stages of input into the culture throughout their history. One of the greatest advancements for a unique Korean culture, however, is believed to have started in the 15<sup>th</sup> century under King Sejong the Great. King Sejong is credited and revered by the Korean people for the development of the Korean alphabet. Up until this time, they had no alphabet of their own and only a small percentage of the population was able to use the Chinese characters in writing. This was a defining moment in Korean history, where a very strong sense of ethnic identity started to emerge. Under King Sejong, Korea enjoyed an “unprecedented flowering of culture and art” including the development of “sundials, water clocks, celestial globes and astronomical maps” (Korea Overseas Information Service).

By the time of the Japanese occupation, Korea had developed a very clear and independent sense of culture and identity, which was harshly repressed under the Colonial rule. Korean sense of identity began to be questioned, misunderstood and in some cases rejected out of shame (this will be discussed later) for having lost their nation to the Japanese. Out of this rose the desire to do something to regain their independence, to reach a level of development from which they could compete in the world and

advance their society. This is the point at which “modernization” is often inserted into Korean history. They were seeking for a model of development, and being that they would not take that model from the Japanese, it often happened to come from the West. Later it came from the United States in particular, because of its strategic influence, culturally, militarily, economically and politically in the area.

There is great debate over the meanings of modernization, globalization and westernization. There is equally as large a debate over the influence of this movement on Korean society. Some Koreans are adamant about its positive affects for the nation, others are adamant about the loss of Korean culture and the advent of “American Imperialism” that it brought. Articles or books can be found for either position, each convincing enough to believe that *it* is the correct one. In this thesis, I will explore both sides of the issue through the piecing together of previously written works, through cultural theorists such as Riesman, and through a quantitative survey I conducted on the topic. I will begin with a discussion of the various understandings of modernization and follow with a review of the existing literature on the topics of western influences and values.

There is extensive literature on any of the general topics of modernization, globalization, Westernization, or Asian values but there is very little literature connecting these concepts together, and even fewer relating them to the country of South Korea. Specifically, with modernization, there is a great deal of literature discussing it in terms of economic and industrial development, but very few studies discussing the theory in light of cultural values or Western influences in non-Western countries. When



the theory is discussed in relationship to the West, it is often filled with skepticism, confusion and criticisms, as the terms “modernization” and “westernization” are sometimes used interchangeably. Modernization is a difficult theory to discuss, because it has as many definitions as people attempting to define it. This has made it an extremely controversial topic, sometimes simply replaced by the terms “globalization” or “westernization”. As this thesis is about the effects of Western influences as a result of *modernization* on values in South Korea, a discussion of the meanings of modernization, globalization and westernization in relation to South Korea is necessary. I will also define my specific use of the term for this research.

#### MODERNIZATION, GLOBALIZATION AND WESTERNIZATION

Modernization. Even the date for the beginnings of modernization theory is debatable, though many agree its origins begin sometime around the 1940’s or 1950’s, with American sociologists interested in understanding the processes by which societies undergo development. Original understandings of modernization theories leaned themselves to the beliefs that modernization was a necessary linear process of development through which all societies progress. There was a desire to “help” the Third world to become “developed”, like the West was, and so an understanding of modernization came about which tended towards making other countries become more like the West, or the United States in particular. Additionally, it was proposed that the “modernization” of societies (which tended to be defined as nation-states), necessarily indicated the abandoning of “traditional” ways of life.

From this perspective, traditional societies were perceived as basically very restrictive and limited, while modern societies were seen as much more

expansive and able to cope with a continuously wider range of their internal and external environments and problems alike. The qualitative characteristics of modern life, such as rationality, liberty, or progress, were here subsumed under these “systematic” qualities of societies (Eisenstadt 1974: 230).

These theories began to be heavily contested in the 1950’s, and it became clear that modernization did not necessitate the destruction of traditional forms of society. In fact, the destructive tendencies of colonialism could even be seen to hinder it. Persistence of traditional systems and values in the cases of the aristocracy in Britain lent proof to the notion that in some cases modernization did occur despite traditional tendencies (Eisenstadt 1974).

Three broad understandings of the term soon developed and are still in use today. The first associates modernization with industrialization or economic development. The second emphasizes it as man’s increasing control over his natural and social environment. The last and most broad, sees it as a total transformation of all aspects of human existence, from individual personality to international relations (Tipps 1973: 203). Dore, Nettl and Robertson perceive modernization as involving the conscious decision of a nation’s leaders to modernize and to catch up with more developed countries. In order to do this, a nation needs to “engage in a program of economic, political and educational institutional change,” often following an external model (Eisenstadt 1974: 243-244).

Inkeles and Smith in their classic work, *Becoming Modern: Individual Changes in Six Developing Societies* (1974), took the discussion of modernization to the individual level. They discuss how modernity will lead individuals to a readiness for social change, more openness to attitudes and opinions of others, an increase in women’s

rights, and a loss of the importance of extended family. They discuss the criticisms of modernization theories as modes for Western imperialism. While Inkeles admits that many of the individual qualities now deemed as “modern”, may have originated in populations of Europe or of European origin, he insists that those characteristics represent instead “a general model expressing one form of the human potential, a form which comes more to prominence in certain historical times under certain types of historical conditions” (Inkeles 1983: 11).

Bradshaw (1987) notes the variables of industrial employment, economic expansion and relative urbanization as being necessary for modernization. Huntington (1993) imparts becoming modern to the acquisition of wealth, technology, skills, machines and weapon. He notes that non-western civilizations attempt, and will continue to attempt to acquire modernity without becoming “Western”. Still others claim that there is a “disembedding” of practices and institutions from contexts of local control (Tomlinson 1999: 95). By this, Tomlinson suggests that certain things previously seen solely as “Western” have become so widespread, that they are now a part of the “global culture,” with Westerners feeling less ownership over those items, seeing them more as things that are “just there” and a part of life everywhere. While Tomlinson is speaking mainly of globalization throughout his work, the points made are extremely applicable and so close to the concepts of modernization that in some cases it could be indistinguishable which theory he is actually talking about.

As you can see, the concept of modernization is a very complicated, but necessary one to understand. While even today it is lacking a solid definition, it is

something that individuals are returning to again and again, attempting to refine it, because understanding precisely how societies develop is of great concern. While the word “modernization” does not contain within it one solid definition, there is a general understand of the process it is attempting to describe. For purposes of this thesis, I am using the term to discuss the rapid advancements and developments in industry, economy, politics, technology, and “connectedness” with other nations that Korea has experienced in the last several decades. Modernization here is *not* necessarily the “westernization” of South Korea or any other nation of the world. It is an ongoing, natural process of societal development, which unfolds in its own unique way depending on the culture or state in which it is occurring. The modernization of Korea should not be a description of how much more “Western” it is becoming, but rather, how it is developing and advancing in technology, industry, philosophy, human rights, science and all other disciplines not mentioned here.

The awareness and desire for modernization is pushing societies around the world to advance in these areas, and while this process is occurring around the globe, it is by no means occurring in the same way in each nation, and certainly does not need to follow the American model to be considered truly “modernized”. This is not to say, however, that “westernization” will not occur as a byproduct of modernization. Nor is it to say that modernization or westernization are independent of globalization, which is also a loosely defined term. Westernization is not inexplicitly linked to either modernization or globalization, but because of the history of modernization,

Westernization often comes as a result of it. Nahm summarizes my points on modernization quite well:

Modernization should not be merely regarded as Westernization unless the West is used as a model. A modernized Asian society may resemble a modern Western society, but it does not necessarily have to be so if we regard modernization as a process of departure from traditional ethics, beliefs, values, and practices to achieve progress in meeting contemporary and modern needs. Development implies fulfillment, and modernization denotes the fulfillment of modern needs (Lee 1981: 26).

In an increasingly global world, with the United States being one of the leading powers, it would be difficult for a nation attempting to advance in the areas mentioned above not to be influenced at least in part by the West. The degree of that influence, however, varies and the degree to which local cultures and customs are preserved or replaced, is dependent upon that nation's particular historical-cultural background and beliefs. Korea's particular development as a result of its nation's rapid modernization has led to a great increase in Western influence upon the nation, especially when compared to its "hermit kingdom" political past. Discovering the consequences of the increase in these western influences on traditional Korean values is the purpose of this study.

Globalization. Giddens links the concepts of modernization and globalization together stating that "modernity is inherently globalising" which is "evident in some of the most basic characteristics of modern institutions, including particularly their disembeddedness and reflexivity" (Giddens 1990: 63). He defines it very clearly as "the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local

happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa” (Giddens 1990: 64).

Like modernization, however, globalization is often confused and greatly misunderstood because of the multiple meanings the word entails depending on the individual and context it is being used in. Scholte (2000) has argued that there are at least five broad definitions of the term that can be found in literature. A summary of these definitions is outlined in Table 3 below:

Table 3:

<b>Definitions of Globalization<sup>6</sup></b>
<p><b>Globalization as internationalization.</b> From this perspective, ‘global’ is simply another adjective to describe cross-border relations between countries, and ‘globalization’ designates a growth of international exchange and interdependence. With growing flows of trade and capital investment there is the possibility of moving beyond an inter-national economy, (where 'the principle entities are national economies') to a 'stronger' version - the globalized economy in which, 'distinct national economies are subsumed and rearticulated into the system by international processes and transactions' (Hirst and Thompson 1996: 8 and 10).</p>
<p><b>Globalization as liberalization.</b> In this broad set of definitions, 'globalization' refers to 'a process of removing government-imposed restrictions on movements between countries in order to create an "open", "borderless" world economy' (Scholte 2000: 16). Those who have argued with some success for the abolition of regulatory trade barriers and capital controls have sometimes clothed this in the mantle of 'globalization'.</p>
<p><b>Globalization as universalization.</b> In this use, 'global' is used in the sense of being 'worldwide' and ‘globalization’ is 'the process of spreading various objects and experiences to people at all corners of the earth'. A classic example of this would be the spread of computing, television etc.</p>

<sup>6</sup> This information was collected from the Encyclopedia of Informal Education at [http://www.infed.org/biblio/defining\\_globalization.htm](http://www.infed.org/biblio/defining_globalization.htm). It was compared with the original sources and edited slightly for accuracy.

Table 3 Continued

<p><b>Globalization as westernization or modernization</b> (especially in an 'Americanized' form). Here 'globalization' is understood as a dynamic, 'whereby the social structures of modernity (capitalism, rationalism, industrialism, bureaucratism, etc.) are spread the world over, normally destroying pre-existent cultures and local self-determination in the process.</p>
<p><b>Globalization as deterritorialization</b> (or as the spread of supraterritoriality). Here 'globalization' entails a 'reconfiguration of geography, so that social space is no longer wholly mapped in terms of territorial places, territorial distances and territorial borders. Anthony Giddens' has thus defined globalization as ' the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa. (Giddens 1990: 64). David Held et al (1999: 16) define globalization as a ' process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions - assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity and impact - generating transcontinental or inter-regional flows and networks of activity'.</p>

Other leading theorists in the area of globalization include Robertson and Tomlinson. Like Scholte above, Robertson also discusses the multiplicity of definitions of globalization. His understanding of the term is identifiable through a four-fold scheme developed from his dissatisfaction with modernization theories and Wallerstein's World-Systems theory. It is the relationships between national societies, individual selves, the international system of societies, and in the generic sense, mankind, which identifies globalization (Robertson 1992:182). He stresses globalization as the growing interconnectedness of the world, arguing for a more fluid understanding of the term. He also stresses that it is the *process* by which globalization occurs in societies which is truly important for an understanding of the term.

Tomlinson (1999) discusses connectivity as one of primary concern in addressing the meaning of globalization, but brings in the importance of *culture* to its understanding as well. He states that:

The huge transformative processes of our time that globalization describes cannot be properly understood until they are grasped through the conceptual vocabulary of culture; likewise that these transformations change the very fabric of cultural experience, and indeed, affect our sense of what culture actually is in the modern world (pages 1-2).

Acknowledging the highly contested meanings of both globalization and culture, he defines globalization as an empirical condition of the modern world: complex connectivity. Globalization then refers to the “rapidly developing and ever densening network of interconnections and interdependencies that characterize modern social life” (Tomlinson 1999: 1).

Westernization. Westernization is often used as a synonym for these terms, especially when being discussed by individuals from the West. It, however, has a much more clearly understood meaning. It is generally understood as the process by which non-Western nations are becoming more Western, either by force, choice or fate. The complications arise when some claim it is necessary for modernization or development, a natural part of globalization, and especially, when it is imposed within indigenous systems that hold extremely different ways of dealing with their societies. Suzuki warns that in the process of modernization through westernization, the rapid social changes which accompany economic growth has caused the fading away of indigenous rules at a fairly rapid rate (Suzuki 1999: 384). Complicated tensions and conflicts often arise between the private interests of people who are shaped by indigenous cultural values,



and the “Western” economic, legal and political institutions often understood to be indispensable for modernization (Suzuki 1999: 377).

Within South Korea. There are few articles or works discussing these topics specifically in relationship to South Korea. I have, however, found some which are of utmost importance to an understanding of how these processes relate to what is going on in Korea’s development. Lee notes that Westernization in Korea occurred as a deliberate, methodical government induced policy whereby the structure of a predominantly traditional rural society was transformed in just one generation to one of the world’s leading industrial states (Lee 1981: 7). As noted above, however, Westernization does not necessarily come along with modernization. Prior to South Korea’s independence, their modernization occurred through “adjustments in traditional arrangements to deal with domestic ills and foreign threats for reasons of self-preservation rather than social transformation” (Lee 1981: 17). Korea’s tumultuous history of occupations discussed in Chapter I, however, made them extremely vulnerable to the pressures of outside influences, being first occupied by Japan, and then by the United States. “The primary factor which motivated Korea’s modernization was the desire to strengthen Korea’s sovereignty and national security first, and then to regain her independence from Japan after 1905” (Lee 1981: 62).

Modernization in Korea has been occurring throughout its history, taking its most dramatic effects somewhere between Japanese occupation and independence. Serious globalization, however, is thought to have begun sometime in the late 1980’s, especially with the 1988 Seoul Olympics, opening up its borders as never before to the world. Duk

notes quite strongly that, “globalization constitutes a complete change in the social framework of Korea. Korean people have experienced a fundamental change in their daily lives over the last century” (Lewis 2002: 11).

Young-Sun Ha discusses Korea’s government promoted policy of *segzehwa*, which is a well known term in the country. *Segzehwa* generally is defined as globalization but describes the efforts of the modern state to catch up with state’s pursuit of complex goals as the new standard of post-modern civilization in the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Moon 1999: 168). While this government plan for globalization does not discuss the influence of the West, Hu notes that it was developed in order to cope with the challenges of complex changes in the world order in the post Cold-War era (Moon 1999: 168). *Segzehwa* is a not a main focus of discussion in this thesis, but is important to mention here because it is such a complete, purposeful plan for development which few other governments have undertaken so specifically.

#### ASIAN VALUES AND WESTERN INFLUENCES

One of the first scholars, and quite possibly the most important one to this thesis research, to study Asian values in comparison with those of the West was David Hitchcock, a former director of East Asian Affairs at the U.S. Information Agency, and a retired minister of the U.S. Foreign Service. In several surveys, he asked respondents in East Asia to identify those values that were most critically important to their country. This information has been published in a CSIS Reports entitled *Factors Affecting East Asian Views of the United States: The Search for Common Ground* and *Asian Values and the United States: How Much Conflict?* While his surveys were not so widespread

as to be generalizable on statistical terms to the populations being studied, his respondents were carefully selected as to give what he believes to be the most accurate views of the populations at large. Because so little research had been done on this topic in the past, his research received widespread attention.<sup>7</sup> Through the surveys and interviews, it was found that the six values most attributed to East Asians are: having an orderly society, societal harmony, ensuring the accountability of public officials, being open to new ideas, freedom of expression, and respect for authority. The six most important values for the Americans polled are: freedom of expression, personal freedom, the rights of the individual, open debate, thinking for oneself, and the accountability of public officials (Hitchcock 1997).

In terms of modernization, Hitchcock found that in the minds of many Asians, the West is clearly associated with economic development and material progress (1994: 9). Furthermore, Hitchcock is important to this thesis because South Korea was included in the sample of Asian countries he studied. When speaking of Westernization or modernization, the Korean intellectuals he spoke with were fairly confident in Korea's cultural ability to adjust to the changes through their Confucian beliefs. This notion is further supported by Kyong-Dong Kim (1994) who suggests that "the relevant wisdom provided in the great East Asian thoughts, particularly Confucianism, can be of enormous value to help save humankind from the disastrous consequences of misguided capitalist development" (Hitchcock 1994: 15). Callahan (1999), in his very extensive

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<sup>7</sup> Hitchcock, David. "The United States and East Asia: New Commonalities and then, all those Differences" (Paper presented at a conference on "Asian Values" and Democracy in Asia, sponsored by the United Nations University, Tokyo, 1997).

article on Confucianism and Korean identity, might tend to disagree with these statements however, noting the extensive changes that Confucianism has undergone and continues to go through. Additionally, the side effects of modernization are not always negative, just as the influences of Confucianism are not always positive, as in the case of women's rights.

Palley explains that “an understanding of Korean culture and society is not possible without comprehending the nature and role of Confucian thought – it would be like trying to grasp the nature of American development without sensing the significance of liberalism, the Protestant ethic, or the frontier” (1990: 1140). The underlying Confucian moral code in Korea makes it difficult for Korean women to foster change in sex-role relationships and equality because of the assumption that the primary role for women is in maintaining family relationships (Palley 1990: 1152). In fact, “one of the tenants of Confucianism requires three obediences of women: to the father when young, to the husband when married, and to the son in old age” (Palley 1990: 1140).

Within such a patriarchal system that underlies even modern society despite its “Americanized constitution” including equal rights for all people, it is very difficult to advance the values of equality for women. Granted, the advent of modernization and industrialization has brought many opportunities for the modern Korean women, but attitudes about gender roles are very slow to change. Additionally, without structural support from a largely male-governed society for women's advancement outside of the home, it is extremely difficult to make progress. Palley notes importantly that it is

inappropriate to assume a women's movement like was experienced in the West, despite the influences from modernization.

Moreover, it is unlikely that the women who lead the struggle for change even want reform through the imposition of individualistic, Western-style behavioral norms and values since family and relationships remain very central to most Koreans. However, concerns with gender equity and an end to labor exploitation do seem to reflect universalized and generalized concerns of a "modernized" society (Palley 1990: 1153).

The importance of Palley's work to this thesis is in that women's rights and issues were one of the primary values of concern in the survey created for this project. As her article suggests, modernization and globalization brought with them many influences and example of women's status, role, and rights as had not been so openly discussed before. The survey looked in part at the older and younger generation's attitudes towards women, to see if more traditionally held Confucian beliefs, or Westernized beliefs were being adhered to.

Among other issues that the survey looks at, is that of the Western influences in the areas of food culture. One of the first things that comes to mind to many Americans when talking about the "globalization" or "westernization" of the world, is the concept referred to by Ritzer (2000) as "the McDonaldization of society". Watson, however, compiled a similar work, entitled *Golden Arches East: McDonald's in East Asia*. Here he adds to the discussion of culture, defining it in terms of "popular music, television, film, video, pulp fiction, comics, advertising, fashion, home design, and mass-produced food" and more specifically as "a set of ideas, reactions, and expectations that is constantly changing as people and groups change" (Watson 1997: 5, 8). Many people

speak of the increasing number of McDonald's around the world as a form of American cultural imperialism. Within South Korea this holds truer during times of anti-Americanism, which have come and gone throughout the nation's history. Modernization has brought McDonald's into Korea (the first one opening with the Olympic games in 1988), and westernization has promoted it as "the largest American multinational restaurant chain" selling "*the authentic American hamburger*" (Watson 1997: 151, 143). These marketing strategies added to McDonald's success in Korea, along with their adaptation of certain local menus including *bulgogi* and *kimchi* burgers.

In terms of Western influences on Korea, many believe that the process of modernization in the state necessarily came into conflict with traditionalism. In fact, as the earlier definitions of modernization implied, it was the elimination of traditionalism that made modernization possible. While this understanding was later dismissed, the fact of a conflict between traditionalism and modernization remained, with Korea being no exception. The difference, however, was Korea's approach to modernization. Lee (2002: 115, 117) notes that there was "no conflict between modernization and nationalism", that "the Korean government and its people agreed that national pride depended on economic power, not on traditions incomprehensible beyond the country's borders" and that "traditional Korean thought and customs were considered superstitious nonsense – an impediment to modernization." These comments alone lend credit to my assertions that the increases in Western influences have led to a decrease in traditional values in the nation.

This lack of conflict with modernization, however, did not necessarily indicate pro-American attitudes, as indicated in an entire book of papers from a conference on the topic of anti-Americanism (Steinberg 2005). The threat of abandonment through troop withdrawals and disagreements over what the Koreans regard as critical and emotional issues, especially in regards to how to deal with North Korea often result in “considerable anguish in some Korean circles, especially among the mature elements of the population, those who have held power for so long...The generational gap may be interpreted by the fact that as Korean youth feel more pride than vulnerability, the older generation may feel just the opposite” (Steinberg 2005: 331).

Aside from the examples mentioned above, value changes in relationship to modernization in Korea can be found only sporadically throughout the literature. Research has indicated that an importation of Western culture and values of independence and privacy have led to a decline in multigenerational co-residence in South Korea (Kim 1997, Levande 2000). The accelerating influences of Western culture through modernization, has also contributed to a value shift towards individualism and more positive perspectives towards those with disabilities (Bak 1999: 312).

#### PIECING TOGETHER MODERNIZATION AND VALUES

Regarding individual modernization, research has indicated that cultures which encourage their youngsters to follow life paths inculcating them with modern attitudes and values are more likely to see changes in the larger society (Inkeles 1983: 164). While they do not speak specifically about South Korea, Inkeles and Smith generalize about how education and mass media are important external criteria for judging the

validity of any attitudinal and value measure of personal modernity (Inkeles and Smith 1974: 153). Also, mass media will make it difficult for elders to authoritatively enforce the old norms and ways of doing things which might lead to a decreased respect for the aged by the youth culture (Inkeles and Smith 1974: 20-28). The research of Inkeles and Smith is very important to this thesis, as it relates closely to the types of values that were evaluated in this research project.

Yoo's article on the "Embodiment of American Modernity in Colonial Korea," (2001) provides an excellent discussion of Western influences in South Korea as well as individual modernization. In a historical look at effects of "Americanism" during the period of Japanese colonialism, it discusses the beginnings of modernization of the individual, and a subsequent focus on "bodily modernization" through American Protestant religious, musical and media influences. With Japanese occupation, a vacillation of Korean cultural identity occurred, as a result of both imperial forces preventing its continuity and because of individuals, who blamed themselves for losing their nation. This attitude was a motivator for the Korean people, who could not accept the identity of the Japanese who took over their country, and could not hold onto their traditional Korean identity either. With this loss of self, they needed to find something to replace it, which is where modernization began to take root in the culture. A clear link between modernization and westernization is made in the article showing how during the colonial period in Korea,

Modernization meant an aspiration for the wealth and power of nation and was hence identified with westernization itself. The desired change was to create a new life-world that included, on an individual level, copying and mimicking new 'modern' bodily gestures, ways of speech, facial expressions, languages and



outlooks. In a colonial situation, however, models of mimicking or the significant other had to come from the West, the authentic origin of modernity, and secondly it had to continuously provide such ideal types of models for mimicking (Yoo 2001: 423).

These “ideal types” for mimicking were easily found through Protestant Christianity, with missionary schools and a rise in evangelism. America constantly provided the model by which Korea could become “modern” through music, entertainment and the presentation of the body by Americans. The general attitude was that to become more Western, was to become more modern. This was accomplished through a re-invention of self-identity. The understanding of *individual* identity grew stronger amongst a previously *group* identifying people, and modernization took not just the form of industrialization on the large scale, but perhaps more importantly, developed on the individual level. Individual modernization, through Western education, the English language, Western dress, hairstyle, sports, art, and media, indicated status amongst Koreans. This attitude has continued even through modern Korea society today.

In some way, this adoption of American modernity extended from a desire to be compensated for collective trauma during Japanese occupation, a sort of coping mechanism to deal with the loss of the national-cultural identity. Yoo notes, interestingly, that this may be why “Koreans felt closer to American culture than to the traditional culture right after the Liberation (1945)” (2001: 436). Additionally, these attitudes may provide the explanation as to why so little discussion has been given to the “Americanization of Korea”, because the collective experiences of this period have led to efforts to minimize the influences of colonial views during harsh periods of Japanese occupation and the Korean War (Yoo 2001: 436).

A very good article relating modernization specifically to values (though not specific to South Korea), is “Modernization, Cultural Change, and the Persistence of Traditional Values” by Inglehart and Baker (2000). They used a three-wave study of the World Values Surveys to compare the persistence of traditional values in relation to economic development in 65 different societies. This is a large-scale study that focuses specifically on the religious aspects of traditional values, but holds valuable insights within it to the understanding of how values persist. While extremely useful to my research, it is significantly different, in that I am working with individuals within one society, rather than with a comparison of multiple societies. Additionally, I have considered traditional values in a broader cultural sense, without limiting the research to religious aspects. Still, the World Values Surveys contain the most extensive quantitative data on the topic of values in existence, and the results and processes of Inglehart and Baker’s research was referred to often throughout this thesis project.

As with all topics of discussion, there are individuals writing books and articles at opposing extremes of the same topic. Here, I have mentioned some individuals who believe that there was little conflict between modernization and Korea, who believe the strong rooted values of Confucianism in Korea society would be able to withstand the pressures of Western influences. There are some, Koreans, as well as Western scholars, who believe the effects of modernization on Korea has been solely positive, and others who see them as solely negative. Some Koreans retain anti-American sentiment because of the war and continued military presence in the country, while others are pro-American for “saving” them from the Japanese. I have in this literature section thus far attempted

to give a rounded understanding of the varying attitudes amongst Koreans and various scholars about this topic, staying away from extremes in views.

At this point, however, I will diverge, and briefly discuss Alford and Duk, one American and one Korea, who present extreme cases against the process of modernization in Korea. While their attitudes should not be construed as the whole truth of the argument, or necessarily the attitudes of the Korean people at large, they do give important insights into the sentiments some Koreans hold regarding the obvious intrusion of Western influences upon their lives since occupation. Alford quite correctly states “Modernization has accomplished in thirty years in Korea what it took two hundred years to accomplish in the industrialized West” (1999: 3). This sort of unprecedented, rapid development obviously would hold within it problems of cultural lag. When modernization occurs more rapidly than the society’s ability to adapt, a sort of vacuum can be created, where the new life requires certain attitudes, beliefs, values and practices which the culture has not yet been able to adapt to. The conflict that arose in Korea as a result of this, has prompted Alford to term the whole process of globalization as “evil” and he spends his entire work describing and explaining it as such. “Evil is created by the Western tendency toward dualism and will disappear when this alien intellectual inclination is abandoned” (Alford 1999: 2).

Alford displays nostalgia towards the “old Korea” which he feels is quickly disappearing, and being replaced by the newer, evil inspired one. While this is extreme, the fundamental point behind it is true. There is a significant difference between the older and younger populations in South Korea, created not just because of an age gap,

but due to significantly different life experiences in the same country. The older generation is holding on to the traditional things which made it Korean, trying to instill these values into the younger to preserve their culture and heritage, while the younger know very little about “old Korea”, and see only the modernized, developing economic power that it has become.

The older generation even looks different from the younger. Not just worn and elderly, but inches shorter, the result of malnourishment during the years of the Japanese occupation and after. Old Koreans even move differently, not just taking shorter steps but taking up less space in the world, what it once meant to be respectful. In half a generation these old Koreans will be gone, and with them the living embodiment of old Korea (Alford 1999: 4).

Duk shares this concern of loss of Korean identity, and the conflict between generations. Particularly, Duk talks about the Westernization of consumption among the youth of Korea. Changes in consumption have produced an entirely new generation for whom many traditional Korean products are exotic or undesirable (Lewis 2002: 19). Duk, however, makes an extreme argument for the virtual elimination of most things that make Korea, Korean. And those that remain, such as the “Korean language, *ondol*, *kimch'i*, rice, Korean style foods and soups, Korean style eating utensils, and Korean style social relationships” he says are now very limited. Any foreigner, however, visiting Korea for any length of time would strictly disagree with Duk, and I would venture to say that most Koreans, especially those who have traveled abroad would disagree as well. Despite this extremeness, however, like Alford, there are important and true points to be gathered from Duk’s argument. For example, he notes the changes in amount of leisure time (lessoning), types of leisure activities (more television and Western style activities, sport, games), increase in consumption patterns and types of

consumption (a great desire for Western products) and a restructuring of the work place (in relation to pay, bureaucracy, and individual achievement). All of which have occurred, though perhaps to a lesser extreme than he notes, since the advent of modernization on the nation.

Despite his extreme nature in other portions of the article, Duk provides an excellent summary of the overall effects of Western influences on South Korean culture and society:

During the process of modernization over the last century, not only Western technology but also Western culture and knowledge have overwhelmed Korea. Most traditional cultural elements have disappeared in the process. People have mixed feelings about the Westernization of Korean culture and the gradual disappearance of traditional culture. While Western culture and knowledge can help the modernization of Korea, most Koreans worry that the same culture will also eclipse the Korean identity. Thus there is growing anxiety about the Westernization of Korea over the last one hundred years. (Lewis 2002: 25-26).

In this chapter, I have examined the existing literature on the topic of western influences on traditional values in South Korea. The literature for this topic was not easy to find and few and far between especially when relating directly to South Korea. The bibliography of this thesis therefore, provides a very good reference source for existing material related to this topic. In the chapter that follows, I will discuss modernization as a function of culture through an interpretation of Riesman. Modernization will be looked at first, as explained by Giddens, and then the relationship between modernization and the transition between Riesman's stages of tradition, inner and other directedness will be examined. A case will be presented for looking at Korea as "something different" because of the way it transitioned through various periods of history. This next chapter

is fundamental to a deeper understanding of the cultural intricacies involved with South Korea's progression away from a "pre-modern" state.

### CHAPTER III

#### KOREA'S MODERNIZATION THROUGH THE EYES OF RIESMAN

This thesis takes a unique look at the events occurring in South Korea by combining modernization theories with the cultural topics of values and western influences. Modernization theories tend to be spoken about with regards to political or economic development, as well as other structural features that change as nations become more “modern”. Additionally, cultural theorists look more often at people, conditions, behaviors, beliefs, attitudes and values. In this sense, combining modernization and cultural values is a somewhat new frontier. In this chapter, I will review, side-by-side, one of the key theorists discussing modernization, with one of the key cultural theorists. Anthony Giddens and David Riesman are well-known figures in their fields, whose contributions, however different they may seem at first, are both extremely valuable to understanding the general process of cultural development in light of modernization that is occurring in South Korea.

Giddens begins *The Consequences of Modernity* by stating “...modernity refers to modes of social life or organization which emerged in Europe from about the seventeenth century onwards and which subsequently became more or less worldwide in their influence” (Giddens 1990: 1). Modernization is seen by him as a juggernaut, an unstoppable *Western* force with which all societies must contend. As societies become more modern, they are separated from the familiar and comfortable through rapidly changing situations. Giddens contends that this process started in and spreads from the West, and is often imposed upon non-western states.

All societies, according to Giddens, are on a path, moving from pre-modern, to modern to radicalized modernity, which is his version of post-modernity. Riesman also takes such a position of linear development, though different in approach, where he views society as moving from tradition directed, to inner-directed and on towards other-directed. For both Riesman and Giddens, their notions of societal progression are not localized as Western phenomena.

Both theorists have sufficient explanations towards the development of Western society, but their applicability towards non-Western nations is debatable. The changing aspects of *Western* society from tradition-directed towards inner and other-directed is notable. This is documented historically from the shame filled “Scarlet letter” society, to the guilt imposed, gyrosopic, rigidity of inner-directedness (Riesman 2001: 24), to the present “milky-way galaxy” of choices and “politically correct” atmosphere of 21<sup>st</sup> century America. These theories, however, can be problematic when taken out of the Western context in which they were developed.

Giddens’ concept of modernity as a “Western project” can be used to examine the development of South Korea. For much of its history, it was a secluded, “hermit kingdom,” landlocked in the North, with the remaining border surrounded by the sea. Its history, as mentioned in Chapter I, includes occupation by the Chinese and Japanese, both non-western nations. The uniqueness of South Korea’s development, by Giddens’ explanation, would have begun with the West’s involvement in the 1950’s and 1960’s with the Korean War. This explanation also fits well within the discussion of modernization in the previous chapter. Within the last 50 years, South Korea progressed



from a very poor, undeveloped nation to a metropolitan center of industrial and economic development. Giddens' approach to modernization as a "western project" is clearly seen in the case of Korea, where a non-western nation, is introduced to (or imposed with) characteristically Western "evidences" of development such as democracy, a capitalistic economic structure, and Christianity. Additionally, one of the main features of modernization for Giddens is industrialization, and he claims that all nation-states within the developed sectors of the world are dependent upon industrial production for the generation of wealth (Giddens 1990: 72, 75). The case of South Korea applies well to this theory, moving more rapidly than any other state to a "first-world nation", able to compete in the capitalist world economy.

While Riesman doesn't specifically discuss the notions of modernization in *The Lonely Crowd*, his progression of societies can certainly be related to the changing affects society undergoes through the ushering in of modernization. To Riesman, as a society becomes more modern, they transition through three stages: tradition-directed, inner and then other-directedness. Prior to Korea's "modernization", it would clearly have been tradition directed, strong in Confucius ideals, Buddhism, with a heavy reliance on group and family structure. Presently, however, while South Korea is at a level of development competitive to the West, it has not truly developed the sense of other-directedness, as is in described and seen in modern America. They are not fully inner-directed either, though. Korea shares many characteristics of other-directed societies, such as low birth and death rates. There is the concept of "face," found in many Asian societies, which I argue is comparable to that of the "fake sincerity" of

other-directedness. With economic development, they too have a “milky-way galaxy” of choices, care very much about what others think of them (having huge industries – perhaps larger than in the US – of plastic surgeries and cosmetics). Yet, they are rigid in the values instilled in children, and the children keep these values of “face”, respect, care for the elderly, shame, and guilt for not living up to expectations of parents.

Riesman himself notes the difficulty that can sometimes occur when applying theories from *The Lonely Crowd* to a society other than the United States:

The Lonely Crowd tried to look at specific American changes from the age of production to the age of consumption. But if we had looked at another society we would have perhaps been interested in different questions; and to take a concept of scaffolding built for one problem and transfer it to another in another setting is not a good idea. Certainly there is more than one road to industrialization, and to see another road was one of my chief interests in coming to Japan (Riesman 1967: 176).

Riesman does not, however, dismiss the notion of using his ideas within a non-western culture, and frequently throughout a trip he made to Japan, he was presented with questions about the state of Japanese society in relation to his theories of tradition, inner and other-directedness in *The Lonely Crowd*.

Pre-modernization, tradition-directedness. Riesman describes the period of tradition-directedness as one of high-growth potential, where “the precarious relation to the food supply is built into the going culture” and this “helps create a pattern of conventional conformity which is reflected in many, if not all, societies” in this stage (Riesman 2001: 11). This social order of tradition-directedness is relatively unchanging and exists for long periods in a nation’s history, usually until a dramatic shift in population (an increase) because of advancing technologies lengthening lifespans and a

continued increase in births, causes a shift to inner-directedness. The individual in these societies understands her/himself in terms of the particular age-grade, clan, or caste to which he belongs, and learns to appreciate patterns which have endured for centuries from the generations existing before her/him (Riesman 2001: 11).

Traditional Korean societies fit into his descriptions of this period of development very well, especially as is reflected in the family structure. In traditional Korean society, the family was the center of the community and communities were built around them. The individual wishes were subordinate to the family in the sense that whatever the individual did, s/he knew that it would affect the family and so all actions were taken with that understanding. Traditional societies were fairly self-sufficient, producing much of their own foods, making their own clothing, shoes and tools. Most of Korea at the time was rural and these communities were also fairly isolated and autonomous, making the family the crucial economic structure.

Additionally, the culture, in addition to its economic tasks, provided rituals, routines and a form of religion, mainly through a heavy reliance on Confucianism, to occupy and orient everyone (Riesman 2001: 11, Hart 2001: 29-30). While Confucianism still represents a significant part of Korean culture in modern society, in traditional society, Confucianism was the normative standard for social organization and all of society, was based upon it.

In family relations especially with regard to women, this affect could be seen. Marriages were not based upon love, but on what was best to preserve the economic position. Two general classes existed, the aristocrats (*yangban*) and the peasants. For

both of these, the roles of women were very specifically defined. For both, a woman's duty in life was first to her father, then to her husband and then to her son. Both were expected and had the "duty" of bearing sons for the family, as males were the only ones to carry the family line, and the only ones who could bring the large amount of income to the family. Peasant women had the additional duty of being expected to work and take care of all duties related to the house in full. *Yangban* women, however, had servants to take care of these things for them, so their pressures and main purpose were to have sons, and take care of the men in their lives.

Aristocratic women held very specific codes of conduct. Expected to maintain their chastity, be obedient, not expect anything other than the assigned identity, not to go outside the household for social activities, take pleasure only in cooking food and making wine and clothing for men, and, take interest only in those activities inside the house... They (were) meant only for marriage, and in marriage they are meant only to be bearer of sons, and servants of all... "Women's only importance (was) to continue but not participate in society" (Hart 2001: 30).

This was fairly reflective of the expectations placed upon the peasant women as well, but they additionally had to work outside of the home in agriculture, and inside the home with housework. It is not, however, reflective of all tradition-directed societies, but Korea's strong combination of tradition and Confucianism during this period led to this particular result for women.

In tradition directed societies, little effort is made towards finding new solutions to old problems, as people are used to contending with them. This is perhaps why tradition directed societies maintain themselves as such for so long with little change. It is normally a shift from some outside factor unplanned or unknown to the people of these societies which leads to the shift into inner-directness. When for example a change

in the relatively stable birth-to-death ratios occur, this leads to profound consequences for social change. Riesman says that this transition is likely to be violent, disrupting the stabilized paths of existence in societies in which tradition-directedness has been the principal mode of insuring conformity. The imbalance puts pressure on customary ways of dealing with things in society and new structures are needed to deal with the sudden change in population (Riesman 2001: 14). This act, however, is a natural one, occurring often “behind the scenes” and not planned out by societies for any specific purpose. It is something that happens to them naturally, and then must be contended with. In other words, the transition to inner-directedness is a natural progression for human society, and the subsequent transition to other-directedness is the same.

Modernization, other-directedness. The problem for South Korea, however, is that such a transition did not occur naturally, from internal changes. This particular transition in population, in fact, didn’t necessarily even occur. The violent disruption that catapulted them into development was not natural birth and death ratio changes, but industrialization, imposed upon them by a society who already underwent those changes. Riesman does not account for what might happen in a scenario such as this, when the natural order of things is unnaturally disrupted and forcibly taken into another stage without any period of transition for which the society to adapt. This is exactly what happened in the case of South Korea with industrialization and modernization.

Before industrialization, Korea was a society of rural villages characterized mainly by agricultural production. The largest city in Seoul during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries had only 150,000, with the next largest city being P’yongyang, at only 50,000.

It is doubtful that any more than 3-5% of the population lived in cities prior to industrialization. By the end of the 35 years of Japanese occupation, economic and government measures placed 2,808,000 people in cities throughout the country, roughly 14.5% of the population (Hart 2001: 41). In 1960, some 27% of families consisted of three generations. By 1980, the figure dropped to 16.7% of households. In 1986, 65% of all urban households and 61% of rural homes were considered to be nuclear families (Hart 2001: 47).

The entire structure of society began to change, with self-reliant agricultural family communities being replaced by economically dependent cities of domestic consumption. This consumption was fueled in no small part by the growing influence of the materialist culture of the west through media and advertising. The role of women was affected greatly too during this time. In the pre-modern society, it was very clear what their place was in the agricultural, multi-generational homes. But with industrialization and modernization, Korean women faced an interesting dilemma. Families were becoming more nuclear, and homes were becoming less agricultural, which meant that more emphasis began to be placed on a woman's ability to produce (especially male children) and her role as child-rearer and homemaker. But with homes becoming more consumption oriented, women became defined by a home that itself is defined by market production. Simply stated, in this new modern Korean society, males produced for the market, while women began to consume for it (Hart 2001: 97, 105). A consumer-driven, nuclear family, materialist culture began to develop, which sounds

very much like other-directedness. Yet at the same time, traditional and inner-directed values flourished related to woman's position in the society.

It was not simply the process of industrialization that the Korean family had to contend with however, as formidable as that might have been on its own. During colonialism, there was "a deep restructuring of traditional Korean society by pulling people away from their traditional homes and casting them into the factory" (Hart 2001: 48). It was during this period that modernization modeled after the West began to take root, as discussed in the previous chapter. And the West, at this period in time had already begun the shift into other-directedness. A stress of focus on the individual rather than the collective, mass consumption, materialism, notions of independence shrouded by the slave mentality towards "the other", all began to infiltrate Korean society. Korean society was in a very interesting place in time, where they had first given up their identity by force under the Japanese, and then given it up, at least in part, again for the cause of modernization. But without a period of transition, this meant moving straight from centuries of tradition-directedness to trying to adapt to other-directed tendencies almost over night (or over a 50 year time-span, which is extremely short in terms of the history of society). Hart explains this struggle of identity and its consequences quite well:

In large part, the pre-industrial sense of what it was to be a Korean was an intuitive, unconscious state of mind that emerged from long standing practices on living, food, clothing, values, etc. Korea recently, being in a state of change, does not afford its people such a bases for their identity. Intuition was replaced by conscious identity as people searched for new social roles and a culture to explain them. Mass media as a whole has urged Koreans to preserve cultural homogeneity, but by an intuitive basis for self-identity that supports the mass

market. A process that, in essence, phases out the old while celebrating the new (Hart 2001: 134).

Where is Korea today? Are they inner-directed, other-directed, or in a transition from one to the other? As mentioned in the beginning of the chapter, they seem to have tendencies of both. Is this a contradiction of the linear progression of societies from tradition to inner to other? Or, does it represent something different, something not accounted for by Riesman? I contend that it represents something different. Perhaps it could be a period of tradition-mindedness, rather than tradition-directedness. They do not fit neatly into any of the categories, and don't appear to be transitioning from inner to other either. They never even truly experienced a transition out of tradition-directedness. The end of this period just "happened" to them, and they went through a period of abandoning themselves, denying themselves to trying to regain or maintain their cultural identity through the process of modernization. They have now "reached" modernization, as the world would define it, and are attempting to synchronize the traditional with the modern, after it was already lost in part.

This is where the relevance of some of the authors in last chapter really becomes obvious, such as in the case of Duk who claims that Korea is just "exaggerating a few traditional symbols" in order to "create an imaginary world where their culture is still dominant, where they can feel that they are still Koreans" (Lewis 2002: 27). Duk believes that all of real traditional Korea really is gone, and that what remains are fabricated attempts by the government (which is working successfully for most Koreans) to make people believe their traditional cultures really do still exist. The many schools (elementary through post-secondary) which teach traditional Korea music, song, dance



and calligraphy could be seen as a reflection of the loss of culture, rather than its ability to persevere through everything. From this perspective, Korean culture was lost, and these extremely organized attempts at preserving it are mere reflections of the fact that it no longer exists. For the simple need to “teach it” and “show it” means that it is no longer a part of everyday life. The state is now providing the people with interpretations of the past. The problem, however, is that “these interpretations reflect the values and beliefs of the present society, not those of the people who lived in the past” (Hart 2001: 162).

Indeed, Korean society is in an era of tradition-mindedness, which is characterized by thoughts of the past, coupled with efforts attempting to preserve it. This era is comprised of a people learning to integrate what remains of traditional culture with the modern, while merging inner and other-directedness together. It isn't that Riesman doesn't apply to South Korea, not by any means. He provides incredible insight into what Korea is experiencing. It is just that Korea reflects what happens when these periods in social history are prematurely disrupted through man-made measures and propelled into “development” before the culture is able to catch up. The struggle for identity as a result of western influences was incredibly potent during the time of occupation and “independence”, when it went through the violent transition into “tradition-mindedness”. At present, it seems as though Korea is attempting to settle into this stage, with a unique combination of tradition, inner and other working together simultaneously. Of course, with the extremely rapid changes that Korea has gone

through in the past, there is no way of knowing how settled they will be before another stage unfolds.

The unlikely combination of Giddens and Riesman in the beginning of this chapter, were presented here in an attempt to explain social development on a global-cultural level. Theories of modernization need to be linked with those presented by Riesman in order to have a fuller understanding of societal development. Using the progression of stages presented by these two theorists in combination, however, proves to be problematic in nature, as there can be both highly developed societies with traditional and inner-directed beliefs, as well as undeveloped societies with other-directed tendencies. Additionally, in all cultures, there will necessarily be subgroups of other-directedness and inner-directedness that tend to be in opposition to mainstream society which is important to remember in terms of Riesman's theories. Korea's unique situation and the reasons above are why I claim that Korea is in a stage of "something different", what I propose to call "tradition-mindedness". Still, it is difficult to categorize development so neatly, either by Riesman's standards, Giddens' or anyone's, especially when considering modernization's controversial link with the imposition of Western culture.

While there might be enough evidence in Chapters II and III alone to support my assertions regarding the effects of western influences on traditional values in South Korea, I wanted to go beyond the mere piecing together of relevant literatures. Taking an "untraditional" approach to this very cultural topic, I decided to supplement what I thought to be true from the literature and my own personal experiences with more

empirical data. This thesis is, in a way, an attempt to build at least a small bridge between the empirical side of sociology, and the cultural side, which are often at greater odds with one another than is necessary. Both approaches, or areas of interest, hold valuable, useful information within them towards the understanding of this topic. It is unfortunate that they do not come together more often when their tools and methods can be used to advance knowledge, which is the ultimate goal of academic research. With these points in mind, and the literature discussed above, Chapter IV will begin the empirical discussion of my background in Korea, the logistics of the experience and research there, as well as the methodology and survey developed for this research.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE SURVEY

For the empirical study of how Western influences affect traditional values among the younger and older generations in South Korea, I decided to design my own survey instrument. I determined that the use of surveys would be the most efficient way to investigate this phenomenon, in part because of the potential language and cultural barriers, as well as the numerous uncertainties that are inherent when beginning a large project such as this within an unfamiliar environment. Surveys allowed me to reach a wide variety of people, from both age groups in a rather simple and less-intrusive way. Many cultural differences necessitated carefully planned steps to guard against bias, which I have attempted to address to the best of my ability. These safeguards will be discussed throughout the section.

This research was made possible by a jointly funded fellowship by the East Asian Pacific Summer Institute division of the National Science Foundation (NSF) and the Korean Science and Engineering Foundation (KOSEF). As part of the proposal process for funding, I established a relationship with the Institute for Social Development and Policy Research at Seoul National University, through its director, Dr. Jaeyeol Yee. Seoul National University is the leading university in South Korea, and the sociology department, through which the Institute is run, was the first to be established in the country. The Institute and its director, with unprecedented experience in the area of survey work within South Korea, accepted me as a guest researcher and provided all resources and support necessary for the success of this ambitious survey project.

Graduate research assistants refined and translated questions for the survey, and assisted in translation during its distribution. Additionally, the Institute provided research facilities, helped arrange contacts with individuals to be surveyed, and provided for the professional booklet printing of the surveys. While I was the main investigator in this research, their support was indispensable for the success of this project, which inherently faced the barriers of language and culture which must often be dealt with in cross-cultural research such as this.

Among these cultural barriers is the fundamental understanding of surveys themselves. In the United States, Americans are extremely familiar with censuses and surveys of all varieties, and they have been being used in one form or another for much of our nation's history. Because of this, there are certain understood expectations by the surveyor and the respondent. In South Korea, however, opinion surveying is a relatively new concept. Those understood expectations do not necessarily hold true within Korean society, and there is a very different "survey culture", as compared to that of the United States.

In fact, according to Lewis and Crossley (1964), until approximately 40 years ago, opinion surveying was virtually unknown in Korea. Social scientists only began carrying out such surveys in the late 1950's. Then, as now, most opinion surveying tends to be conducted by Universities or outside agencies rather than government. One of the major concerns then in doing survey research is in properly training your surveyors. Graduate students in this study, then, must be properly trained to avoid "explaining" questions and thus suggesting the answers. In the past, "objective"

researchers in Korea have tended to be a part of the more or less authoritarian governments in power, which have professed to believe in free speech but in practice have limited it from time to time (Lewis and Crossley 1964: 267). This may become more of an issue with the older generation respondents in my study. This past tendency then, combined with the “group mentality” existing in Korea, and an effort to please the surveyor or interviewer, can sometimes lead to inaccurate results. This is why my methodology includes a plan of training graduate students in proper techniques to help offset biases that may develop otherwise as a result of the above tendencies.

Due to some of the cultural complications, and the somewhat sensitive nature of some of the survey questions, the information above was taken into serious consideration when formulating my methods for undertaking this research.

## SURVEY DESIGN

The design of the instrument was perhaps the most time consuming and complicated portion of this research. A great deal of refinement and re-refinement went into its construction and subsequent translation, because of the importance of wording, design, and presentation for obtaining accurate, dependable results. The lack of literature on the specific topic of values and modernization is reflective of the lack of research previously done on this topic. Inglehart’s World Values Survey was the closest survey done on a topic similar to mine. As discussed earlier though, it was extremely extensive and detailed, designed on the macro-scale to compare dozens of countries with one another. Additionally, the values he discussed, and the questions used for analysis of those particular variables were often religious in nature, often having Christian

undertones. Using questions on God, or how many times one attends religious services to describe their adherence to traditional values would hardly be effective for the type of cultural study on South Korea that I am attempting. With a significant portion of the population adhering to either Confucian or Buddhist belief systems, if adhering to anything at all, using these questions directly as they were presented would not provide accurate results.

Furthermore, I uncovered no surveys measuring the effects of Western influences on a non-western, Asian nation. Additionally, there are few surveys, if any, about the nation of Korea on its own, unless they relate to political polls on population views towards the United States or on North Korean relations.

Understandably, when covering a fairly under-researched topic such as this, then, it was necessary to develop an original instrument to study the concepts of interest. I reviewed in depth, questions from the World Values Survey<sup>8</sup>, and the Korean General Social Survey (KGSS), which is based on the General Social Survey used in the United States, but adapted for the Korean Society. I also referenced interview questions presented in Hitchcock's (1994, 1997) works, which were related specifically to South Korea. All of these were consulted in combination to formulate an instrument capable of measuring the effects of Western influences on traditional values in South Korea.

The World Values Survey, from which many of the values questions related to the topics of family, friends, leisure time, politics, work and religion came, is a

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<sup>8</sup> Combined data sets, frequencies or cross-tabulations, comparing of means, correlations, multiple regressions as well as Logit/Probit analyses can be accessed at <http://nds.umdl.umich.edu/cgi/s/sda/hsda?harcWEVS+wevs> . General information about the World Values Survey can be found at <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org> .

worldwide investigation of socio-cultural and political change. It is conducted by a network of social scientists at leading universities around the world. Four waves of the study have been conducted in 1981, 1990, 1995 and 1999-2001. A fifth wave of the study will be conducted between July 2005 and late 2006. This survey has become increasingly well known since it was first conducted in the early 1980's. The reliability and validity of the questionnaires are indicated in the fact that their results have given rise to more than 400 publications, in more than 20 different languages.

The World Values Survey, however, is very detailed, involving many questions not directly related to the interests of this research. In certain cases the questions were altered in order to fit applicably to Korean society and culture. The changes, however, were minor, and authorized by the questionnaire itself, which notes it needs to be adapted to specific contexts. Because of these reasons, I consider reliability and validity of these questions to be consistent with those questions of the World Values Survey itself. For those values that could not be adequately addressed via the survey, additional questions were created.

Areas of concern addressed in the values section of the survey are those related to women's issues, son preference, importance of work and family, respect for elders, interracial relationships, minorities in the country, nationalism, Confucianism, and concepts of *nunchi* and *saving face* particular to Korean society.

In regards to exposure to Western influences, the World Values Survey did not specifically ask questions of interest, but questions from the Korean General Social Survey were able to be adapted for this section. Areas of concern addressed in this



section of the survey are exposure through media (television, movies, music, internet), education (study abroad, English language training), work, travel, and friendships with Westerners. Questions #32-40 of the survey measure exposure and degree of exposure to Western influences. They were developed in consultation with several Korean international students at Texas A&M University, as well as with several native Koreans from outside of the university, from various ages and backgrounds to ensure cultural appropriateness for all groups. Control variables are also included in the demographic section of the survey with questions about education, income, age, sex, and marital status.

Many of the questions I used could be found in both the World Values Survey and the KGSS. It was necessary to adapt some of the questions to fit this project. For example, the KGSS asked questions about immigrants in general, where I changed them to be about Westerners in specific. In other cases, the organization of the answer choices was rearranged, and because of the extensive nature of both surveys, most questions' answer choices were reduced or summarized for this project. The final version of the survey that I designed includes 40 questions plus 16 demographic questions within 10 different categories, resulting in a total of 150 variables. The categories are: Family and Women's Issues, Social Relationships, Nationalism, Minorities/Foreigners living in Korea, Social Order, Confucianism, Work, Changing Societal Views?, Western Culture, and Demographics. It was estimated that it would take 10-15 minutes to complete the survey, and respondents were encouraged to answer with their first impression, not spending a great deal of time thinking about any one question. Older generation

respondents generally took more time depending on their age, and the younger generation sometimes took less time.

The English translation of the survey can be found in the Appendix. Please note, however, that the style and format of the Korean version was significantly different in order to adjust to the culture. All questions and answers were placed in “block format” or “grid format” (in what we might call “text boxes”) and except for the scale questions, wherever you see numbers on the English survey, they were replaced with “check boxes” on the Korean version.

The original English version of the survey was developed over approximately four months time, while the Korean translation (and subsequent altering of the English version) took several months to develop fully. The survey was first translated by a Korean graduate student from Stanford University. It was subsequently reviewed and edited by two more native Korean graduate students at Texas A&M University. After this, it was sent to Jaeyool Yee for review prior to my arrival at the Institute. The first five weeks of my 2 ½ month stay in Korea were spent further refining and developing the final Korean survey with the help of 4 graduate students from the Institute after conducting a pre-test with approximately 20 respondents, 10 from the younger generation and 10 from the older generation. Translation, grammar, misunderstandings and cultural issues in the questions were further addressed, as well as the style, format, instructions, and overall presentation of the questionnaire itself. After this process was complete, it was sent to a professional printer to be printed and assembled in a booklet form most familiar to Korean respondents.

A full copy of the English version of the survey can be found in Appendix B.

## DATA COLLECTION

In order to obtain as generalizable a sample as possible, I wanted to extend the survey beyond the city limits of Seoul where I was located, so I determined through my contacts that it would be most feasible to collect data from Seoul, Suwon (a neighboring city), and Daegu, in the Southern part of the country. Additionally, if I wanted to see how differences in Western influences were affecting value preservation among the younger and older populations, I needed to collect data from both groups. The younger generation was fairly easy to obtain, and were gathered from universities, coffee shops, churches, and any number of other random locations throughout those two cities. Obtaining older generation respondents for the survey, however, proved to be one of the most difficult aspects of this project.

The Older Generation. Several literatures mentioned earlier described the generational differences existing between the two groups, and how that affects daily life and interactions in South Korea. The extent of these differences, in attitudes and behaviors extends to nearly all aspects of life, including even the perception of survey research. Older generation respondents willing to participate in the survey were extremely difficult to find. South Korea has a growing older population, as do most nations in today's world, but these individuals are very difficult to reach, especially for a foreign, non-Korean researcher. To begin with, the older generation in Korea is not as visible as the younger. Most of their activities are local, within each other's homes or in venues that would not be accessible by myself. They do not have "nursing homes" as

exist in the United States, or “Bingo Halls”, which might be locations you would think to go to. The main source of contacting these individuals, had to come through the younger generation, or through personal contact and connections.

Once older generation individuals were located, it was even more difficult to bypass the skepticism that came with dealing with a foreigner. In most cases, they refused to speak with me (even though there was always a translator present), and if they did agree to speak with me, once they saw the survey, they became even more skeptical and often refused to complete the survey, in whole or in part. Their experience is generally very limited in terms of questionnaires. They are not familiar with filling them out, do not understand nor value their purpose. The time, however short or long it would take, would not be a valuable use of their time, even with incentives given. Combining these factors with the fact that these surveys were being given to them by a foreigner compounded the problem. After several attempts at local parks or subway or train stations, and by the advise of the graduate students and director at the Institute, another plan was determined necessary.

Even the senior researchers at the Institute hesitated when discovering my attempts to survey the older population, claiming that even for them it was extremely difficult if not impossible to reach the older generation. Repeatedly, it was suggested to me that I simply *not* survey the older generation because of the difficulty or impossibility they foresaw it being. Regardless, this was a necessary part of my research, and I was determined to obtain as large an older generation sample as possible.

Finally, with the help of the director of the institute and its graduate students, we devised a plan to use the younger generation to reach the older generation. When the surveys were distributed in classrooms, each student present received two copies of the survey. One survey was completed by them in class, and the other they were to take home to a parent or someone they knew from the older generation and return it to class in one week when I would return to pick it up, or the professor would collect it for me. Additionally, from previous trips to Korea, I had developed a number of personal contacts in Daegu. One of these individuals was a very well known individual in her community, involved in city government and a number of other volunteer activities. She agreed to be the main source of contact for this project in Daegu, and throughout the summer, with very specific instructions about survey distribution, she distributed the survey throughout Daegu. In the end, 228 out of the 579 surveyed were from the older generation, which is 39.4% of the sample. It is not 50%, as I had hoped to achieve, but regardless, it was considered a very significant and valuable achievement by those I worked with at the Institute.

The Younger Generation. As mentioned earlier, the younger generation sample was much easier to obtain than the older. The majority of my access to them came through my affiliation with Seoul National University. Working within the Institute and under the supervision of Dr. Yee gave me access to classrooms in Seoul and Daegu. Korea is a society highly dependent upon personal and professions connections and networks. It is also a hierarchical society based on age, position and sex. Professor Yee was a senior well-respected director of a well-known Institute in the top university of

South Korea. This provided advantages and connections to this project that would not have been available otherwise. Four classrooms were surveyed within Seoul National University, and through connections, I was given access to additional classrooms at Kyungpook University and Youngnam University, both located in Daegu. The younger generation sample was also randomly collected from coffee shops, restaurants, clubs, parks and other locations throughout the cities. As much as possible, I attempted to collect responses from students and non-students, within the academic environment and outside of it, in order to obtain a broader sample of the population.

Distribution of Surveys. Throughout the instrument design process, discussions were periodically held with the graduate assistants for instruction in terms of survey distribution. They were highly experienced with surveying techniques, however, as they had worked with the Institute on some very large-scale surveys in the past. Basic instructions included making sure that if respondents had questions about the instrument, that they should be neutral in explaining the meaning of the question, not influencing the answer. If a respondent still did not understand, they were instructed to select “I don’t know”, or to leave the question blank.

In order to obtain respondents from outside of the university environments, I had 6 additional contacts (3 from the Seoul vicinity and 3 from Daegu) not associated with any of the universities, who assisted in distributing the surveys in other areas. They were given very detailed instructions and distributed the surveys in their work places, professional associations, hospitals, and within their own social networks.

Additional cultural considerations had to be addressed during the distribution process as well. Some of the questions were very specific to Korean attitudes towards the West. As a foreigner distributing the surveys, and being in the classroom as students answered these questions, I was concerned with the possibility of bias. Respondents might answer the questions as they thought I, someone from the West, would want them to. There is a great concern for “saving face” or not “losing face” in Korea. So, despite personal attitudes, they might not respond honestly in an attempt to be polite and save face in front of “the foreigner”. Because of this concern, as much as possible, I attempted to remove myself from the room. I would either instruct the professor privately about the distribution before class, and collect it afterwards, or, I would allow the translators (graduate assistants from the Institute), to explain the questionnaire first, only introducing myself last and then exiting the room while they completed the survey. Additionally, in order to gain the most credibility, the survey research was promoted as a project of the Institute for Social Development and Policy Research, out of Seoul National University. The association with the university helped greatly in obtaining respondents, and may have helped avoid some of the bias mentioned above, as it was coming from a Korean source, rather than a Western one.

Incentives. It was determined necessary to provide incentives to obtain respondents, and to encourage students to return the surveys they were given to distribute to the older population. While a somewhat novel idea in Korea, the Institute agreed that entrance into a raffle would be an effective way to get respondents. Gift certificates were purchased to the department store Lotte (which has locations

throughout Korea, both in the areas of Seoul and Daegu where the surveys were distributed) for the following amounts and quantities: 100000 won (2), 50000 won (2), 25000 won (4). These gift certificates were divided evenly between Seoul and Daegu. A main factor in deciding to use incentives was to obtain more of the older population. For this reason, younger generation respondents who returned a survey from an older generation individual would be entered into the drawing for their city area. Every older generation respondent who completed a survey would be entered into the drawing. After all surveys were collected, the winners were randomly drawn the last week I was in Korea and contacted by phone to verify the address and the certificates were mailed to them. Younger generation respondents were informed that the older generation surveys they returned would be randomly contacted to verify that they had actually completed the survey, in other words, to help prevent “cheating”.

## VARIABLES

Being that there are 150 different variables, it would be virtually impossible to comment on each relationship or possibilities of relationships that could be found throughout the data collected. Having been given the opportunity and funding, however, to conduct a project such as this, and given the cooperation of Seoul National University and Dr. Yee, I wanted to take as much advantage of the opportunity as possible, which is why I designed the survey in the manner than I did with so many variables. It can be used for future research or followed up on sometime in the future. For purposes of this thesis, then, I will not be discussing all of the variables, but only a few which tend to be



reflective of the rest. The information has been coded and entered into STATA, which has been used to produce percentages of respondents answers to particular questions.

Just as impossible as it would be to write about all combinations of the variables, it is likewise difficult to write just about the effects of western influences (the independent variables) on values (the dependent variables) because there are multiple measures for each of these, reflected in multiple questions. This survey was in large part an exploratory one, in which I attempted to get as comparable a sample to the population as I could, and as large of a sample as I could, in the 2 ½ months time given. There are five main “standalone” questions on the survey that address very specifically the issues of concern for this project. They are:

**WEIMPACT:** Overall, when considering the impact the West has had on Korea (in media, education, fashion, food, politics, military, music, movies, the internet, etc.), do you believe the influences have been mostly positive or mostly negative for Korean society? (Mostly positive=1 → Mostly Negative=5).

**GENCONFL:** In all countries, there are differences or even conflicts between different social groups. In your opinion, in Korea how much conflict is there between young people and older people? (Very Strong Conflicts=1 → There Are No Conflicts=4).

**CHLDBELF:** When your children are the age you are now, do you think that Korea will be more like the West, having lost some of its traditional values and customs? (Less traditional=1, Peacefully Integrate=2, Remain same=3, More traditional=4).

**PARBELF:** Compared to your parents when they were the age you are now, do you think your beliefs are more progressive, somewhat more progressive, pretty much the same, somewhat more traditional, or more traditional? (More Progressive=1 → More Traditional=5).

**FORFELM:** Increased exposure to foreign films, music, and books is damaging our national and local cultures (Strongly Agree=1 → Strongly Disagree=5).

Aside from these, for purposes of this thesis, I will be providing some statistical data on the responses to 28 of the variables related to values, 9 variables measuring Western influences, and 8 demographic variables.

## QUESTIONS

There are three main questions that need to be answered through this research data to determine the effects of Western influences on the preservation of traditional values in South Korea:

1. How much Western influences do the younger and older generations have?
2. How much do the younger and older generations adhere to traditional values?
3. How does greater exposure to Western influences affect values?

## CHAPTER V

### ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

#### DESCRIPTION OF SAMPLE

During the 2 ½ months I was in Korea, I was able to collect a total of 579 surveys. 228 of these, or approximately 39% were from the older generation, and 351, or 61% were from the younger generation. The younger and older generations had been originally defined by using the age categories provided in Korean census statistics<sup>9</sup>. These original categories were ages 20-29 for the younger generation and ages 50-85+ for the older generation. Upon my arrival in Korea, and with the difficulty in obtaining older generation respondents, under the advise of the Institute, the age was changed to 45+. Likewise, because a number of those surveyed in classrooms at the university were younger or older than expected, the age of the younger generation was changed to 19-31.

As for the demographic characteristics of the sample that was collected, approximately 59% (340) were male and 40% (231) were female. Only 8 individuals left this field unmarked. I had wanted to obtain approximately half of the sample from Seoul and half of the sample from Daegu. I came fairly close with 45% coming from the Seoul region and 55% from Daegu in the southern part of the country.

The older generation of my sample was generally well educated with 41% of them obtaining a 2-year college degree or higher, and 10% having graduate degrees. This is higher than average for this age of the population. Everyone from the younger generation had at least a high school degree and approximately 96% had some college or

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<sup>9</sup> KNSO – Korean National Statistics Office (KOSIS database) <http://www.nso.go.kr/eng>

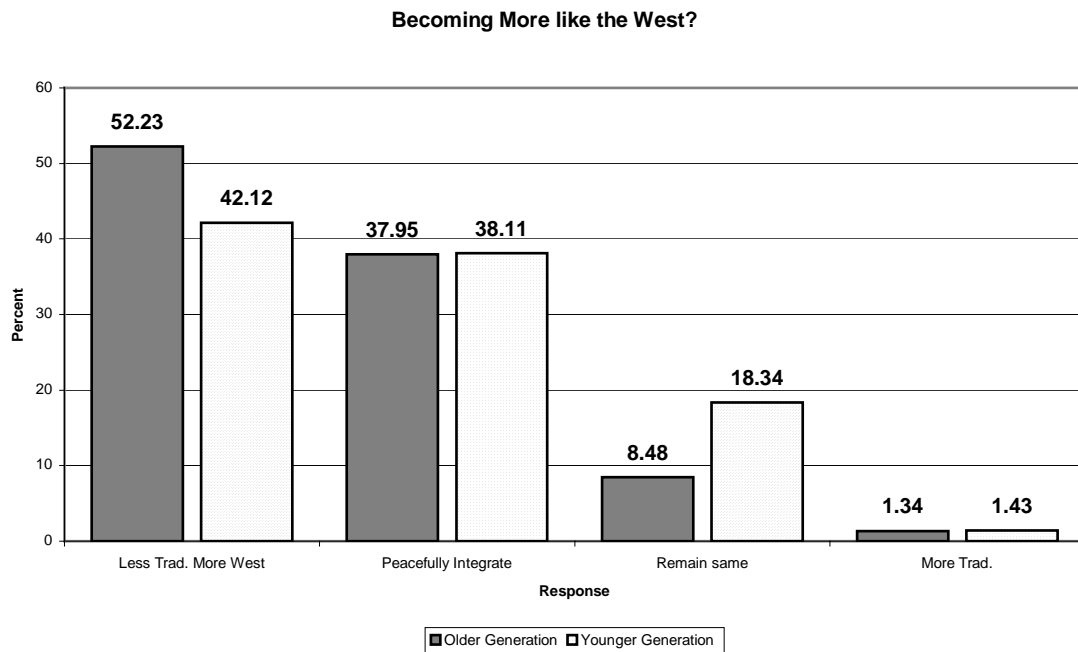
more. The dominant religion category checked was “no religion” at 39% followed by Buddhism, Protestant Christian, Catholic Christian and “other”. The overall income category was tilted by the younger generation, often students, not working while in school, but the income category checked the most by the older generation who answered the question was between 100-199 million won per month. The majority of the sample assigned themselves to one of the middle class categories. They were given the option of circling a number between 1 and 10, 10 being the highest. The majority of individuals placed themselves in the 4, 5, 6 and 7 categories. Finally, for those in the older generation who answered the marital status question, 93% were married, none were single, 1 person checked separated, 2 people checked divorced and 11 checked widowed. For the younger generation, 98% were single, and the remaining 5 people checked married.

## RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

While there are many variables, that pieced together provide a bigger picture of the issue that I am attempting to study, there are 5 main variables that address it very directly. The first of these is CHLDBELF, question 31 on the survey. This asks the respondent to look into their perception of the future of Korean culture. Thinking about what it will be like a generation later, when their children are the age they currently are. The question is indeed an opinion one, and cannot be “scientifically” proven to be correct until the next generation does indeed reach their age. It does, however, provide significant insight into the minds of South Koreans, to show us, from their experiences, where they think their nation is heading. There have been many outside researchers

using purely empirical, quantitative data to “predict” the future of Korean society. Some have found that Western influences have not affected the traditional culture, while others have found that it is destroying, or has already destroyed it. These “scientific” studies by outsiders, however, do not reach the crux of the problem, which is: What are the Korean people themselves actually experiencing? The Korean people themselves can tell us better than any purely empirical data by an outsider what is happening within the country. Table 4 below shows the transition that the Korean people see happening before them. The majority of the sample of Younger and Older generations alike see the nation as getting further and further away from their traditional values.

Table 4:

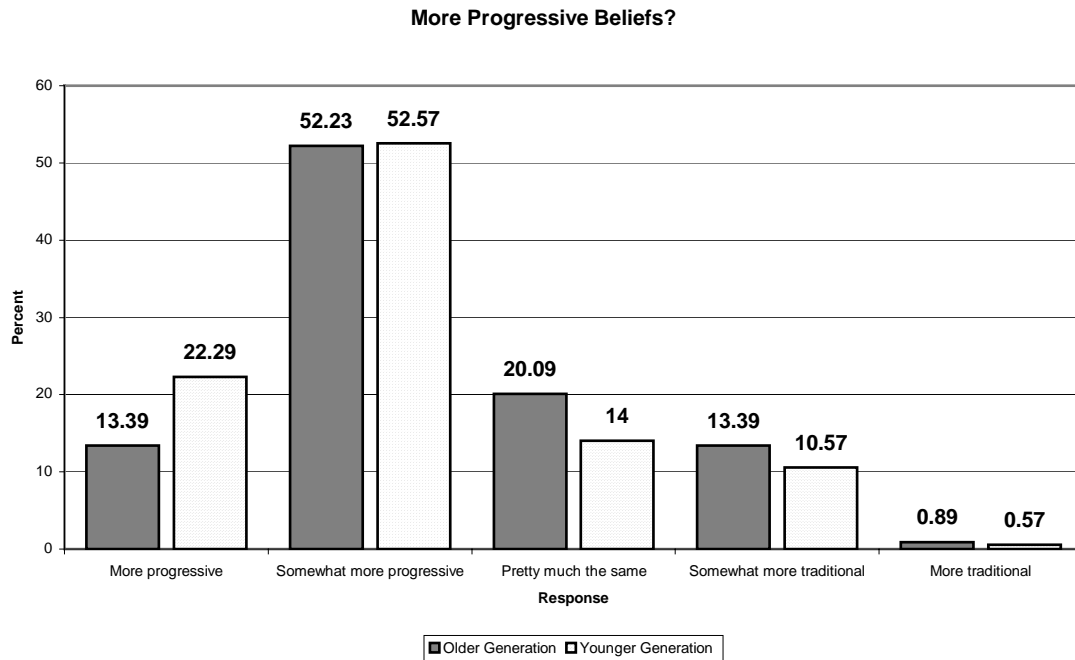


The notion that Korea will peacefully integrate Western culture and traditional values, follows as a close second most popular choice, but the majority still chose the first

option. When looking at the combined sample, similar results apply, where 46% of all Koreans surveyed chose the first option.

The second important “standalone” variable I would like to consider is PARBLF, which asks: Compared to your parents when they were the age you are now, do you think your beliefs are more progressive, somewhat more progressive, pretty much the same, somewhat more traditional, or more traditional? This variable is similar to CHLDBELF, but whereas CHLDBELF is more of a societal level opinion question, PARBELF is an individual level question. It is measuring the individual’s perception of her/his own belief in comparison with that of their parents at a similar age. By collapsing the first two answer choices, more progressive and somewhat more progressive, it can be seen that 65.62% of the older generation and a very high 74.86% of the younger generation believes they personally are more progressive, hence less traditional than their parents were at their age. This question is important, in that it attempts to get past a possible “age bias” where many people might argue that all younger generations are less traditional than older ones because of their age. In many cases this is true, where as the younger generation gets older, they become more traditional. This is why I’ve included the two variables above, wording them in the way that I did. It is an attempt to see the comparison between the younger generation today, the younger generation of the past (as in the case of PARBELF), and the younger generation of the future (as in the case of CHLDBELF). See Table 5 below:

Table 5:



Survey results for the variable GENCONFL indicate that 56.69% of the older generation and 50.28% of the younger generation believe that there is very strong or strong conflict between young and old people in Korea. This is again a direct question, measuring the perception of the conflicts that exist as a result of the existing gender gap in South Korea. It is interesting to note that the older generation feels the impact of this more. Perhaps this is because they have a vested interest in preserving traditional values and feel the conflict more severely in their inability to instill them well into the younger generation.

FORFILM was placed into the survey in an attempt to measure, with clear examples, if Koreans felt that national and local cultures were being hurt by foreign influences. Only 24.55% of the older generation felt that they were, and a much fewer 8.09% of the younger generation thought so.

The variable WEIMPACT directly asked the respondent if overall, they believed Western influences were mostly positive or negative. The results of this question were somewhat surprising to me, based upon some of the literature I had encountered, but also understandable. 50.93% of the older generation and 49.86% of the younger generation (virtually equal) felt that the influences overall were either mostly positive or positive. This is very interesting and supports the side of the “is westernization good or bad in Korea” debate, which believes that Koreans happily take on external characteristics of the West, without having to change the internal self. I have heard it said that the true Korean self comes out only within the family and close friends. This is because, in society, there is a growing push to behave and look more Western, as this is somehow more “modern” or more civilized. You should learn English and have experience or education abroad if you want to secure a good position in business. On the outside, behaviors towards foreigners are congenial. In front of others, status is gained by “being” more Western. But within the confines of the home and close relationships, true attitudes about the pride of Korea and negative feelings towards Western influences emerge.

During my numerous trips to Korea, I developed what I had thought to be close friendships with a number of individuals. For months, things seem quite amiable and good. But inevitably, within each of these friendships, once a level of comfort had been reached between us, a barrier seemed to be let down, or, perhaps they had forgotten to keep it up. In these moments, the true Korean self was often revealed, in which negative comments about foreigners would just come out in conversation, or beliefs about how



the limited rights of foreigners in South Korea were somehow justifiable. I give this experience as an example and explanation of the seemingly positive responses to the WEIMPACT question. It could be possible, that the respondents were answering this question to the societal “other”, not from their true internal beliefs. It could definitely be compounded by the fact that I, a Westerner, was visible at some point during the survey process. Finally, I will not hesitate to admit, that there is always the possibility that the response to this question truly is reflective of the inner belief, but I find it doubtful that it could be completely so.

The explanation above for the WEIMPACT variable should also be considered in interpreting the measurement values for Western influences. Six dichotomous variables were used to measure whether or not someone had a particular type of exposure to the West. These were:

WEFRIEND – Did you ever have a close friendship with a foreigner from Western culture?

STDYABRD – Have you ever studied abroad, or plan to study abroad in the West?

WEWORK – Has your job or education required you to work with individuals from the West?

WETRAVEL – Have you ever traveled to Europe or North America for any length of time, either for work or for pleasure?

WEMUSIC – Do you own or listen to music created by artists in either Europe or North America?

ENGLANG – Have you participated in any sort of formal English language training?

Additionally, there are three more categorical variables used for measuring exposure to Western influences:

WEFILM – How many times per year do you watch a film originally produced in the West?

WEINTER – How many hours per week do you use the internet to access information about Western culture?

WEFOOD – On average, how often do you eat Western style food?

These are not the exact wordings for all of the questions, which can be found in the appendix. Of these variables, it is interesting to note, that in attempting to analyze the data, the results of ENGLANG often made it difficult if not impossible to do. This is because of the virtually perfect correlation between the younger generation and ENGLANG. All but 4 out of the 348 younger generation respondents to the question had such formal training. The average number of years of formal training the younger generation had was 10, with the lowest being 1 year or less and the greatest being 20. 63% of these younger generation individuals had Western teachers for some part of that training and half of them indicated that cultural components were included into the language training. This is significant evidence for the younger generation's instruction into Western culture. It is a well-known fact in Korea that in order to truly advance and improve, you must be able to speak English. There has additionally been an ongoing debate within the country about whether or not English should be made an official second language, though its unlikely to actually occur "officially". Parents spend thousands of dollars a year in some cases to train their children in English, and children spend hours of after-school and weekend time in special *hagwon* schools learning the

language, and according to the above percentages, the culture as well. While the higher educated older generation is often able to communicate with some basic English, the majority of the generation cannot, and their children are often put to the task of translation for them when needed.

How much Western influences do the younger and older generations have? A summary of the survey responses to these questions is listed in Table 6.

Table 6:

### Measurements of Western Influences

<b>Dichotomous Western Influence Values</b>		
	<b>% Older generation yes</b>	<b>% Younger generation yes</b>
WEFRIEND	29.6	36.7
STDYABRD	12.32	65.95
WEWORK	15.96	19.01
WETRAVEL	36.7	26.07
WEMUSIC	46.82	85.43
ENGLANG	75.81	98.85

<b>WEFILM (# of Times per year watch a Western Film)</b>		
	<b>% Older generation</b>	<b>% Younger generation</b>
Never	21.29	0.88
One-Five	60.89	47.79
Five-Ten	6.44	24.78
More than Ten	11.39	26.55

Table 6 Continued

<b>WEINTER</b> (Hrs./wk use internet for info on Western culture)		
	<b>% Older generation</b>	<b>% Younger generation</b>
More than 7	10.19	17.19
Five – Seven	4.85	10.03
Three – Five	10.68	16.05
One – Three	13.59	30.66
Less than one	60.69	26.07

<b>WEFOOD</b> (How often do you eat Western food?)		
	<b>% Older generation</b>	<b>% Younger generation</b>
Two+ times / week	3.76	23.82
Once / week	9.86	36.76
Once / month	30.99	31.18
Once / 6 months	24.41	5.59
Once / year or less	30.99	2.65

I will not go forward and describe all the details of the variables and choices presented here. I will focus instead on answering the first question: How much Western influences do the younger and older generations have? And as you can see above, this answer is quite simple. In every single measurement variable for amount of Western influence except one, the younger generation scores higher. The only variable in which the older generation had more Western influence was WETRAVEL. This can be accounted for by the fact that older generation, being older, has more opportunity and chance to be able to travel than the younger generation has had yet. This simple fact that they have had more years of life in order to “collect” the above Western influences, and yet still score lower, is a significant indicator of how rapidly things have changed, and how different the life experiences of these two generations are.

The second question to be answered is: How much do the younger and older generations adhere to traditional values? Again, the survey responses indicate a result similar to what I have hypothesized, that the younger generation would adhere less to traditional values than the older.

Table 7:

**Adherence to Traditional Values**

<b>Question #</b>		<b>% Old Agree Trad. Value</b>	<b>% Young Agree Trad. Value</b>	<b>% Difference</b>
3a	<b>WORKMOM</b>	6.22	9.11	-2.89
3b	<b>HWIFEFIL</b>	45.41	25.15	20.26
3c	<b>WJOBSUFF</b>	21.2	8.46	12.74
3d	<b>IMPBOYED</b>	23.39	10.26	13.13
3e	<b>MANSJOB</b>	35	10.03	24.97
4a	<b>COHAB</b>	87.22	35.33	51.89
4b	<b>SINGLMOM</b>	60.62	53.56	7.06
4c	<b>DIVORCE</b>	68.28	44.16	24.12
5	<b>CHILDFUL</b>	65.77	29.79	35.98
6	<b>ONECHILD</b>	51.8	40	11.8
8a	<b>CHILDMAR</b>	74.56	40.46	34.1
8b	<b>MARRPURP</b>	23.87	3.16	20.71
8c	<b>BADMARR</b>	18.98	6.07	12.91
9	<b>PRMARSEX</b>	73.45	23.36	50.09
10a	<b>DUTYPAR</b>	75.55	76.07	-0.52
14a	<b>LIMPORT</b>	35.3	26.88	8.42
14b	<b>FNOLAND</b>	52.65	40.52	12.13
14c	<b>KORTV</b>	44.2	28.66	15.54
16b	<b>WESPOUSE</b>	39.45	29.44	10.01
18	<b>WENUMB</b>	25	6.67	18.33
21	<b>ALWYSLOV</b>	84.58	57.88	26.7

Table 7 Continued

22a	<b>MANJOB</b>	57.59	27.35	30.24
24	<b>CONFUC</b>	74.88	79.94	-5.06
25a	<b>RHARMONY</b>	79.55	64.1	15.45
27a	<b>TRADTECH</b>	34.45	28.78	5.67
27b	<b>RELCOMM</b>	78.8	86.92	-8.12
28b	<b>PROUDPAR</b>	56.05	71.43	-15.38
38b	<b>WEFASHN</b>	70.5	59.54	10.96

In Table 7 above, I have looked individually at each of the value related variables and calculated the percent of each generation who answered the question in a way that would be expected if you were more traditional. Again, as you can see, there are only 5 cases in which the younger generation answered in what would have been perceived as a more traditional way. For the remaining 23 variables, the younger and older generations all answered in the way that would have been expected. Older generation respondents answered more traditionally, and younger generation respondents answered less so.

For example, I will use the two variables with the greatest difference between younger and older generation response, COHAB and PRMARSEX. In the case of PRMARSEX, if respondents answered “always wrong” or “almost always wrong” they were considered to be more traditional, as the question asked how “wrong” they thought it was. In the case of COHAB, respondents were asked how justifiable it was to live together as a couple before you are married. It was on a scale of 1-5 with 1 being never justifiable. Respondents choosing 1 or 2 were considered to have chosen the traditional response. In both cases of COHAB and PRMARSEX, it is not surprising to see a

difference in opinion, but the amount of difference is quite amazing, with virtually opposite attitudes on the topic.

The variable with the least amount of difference is DUTYPAR, which asks if adult children have the duty to look after their elderly parents. This is not surprising with the social system in South Korea and the emphasis on respect for the elderly that Confucianism brings to even modern Korean society. There is virtually no social system in place to care for the elderly, as there is in the United States. They do not have “nursing homes” as we do, and it is generally understood and given that the children will care for their parents in old age. More specifically, adhering to Confucian custom, this is another reason why it is so important to have sons, because it is the eldest son’s duty to care for his parents.

The next variables with the greatest difference between the generations are CHLDFUL and CHLDMAR, both closely related. The first asks if a woman has to have children in order to be fulfilled, and the second asks if parents should stay together if they do not get along simply because there are children in the family. The difference between generational responses reflects the changing attitudes about family and woman’s identity. A majority, 66% of the older generation still believes that a woman needs to have children if she is to lead a fulfilling life. This carries over from traditional values that a woman’s main purpose in life was to bear sons and care for her husband. In the past women needed to marry to get along in society and they very little purpose outside of their identity as a wife and mother. In fact, even for the older generation of my sample (which is fairly recent in history), when a wife got married, she began to be

referred to as “wife of [husband’s name]”, and when she had a child, she was primarily referred to “mother of [child’s name]”. Many women within the sample of my older generation experience this “loss of identity” through their life’s transitions. Although, for many of them, they might not look upon it badly, but rather see these new ways of being called as something to be proud of. This happens much less in present day Korea, but pressure for women to marry and to have sons is still significant because of the pressures the younger generation’s parents place upon them. The result of the CHLDMAR variable indicates that the younger generation is breaking away from these mentalities and, especially for the women, realize that they do not need to remain in a bad marriage and can survive on their own, even with children.

This is merely a glimpse of the vast amount of information that can be gathered from the survey responses collected. Without describing each and every relationship, however, the relationship between the generation categories, western influences and values is still very clear. In all cases but one, the younger generation had greater exposure to Western influences than the older. And in all cases but 5, the younger generation adhered less to traditional values than the older. The majority of those cases where they did not adhere less, could generally be explained through the strong influences of Confucian ideologies, which still permeate Korean society. In the next and final chapter, I will review some of the literature and findings of the survey, to answer the question once and for all: How does greater exposure to Western influences affect traditional values in South Korea?



## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUDING REMARKS

These remembered, as opposed to lived, values and beliefs “are the imaginative reconstruction of the past in the service of current interests.” Tradition becomes traditional as the life experiences that gave definition to one people become the learned and unexperienced history of their descendants...Quaintly preserved as if in a bottle, tradition loses its function – to provide the knowledge for people to structure their social relations and live their daily lives. By being “traditional”, we mimic how we think other people once lived, which is simultaneously a statement of how we no longer live. (Hart 2001: 162).

As a part of the process of cultural change in Korea during the past few decades, we can begin to see not only the erosion of traditional daily activities, but the reinterpretation of Korea’s cultural memories. When people grow up and learn the ways and lore of materialist culture, their sense of pre-industrial history, and their heritage, differs fundamentally from the sense of heritage held by their ancestors. (Hart 2001: 162).

What does it mean to be Korean? What does it mean to “modernize”? Does South Korea still retain their cultural traditions and values, or have they begun to trade them for the sake of modernization? How has the increase in Western influences since modernization affected the preservation of traditional values in South Korea? These are all difficult, but not impossible questions to answer.

Korea has not given up its culture as some have argued. It has not traded it for Western ways and traded its self-identity for the sake for modernization. It has, however, sacrificed some things, and some things have been taken away from it. Korea is in a period of tradition-mindedness. It was prematurely propelled into industrialization and subsequently modernization without the time for the culture to adjust. The older generation of my sample either remembers this or was very close to it because of their parents who lived through it. The tradition-directed society that had existed for so long

was suddenly disrupted and forcibly replaced by something so unfamiliar and strange that the culture did not know how to adapt.

At first, they let go of who they were, full of shame for not being able to defend themselves. Then, behind the scenes, Western influences began to creep in amidst the period of Colonialism. Soon, they become motivated to reach beyond their current circumstance and become a competitor in the world economy, to become independent, to become “modernized”. A conscious and clear decision set a pattern for unprecedented development that occurred far more quickly than was natural. Upon reaching that stage, Korea began to realize that some things of their past were being forgotten, and so intentional, expressed efforts to preserve them began to unfold in terms of traditional music, dance, song and art being taught throughout the nation.

They are, while pushing forward and learning from the West, attempting to preserve their own traditions. Confucianism, the foundation of traditional society also never let go. Certain aspects of it have changed, and women are learning how to balance the good in Confucianist teachings with the movements for more equal rights. One can never claim that Korea is becoming the West, with an understanding of the deepness with which Confucianism still affects modern life. They have not, however, been without their struggles, and they are, especially with the younger generation of today, fighting more than ever to hold on to what it means to be truly Korean. Perhaps, the greatest understanding of being Korean comes from truly knowing the struggles of the past, and what they had to go through to get to where they are today. Without this

understanding, it is extremely difficult for the younger generation to appreciate exactly where the older generation is coming from.

This is why, as the survey indicates, traditional values are adhered to so little by the younger generation. In some cases, this might be seen as a good thing. After all, very few would argue that it is a bad thing for women to be seen more equal. It could be argued, however, and rightly so, that while modernization brings with it the tools for equality, it also can be destructive to the family, something which has been of central importance to Korean social structure since its beginning.

Riesman notes how sudden population shifts are often the cause for shifts between levels of societal development. While the sudden shifts he describes are in population growth, Korea is experiencing a population shift of a different kind. Anyone who studies Korea is well aware of the rapid decline in the total fertility rate. The average number of births per woman in Korea is estimated at below 1.3, this is below the number needed to replace the current population. This means that, in effect, it is possible that in the foreseeable future, if this doesn't change, we could actually see a reduction in the population. Korea's total fertility rate is one of the smallest in the world and is coupled with another problem created by Confucianist preference for boys. There are far more boys in the population than women for them to marry. In a culture that values family so highly, this may prove to be even more problematic. In any case, if ever there was a sudden population shift occurring, the time since Independence in South Korea would be one.

The older generation of my sample still came from large families with multiple children. Friends I had spoken with in Korea told me of their parents having 4, 5 or 6 siblings. In modern Korea, women are having 1, and sometimes no children. Modernization has brought with it the need for two-income families; women are working more outside of the home than ever before, and putting off getting married and having children until much later in life. For the older generation, holidays were a time when large families would gather together, traditionally going to the home of the eldest son. Elderly were well taken care of by many children and social systems did not need to be in place by the government because the large interconnected family structures were the social systems of the land. In modern Korea however, these traditions are fading away. Some traditional values are being affected by modernization in terms of different ideologies being brought into focus, but other traditional values and ways of life are being changed structurally as a by product of modernization, in the reduction of family size. Individualistic values and ideals are growing stronger, while the family is growing smaller, but the social structures are still not in place to deal with these changes.

When I speak about the possible ramifications for Korean society in the loss of these traditional values, I am speaking both structurally and ideologically. In the same way that culture was not ready for the sudden shift out of tradition-directedness that came with industrialization and modernization, society is not ready for these shifting value systems away from the family and towards the individual. Confucianism will hold it together for some time, but it was the patriarchal hierarchy of Confucianist society

that made it work traditionally. When people are shifting away from that, it will begin to be difficult for Confucianism to continue to direct society.

I believe that Korea has begun to recognize these changes and needs, in some small degree, hence the efforts to preserve traditional culture. This is the stage of tradition-mindedness that it is in. But traditional culture extends beyond open-air traditional village museums, traditional wedding ceremonies, and *salmunori* (traditional Korean music). Traditional culture lies in the values, beliefs and attitudes which make Korea, Korea, and which have held it together for so long. My desire in this research is not just to add to the controversy over Western influences in Korea, but rather to inspire others (including Koreans) to become interested in the traditional values of the nation and to understand that an accepting of Western values does not make one more modern, it simply makes one more Western, and this is not the only path to development.

It is clear that Western influences are stronger in the younger generation than the older, and that the younger adhere much less to traditional values than the older generation did. Koreans in my survey see that their nation is changing, that it is moving further and further away from traditional values. The great amount of Western influences in the nation is unquestionable, but the question that does remain, is how much of its traditional identity will Korea be able to maintain through this younger generation as they grow up to become the next leaders of the nation? They are the future leaders, and they are experiencing a Korea void of the direct memory of the traditional ways of life and struggles that they had to go through to get to where they are today. Korea is at an unprecedented time in its history, and their ability to integrate Western

influences into their culture without losing their traditional values is the test that the younger generation will face as they grow to become the leaders of the nation.

#### SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Future research in this area is extremely open, with very little in the area of modernization and values. This study would be strengthened by more in-depth quantitative regression analysis of the data collected and discussed in the previous chapter. Additionally, it would be strengthened by the supplementation of personal interviews about the questions in the survey, and questions in the model of Hitchcock's, which is something I had wanted to do, but simply did not have the time during my brief stay. The studies on modernization need to shift away from economic and political discussion, towards the endless other aspects of society that are affected by it, including, traditional values and culture. Social science research on Asia would benefit tremendously by removing its focus, even slightly, from the "power" countries of China and Japan, to the culturally rich country of South Korea, which tends to be a forgotten element in the literature on Asian values. Additionally, the consideration of South Korea as a tradition-minded society, attempting to blend together the values of East and West, traditional and modern, deserves further attention with reference to Riesman's theories in *The Lonely Crowd*.

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## APPENDIX

This appendix contains the English version of the survey used for this research in South Korea. The actual survey used was in Korean, and was significantly different stylistically. It was created mostly in “box format”, in a style most familiar to Korean respondents, and in most cases, where numbers are present on this English version (except for scale questions) they were replaced with “check boxes” on the Korean version. Numbers were listed on the English survey for purposes of coding only. For electronic purposes of submitting this thesis to Texas A&M University, all Korean characters were omitted, which is why the Korean version is not included in this submission. Additionally, the formatting of the questions (with regards to spacing, tabs, font size, etc.) had to be altered significantly in order to adhere to margin requirements for submission, which affected the overall presentation of the survey submitted here significantly. This survey then, is provided as a general reference for the types of questions asked and for a clearer picture of how the data was gathered. The last two pages of the survey included here (Instructions and Information Sheet) were not included as part of the survey, but were given out prior to the survey distribution. The Instructions were given to those administering the surveys if I was not present, and the information sheet was available to the respondents who completed the survey. For further questions, or to request a copy of the actual Korean version, please feel free to contact me.

## Seoul National University - Institute for Social Development and Policy Research

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ID				
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Hello, how are you?

This is a very important research study to help us understand the effects of Western influences on traditional values in South Korea. It is a project co-sponsored by the Korean Science and Engineering Foundation and the National Science Foundation in the United States. It is being done in conjunction with the Institute for Social Development and Policy Research at Seoul National University. This survey is being distributed across two generation categories (described below) in Seoul and Daegu for comparative analysis of responses. Your participation then, is extremely valuable to us and we greatly appreciate your time and assistance. The survey should take approximately 10-15 minutes to complete. Thank you.

### Instructions:

**Generation A (18-31 years old):** You have been given two surveys, one to fill out yourself, and one to give to someone in Generation B. Your assistance in this is extremely helpful to the research being conducted. Please return the completed Generation B survey within ONE WEEK. If you return this within one week, you will be entered with all others who return a Generation B survey, into a raffle to win one of four gift certificates worth ₩100,000 (1), ₩50,000 (1), and ₩25,000 (2). Generation B individuals will be randomly contacted to verify that they personally filled out the survey.

**Generation B (more than 45 years old):** You have been asked to complete one survey. Your participation is especially important to our study. Without your co-operation, this research could not be conducted. Generation B individuals who returns a survey will be entered into a separate raffle to win one of four gift certificates worth ₩100,000 (1), ₩50,000 (1), and ₩25,000 (2).

*Please provide the information below. It will remain confidential and the only one with access to this information is the principle researcher. This information will be used to notify you if you are the winner of a gift certificate. It may also be used to randomly verify that you were the one to fill out the survey.*

Name:

Phone: (1) Home: - - (2) Handphone: - -

Address:

Email:

Date of Birth (Please enter actual date, even if it is different from your registered date of birth):

\_\_\_\_\_ Day \_\_\_\_\_ Month \_\_\_\_\_ Year

**\* Was this survey given to you by an individual from Generation A? \_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_ No**  
**If yes, what is your relationship to that individual? \_\_\_\_\_**

## Western Influences and Korean Values Survey

Instructions: In order to achieve the most accurate results for this study, it is important that you respond truthfully and honestly to all questions presented. Please take your time in looking at the questions presented to you, and choose the one which most accurately represents *your own* personal opinion on that topic. These answers should reflect no one else's opinion but your own. All of your answers will remain completely confidential. For all questions, unless otherwise stated, please choose the ONE response which most accurately reflects your opinion on that topic. Thank you for your time and assistance.

*The survey will begin with some general questions related to values that can be found in societies, and will then address various issues of importance for Korean society.*

1) Please say, for each of the following, how important it is in your life.

	Very Important	Fairly Important	Not too Important	Not at all Important	Don't Know
A) Work	1	2	3	4	9
B) Family	1	2	3	4	9
C) Friends	1	2	3	4	9
D) Leisure time	1	2	3	4	9
E) Politics	1	2	3	4	9
F) Religion	1	2	3	4	9
G) Neighbor	1	2	3	4	9
H) Money	1	2	3	4	9
I) Educational Attainment	1	2	3	4	9
J) Health	1	2	3	4	9

2) Here is a list of qualities that individuals within a society can have. Please rank, in order of importance, the five qualities that **you** consider to be most important and most valuable. (Use numbers 1-5, with 1 being the most important).

_____ Good manners	_____ Determination, perseverance
_____ Independence/Individualism	_____ Religious faith
_____ Hard work	_____ Unselfishness
_____ Feeling of responsibility	_____ Obedience
_____ Imagination/Creativity	_____ Adherence to rules of social status
_____ Respect for elders	_____ Importance of family
_____ Thrift/saving money	_____ Educational attainment

### Family and Women's Issues

3) People talk about the changing roles of men and women today. For each of the following statements, please indicate how much you agree. Do you agree strongly, agree, disagree, or disagree strongly?

	Stongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	DK
a) A working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work	1	2	3	4	5	9
b) Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay	1	2	3	4	5	9
c) All in all, family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job	1	2	3	4	5	9
d) A university education is more important for a boy than for a girl	1	2	3	4	5	9
e) A man's job is to earn money; a woman's job is to look after the home and family	1	2	3	4	5	9
f) If a women earns more money than her husband, it's almost certain to cause problems	1	2	3	4	5	9

4) Please tell me for each of the following statements, under any circumstances, whether you think it can always be justified, never be justified, or something in between. On a scale of 1-5, with 5 being "Always justifiable", please indicate your opinion.

a) Living together as a couple before you are married	Never justifiable				Always Justifiable
	1	2	3	4	5
b) A woman having a child as a single parent, when she doesn't have a stable relationship with a man	Never justifiable				Always Justifiable
	1	2	3	4	5
c) Divorce	Never justifiable				Always Justifiable



1      2      3      4      5

5) Do you think that a woman has to have children in order to be fulfilled or is this not necessary?

- 1 Needs children
- 2 It depends
- 3 Not necessary
- 9 Don't Know

6) If you were to have only one child, would you rather have it be a boy or a girl?

- 1 A boy
- 2 A girl
- 3 It makes no difference
- 9 Don't Know

### Social Relationships

7) Please rank the three most important items in your life (use numbers 1 to 3, with 1 being the most important):

- \_\_\_\_\_ Work
- \_\_\_\_\_ Family
- \_\_\_\_\_ Friends
- \_\_\_\_\_ Leisure time
- \_\_\_\_\_ Politics
- \_\_\_\_\_ Religion
- \_\_\_\_\_ Money
- \_\_\_\_\_ Education
- \_\_\_\_\_ Power
- \_\_\_\_\_ Health

8) To what extent do you agree or disagree?

	Stongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	DK
a) When there are children in the family, parents should stay together even if they don't get along	1	2	3	4	5	9
b) The main purpose of marriage these days is to have children	1	2	3	4	5	9
c) It is better to have a bad marriage than no marriage at all	1	2	3	4	5	9

9) There's been a lot of discussion about the way morals and attitudes about sex are changing in this country. If a man and a woman have sex relations before marriage, do you think it is....

\_\_\_\_\_ Always Wrong      \_\_\_\_\_ Almost always Wrong      \_\_\_\_\_ Wrong only Sometimes      \_\_\_\_\_ Not wrong At all

10) Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each of these statements.

	Stongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	DK
a) Adult children have a duty to look after their elderly parents	1	2	3	4	5	9
b) You should take care of yourself and your family first, before helping other people	1	2	3	4	5	9
c) People who are better off should help friends who are less well off	1	2	3	4	5	9

11) Please indicate the extent to which you think each of the social relationships below is helpful to you:

	Very Helpful	Somewhat Helpful	Neutral	Not that Helpful	Not Helpful At all	DK
a) Regional relationships	1	2	3	4	5	9
b) Blood relationships	1	2	3	4	5	9
c) Schooling relationships	1	2	3	4	5	9

### **Nationalism**

12) Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each of these statements.

	Stongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	DK
a) Generally speaking, Korea is a better country than most other countries	1	2	3	4	5	9
b) I would rather be a citizen of Korea than of any other country in the world	1	2	3	4	5	9

c) The world would be a better place if people from other countries were more like Koreans

	1	2	3	4	5	9
--	---	---	---	---	---	---

13) Some people say that the following things are important for being truly Korean. Others say they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is?

	Very Important	Fairly Important	Not very Important	Not Important At all	Can't Choose
a) To have been born in Korea	1	2	3	4	5
b) To have Korean citizenship	1	2	3	4	5
c) To have lived in Korea for most of one's life	1	2	3	4	5
d) To be able to speak Korean	1	2	3	4	5
e) To respect Korean political institutions and laws	1	2	3	4	5
f) To feel Korean	1	2	3	4	5
g) To have Korean ancestry	1	2	3	4	5

14) Please indicate for the statements below the extent to which you agree or disagree.

	Stongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	DK
a) Korea should limit the import of foreign products in order to protect its national economy	1	2	3	4	5	9
b) Foreigners should not be allowed to buy land in Korea	1	2	3	4	5	9
c) Korean television should give preference to Korean films and programs	1	2	3	4	5	9
d) Increased exposure to foreign films, music, and books is damaging our national and local cultures	1	2	3	4	5	9

### Minorities/Foreigners living in Korea

15) Now I would like to ask a few questions about minorities in Korea. Please tell me the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Stongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	DK
a) It is impossible for people who do not share Korean customs and traditions to become fully Korean	1	2	3	4	5	9
b) It is better for a country if different racial and ethnic groups adapt and blend into the larger society, rather than allowing them to maintain their distinct customs and traditions.	1	2	3	4	5	9

16) Please indicate the extent to which you favor or oppose to the idea of having the following relationships with the following people:

	Strongly Favor	Favor	Neither Favor nor Oppose	Oppose	Strongly Oppose	DK
a) Having someone from North America or Europe as a peer at work	1	2	3	4	5	9
b) Having someone from North America or Europe as a spouse of myself or my children	1	2	3	4	5	9

17) There are different opinions about individuals from the West (North America and Europe) living in Korea. How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? Please answer the question **first** for those in Korea for **non-military purposes**, and then for those Westerners in Korea for military purposes.

	Stongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	DK
a) Westerners increase crime rates	1	2	3	4	5	9
[military personnel]	1	2	3	4	5	9
b) Westerners are generally good for the Korean economy	1	2	3	4	5	9

[military personnel]	1	2	3	4	5	9
c) Westerners take jobs away from people who were born in Korea	1	2	3	4	5	9
[military personnel]	1	2	3	4	5	9
d) Westerners improve Korean society by bringing in new ideas and cultures	1	2	3	4	5	9
[military personnel]	1	2	3	4	5	9
e) The government spends too much money assisting Westerners	1	2	3	4	5	9
[military personnel]	1	2	3	4	5	9

18) Do you think the number of Westerners (not military) allowed in Korea nowadays should be....

\_\_\_\_\_ Increased a lot    \_\_\_\_\_ Increased a little    \_\_\_\_\_ Stay the same    \_\_\_\_\_ Reduced a little    \_\_\_\_\_ Reduced a lot

19) How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Stongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	DK
a) Children born in Korea of parents who are not citizens should have the right to become Korean citizens	1	2	3	4	5	9
b) Children born abroad should have the right to become Korean citizens if at least one of their parents is a Korean citizen	1	2	3	4	5	9
c) Legal immigrants to Korea who are not citizens should have the same rights as Korean citizens	1	2	3	4	5	9

### Social Order

20) In all countries, there are differences or even conflicts between different social groups. In your opinion, in Korea how much conflict is there between young people and older people?

Very strong conflict   
  Strong conflict   
  Not very strong conflicts   
  There are no conflicts   
  Can't choose

21) With which of these two statements do you tend to agree?

A. Regardless of what the qualities and faults of one's parents are, one must always love and respect them.

B. One does not have the duty to respect and love parents who have not earned it by their behavior and attitudes.

1 Tend to agree with statement A

2 Tend to agree with statement B

9 Don't know

22) Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Agree	Disagree	Neither	
A When jobs are scarce, men should have more rights to a job than women	1	2	3	

B When jobs are scarce, older people should be forced to Retire from work early	1	2	3
---	---	---	---

### Confucianism

23) When you yourself, hold a strong opinion, do you ever find yourself persuading your friends, relatives or fellow workers to share your views? IF SO, does it happen often, from time to time, or rarely?

Often   
  From time to time   
  Rarely   
  Never   
  Don't Know

24) When considering the role of Confucian values in society, please indicate the degree of influence they have in the decisions you make:

Great deal of influence   
  Some Influence   
  Little Influence   
  They do not impact my decisions at all

25) How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	DK
a) Maintaining harmony in relationships is extremely important, even if it means	1	2	3	4	5	9

sacrificing your own desires or opinions

b) Relationships work better when individuals are perceptive in non-verbal cues

	1	2	3	4	5	9
--	---	---	---	---	---	---

c) Westerners' lack of "nunchi" can cause misunderstandings between them and Koreans

	1	2	3	4	5	9
--	---	---	---	---	---	---

d) Using indirect communication is important to help one "save face" in embarrassing situations

	1	2	3	4	5	9
--	---	---	---	---	---	---

26) If you are in a group, and you strongly disagree with the decision being made, but the majority agrees with it, will you...

- Tell the group you disagree and try to persuade them
- Mention quickly that you disagree, but don't push the issue
- Remain quiet and say nothing at all
- Tell the group you agree

27) For each of the following pairs of statements, please tell me which one comes closest to your own views:

A      1 We should emphasize tradition more than high technology  
          OR  
          2 We should emphasize high technology more than tradition

B      1 To build good human relationships, it is most important to try to understand others' preferences;  
          OR  
          2 To build good relationships, it is most important to express one's own preferences clearly

### Work

28) Following are some questions about how you feel about work –whether it is work in the home or outside the home. Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements: do you agree strongly, agree, disagree, or disagree strongly?

Stongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	DK
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\_\_\_\_\_ Korea will return more to its traditional values than it does today

### Western Culture

- |   | Yes | No | Don't Know/<br>Not Applicable |
|---|-----|----|-------------------------------|
| 32)   |     |    |                               |
| a) Have you ever had a close friendship with a foreigner from Western culture (i.e. Europe or North America)?   | 1   | 2  | 9                             |
| b) Have you ever studied abroad, or plan to study abroad in the future in Europe or North America?  | 1   | 2  | 9                             |
| c) Has your job, or your education required you to work with individuals from either Europe or North America?   | 1   | 2  | 9                             |
| d) Have you ever traveled to Europe or North America for any length of time, either for work or for pleasure?   | 1   | 2  | 9                             |
| e) Do you own or listen to music created by artists in either Europe or North America?  | 1   | 2  | 9                             |
| 33) Approximately how many times per year do you watch a film originally produced in the West?  |     |    |                               |
| 1 Never   |     |    |                               |
| 2 One - Five  |     |    |                               |
| 3 Five - Ten  |     |    |                               |
| 4 More than Ten   |     |    |                               |
| 9 Don't Know  |     |    |                               |
| 34) How many hours per week do you use the internet to access information about Western culture (i.e. education, companies, entertainment, travel, English study, research, games, etc.)? |     |    |                               |
| 1 More than 7 hours per week  |     |    |                               |
| 2 Five-Seven hours per week   |     |    |                               |
| 3 Three-Five hours per week   |     |    |                               |
| 4 One-Three hours per week  |     |    |                               |
| 5 Less than one hour per week   |     |    |                               |
| 35) Have you participated in any sort of formal English language training?  |     |    |                               |
| 1 Yes   |     |    |                               |

- 2 No  
9 Don't Know

36) If you answered **YES** to the above question, please answer parts "a" through "d" below. If you answered "no", please skip to question 37.

- a) In what year did you begin to learn English? 19\_\_\_\_  
 b) For how many years did you study English? \_\_\_\_  
 c) Did you study with a native English speaker from North America or Europe?  
 1 Yes  
 2 No  
 9 Don't Know  
 d) Were cultural components included in your study of the language?  
 1 Yes  
 2 No

37) On average, how often do you eat Western style food (TGIF, Outback, McDonald's, Burger King, Pizza Hut, Pasta, etc.)?

- 1 Two or more times per week  
 2 Once per week  
 3 Once per month  
 4 Once every 6 months  
 5 One time per year or less

38) Please indicate to what degree you agree with the following statements:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know
a) Cultural diffusion from the West (through media and education) has resulted in the emergence of a movement for more equal rights for women.	1	2	3	4	9
b) The import of Western fashion has been good for Korea's younger generation.	1	2	3	4	9

39) How have Western influences affected Korea in the following areas? Considering Korean society today, indicate whether the impact of Western influences in these areas is mostly positive or mostly negative.

	Mostly Positive	Positive	Neither Pos or Neg	Negative	Mostly Negative
A) National security	1	2	3	4	5
B) Economic growth	1	2	3	4	5
C) Human rights	1	2	3	4	5
D) Political democratization	1	2	3	4	5
E) Unification	1	2	3	4	5
F) Education	1	2	3	4	5

40) Overall, when considering the impact the West has had on Korea (in media, education, fashion, food, politics, military, music, movies, the internet, etc.), do you believe the influences have been mostly positive or mostly negative for Korean society?

\_\_\_\_Mostly Positive    \_\_\_\_Positive    \_\_\_\_Neither positive Nor Negative    \_\_\_\_Negative    \_\_\_\_Mostly Negative

### Demographics

D-1) Please indicate if you are:

- 1 Male
- 2 Female

D-2) What is your date and year of birth? (Please indicate your actual date of birth, even if it is different from your registered date.)

Month \_\_\_\_\_ Day \_\_\_\_\_ Year \_\_\_\_\_

D-3) What is the highest educational level that you have completed?

- 1 No formal education
- 2 Completed elementary school
- 3 Junior middle school diploma
- 4 High school degree
- 5 2 year college degree
- 6 University degree
- 7 Graduate degree

D-4) In what year did you or will you complete your full time education, either at school or at an institution of higher education?

\_\_\_\_\_

D-5) Do you live with your parents (either yours, or your in-laws)?

- 1 Yes

2 No

D-6) What is your marital status?

- 1 Single
- 2 Married
- 3 Separated
- 4 Divorced
- 5 Widdowed

D-7) Are you currently employed in a job that provides income?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

D-8) If not, why are you not employed?

- |                                  |   |
|----------------------------------|---|
| Retired/pensioned                | 4 |
| Housewife not otherwise employed | 5 |
| Student                          | 6 |
| Unemployed                       | 7 |
| Other PLEASE SPECIFY:            | 8 |

\_\_\_\_\_

D-9) Before taxes and other deductions, what is ***your*** total monthly average income from this job? This includes your base pay, bonuses, and other allowances.

- 1 0-99
- 2 100-199
- 3 200-299
- 4 300-399
- 5 400-499
- 6 500 or more

D-10) Before taxes and other deductions, what is the total average monthly income of those living in your ***household***? This includes all sources of income (ex. Work income, interests or dividends, property income, rent, pensions, welfare support, or the money personally provided by somebody) from all household members including yourself.

- 1 0-99
- 2 100-199
- 3 200-299
- 4 300-399
- 5 400-499
- 6 500 or more

D-11) People sometimes describe themselves as belonging to the lower, middle or upper class. On the scale below, please indicate where you belong:

Lower class

Middle Class

Upper Class

1      2      3      4      5      6      7      8      9      10

D-12) Region where the interview was conducted:

1 Seoul

2 Taegu

3 Other – Please indicate: \_\_\_\_\_

D-13) Location where the interview was conducted:

\_\_\_\_\_

D-14) What is your religion?

\_\_\_\_ Buddhist

\_\_\_\_ Protestant

\_\_\_\_ Catholic

\_\_\_\_ Other - Please indicate: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_ No religion

D-15) Do you consider yourself a strong, or not so strong follower of your religion?

Please indicate using a scale of 1-5, with 5 being “Very strong”.

Not strong

1

2

3

4

Very strong

5

D-16) Would you be willing to be contacted for further research in this area if needed?

1 Yes

2 No

**Instructions for Distributing Survey:**

First of all, I would like to thank you very much for your assistance with this project. Your contribution means a great deal to me, to this project and to this research. It would not be possible without your help, and I thank you for it.

- 1) The individuals I am looking to survey should be between the ages of 19-31 years or more than 45 years. Please do not give this survey to individuals who are clearly not within these age categories. If you have been asked to distribute this survey to a specific classroom or group of individuals, do not be concerned with the age categories, as we have already taken this into account before asking you.
- 2) Do not assist with answering survey questions, or attempt to guide the answers in any way. Remain as objective as possible. The answers a person gives should accurately reflect how *they* feel about the subject.
- 3) If someone does not understand a question, do not attempt to explain it to them. Instead, write down the question number for me, and instruct them to leave it blank.
- 4) Instruct individuals to take their time, to answer truthfully, and to read and follow the instructions on the survey carefully.
- 5) The survey should take approximately 15 minutes to complete. Please allow adequate time.

Again, thank you very much for you time and help with this research project. The results of this project will give insights for understanding an important part of this culture. If you have any questions or problems, please feel free to contact me.

Sincerely,

Crystal D. Copeland  
Texas A&M University  
Seoul National University  
(Institute for Social Development and Policy Research)  
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### **Information Sheet**

You have been asked to participate in a research study about Western influences and Korean society. You were selected to be a possible participant because you fit into either the 19-25 years old, or 45-65+ years old age categories which are being compared. A total of 766 Koreans have been asked to participate in this study within Seoul and Daegu. The purpose of this study is to understand how Western influences may or may not be affecting values in Korean society. This research is being sponsored in part through the Korean Science and Engineering Foundation (KOSEF) and the National Science Foundation (NSF) and is being done in conjunction with the Institute for Social Development and Policy Research at Seoul National University.

If you agree to be in this study, you will be asked to either complete a survey (which take approximately 15 minutes) or participate in an interview (which will take no more than 1 ½ hours). This will require only one session, unless you agree to be contacted later, in which case it will take two sessions. It will require no preparation, involves no risks, and carries no benefits. You will receive no monetary compensation.

You will have the option for providing contact information at the end of the survey or interview if you are willing to be contacted in the future for research purposes, but in no way are you required to provide this information. Whether you choose to provide this information or not, your answers will remain completely confidential. The records of this study will be kept private. No identifiers linking you to this study or your particular answers will be included in any sort of report that might be published. Research records will be stored securely and only Crystal Copeland (the principal investigator) will have access to this information.

Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with Seoul National University, the Institute for Social Development and Policy Research, the National Science Foundation, the Korean Science and Engineering Foundation or Texas A&M University. If you decide to participate, you are free to refuse to answer any of the questions that may make you uncomfortable. You can withdraw at any time without your relations with the university, job, benefits, etc., being affected. You can contact Crystal Copeland (email: copelandcd@tamu.edu), Dr. Dudley L. Poston (email: dudleyposton@yahoo.com) or Dr. Jaeyeol Yee (email: jyyee@snu.ac.kr) with any questions about this study.

This research study has been reviewed by the Institutional Review Board – Human subjects in Research, Texas A&M University. For research-related problems or questions regarding subjects' rights, you can contact the institutional Review Board through Ms. Angelia M. Raines, Office of Vice President for Research at phone number: 1-979-458-4067, or email: mraines@vprmail.tamu.edu.

Thank you for your participation in this study. Your honest and truthful responses are very important for accurate results. Please let us know if you have any questions, or if there is anything that you do not understand.

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**VITA**

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