SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION AND CHANGE IN KOREAN FISHING VILLAGES: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THREE FISHING COMMUNITIES

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SANG-BOK HAN

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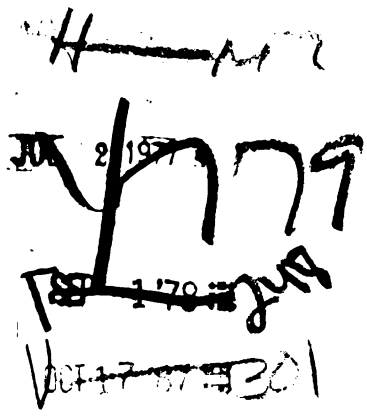

ABSTRACT

SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION AND CHANGE IN KOREAN FISHING VILLAGES: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THREE FISHING COMMUNITIES

By

Sang-Bok Han

This dissertation attempts to examine three main problems: (1) to understand the socio-economic organizations of Korean fishing villages as distinct from farming villages; (2) to demonstrate the organizational variations among Korean fishing villages; and (3) to grasp the direction and rate of socio-economic change in Korean fishing villages and to find out what factors were involved in such change. In examining these problems a special emphasis is placed on the problem of fishermen's cooperation in their ecological adaptation.

The dissertation is based on field work conducted from January, 1968, to June, 1969. To examine the above problems, the following three fishing communities were selected as research sites: Kagodo (the southwestern-most island off the west coast of Cholla Nam-do Province), Hamgumi (one of the fourteen villages on Kumodo Island off the south coast of Cholla Nam-do Province), and Sokpyong

(a coastal village located on the east coast of Kyongsang Puk-do Province).

To reconstruct the community history of each research area, we conducted archaeological excavations of shell mounds and historical sites as well as collected genealogical records and legends relating to the history of settlement. Most of the data on behavioral patterns were obtained through participant observation and informal interview. In order to obtain quantitative data to supplement the material gathered through direct observation and unstructured interviews, we conducted a house to house census in each area and used various official records, documents, and statistics relating to the area.

In analyzing the research data, we used the "controlled comparison" method. In order to compare fishing as a human adaptive mechanism in a marine ecosystem with farming as another human adaptive mechanism in a land-bound ecosystem, we applied Netting's model of cultural ecology. However, in explaining the fishermen's ecological adaptation, we concentrated on describing the strategy of adaptation rather than analyzing quantitative data on the ecological adaptation. Since the purpose of this dissertation is to present a problem-oriented thesis, the ethnographic description is a means for presenting the specific problem.

Because of their different ecological conditions, fishermen's demographic characteristics, rights to the

means of production, productive technology and knowledge, and productive groups are different from those of farmers: the settlement pattern in fishing villages is more compact than that of farming villages; since the sea is a virtually limitless frontier to fishermen, the only obstacles to the intensified utilization of marine resources in a large fishing territory are lack of productive technology and knowledge, but in farming, land ownership is as important as productive technology and knowledge in the control of resources; the fishermen's kinship solidarity is weaker than the farmers'; while farmers have such forms of cooperative work as the pumashi system (reciprocal labor exchange) and the ture system (rotating work team)--fishermen do not have such forms of cooperative activity.

Although many features in fishermen's ecological adaptations to their environment have characteristics in common when contrasted to those of farmers, there are variations in socio-economic organization among the three fishing communities we have studied. Variables associated with the ownership of seaweed collecting grounds, the degree of fishermen's dependence on the kaekju (commission merchant) in their commercial transactions, family size and kinship solidarity, marriage network, and the degree of cooperation both within and beyond village boundaries are shown to be the important criteria for organizational variations among the three fishing communities. The

degree of cooperation (through kinship relations, economic activities, communal enterprises, and various ritual activities) is the strongest in Sokpyong, less strong in Hamgumi, and the weakest in Kagodo.

The features of socio-economic change in each community also vary in the three fishing communities. In Hamgumi, a village leader's entrepreneurship together with the cooperation of the villagers brought about change in the economic sphere through a cooperative movement and communal enterprises. In Sokpyong, the villagers achieved numerous village collective works to improve their living conditions by successfully completing village self-help and government aid projects. Kagodo has not changed so much as Hamgumi and Sokpyong for various reasons. The villagers' cooperation, effective leadership, the kaekju system, and geographical and social isolation of the community are seen as the most important factors involved in causing the different directions and rates of change in the three fishing communities.

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

This study, based on field work conducted from January, 1968, through June, 1969, is an attempt to understand and compare the socio-economic organizations and changes of three Korean fishing communities. The following introductory chapter is divided into two main sections: the fishing industry of Korea and problems and methodology. The first describes the physical and historical background of Korean fishing industry, its importance to the general economy of Korea, and its current conditions. The other section briefly outlines the aim and scope of this dissertation, the methods and techniques used during the field work, and the theoretical approach used in dealing with the data.

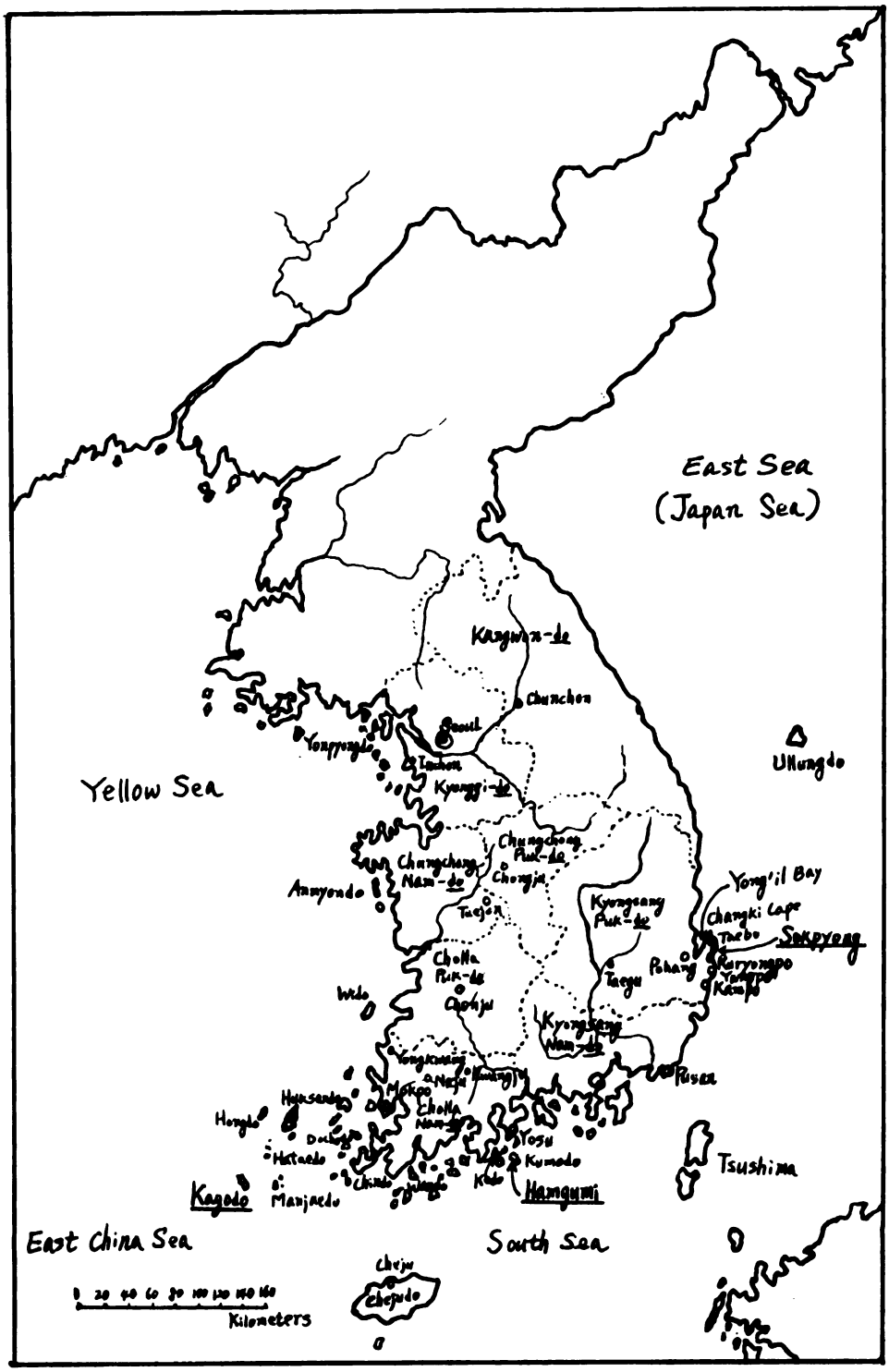
CHAPTER I

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE THESIS

Fishing Industry of Korea

Korea is located roughly between latitudes 34 and 43 degrees North and between longitudes 124 and 132 degrees East. Due to the country being a peninsula Korea has several types of fishing zones. However three generalized Korean fishing areas can be distinguished: the west coast of the Yellow Sea, the south coast of the East China Sea, and the east coast of the Japan Sea (see Map 1). Each of these fishing areas has its own distinguishing characteristics.

The Yellow Sea coast line is 4,719 kilometers long and offshore there are about nine hundred islands and reefs. This sea, with an average depth of approximately forty fathoms, is the most shallow among the three and its bottom is either of sand, mud, or a combination of the two. Therefore, set net, dragnet, and trawler operations are carried out widely along the inshore areas of the west coast.


East Sea
(Japan Sea)
Yellow Sea
East China Sea
South Sea
Ulleungdo
Tsushima
Kagoshima
Hamgumi
Yong'il Bay
Changki Cape
Sokpyong
Pusan
Kyongsang Nam-do
Kyongsang Puk-do
Cholla Puk-do
Cholla Nam-do
Chungchong Puk-do
Chungchong Nam-do
Kyonggi-do
Kangwon-do
Chunchon
Seoul
Inchon
Yongnyongdo
Taejon
Taegu
Pohang
Kunsan
Mokpo
Yosu
Kwangju
Chonju
Cheju
Cheju-do
Kilometers

Map 1. Korea.

The south coast is generally irregular or broken and relatively long (about 2,246 kilometers). About two-thirds of the total number of Korean islands and reefs (3,305) are scattered on the South Sea. It provides the path followed by migratory fish into the Japan Sea. Sardines, until their mass disappearance in 1942, were caught in large quantities in the South Sea and the Japan Sea along the east coast of Korea.

With a 1,727 kilometer long coast line and 170 islands and reefs, the ocean floor drops precipitously on the east coast, and depths of a thousand fathoms are found within a few kilometers of the shoreline. These waters are primarily used for surface fishing. But, in the Japan Sea, the intermingling of great masses of warm and cold water brought together by rapidly moving ocean currents creates a storehouse of food for fish.

Despite this advantageous geographical position, the rapid development of facilities and techniques for the Korean fishing industry only dates from the beginning of the twentieth century. Before this century, the Korean fishing industry had been stagnated due to such major impediments as severe exploitation of fishermen in the form of feudalistic rents in kind and labor, a heavy burden of taxation, long standing Buddist policy which strongly prohibited catching fish or hunting animals, and the kaekju system which functioned as an institutionalized

broker. As a middleman in commercial transactions the kaekju buy marine products from client fishermen at a low price and sell them to the wholesalers and consumers at a high price (see Chapter V). Park (1966:70-73, 81-92, and 166-330) describes the impediments to the development of the Korean fishing further in detail.

As of 1910, when the Korean-Japanese Annexation Treaty was officially signed, the initiative of the Korean fishing industry was handed over to Japanese fishermen. The Japanese operated a deep sea or offshore fishing fleet based in Korea. Production from this fleet was substantial, but native Koreans who were engaged in the enterprise were not given positions of real responsibility. According to the 1942 statistical report of The Government General of Korea, during the period from 1911 to 1942, the number of fishermen's households increased about two and half times (from 58,040 to 141,883), and the working fishing population increased about two times (from 182,319 to 319,628). During the same period the number of fishing boats increased about five times (from 13,024 to 65,156), and the total annual fishery production increased about thirteen times (from 66,356 to 845,782 metric tons). Before 1919 the Korean fishing boats were not motorized, but in 1942 there were 3,277 motor boats in Korea. Towards the close of World War II, however, many of these motor boats were requisitioned for war purposes.

After World War II, until 1959, the number of fishing boats decreased (from 48,837 in 1946 to 28,891 in 1959). During this period, very little was done to build and maintain the fishing boats or shore plants in an adequate state of repair. Added to this neglect was the damage inflicted by war activity dating from 1950 to 1953. Consequently, the fishing effort was confined to inshore areas due chiefly to the shortage of suitable and seaworthy boats for offshore fishing operations. It became imperative for fishermen at the local fishing community level to engage in such various activities as building boats on the basis of credit and loan systems, repairing harbors and piers, and cooperatively processing and marketing fish.

In order to meet these demands, the Fishing Cooperative Law was passed in 1962 which established the Central Fishing Cooperative Federation. By authority of the same law, nine provincial branches were formed in each province except Chungchong Pukdo, which is not a maritime province, and village fishermen's cooperatives were organized voluntarily by the fishermen at the local fishing community level. The number of village fishermen's cooperatives increased rapidly as fishing cooperatives spread throughout the fishing villages. According to survey data compiled by the Central Fishing Cooperative Federation in 1967, the total number of village fishermen's cooperatives was

2,105 which constituted 72 percent of the total number of Korean fishing villages.

The fishing industry of Korea forms a very important segment of the national economy. It is important not only because it provides the chief source of animal protein for the domestic diet but also because it provides a surplus that is diverted to export markets of the world. Matsushita and Homma's report on the development of fisheries in the Asian Development Bank Region (1969: 346-443) indicates that in Korea the working fishing population of 1,495,000 constituted 5.1 percent of the total population at the end of 1966 and supplied 80 percent of the animal protein in the people's diet. The export of fishery products made up 16 percent of the total exports. However, the total value of fisheries to the 1966 GNP was only 1.6 percent, which indicates the relatively small scale of the fisheries and small amount of financial compensation for the fishermen, despite the fact that they contribute a large proportion of Korean exports.

Fishery production has continued to stagnate for many years because of the slow progress of production methods and techniques on the one hand and because of lack of capital resources on the other. The low productivity inevitably results in low incomes, and with the increasing fishing population, poverty is widespread. Available data (Kim 1966:438) indicate that the annual income per

fisherman in 1963 was 3,449₩ (won) which was only 23.5 percent of the per capita national income or 34.4 percent of the annual income per farmer. However, in 1969, the Korean government took various measures to promote fishery production and improve the income level of fishermen. In order to increase fishery production, special attention was paid to coastal fisheries with the development of special income raising programs for fishermen. A total sum of 941 million won was invested, comprised of 27 percent government subsidies, 51 percent loans, and 22 percent private investments and support in kind (cf. Chuh 1970: 90-91). As the result of financial investment and credit, total fishery production in 1969 reached 864 thousand metric tons, an increase of 94.6 percent over the 1963 catch. Therefore, it is expected that fishery production and the income level of fishermen will continue to rise in accordance with future development.

Problems and Methodology

The purpose of this dissertation is not primarily to describe the ethnography of Korean fishing villages but rather to present a problem-oriented thesis which focusses on the problem of cooperation among fishermen in their ecological adaptation. Accordingly, in this dissertation, the ethnographic description will be a vehicle through which this specific problem can be disclosed.

As originally planned, this study was intended to examine in detail three main problems. The first was to understand the socio-economic organizations of Korean fishing villages as distinct from agricultural villages. During the Japanese occupation of Korea (1910-1945) and after World War II, some sociological and anthropological studies on Korean villages were made by Japanese sociologists (Zensho 1933-35, Suzuki, 1943, and Izumi 1966), Korean sociologists and agricultural economists (Lee,1960, Pak and Lee 1963, and Kim 1964), and most recently by American anthropologists (Osgood 1951, Knez 1959, and Brandt 1971). But none of these studies, except Izumi's and Brandt's, both of which described mainly farming-fishing village life, dealt with the socio-economic organization of fishing villages. And some of the village studies that have been written by foreign scholars (for example, Mills 1960 and Norton 1968) are brief monographic sketches based on survey data gathered by Korean administrators and scholars. Furthermore, in spite of its importance to the national economy, the Korean fishing industry has suffered from neglect both by scientists and government officials. Therefore, the study of the socio-economic organizations of Korean fishing villages is of great importance for both academic and practical purposes.

The second problem was to understand the organizational variations among Korean fishing villages. Although

many features of the socio-economic organizations of fishing villages have common characteristics as contrasted to those of agricultural villages, there are some variations.

The third problem was to understand the direction and rate of socio-economic change in Korean fishing villages and to find out what factors were involved in each change. There are many possible ways for Korean fishing villages to adapt in the face of socio-economic development, especially considering the number of socio-economic developmental projects which are initiated by the government or villagers themselves.

To examine the above three problems, it was necessary to examine at least three fishing communities one of which is located in each of the three different Korean fishing areas in order to get comparable research data. With these problems in mind, at the start of my research, I did a three-week preliminary field survey to determine the selection of research sites. Before going into fishing villages, I talked with the staff of the Central Fishing Cooperative Federation and its three provincial branches including the West Branch of Cholla Nam-do Province in Mokpo, the East Branch of Cholla Nam-do Province in Yosu, and the Branch of Kyongsang Puk-do Province in Pohang. They briefed me on the village fishermen's cooperative activities and the socio-economic

status of fishing villages within each provincial branch. At this stage, we decided temporarily to visit three broad areas including Kagodo Island of the west coast, Kumodo Island of the south coast, and the Kuryongpo coastal area of the east coast. After conducting this preliminary field survey in the three areas, I finally selected the following three fishing communities as they appeared to be the most suitable for my research purposes:

1. Kagodo (3 villages, 288 households, 1,540 people); the southwestern-most island off the west coast of Cholla Nam-do Province. This island is one of the most geographically isolated communities in all of Korea.

2. Hamgumi (104 households, 798 people); one of the fourteen villages on Kumodo Island off the south coast of Cholla Nam-do Province. This community lies relatively close to the mainland port city of Yosu.

3. Sokpyong (187 households, 1,068 people); a coastal village located on the east coast of Kyongsang Puk-do Province. The villagers have facile and frequent contact with other communities and cities on the mainland.

These three communities have seaweed collecting and fishing as their primary means of livelihood and each of them is located in the three different Korean fishing areas. During the period of our preliminary field survey, we found that the three communities had relatively different socio-economic organizations, e.g., kinship relations, subsistence patterns, and the forms of cooperation within and beyond their village boundaries. We also found different features of recent socio-economic development among the three communities. These factors proved suitable for our research purposes. Furthermore, the size of the population in each community was conducive to anthropological field work within the community.

Our field work was conducted from February to July, 1968, in Kagodo; from August to December, 1968, in Hamgumi; and from January to June, 1969, in Sokpyong. During the field work period, two assistants helped me collect the data, and in Kagodo an archaeologist and a psychiatrist also participated in our field work. In the early part of our field work in each area we collected the demographic data mainly through a house to house census and complementarily through official records, documents, and statistics relating to the area. Unlike a foreign anthropologist who begins his field work in an unfamiliar country, we as native people did not have much trouble establishing a rapport with the villagers. Although many

anthropologists, for example Evans-Pritchard (1940:9-15) in Nuerland, Gallin (1966:4-8) in Taiwan, and Brandt (1971:5-7) in Korea, report difficulties which led to all sorts of awkward situations in their field work, we did not have a language problem or need an interpreter. Neither did it take several weeks to a couple of months for us to be taken into confidence by the villagers. However, not all the field work progressed favorably. Our main difficulty was inadequate transportation. On the way to Kagodo from the mainland port of Mokpo by a six-day regular cargo and passenger ship, stormy and foggy weather forced us to land on a small lonely island named Hataedo. There we waited for nine days for the next ship. We had the same transportation difficulty when returning after finishing the Kagodo field work. This time we waited for two weeks for a regular ship but none came to the island. As good luck would have it, however, a police patrol boat finally arrived and transported us to our destination.

To reconstruct the community history of each research area, we conducted archaeological excavations of shell mounds and historical sites as well as collected genealogical records and legends relating to the history of settlement. Most of the data on behavioral patterns were obtained through participant observation and informal interview. We tried to participate in as many villager activities as possible. For instance, we participated in

seaweed collecting work, night time anchovy fishing operations, village meetings, and various magico-religious activities. We also could join the villagers in joking and gossip. In order to obtain quantitative data to supplement the material gathered through direct observation and unstructured interviews, various official records, documents, and statistics were used. To obtain quantitative data on the marriage network and to trace the origin of the wives in the village, we used records of the census registration.

In analyzing the research data, I used the "controlled comparison" method (Eggan 1954). As Ackerknecht (1954:125) pointed out, "one of the great advantages of the comparative method will be that in a field where the controlled experiment is impossible it provides at least some kind of control." In other words, this method enables us to present a comprehensive account of the regional variation in socio-economic organization in the communities studied and to see the nature of their correlates and the factors involved in socio-economic change. Both Belshaw's (1955) study of the emergence of commercial operations in two Melanesian societies of Southeastern Papua and Geertz's (1963a) study of social development and economic change in two Indonesian towns demonstrate how the comparative method underscores the range of variation possible in the developmental process.

In order to compare fishing as a human adaptive mechanism in a marine ecosystem with agriculture as another human adaptive mechanism in a land-bound ecosystem, I applied Netting's (1965) model of cultural ecology which is a refinement of Steward's (1955) formulation. Netting developed his trial model of cultural ecology in diagramatic form using three variables: environmental, technological, and social. According to his model, certain features of the environment are crucial in terms of a particular cultural adaptation. This "effective environment" includes selected aspects of topography, soils, rainfall, temperature, flora, and fauna. Steward (Ibid.:39) calls them "relevant environmental features" to which the local culture ascribes importance. In Netting's model (1965: 85) the area of human activity which impinges directly on the environment is that of "productive technology and knowledge." This includes not only technology (tools and the techniques of their use) but also the understanding of such phenomena as plant potentialities and faunal characteristics which allows productive modification of the natural world. These are outlined by Steward (1938:2) as the "cultural devices" by which the environment is exploited. Finally, in Netting's model (1965:86), the area of the social organization which pertains directly to the exploitation of the environment is termed "social instrumentalities," e.g., demography, productive groups,

and rights to the means of production. This area is similar to what Steward (1955:37) terms the "culture core"--the constellation of features which are most closely related to subsistence activities and economic arrangements.

Finally, this dissertation will focus on the problem of fishermen's cooperation in their ecological adaptation. This emphasis has been chosen for the following reasons: the forms of fishermen's cooperation are different from those of farmers; the range of fishermen's cooperative activities in each of the three communities studied varies depending upon their different kinship relations, economic activities, communal enterprises, and various religious and ritual activities; and cooperation is considered as a developing notion without which the present socio-economic development of the three communities probably would not yet have emerged. In explaining the fishermen's ecological adaptation, I shall concentrate on describing the strategy of adaptation rather than analyzing quantitative data on the ecological adaptation.

PART II

THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF KAGODO

This part, which includes six chapters, is a brief description of the way of life of the Kagodo islanders, a relatively isolated people engaged mainly in seaweed collecting and fishing. In describing the ethnography of Kagodo we do not try to describe everything we experienced and recorded during our field work in Kagodo. Rather, we try to arrange the ethnographic data into significant categories which prove useful for comparative purposes and for the presentation of a specific problem, cooperation among fishermen in their ecological adaptation. As we mentioned in the first chapter, in this dissertation, the ethnographic description is a means for presenting the specific problem. Thus, this part is arranged so as to provide the most sufficient data possible to permit the following comparative analysis of socio-economic organization and change in three fishing communities.

CHAPTER II

THE SETTING

Geographical Setting

Kagodo is the southwestern most island located off the southwest coast of Cholla Nam-do Province. Travel to Kagodo from the mainland port of Mokpo (with which the Kagodo islanders have the most frequent and direct connections in regards to transportation and exchange of goods) is very long and tiresome under the present mode of transportation. In order to facilitate communication of the people living on such remote islands as Kagodo, Hataedo, and Hongdo (see Map 1), in 1955, the Bureau of Marine Transport of the Korean government opened a six-day regular cargo and passenger ship line between Mokpo and Kagodo. It takes about 30 hours by a hundred-ton steamship to travel from Mokpo to Kagodo, a distance of about 215 kilometers.

If one happens to be traveling by this steamship line, he probably will not feel that he is on a voyage for the first six hours because the steamship passes through a

great number of small islands. In fact, 1,841 out of the total 3,305 islands of Korea are located around the south and west coasts of Cholla Nam-do Province. On the trip from Mokpo to Kagodo the steamship is usually at anchor for one night in the port of Huksando, Hongdo, or Hataedo. Thus, if the steamship leaves Mokpo at 9 o'clock in the morning, the traveler will arrive at the port of Huksando around 6:00 p.m. (Hongdo, 8:00 p.m.; Hataedo, 10:30 p.m.). He may spend the night either on the steamship or at an inn near the port until the next morning around 4 o'clock (Hongdo, 6:00 a.m.; Hataedo, 8:30 a.m.) when the steamship leaves the port for Kagodo. Finally, after a long sail on the open sea, he will arrive at the main port of Kagodo (Daeri), the southern part of the island, at about 3:00 p.m.

Approaching the Kagodo port, the steamship blows its siren a couple of times so that the villagers may prepare for boarding, loading, and unloading. In a little while, not only passengers but the other remaining villagers--young and old, male and female--crowd together on the shingle beach (one made of small stones) waiting to hear the news and learn of new things from the outside world. Because the port is a natural one and there are no convenient docking facilities, one or two temma (small wooden boats) must carry passengers and goods between the steamship and beach while the steamship is anchored off-shore. The slope of the shingle beach is so steep that to

beach a temma requires cooperative work which is both labourious and time-consuming. It takes a work team of twenty men from ten to fifteen minutes for each boat. Immediately after landing, the villagers meet all newcomers and acquaint themselves with whatever new things are brought in from the outside world.

Although the steamship line is scheduled to arrive every six days, in reality, the steamship usually only comes to Kagodo on an average of two times a month, even during the period of March through September when the weather is warm and the sea calm. In the winter season, from October to February, the Kagodo islanders do not see the steamship at all. During this winter season and even in the summer, a small seven or eight-ton motor boat runs between Kagodo and Mokpo despite the risk of sudden squalls which may bring death, personal injury, or loss of the boat and its cargo.

In spite of the fact that the geographical distances between Kagodo and such remote islands as Manjaedo (38 Km), Hataedo (45 Km), Hongdo (82 Km), and Huksando (107 Km) are shorter than the distance from Kagodo to Mokpo, the social relationships between Kagodo and Mokpo are more frequent and intense than those with these other remote islands. One of the reasons for the differential relationships is the fact that the remote islands and Kagodo share almost identical resources, subsistence patterns, and

socio-political institutions, while in Mokpo there are many exchangeable goods, services, and socio-political institutions which the remote islands lack. The Kagodo islanders have fairly frequent relationships only with Huksando which is a myon seat (a local administrative unit just above the village level ri and just below the county level gun, several of which comprise a province do) and which also has a pashi area (a migratory fish market on the sea).

Kagodo is a small island (approximately 14 square kilometers) around which twenty or more reefs are scattered. The difference between high and low tide is so great that some of the reefs disappear below the surface of the sea when the tide rises. Even near the seashore, the water is deep and the bottom rocky. There is no sandy or muddy bottom around the island. The rocky bottom and the reefs provide the islanders with abundant expolitable marine plants and animals such as seaweeds (myok and gellidium jelly) and shellfish (abalone, wreath shells, and sea mussels).

Mt. Dogshil rises to 639 meters at the center of the northern part of the island. Therefore, the slopes from the top of the mountain to the northern, eastern, and western shores, which form overhanging cliffs, are steeper than that from the top of the mountain to the southern shore of the island. Because of the steep slopes

there is almost no land suitable for cultivation on this island.

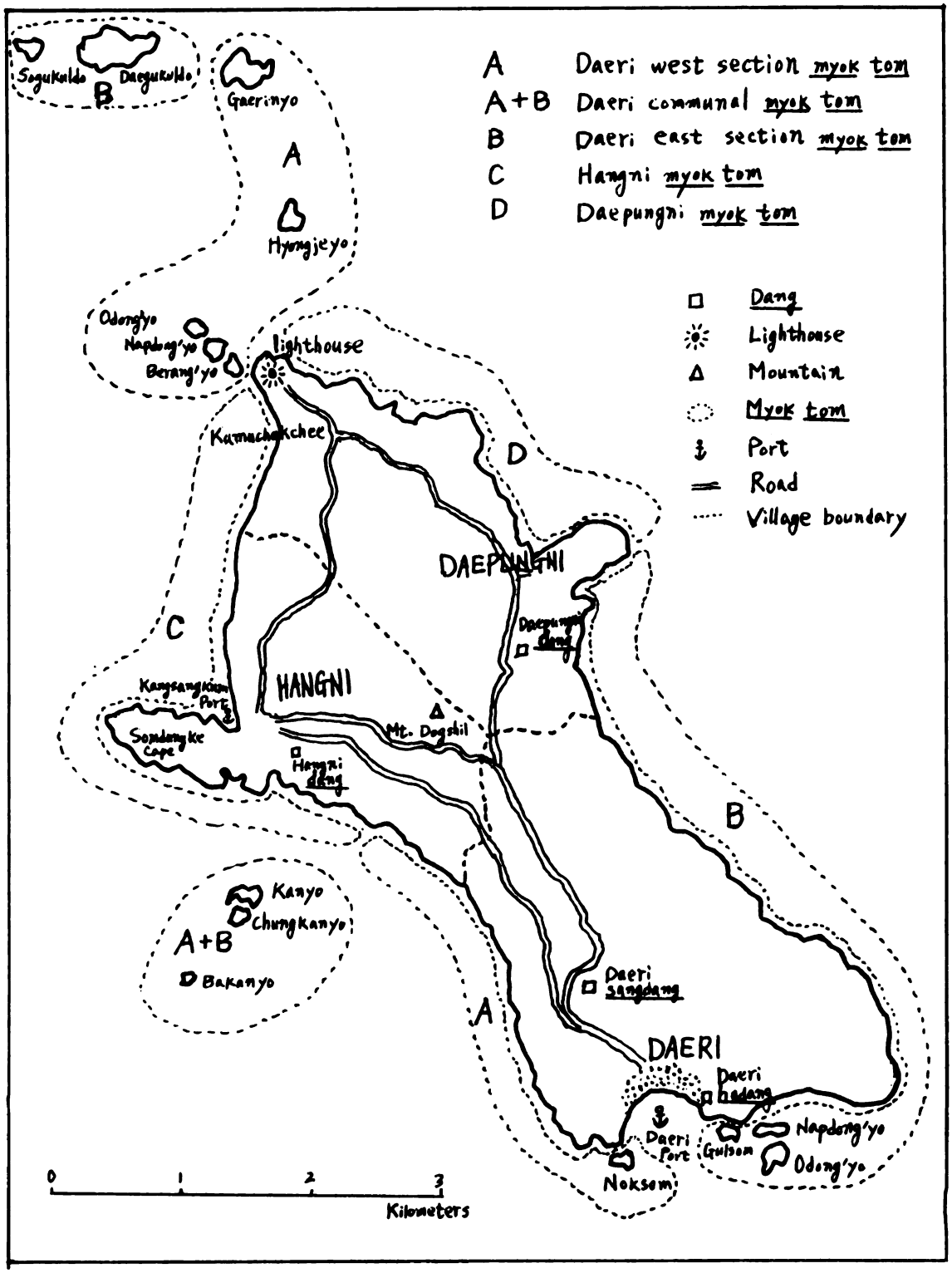
Because it is influenced by the ocean, the climate of the island is mild throughout the year. Even in winter, unlike other parts of the Korean Peninsula, the islanders never see snow accumulate on the ground. Quite rarely they have snow in December or January but it melts away as soon as it falls, much like the snow in southern Italy. During the winter season, however, strong winds are frequent, blowing mostly from the north or northwest. The strong winds accompanied by fast and rough currents often prohibit the use of the small oar-driven temma and thus prevent sailing and fishing. In March the northwest winds cease to blow, and the waters are calm. More than 90 percent of the annual precipitation falls in summer, particularly in July and August when heavy rains, accompanied by typhoons from the South and East China Sea, come to this area. More often than not these typhoons inflict great losses both in lives and goods on the fishermen who live on hundreds of islands and along the southwest coastline of the Korean peninsula.

The dense forest of Mt. Dogshil contains the island's abundant flora. Of the 207 species (72 families) of plants reported by way of botanical specimen collections, 141 species (42 families) are herbs and 66 (30 families) are woody plants (Chong and Hong 1954:19-29). Some fruits,

leaves, stalks, and roots of the wild plants are utilized as foodstuffs in times of fish scarcity, or as materials for folk medicine. They also provide the islanders with lumber and firewood. The fauna of the island is not so different from that of the Peninsula except that there are few fresh-water fish and wild animals, but there are a great number of species of sea birds on the island.

In terms of settlement pattern, Kagodo island is divided into three villages (Daeri, Hangni, and Daepungni), which together administratively constitute Kagodo-ri of Huksan-myon, Mooan-gun, Cholla Nam-do of Korea. Each of the three Kagodo villages has a small cove with a natural breakwater where temma are moored. All the houses of a given village face the same direction to the sea. Around the mountain of Dogshil a narrow path connects the three villages. There is no wheeled-transportation gear on the island. On foot it takes about one and half hours to go from Daeri to Hangni, another one and half hours from Hangni to Daepungni, and two hours from Daepungni to Daeri (see Map 2).

Daeri, located on the southern coast of the island, is the largest village, and is divided into two sections (eastern and western). It is the center of the island's social, cultural, economic, and political affairs. This is due to Daeri's being the main entrance port of the island. All the passengers and cargoes of the island


A Daeri west section myok tom
A+B Daeri communal myok tom
B Daeri east section myok tom
C Hangni myok tom
D Daepungni myok tom
Dang
Lighthouse
Mountain
Myok tom
Port
Road
Village boundary
Soguk'aldo
Daegukaldo
Gaerinyo
Hyongjeyo
Odongyo
Napdong'yo
Berang'yo
lighthouse
Kumach'akchee
DAEPUNGNI
Daepungni dang
HANGNI
Kangsangkuri Port
Sondongke Cape
Mt. Dogshil
Hangni dang
Kanyo
Chungkanyo
Bakanyo
Daeri sangdang
DAERI
Daeri hadang
Daeri Port
Gulsom
Napdong'yo
Odong'yo
Noksom
0 1 2 3
Kilometers

Map 2. Kagodo.

leave and enter through this port. Furthermore, in Daeri, there are many socio-cultural facilities such as Sohuksan Middle School, the branches of the Huksan-myon office, the Huksan Police Substation, and the Huksan Radio Telegraph and Telephone Office, all of which are the only facilities of this kind on the island.

Hangni is located on the steep rock cliff of the northwestern coast of the island. Since the arm of the sea penetrates far into the land, the northwestern coast and Cape Somdungke make a small cove (Kangsangkum port) with a good natural breakwater for the southeast winds. The fishermen, however, have to beach their temma up to plain rock in order to moor them. Otherwise they have to move their motorboats or temma to the Daeri port especially when strong northwest winds blow.

Daepungni, located on the northeastern coast of the island, is the smallest of the three villages. Being located on a steep rock cliff, like Hangni, it is difficult to moor fishing boats. A lighthouse located at the northern tip of the island administratively belongs to this village.

Historical Background

Kagodo means "inhabitable island," the name designated by an earlier settler in the middle of the eighteenth century. According to the genealogical records of Lims' family, Ik-jin Lim (1742-1785) living in Naju,

Cholla Nam-do once traveled by a small wooden sailing-boat to Chejudo which is a big volcanic island located at the south end of the Korean Peninsula. On his way home his boat went adrift and he finally reached a small unnamed island. Finding abundant natural resources and no evidence of war disaster, he thought "the island inhabitable" and so he settled down and never returned to his home town. Since then the island has been called Kagodo (inhabitable island). Sohuksando (little Huksando), another name for the island, is the name given by the Japanese during their occupation in contrast to Daehuksando (big Huksando), an alternate name also given Huksando by the Japanese.

No scientific investigation has ever been made concerning when, where, and how the first settlers came to live on the island. However, the history of settlement on this island may be reconstructed by using three kinds of source material collected during our field work: genealogical records, legends, and prehistoric remains from shell mounds.

In Kohs' genealogy, the first settler, Chang-yu Koh, (1596-1685, Koh No. 2 in Appendix A) moved into the island from Kwangju, Cholla Nam-do in the middle of the seventeenth century. His three sons and the next generations lived mainly in Hangni and Daeri. As we have seen above, Ik-jin Lim's settling down on the island, in Daepungni, was quite accidental. Bung-tae Choe (1667-?)

and Jong-gyu Cho (1672-?) were also pioneers who settled down early on the island. Choe moved into Daeri from Dochodo island and Cho moved into Daeri from Huksando island in the early eighteenth century. These genealogical records indicate that at the latest, some outsiders had begun to move into the island and settle down in the Hangni area by the middle of the seventeenth century. It is also certain that until the early eighteenth century these pioneers and their descendants had already settled down in all three present residential areas--Hangni, Daeri, and Daepungni.

Circumstantial evidence shows that somebody had already lived on the island before Chang-yu Koh moved in. Two graves are located in the Hangni area which substantiate this point. According to legend, these two graves are the oldest on the island. It is said that one is Yo's grave and the other is Huang's. However, no one today has a family name of Yo or Huang on the island and so there is no way to trace their origin and migration route. There is a possibility that the Yo and Huang families moved away to other places before the present islanders' ancestors moved onto the island. It is also said that some of the Huangs living in Yongkwang, Cholla Nam-do regard themselves as having originated from Kagodo, but I did not have an opportunity to get in touch with them.

More obvious material evidence of the cultural history of the Kagodo islanders can be found in the prehistoric remains from shell mounds excavated for this study. About a two meter thick shell stratum stretches along the northwestern seashore. Our research team excavated two pits of shell mounds located on the northwestern slope of the island, twenty meters above sea level. There we found a ground stone-axe, a bone niddle, and many fragments of pottery. The detailed characteristics of these shell mound remains were reported in Archaeology of South Sea Islands (Kim and Yim 1968:55-57).

Although it is uncertain whether these prehistoric remains were made by the people who lived there or brought by them from other places, it is certain that they used the prehistoric tools and containers on the island. It may also be assumed that the first settlers began to live on the northwestern coast as such prehistoric remains are not found in other parts of the island. This settlement area is also identified with the early settlement areas shown by genealogical records and legends.

This historical reconstruction still leaves a big gap between the time of the pioneers and the time of the written history of the island. But, at present, nothing has been found to bridge the gap. According to the local gazette, Huksan-myon Myonse Illman (The Status of Huksan-myon), administratively, the Kagodo island belonged to

Huksan-myon, which had belonged to Wolsan-gun before 1592 when the Japanese army invaded the southern provinces of Korea. After that it belonged to Naju-gun until 1896 and to Chido-gun from 1896 to 1914 when the Korean administrative districts were readjusted under Japanese rule. From 1914 until now Huksan-myon has belonged to Mooan-gun, Cholla Nam-do. The Japanese navy built a lighthouse in 1922, a barracks in 1941, another one in 1944, and stationed a platoon there until the end of World War II.

The first elementary school of the island was established in 1948 in Daeri with two branches of the school being set up in 1960 in Hangni and Daepungni respectively under the Korean government's compulsory education program. Sohuksan Middle school was founded in 1965 by the Daeri villagers themselves. In 1964 the branches of the Huksan-myon Office and Huksan Police Substation were set up, with a branch of the Huksan Radio Telegraph and Telephone Office being also set up in 1968. With the establishment of these institutions and facilities the education, administration, and communication of the islanders noticeably improved.

Demographic Characteristics

According to my house to house census, there were 288 households in Kagodo in 1968 and a population count of 1,540--772 males and 768 females. Table 1 indicates

how these households and population are distributed throughout the three villages.

TABLE 1

Households and Population of Kagodo by Village in 1968

Villages	Number of Households	Population		
		Male	Female	Total
Daeri	180	485	475	960*
Hangni	66	173	185	358
Daepungni	42	114	108	222
Total	288	772	768	1,540

*Ten males including 5 police officers, 4 school teachers, and 1 myon official were excluded from my Daeri population figures because they were not recognized as villagers by the Kagodo islanders, and they thought of themselves as temporary residents because of their appointed occupational positions. Having left their families in some other place outside the island, they were living alone and ready to go home as soon as they were freed from their duties.

The table also shows that the sex distribution (the sex ratio of 100.5 males per 100 females) of the island's entire population is almost even. Certain important points should be mentioned however. As Table 2 shows, females outnumber males in the age groups over fifty, but there are far more males below thirty. This probably reflects the risk of death that the male household heads encounter in their fishing activities. For instance, one

TABLE 2

Population of Kagodo by Age and Sex

Age Groups	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
00-09	241	15.6	210	13.6	451	29.2
10-19	180	11.7	171	11.1	351	22.8
20-29	140	9.1	119	7.7	259	16.8
30-39	88	5.7	98	6.4	186	12.1
40-49	70	4.5	68	4.4	138	8.9
50-59	27	1.8	50	3.2	77	5.0
60-69	11	0.7	25	1.6	36	2.3
70+	15	1.0	27	1.8	42	2.8
Total	772	50.1	768	49.8	1,540	99.9

day alone in the winter of 1960, fourteen fishermen of the island lost their lives while sailing and fishing for subsistence because of sudden squall. At the time of my field work 21 out of 26 female household heads were forty years of age and older. All the 26 households headed by women were judged to be in the lower socio-economic level and none of them had a fishing boat (see Chapter VI).

If the Kagodo islanders are divided according to their productive roles in the local economy, there emerge two groups: producers and dependents. Producers include males and females between 15 and 59 years of age. These people are regarded as the effective working group by the islanders and they participate fully in the seaweed collecting work with each person's labor having equal value with another's. Dependents include males and females in the age groups below 15 and over 60. Children up to fifteen years of age are still dependent on their parents or other kinsfolk for satisfying their major wants. Old people over sixty years of age no longer take part fully in the economic processes and tend to rely on their children or other kinsmen to support them. For the Koreans, the sixtieth birthday (hwangap) is regarded traditionally as the date signalling old age and retirement from the productive role in the domestic economy.

Using these two age groups it is possible for us to calculate a "dependency ratio" for each domestic group

or household of the island. This ratio can be obtained by dividing the number of household members by the number of producers (15-59 years of age) in the household. The results are summarized in Table 3. This table shows there is an inverse correlation between the dependency factor and the labor force within the domestic groups. This estimation is rough but useful in understanding the socio-economic level of the domestic units.

Generally speaking, the larger the labor force within a household, the higher is the household's standard of living. Conversely, the larger the number of dependents in a household, the lower is its standard of living. Out of 143 households which have two or less producers, only 1 belongs to the upper, 29 to the middle, and 113 to the lower socio-economic group. Out of 33 households which have five or more producers, 6 belong to the upper, 19 to the middle, and 8 to the lower socio-economic group. As far as dependency is concerned, out of 123 households which have dependency indexes below 2.0, 7 belong to the upper, 44 to the middle, and 72 to the lower socio-economic group. Out of 15 households which have dependency indexes over 4.0, no household belongs to the upper, only 1 to the middle, and 14 to the lower socio-economic group (these groups will be explained more in detail in Chapter VI). The illiteracy rate of the total population (1,173 persons) not including preschool children is 35 percent (410 persons). This

TABLE 3

Labor Force and Dependency Within the Domestic Groups (Households) of Kagodo[a]

Dependency[c]	Labor Force[b]								
	None	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
1.0 - 1.9		5	34	21	35	20	7	1	123
2.0 - 2.9		1	57	42	9	5			114
3.0 - 3.9		7	24	5					36
4.0 - 4.9		4	2						6
5.0 +	8*	1							9
Total	8	18	117	68	44	25	7	1	288

[a]Unit = Household.

[b]Labor Force = The number of producers within a household.

[c]Dependency = $\frac{\text{The number of household members}}{\text{The number of producers}}$

*Since in these eight households there is no person between 15-59 years of age, their dependency is calculated as infinity.

figure represents 17 percent (99 persons) of the male population (577 persons) and 52 percent (311 persons) of the female population (596 persons). An examination of data gathered from 288 household heads indicates that one had a college education and six had high school educations. Out of these seven household heads, five were born and raised outside the island; three of them were working as school teachers and two were the lighthouse-keepers.

The majority of the Kagodo households are engaged in sea fishing and seaweed gathering. The extreme limitations on land use and the lack of opportunity for wage work on the island have helped to make fishing and seaweed gathering the island's predominant economic activities. The importance of the fishing industry to Kagodo is indicated by the fact that 223 out of 288 household heads earn their principle livelihood from the fishing economy. Another 9 household heads held official jobs (5 school teachers, 3 lighthouse-keepers, and 1 radio telegraph operator); 8 were merchants or shopkeepers; and 48 had no particular occupation. Out of these 48 household heads without occupations, 20 were women, 8 were the heads of one-person-households, and the remaining 20 were retired or disabled.

In the absence of exact cumulative census data for the island, it is impossible to describe long-term

demographic change with much precision. But according to the documents of registered birth, death, and marriage cases for the three years between 1966 and 1968, a short-term demographic change has been summarized in Table 4.

TABLE 4

Demographic Change by Birth, Deaths, and Migration of Women by Marriage for the Three Years Between 1966 and 1968

Year	Births	Deaths	Migration of Women by Marriage	
			Immigrants	Emigrants
1966	60	11	5	2
1967	61	14	3	1
1968	63	12	5	4

Since data on the total population at the middle of the year are not available for years other than 1968, crude birth, death, and natural population increase rates can be calculated only for that year. For this year the crude birth rate was 40.91, the crude death rate 7.79, and the natural population increase rate 33.12.

The geographical isolation and limited job opportunities of the island would not seem to encourage immigration. Only 3.1 percent (9 persons) of the household heads were born outside the island. Of these, three were lighthouse-keepers, two were school teachers, another two

were shoppkeepers, and the remaining two were, respectively, a fisherman and a villager's second wife who was without occupation. Their ages were below forty and their educational levels were relatively higher than that of the average islander. There was no man immigrated by marriage but there were some women as Table 4 indicates.

Except for the small number of students who go to the mainland or women emigrated by marriage there are few emigrants from the island. In 1968 fourteen students were attending middle school, high school, or college in Mokpo, Kwangju, or Seoul. They were not willing to come back home after finishing their studies because of the limited job opportunities in fishing for them. Rather, there in the mainland, they would try to take up any work other than fishing. Although many young people of both sexes try to get mainland jobs, their chances of finding anything are slim due to the inaccessibility of proper channels. Only a few girls and boys leave the island for mainland employment such as housemaid or shopboy (mainly in Mokpo). Five girls and two boys were in Mokpo doing these kinds of work in the summer of 1968. Every young man is given the opportunity to temporarily emigrate by serving in the military for two and a half years.

CHAPTER III

FAMILY, KINSHIP, AND MARRIAGE

Internal Structure of the Family

In theory the term "family" should be definitionally distinguished from that of "household" (cf. Gallin 1966: 157 and Choi 1966:18-19). In the three communities studied, however, the family is almost identical with the household as the basic socio-economic unit, since the family and household members almost always coincide. In Kagodo the right to collect seaweed (which from the islander's standpoint is probably the major privilege of membership in the community) is granted not to individuals but to households.

If we examine the internal structure of Kagodo families in terms of household head, characteristics, out of 288 households, 262 are headed by men and 26 by women. When one or both parents are still living and domiciled with the children, the grandfather or, in his absence, the grandmother is usually considered the head of the household. An exception to this may occur if he or she is extremely old or incapacitated. But the status of the household

head is largely formal and the actual control of the family's affairs is in the hands of an active worker, especially when the household is headed by an old man or women no longer working.

The size of the family tends to be small. As Table 5 indicates, the size ranges from a minimal one-person broken family to a ten-person family. Average size is 5.35 members and the median is 4.88. Comparing the average size and median of the Kagodo family with those of the Korean rural family and urban family, we find striking differences. According to the sociological studies of Korean rural families (Koh and others 1963:19) and urban families (H. J. Lee 1960:7) the average size and median of a Korean rural family are 5.96 and 6.28, respectively, while those of an urban family are 5.56 and 6.00.

It is obvious that in terms of family composition by generation, the two-generation nuclear family is the predominant form in Kagodo. More than 70 percent of the total families fall into this category, whereas less than 57 percent of rural families and 66 percent of urban families are two-generation units.

One of the reasons for the dominant familial form of Kagodo being the small two-generation nuclear family may be found in the economic circumstances of the island. Since the right to collect seaweed is granted to household

TABLE 5

Family Composition by Size and Generation in Kagodo

Number of Family Members	Number of Generations					
	1	2	3	4	Total	%
1	8				8	(2.78)
2	11	8			19	(6.60)
3		30	2		32	(11.11)
4		38	2		40	(13.89)
5		42	8	1	51	(17.71)
6		41	10		51	(17.71)
7		31	14		45	(15.62)
8		11	11	1	23	(7.99)
9		2	10		12	(4.17)
10			6	1	7	(2.43)
Total	19	203	63	3	288	
(%)	(6.60)	(70.49)	(21.88)	(1.04)		(100.01)

units, the newly married couple tends to be independent from the husband's parents' family as soon as possible after their marriage. Therefore, it takes the form of an independent nuclear family so that the number of small size family units rather than the number of people can rapidly increase. In fact, from 1965 to 1968 thirty-eight cases of family division were reported.

Generally speaking, large families composed of many generations tend to be rich. Of 19 families composed of 9 or more family members, 3 belong to the upper, 15 to the middle, and only 1 to the lower standard of living group. It is also known that out of 66 families composed of 3 or more generations, 8 belong to the upper, 31 to the middle, and 27 to the lower standard of living groups.

Since, however, few families own property sufficient to support many people and few own property that is permanent and divisible, family division frequently occurs without property inheritance being disputed among brothers. Unlike other Korean rural families, the economic situation in Kagodo results in a preference for ultimogeniture over primogeniture in property inheritance (including house and fishing equipment). But the succession in terms of ancestor worship, goes to the oldest son. In other words, although the ideal pattern for succession of both property and ancestor worship is primogeniture, this is not allowed under existing economic conditions.

In a family of many sons, each of the sons in descending order of age, sets up a separate nuclear family by moving out at the time of his marriage, with the youngest son forming a stem family by remaining with his wife and children in the house of his parents. However, we did not find a joint family or fraternal joint family in Kagodo except for a temporary case which was waiting for a division of the newly married couple.

The division of the family in agricultural villages contrasts markedly with that of Kagodo. In most agricultural villages, family property is inherited equally by all the sons though in fact a greater proportion goes to the first son as the heir of ancestor worship status. The first son and his family of procreation live together with his parents and unmarried brothers and sisters forming a large extended family. Even after the marriage of the second or third son, the family division is delayed until they divide family property fairly or the younger son gets a job in town or in the city. During this period of forming a joint family, secret strife over division of family property or other situations which increase tension between brothers or among their wives and mother-in-law can appear rapidly and with great force, perhaps resulting in a disgraceful family division.

Kinship Relations

Beyond the family, the relationships between an individual and persons in or attached to his line may be broadly divided into two categories: consanguineal and affinal. The rule of patrilineal descent among the islanders is not much different from that of other Korean villagers in general. But the Kagodo patrilineal descent group has a number of features that distinguish it from those of other Korean rural areas. In particular there is no hierarchical ranking of different descent groups in Kagodo, in terms of status and authority, whereas sharp hiearchical distinctions do exist in other Korean rural agricultural areas. The relatively weak solidarity within a common descent group of Kagodo also contrasts sharply with the strong kinship solidarity of other rural agricultural areas.

There are twenty-five surnames among the 288 family units in Kagodo. Numerically, the predominant surnames are Lim, Koh, Choe, Cho, and Kim. Lim and Koh are especially prevalent in all three villages of the island; Choe and Cho are found in Daeri; with many Kims living in both Daeri and Daepungni. As described earlier in the section on historical background, these surname groups are the descendants of pioneers who first settled on the island.

Although some surname groups keep their own genealogical records, none of them has a permanent organization based on agnation at the local level within Kagodo territory. Nor do they own collective property in the form of ancestral estates. We could find very little conflict between different surname groups over family prestige or status. If a group of men regularly collects seaweed or fish together, kinship ties among them are often ignored unless close kinship relations are involved such as brothers, cousins, or uncles-and-nephews.

Outside of the island, the Kagodo islanders can be a member of other kinship organizations referred to in many different ways: Chongchin-hoe, Hwasu-hoe, Chong-hoe, Chongchung or Munchung. These organizations are "clan" organizations rather than "lineage" organizations according to Freedman's definition (1970:13-14), in which the word "lineage" is used with reference to "permanent, organized (local) groups of men all of whom trace patrilineal descent from one ancestor" but the word "clan" refers to "temporary groupings based on agnation." In rural Korea these clan organizations are of great importance in their political functions. To prepare for national or local election, political leaders call clan meetings and entertain the clan members so that they will help him wage their political campaign. Actually clan members are the important source of political support. It is at these times that a

new geneaology is published as an internal record of the kinship group and distributed to the members. In Kagodo, however, we did not find such clan organization to be important.

Why, then, are there no hierarchical ranks among different kinship groups in Kagodo? Why is there no lineage organization? Why are patrilineal kinship relationships weak? Why is so little importance attached to clan organization in Kagodo? And what roles do these types of kinship relations play in the villagers' cooperative activities? Some answers to these questions may be found in the marriage networks and socio-economic conditions of the island.

The marriage network is limited almost exclusively to the island because of its geographical isolation. The island is so isolated that outside people do not seek marital ties with the islanders. Complicating this factor is the further limitation placed on the marriage network by the patrilineal kinship exogamy operating within the island itself. Most of the islanders are, therefore, related to each other either through patrilineal kinship or affinal kinship, or both. I will describe the complicated affinal relationships further in detail in the following section. Since almost everyone in Kagodo is related to everyone else, the issue of kin relationships assumes little importance. This might be one of the

reasons why the Kagodo islanders have a weak kinship consciousness which results in non-hierarchical kinship relations. In contrast to the Kagodo islanders, other Korean agricultural villagers still keep their traditional rules of village exogamy and castelike class endogamy. These marriage rules tend to make a sharp hierarchical distinction between different kinship groups in rural agricultural villages. Sometimes the kinship distinction gives rise to village factionalism which prohibits villagers' cooperation.

Collective property in the form of ancestral estates is considered in general as a determinant of internal lineage structure and also as a primary factor in maintaining a strong lineage organization in rural Korean agricultural areas (cf. Kim 1964:165-174). Kagodo again provides a striking contrast to these areas in that none of the kinship groups has any form of collective property. This might be another reason for the absence of lineage organization in the island.

Kagodo's strong village solidarity may also help explain its weak kinship solidarity. Due to the nature of the cooperative work pattern in seaweed collecting and fishing, the islanders have stronger ties to each other as villagers than as members of the same kinship group. Thus, in Kagodo, mutual aid and protection of the family unit are provided by the village as a whole rather than

by kinship groups. Although the villagers' cooperation in Kagodo is relatively strong, their cooperation with other villagers or local governments is not strong enough because of their limited access to the outside world. Where sharp kinship hierarchical distinctions exist and strong kinship solidarity prevails, mutual aid and protection of the family unit are provided by kinship groups. Because of strong kinship solidarity, village-wide cooperation may not be strong but ties with the outside world may strengthen from cross-village kinship relations.

Even though kinship organization does not exist, kinship factors are significant and relevant to the villagers' interpersonal relations and their continued cooperation. Interpersonal cooperation and close relationships based on kinship ties notably occur in connection with ritual and festive occasions in the life cycle, such as a small feast on the one hundredth day after birth, the first birthday of a child, celebration of a wedding ceremony, and other festive occasions of a familial nature (all of these will be discussed in detail in Chapter VII). Mutual requests for help in times of emergency are also frequently based on kinship ties. For example, if a villager is suddenly taken ill and must go to the hospital in the mainland, he first asks close relatives for help, e.g., to lend money or accompany him.

Marriage

While patrilineal kinship group exogamy is practiced according to the marriage rule, village endogamous marriage has been prevalent in Kagodo because of its geographical isolation. It was possible to trace the origin of the 378 wives in the village through the available records of census registration. Of the 378, 304 wives (80.4%) were native Kagodo islanders and the remaining 74 (19.6%) came from outside of the island. This proportion of village endogamy contrasts sharply with that of other Korean rural areas: 20.4 percent in a rice farming village (Kim 1964:118) and 22 percent in a farming-fishing village (Brandt 1969:140).

Again, through the use of the census registration records available to us, we were also able to trace the place of marriage for 344 Kagodo women over a period of approximately one hundred years. Furthermore, we determined that of this total only 24 women (7.0%) married outside the island; with the remaining 320 women (93.0%) marrying within the island.

This tendency toward village endogamy with a patrilineal kinship exogamous rule makes the marriage network of the islanders extremely complex. Figure 1 shows the marriage network of twenty-five surname groups in Kagodo. Except for seven single-household surnames (B, E, H, L, O, Q, and U in Figure 1) which moved into the

island recently, all the surname groups are interrelated by the marriage network. Figure 1 also reveals the direction of the movement of women to be from one kinship group to another. Although the exchange of women is not necessarily reciprocal, numerically large surname groups (for instance, A, G, N, S, and W in Figure 1) usually exchange women reciprocally. Therefore, matrilateral and affinal relationships among these large surname groups further consolidate village solidarity.

Traditionally in Korea matrilateral and affinal relationships have not been institutionalized in the formal and legal ideology (cf. Choi 1966:559-583). Furthermore, the importance of these relationships has been mistakenly neglected by most scholars who previously over-emphasized patrilateral relationships in their descriptions of Korean kinship relations. As Gallin (1966:175) pointed out, this tendency also occurred in previous Chinese kinship studies. In reality, however, matrilateral and affinal relationships are of great importance on the individual level. In Kagodo the villagers maintain warm personal ties with their matrilateral and affinal relatives as often as with their patrilateral kinsmen. For instance, on occasions such as the New Year and during various life crises, the villagers pay ritual visits and exchange gifts and salutations. Such rituals are enacted not only with paternal relatives but also with maternal kin and affines.

Thus the marriage network is very important with regard to the relationships between a wife's natal family and her husband's family, not only in their own generation but in succeeding generations as well. But in Kagodo these important matrilateral and affinal relationships do not extend much beyond the boundary of the island because of the geographical limitation of the marriage network. So too is the possible cooperation in the islanders' intervillage relationships with outsiders also limited. The significance of matrilateral and affinal relationships with regard to intervillage relationships and mutual cooperation will be further discussed in Chapter IX.

Because of limiting factors in the marriage network, it is very difficult for some families to find an appropriate bride or groom. Therefore, parents ordinarily try to arrange a match with someone appropriate before their children come of age. Another solution to the problem of mate selection is a peculiar marriage form known as "chimajarak." Here sisters or female cousins of one family marry brothers or close kinsmen of another family. In addition, "chimajarak" marriage may sometimes be intergenerational as seen in B and D in Figure 2. According to the native islanders' understanding, "chimajarak" marriage means that sisters or female cousins cook together in the same kitchen after their marriage.

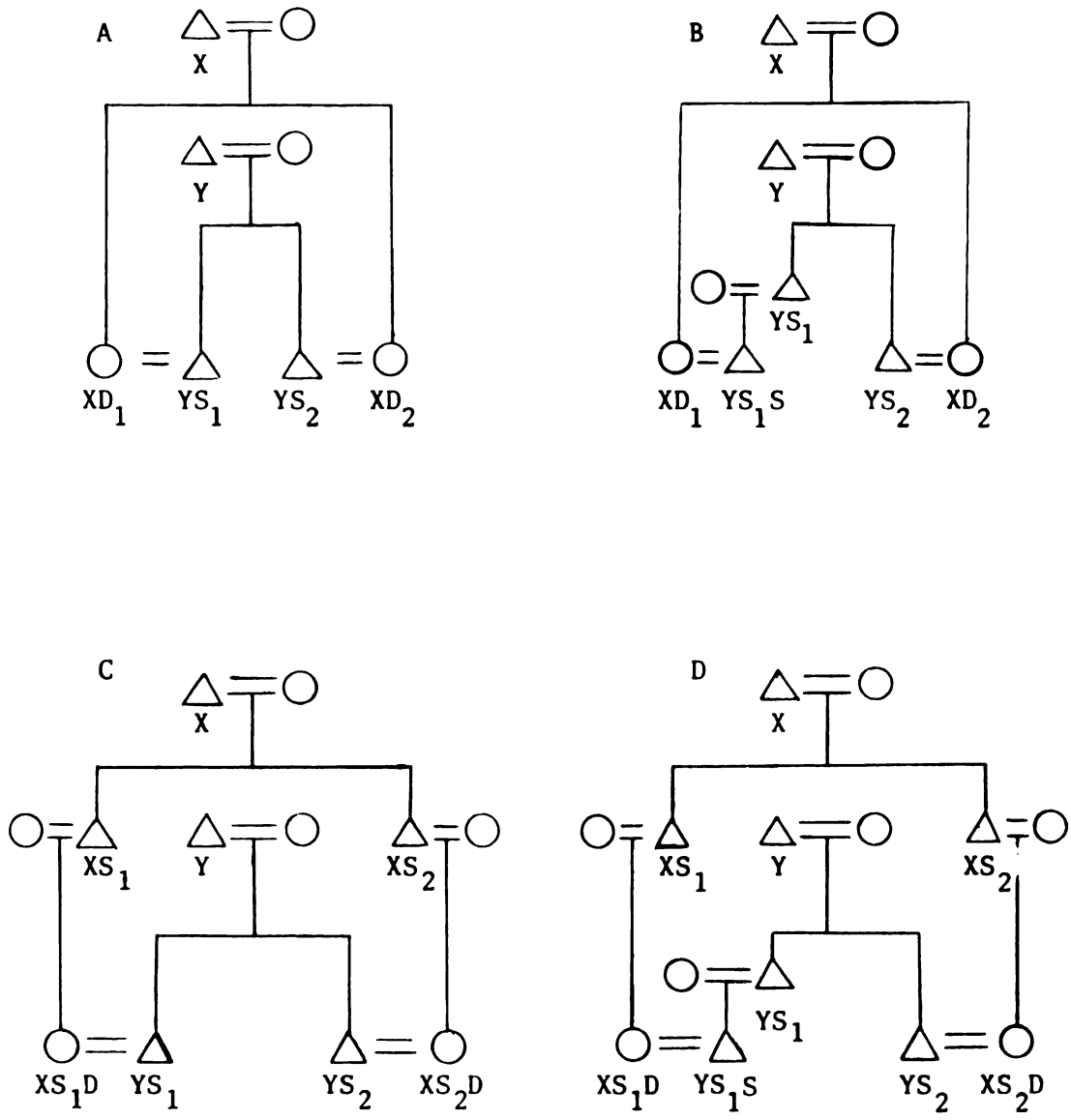


Figure 2. Forms of "chimajarak" marriage.

Since, in Figure 2-A, Y married his first son (YS_1) to X's first daughter (XD_1), Y could also marry his second son (YS_2) to X's second daughter (XD_2) without difficulty. This marriage form and its variations, like B, C, and D in Figure 2, are not uncommon in Kagodo. Of these examples, B and D show that two sisters or female cousins marry a man and his father's younger brother respectively. In other words, mixing of generations occurs in these two examples. This, however, does not mean that generational divisions are not important in Korean marriage customs. "Chimajarak" marriage is not typical of other Korean villages at all. I have never found a like marriage custom in other areas or in any of the literature. In fact, to my knowledge marriage of cousins, including the cross-cousin type, is not practiced in other parts of Korea. As previously pointed out, it is a peculiar marriage form practiced only in Kagodo and its adjacent isolated islands.

Although deritsawi (adopted son-in-law) and minmyonuri (foster daughter-in-law) type marriages are customarily recognized and socially accepted by Koreans in general as well as by Kagodo islanders, these forms of marriage are now rarely practiced in Kagodo. If a family does not have sons but does have a daughter, the parents prefer to adopt a son from their own patrilateral nephews rather than adopt a son-in-law from another kinship group.

For example, in Appendix A, numbers 52 and 53 adopted numbers 68 and 69 as their sons, respectively, from their patrilateral nephews.

CHAPTER IV

PRODUCTION AND TECHNOLOGY

Resources and the Yearly Cycle of Production

For the Kagodo islanders the most important resources are marine resources which include various kinds of seaweed, sea shell, and fish. Arable land (145 panbo, equivalent to 35.5 acres) is so scarce that agriculture is regarded as a woman's side-line. The main agricultural products are barley and sweet potatoes which meet less than 5 percent (1,210 bushels of barley) of the food demand (28,840 bushels of barley) for the islanders. The forest is another exploitable resource. Mt. Dogshil provides sufficient wood for the islanders' annual fuel requirements, grass for cattle breeding, and other plants for food or folk medicine. The utilization of these primary resources is affected by secondary resources such as climate, equipment, and the labor force.

The yearly distribution of the labor force depends upon seasonal availability of flora and fauna, the growing of plants, and the migration of various species of fish.

Broadly speaking, there are three distinct seasons of productive activity: the spring seaweed and sea shell collecting season, the summer anchovy fishing season, and the fall mixed fishing season. While fishermen are preoccupied with sea fishing, women carry out cultivating and wood gathering from spring to autumn.

The spring season begins early in the second lunar month when laver is fully grown in the water and continues into the sixth lunar month. Seaweed and sea shells are collected by both men and women. In the second and third lunar month they collect laver and prepare it to be made into paper-thin dried laver. During the same period such sea shells as abalone, wreath-shell, and sea mussel are collected. But the central or primary activity of the people in this season is myok (Undaria pinnatifida) collecting in the fourth and fifth lunar month. Gelidium jelly, collected in the sixth lunar month, is also an important seaweed not only for the islanders' home consumption but also for their cash income. During this month women harvest barley and transplant sweet potatoes, occasionally gathering wood for fuel.

The summer fishing season lasts from the seventh to the ninth lunar month and is considered the most prosperous and busiest time of the year. Since anchovy fishing is carried out exclusively by men at night, the fishermen must take their rest in the daytime. Women

carry the night's catch from the boat to their houses and process it either by boiling-and-drying or salting.

The fall mixed fishing season, from the tenth to the eleventh lunar month, is a moderately slack season for fishermen. They catch only such mixed fish as snapper, sea-bass, and hair-tail for their home consumption. In these two months the women are busy with wood-gathering and sweet potato harvesting. But the Kagodo fishermen usually do not help their wives work on the land. Except for seaweed and sea shell collecting, men and women divide their work into two parts: men work on the sea and women work on the land.

The winter season is the worst time for fishing. From the twelfth to the first lunar month strong north or northwest winds are accompanied by fast currents which threaten small boat sailing and fishing. Thus, during this season, fishermen make or repair fishing gear for the next year's fishing.

Collecting

Myok collecting is the most important productive activity in the spring. Myok grows on rock at a depth of three or four fathoms in the water. Most Koreans choose myok soup as one of their favorite foods. Especially after childbirth, for a woman in the post-partum period, it is considered an indispensable food item. Its nation-wide

demand is so great that the fishermen's supply of myok can hardly meet the demand.

For myok collecting the Kagodo islanders have a special system called the "tom." Originally the word tom meant myok collecting zone (myok tom), but now it also refers to the residential unit of the village (residential tom). All the Kagodo myok tom are broadly divided into four zones and each zone is subdivided into several sub-zones according to the residential tom of the village (see Map 2). Each residential tom has exclusive myok collecting rights within a specifically assigned myok tom. In other words, the myok collecting grounds are communally owned by each village or its subunits.

The ownership of myok collecting grounds and rules for assigning the myok tom to the residential tom are not the same in all Korean fishing villages. For example, in Hamgumi (of Chapter VIII) the myok collecting grounds are communally owned as in Kagodo. But the rule for assigning the myok tom to the residential tom is different in the two communities. Whereas Kagodo has a fixed (not annually rotating) system of myok tom assignment, Hamgumi has a rotating system. Furthermore, in Sokpyong (of Chapter IX) the myok collecting grounds are privately owned as is land owned by most other Korean farmers.

The basic unit of tom organization is the household. The right to collect myok in the assigned myok tom is

granted not to individuals but to households. There are two kinds of members in the tom organization; wonho (full-share member) and banho (half-share member). In order to become a wonho, a household must qualify as a permanent resident which (1) has lived more than five years in the village, (2) owns a house in the residential tom, and (3) has a sufficient labor force to collect myok, i.e., at least one producer as defined in demographic section of Chapter I. The permanent household which lacks more than one of these three conditions is eligible to become a banho. Temporary resident households are not eligible to become members of the tom organization.

In the case of family division, if the new household has its own house in the village, it becomes a wonho; if not, it becomes a banho until it does own a house in the village. If one household moves into the village as a permanent resident, it becomes a banho for the first five years, after which it is eligible to become a wonho.

The annual membership fee of a banho was ₩ 700 in 1968. Once a household becomes a wonho it no longer pays an annual membership fee but instead pays a permanent membership fee which was ₩ 10,000 in 1968 for a household resulting from family division and ₩ 18,000 for a newcomer.

Before myok collecting begins, the temma owners compete to recruit six or seven wonho members to use their

temma during the myok collecting season. In order to recruit the members, some owners offer monetary rewards or long-term loans without interest. During the myok collecting work the owners provide the members not only with their temma but also with wine and three meals a day. In return, the owners get additional shares of the myok.

When the myok is ready to collect, the tomchang (chief of the tom organization) announces the collecting date to the member households. The myok collecting workers, each of whom comes from a wonho household, go to their myok tom, dividing themselves into several work teams by temma around ten o'clock in the morning. Each work team collects myok by diving into the water at a depth of three or four fathoms, cutting the myok with sickles, and loading it on the temma. Before sunset they come back to the village carrying a full cargo of myok on the temma.

All the collected myok is piled up on the beach and divided into shares under the direction of the tomchang. In Kagodo there are four kinds of shares: wonjit (wonho-share), banjit (banho-share), baejit (boat-share), and gongjit (meal-share). Wonjit, baejit, and gongjit are each equivalent to one-full-share and banjit to a half-share.

In order to show how they calculate the shares, let me use as an example the sharing system operating in the East Daeri section's tom. In 1968 the tom was composed of 89 wonho and 4 banho. The 89 workers were divided into

13 work teams. In other words, 13 temma owners provided the workers with boats and meals. Therefore the total number of shares is calculated as follows:

Wonjit	for 89 wonho	89 shares
Banjit	for 4 banho	2 shares
Baejit	for 13 temma owners	13 shares
Gongjit	for 13 meal providers	13 shares
Total		117 shares

Thus a temma owner who successfully recruits work team members gets three shares including wonjit, baejit, and gongjit. But if a temma owner fails to recruit work team members, he must take part in another temma owner's work team and gets only one share (wonjit). In Kagodo there were 48 temma (27 in Daeri, 16 in Hangni, and 5 in Daepungni) in 1968. This is said to be the reason why the temma owners compete so vigorously when recruiting work team members.

The quality of the myok is determined by the color, length, width, and thickness of the dried myok leaves. An average piece of myok is dark brown, 150 cm long, 5 cm wide, and 0.5 mm thick. The darker, longer, wider, and thicker the myok, the better is its quality. The basic counting unit for myok is a nip (piece); ten nip make a gadak, two gadak a kochi, ten kochi a mut, and one hundred mut a job. The monetary value of a mut of myok in Kagodo

was ₩ 150 in 1968 and a share of myok amounted to 200 mut. Consequently the average monetary income from myok collecting per household is calculated at ₩ 30,000.

Other resources, including laver, wreath shell, and sea mussel, are collected mainly for home consumption, and there are no exclusive rights governing their collection as there are for myok. To raise communal funds for such things as school operations or village road cleaning, the rights to collect abalone or gelidium jelly are sometimes sold to entrepreneurial villagers. But such villagers do not usually profit very much because they do not have a mechanical diving apparatus necessary for collecting large amounts of abalone or gelidium jelly which is found in deep water.

Fishing

Until quite recently the most common fishing methods had been angling with a hook and line, long-line fishing, and dragnet fishing near the shore of the village. For these types of fishing, all that was required were small wooden boats with a sail and oars and a two-to-six-men crew. Therefore, these fishing activities were carried out by the related fishermen from a single household or by two-to-three households working cooperatively. These fishing methods are still used by some individual fishermen in the spring or in the fall for the mixed fishing season.

Recently, however, motor boats have been introduced with various modern nylon nets which require bigger capital and more specialized and larger scale work groups. To profit from this new technology, the fishermen had to organize themselves into large associations. The reward system also became more complex as it varied according to the amount of capital invested and the degree to which a fisherman was involved in the fishing.

As a rule the fishermen's strategy is directly connected with the marine ecology of a given fishing community: weather (winds, currents, water temperature, etc.); fishing grounds or spots (distance, depth, floral and faunal zones, etc.) and their bottom structure (rock, sand, gravel, mud, etc.); and fish habits (seasonal migration, habitats, specific likes or dislikes, etc.). The use of various nets, therefore, tends to correlate with the marine environment.

In this section I will concentrate on the summer anchovy fishing. The anchovy arrive around the island of Kagodo in small and large shoals around the first summer tide in July. But the exact time is not predictable and depends on such factors as the weather and water temperature. Habitually the anchovy likes to gather around light so its habitat is not at the bottom of the sea but just below the surface of the water.

Anchovy fishing is usually carried out at night by using a spotlight and various nets such as a lift-net, a settling-net, a gill-net, or a lighting-lift-net called a bunggimang or bunggichomang, according to which marine environment is involved. A lift-net is used in an area where the water is calm while a settling-net is used for a swift current. A gill-net is used for the catch of especially large anchovy. A lighting-lift-net has long been used for anchovy fishing in ocean-faced areas similar to Kagodo.

In order to attract anchovy the fishermen use light when night falls. Prior to the second decade of this century, branches from pine trees were burnt to attract the anchovy but kerosene flares were substituted in the 1920's. Ten years later the island fishermen began to use gas lamps. Finally the present dynamo-operated spotlight was introduced to the islanders by an innovative fisherman named Dalsan Koh in 1958. The motor was employed solely to power the attracting light.

The motorizing of fishing boats began in the summer of 1960. Before then temma and sailboats were used for anchovy fishing. The innovator who introduced the dynamo-operated spotlight was also the first to motorize the fishing boat. He equipped his sailboat with a four horse-power motor made possible by a loan of ₩ 130,000 from a Kaekju in Mokpo.

With high speed and an intense spotlight, he could double his yield of fish. Late in the same year two more boats were motorized in Kagodo. In 1968 there were eight motor boats ranging from five to nine tons, from four to twenty horse-power, from six to ten meters long, and from two to four meters wide. None of these boats was built in Kagodo. The islanders usually buy their boats in Mokpo whether new or used.

Before the beginning of the summer anchovy fishing season (usually in the spring), the boat crew is assembled by the boat owner or borrower. Each anchovy fishing boat is manned by a crew of from eighteen to twenty-five members. In recruiting members, the boat owner tries to find those who have experience and proven skills in anchovy fishing. Except for the skipper, motor engineer, and dynamo operator, all the crew members are recruited from the villagers. But the recruitment is not primarily dependent upon kinship ties. When Kagodo entrepreneurs rent motor boats from other places such as Mokpo, Yosu, or Wando, the skippers, motor engineers, and dynamo operators are recruited from those places.

The functional division or role differentiation of the crew members is arranged such that a complementary set of tasks is performed. Of all the crew members, the leader, skipper, motor engineer, and dynamo operator are the experts whose roles cannot be interchangeable with others.

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The leader brings with him an expertise in local marine ecology. He directs the course, detects large schools of anchovy, and dictates speed, lighting, casting, and drawing. The skipper takes full responsibility for the safety of the boat and crew. The motor engineer and dynamo operator are the only mechanics who know anything about the machines on the boat. The remaining crew members provide labor for differentially assigned tasks under direction of the leader.

When all preparations have been completed, the boat leaves when darkness falls. Anchovy fishing is carried out around the island. Indicating which course to follow, the leader tries first to detect a shoal of anchovy from the bow of his boat. Watching for fish is the main method used to detect an anchovy shoal. For this, he frequently commands the light man to switch the one thousand watt bulb on or off. If a shoal of sufficient size is sighted, the boat approaches at full speed playing the dynamo-operated spotlight over the netting area. Then the school of anchovy follows the light along with the boat. Quickly slowing down speed, all the pole men, rope men, and net men drop the net into the water. When the boat completely stops they begin to haul the net into the boat where it is emptied of fish.

When the boat is loaded to capacity, it returns to the village where the fish will be unloaded and distributed

by the boat owner and the wives of the crew. A light meal along with wine is served to the crew by the boat owner. If it is still around midnight or if they have enough time to fish again, the same fishing operation is repeated.

The division of the catch takes place on the beach in front of the village. Approaching the village the boat blows it siren a given number of times in order to give notice of its return to the boat owner and the wives of the crew. In a little while, they assemble on the beach and divide the catch according to the share system.

The method of calculating the shares is simple as indicated in Table 6. In principle, the total number of shares is composed of the original shares of the crew members plus the extra shares of crew and non-crew members. Each crew member is given one original full-share. The extra shares differentially go to the non-crew and crew members according to degree of their contributions made or roles performed in the fishing operation.

We should not overlook the principles and implications of the share system. As Raymond Firth clearly pointed out, "it is essential to grasp them in order to be able to understand what are the income levels of the fishermen and what are relations between those who put in capital and those who provide only labour" (Firth 1966: 235). Almost 60 percent (exactly 58.75%) of the total yield of fish is allotted to the non-crew members who

TABLE 6

The Composition of Anchovy Fishing Organization and the Division of Fish Caught

Personnel	Number of Persons	Number of Original Shares	Number of Extra Shares	Number of Total Shares	Percentage of Catch
Non-crew					
Boat owner	Variable	None	20	20	25.00
Dynamo owner	Variable	None	15	15	18.75
Net owner	Variable	None	6	6	7.50
Meal provider	Variable	None	6	6	7.50
Crew					
Leader	1	1	2	3	3.75
Skipper	1	1	2	3	3.75
Motor engineer	1	1	2	3	3.75
Dynamo operator	1	1	2	3	3.75
Net men	4	4	1	5	6.25
Front pole men	2	2	0.5	2.5	3.13
Middle pole men	2	2	0.5	2.5	3.13
Rear pole men	5	5	None	5	6.25
Front rope man	1	1	None	1	1.25
Rear rope man	1	1	None	1	1.25
Light man	1	1	None	1	1.25
Handy man	3	3	None	3	3.75
Total	23	23	57	80	100.01

invested capital. Since a boat owner usually owns the net and dynamo together, and also provides the crew with night meals and wine, in reality all the non-crew shares go to one person. Of the total shares for crew members, 36.36 percent goes to the four experts: the leader, skipper, motor engineer, and dynamo operator. Thus, an average crew fisherman gets only 1.25 percent of the total catch.

In Kagodo the anchovy is customarily pickled in salt and filled in a dog (a pottery jar of about two thousand cubic centimeters), which is used as a unit of measure. The price in 1967 was ₩ 250 per dog of pickled anchovy. An average catch during the three-month season would be about 200 dog per share. With a good catch, it was 600 dog per share in 1968. But because of the over supply, the market price for anchovy had slipped downward to an average ₩ 70 per dog. A more detailed analysis of the price will be given in Chapter V.

Cultivating and Others

With limited land and primitive agricultural equipment only 41 out of the total 288 households of the island engage in small scale agriculture. Except for ploughing, all labor is provided by women and other family members who are too young or old to engage in fishing. When we queried the household heads as to their occupation,

none of them answered that his primary or secondary occupation was agriculture.

There is no rice cultivation on the island. Vegetables and other garden crops are raised by the islanders but these are not for all their own requirements. Barley and sweet potatoes are the main agricultural products in Kagodo. But the annual yield of these crops is so low that most food necessities are imported from the mainland.

The main livestock are cattle, goat, and chicken. Cattle, in particular, are raised for side income purposes rather than for use as draught animals. In 1966, one entrepreneurial villager took advantage of the grazing land at the western foot of Dogshil mountain, and began to raise about seventy head of cattle for export despite transport difficulties to the mainland.

Wood gathering is another activity dominated by women. In between their farm and fishing-related work, women gather firewood in the forest. It is piled up in front of huts in fencelike heaps to be subsequently used for fuel.

The bark of the hubak tree (Machilus Thinbergii) is a famine relieving income source, especially when the catch is poor. Since the bark is used for folk medicine material, the demand for it is steady and the price is quite good. But the villagers keep the tree for emergency

use, for once being barked, the tree withers and takes a long time to grow new bark.

CHAPTER V

EXCHANGE AND MARKETING

The Flow of Goods and Services

The circulation of people, messages and goods binds a society together. As we have already seen in previous chapters, the movement level of people (migration) into or out of the island is relatively stable and the transmission of messages (communication) is quite slow and inconvenient. In this section I will mainly describe the flow of goods and services as it bears upon the exchange and marketing system of the islanders.

Since the agricultural products meet only a minute part of the islanders' food demand and the amount of seaweed collected or fish caught far exceeds the amount annually consumed, the exchange of marine and farm products between island fishermen and mainland farmers is necessary for the basic economic life of the islanders. Other materials not produced by them are also necessary for their productive activity and consumption. But direct contact between consumer and producer is not very feasible, so all goods or materials flow through market channels.

Commodities, once introduced into the market network, usually pass from trader to trader for a long period of time before they ultimately reach the consumer. Figure 3 indicates the possible distribution channels of commodities from producer to consumer. The relationships between buyer and seller in the channels fall into four categories: producer-to-trader, producer-to-consumer, trader-to-trader, and trader-to-consumer. Of these, the producer-to-trader and trader-to-consumer relationships are the most important in the islanders' economic life. For these two relationships are largely based on vertical exchange relations between persons in a superior-inferior status position in which the islanders are always directly involved both as producers and as consumers. The other two relationships represent horizontal exchange relations in which the islanders are neither directly nor frequently involved.

Services such as transportation, storage and, in some cases, further processing or manufacturing are necessary for the flow of commodities from one person to another. These services require extra charges. For example, the distribution of fresh fish from a Kagodo fisherman to a Mokpo wholesaler or kaekju requires rapid transport and cooling, since fresh fish is a perishable commodity. Otherwise the fish must be dried, salted, or in some way processed.

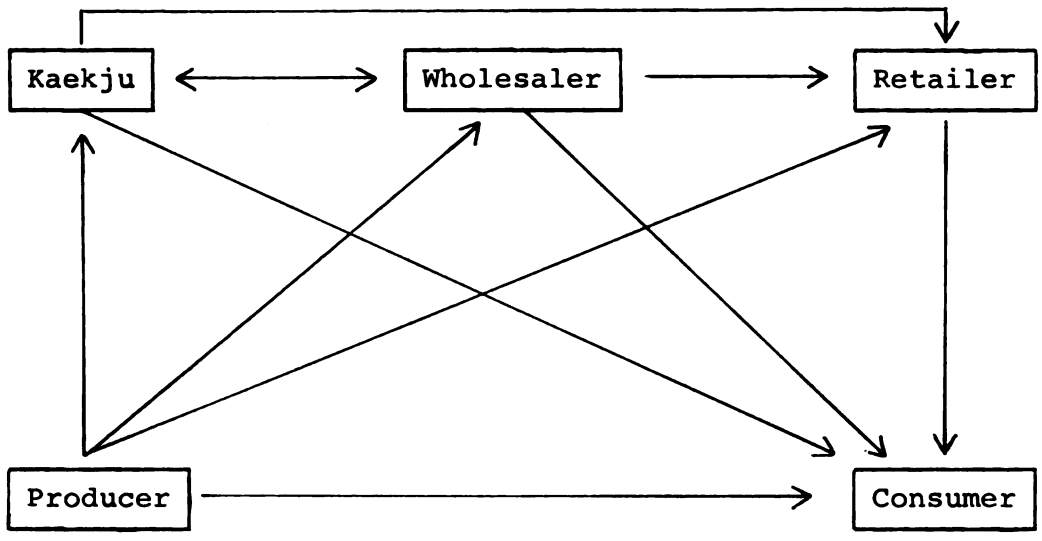

Figure 3. The possible distribution channels of commodities.

These service charges, in addition to the traders' profit, make for a big difference between the producer's selling price and the consumer's buying price. This is one of the reasons why the Kagodo islanders end up selling their marine products at a low price and buying their necessary commodities from the outside at a high price.

One of the most important commodities the fishermen sell is pickled anchovy. In order to sell a dog of pickled anchovy (at a price of ₩ 250) to a Mokpo wholesaler or kaekju, a Kagodo fisherman has to pay ₩ 18 to the cargo boat owner for transporting charges; ₩ 3 for loading, ₩ 3 for unloading, and ₩ 12 for freight. Including the village levy (₩ 1) and selling commission (₩ 4.20), he has to spend 9.28 percent of the selling price for service

charges. For a bag of imported barley, which is one of the most important commodities used by the fishermen, he pays 5 percent of the buying price to the cargo boat owner in Mokpo for transporting charges.

Generally speaking, because of the service charges, the Kagodo fishermen's selling price is 5 to 10 percent lower than the price in Mokpo, and their buying price is that much higher.

"Kaekju" System

The kaekju system, originally a business which involved a specific commission merchant or middleman, has a long history in the Korean economy. The word "kaekju" means, literally, a host agent to a guest merchant. Since the mid-fourteenth century at least, there have been various kinds of kaekju according to the type of business or goods they handle (grain, fish, salt, vegetable, fruit, skin, fur, textiles, paper, etc.). However, this section will concentrate on the Mokpo kaekju who deal mainly with marine products and do business with the Kagodo fishermen.

The main function of a kaekju is buying and selling goods by consignment as a middleman in commercial transactions: buying marine products from client fishermen and selling them to the wholesalers or consumers. In addition to this main function, the kaekju also provides financing, lodging, and transporting services to his clients. According to Park's study (1968:305), there were about

thirty kaekju who dealt solely with dried, pickled, and salted marine products in Mokpo in 1966.

The kaekju acts as a kind of insurance agent for the sellers (fishermen) and buyers (wholesalers, retailers, and consumers) and takes a commission for his guarantee to sell and buy commodities. The commission exacted from the sellers (omgu) is 3 percent of the selling price and that from the buyers (kogu) is usually 5 percent of the buying price.

The kaekju normally lends money to the fishermen for the purchase of boats, nets, and other needed commodities such as rice, barley, wine, salt, pottery jars, hooks, lines, and so on. Sometimes the kaekju merely advances money or the necessities of life to fishermen in the slack season in order to gain a preemptive right over their coming catches. In return, the fishermen must make commercial transactions only through their monopolistic kaekju at an agreed price or at a price set by the kaekju, usually below the free market rate. The fishermen are also expected to repay their debts in kind during the fishing season.

When the fishermen come to Mokpo to do business with their kaekju, he offers lodging and food free of charge for a couple of days until they complete their transactions. "Since we don't always have enough cash to buy the necessities of life nor relatives to stay with

in Mokpo," the islanders say, "we must have kaekju in Mokpo." In fact, for generations, all the Kagodo islanders have been irrevocably tied to some particular kaekju. In 1968 the Kagodo fishermen were tied to two kaekju in Mokpo, and the Hataedo islanders were tied to another pair of kaekju. In this way each kaekju has hundreds of thousands of customers under his control. Furthermore, some kaekju own trucks or boats to operate a transport business.

Considering the above characteristics of the kaekju, the relationship between the kaekju and the fishermen seems to be based on personalistic bonds. The relationship takes the form of a monopolistic trading partnership or a patron-client relationship in which the kaekju's (as a patron) method of dealing with the fishermen (as clients) superficially looks benevolent but in fact is exploitative. In this respect the Korean kaekju system is similar to the Japanese oyabun-kobun system (Bennet and Ishino 1963 and Ishino 1953) and the Hindu jajmani system (Kolenda 1963).

Although the villagers have their own local fishermen's cooperative organization, it exists in name only, and its activity is so limited that, in the present situation, it can hardly be considered a threat to the monopolistic domination of the kaekju. One of the reasons why Kagodo fishermen have failed to develop their cooperative movement lies in the strength of the kaekju's control and

the fishermen's psychological anxiety. It is the kaekju, on the one hand, who manipulates the social environment to his own ends so that he can maintain a permanent superordinate-subordinate relationship with his client fishermen. It is the fishermen, on the other hand, who dare not free themselves from the shackles of the kaekju system because they are afraid of coming economic difficulties and isolation from the outside world.

Stores, Peddlers, and "Pashi"

Kagodo has neither a permanent nor periodical market. Instead, there are three different agents of exchange and trade: the general store, the itinerent peddler, and the pashi.

In 1968 eight household heads identified themselves as merchants or shopkeepers. One of these is the richest entrepreneur in the community. He owns a cargo boat, raises a great number of cattle, and runs a small general store. Another tradesman runs a drugstore, but he does not have a druggist licence. The other six tradesmen are the shopkeepers of small general stores in the village. They sell candy, fruit, soda, candles, matches, and various other household items.

The rights to sell wine and cloth in the village are monopolized by a couple of persons designated by the village regulations which are made by the villagers at a January grand village meeting (to be discussed in

Chapter VI). Towards the end of the year, the date of tender for the monopolistic rights to sell wine and cloth is announced to the villagers. On the day of tender, usually at the beginning of the year, on the same day the village council meeting is held, the rights for the year go to the highest bidder.

None of the itinerant peddlers is a native of the island, and their number is hard to assess because they are so transient. They come to Kagodo from the mainland during the seasons when myok are collected and people fish for anchovy in order to exchange marine products for their commodities. They carry various items such as rice, candy, honey, ginseng, medicines, soap, cosmetics, needles, thread, and the like. The transaction takes the form of barter based on monetary calculation. The villagers pay in myok or fish for the peddlers' goods. Later the peddlers sell the marine products to retailers or consumers on the mainland. Thus they get a double profit; first on the merchandise they put out for trade, and second on the marine products they receive for the merchandise.

A pashi is a mobile fish market on the sea. It moves from one place to another along with the seasonal migration of shoals of fish. Various kinds of pashi are opened in different places during different seasons, according to the seasonal migration of the species of fish they are following. For example, on Huksando Island,

whale pashi are opened in winter and mackerel pashi are opened in autumn. These same pashi also move to other places in other seasons.

The smallest form of the choki pashi is opened on the sea around Kagodo. The choki (yellow corvina, Pseudosciaena manchurica) arrive on the coast of Huksan Archipelago towards the first lunar month for spawning, and stay close to the islands for a period of one or two months. During this period, hundreds of chungson (middle-sized seventeen to twenty-ton fishing boat) with drift nets or gill nets and boson (boats which can carry ten tons owned by middlemen who come from the mainland to buy fish at the pashi) with ice boxes crowd to the area for choki fishing. No Kagodo fishermen work either on the fishing boats or on carrying boats. But, using their own temma, some villagers sell foodstuffs and wine to the middlemen and chungson crew members who pay for them with fish.

According to a sociological study of islands off the west coast of Korea (Lee and Lee 1957:120-124) three big choki pashi are opened on Huksando Island (in the first and second lunar months), Wido Island (in the third and fourth lunar months), and Yonpyongdo Island (in the fifth and sixth lunar months) which move northward along with the seasonal migration of choki shoals. But it is said that the pashi contribute nothing to the islanders' economy and serve only to decay public morality. This

critical aspect of fish marketing on the island was well-described metaphorically by Lee and Lee (Ibid.:122):

> Pashi is a kind of drama in which wealthy boat owners, wage earning crew fishermen and merchants from the outside are the leading actors, and the madame and prostitutes accompanying the merchants are the supporting actors. And the native islanders are nothing but the spectators who look at the theatrical performance from a distance.

CHAPTER VI

VILLAGE ORGANIZATION AND POWER STRUCTURE

Socio-Economic Stratification

Within the village we can see some status distinctions based on such factors as age, sex, education, occupation, political and administrative roles, wealth, income, and consumption pattern. But not all of these distinctions reach the level of a rigid stratification system. Factors which provide the bases for status distinctions in other communities do not serve the same function in Kagodo. For example, while kinship affiliation is considered as the most important element in status ranking in the Korean agricultural villages (Kim 1964 and Brandt 1969), it is not the same at all in Kagodo. Furthermore, the stratification which is significant within Kagodo is not transferable to the national class structure.

Age distinction is an important element of village social organization. If the islanders are divided into four categories according to their absolute age (infanthood, youth, adulthood, and old age), as we have seen in the

demographic section of Chapter II, the first and last categories coincide with the age group of dependents and the second and third categories coincide with the age group of producers (with dependents and producers being defined according to their productive roles in the local economy).

In social relations, however, the relative age grading of the islanders is more significant than their absolute age grouping. Village solidarity is consolidated by the fact that respect and hierarcical distribution of power and authority depend on relative age groupings. In actual behavior an adult islander considers somebody up to five years older than he as his own age mate. He equates a person five to fifteen years older with his older brother and respects his senior of fifteen or more years as much as he respects his parents. Although old age brings declining economic productivity, it is still regarded as a symbol of wisdom by the islanders.

Leadership positions in community affairs are not held by women, neither are women heads of households where an adult male is present. It is the male who makes decisions on both household and community affairs. He issues orders to his wife and she obeys. He makes most household expenditures both in and outside of Kagodo. Socially, economically, and politically a woman's position is subordinated to that of the man in Kagodo.

In theory, education seems to be an important indicator of social mobility and stratification but in Kagodo this is not generally the case. Compared to many villages in rural Korea the islanders' educational levels are so low and homogeneous that today's differences in education are never a sufficient indicator of stratification in the village. But the present educational system might well have some long-term influence on future stratification.

Like the status based on education, occupational variations do not assign the islanders to stratified groups. Although in Kagodo there are nine civil service job holders and eight merchants or shopkeepers in addition to fishermen, islanders only occupy the position of small scale shopkeepers. Civil service jobs such as school teacher, police official, lighthouse-keeper, and radio telegraph operator are not areas of employment open to the islanders.

In Kagodo there are no hierarchical ranks in terms of status and authority among different descent groups, a condition which does exist in other Korean rural areas. Traditionally, for the Korean upper class, kinship and marriage have been the main means of consolidating power. But for the poor island fishermen, kinship affiliation does not serve the same function at all.

There are no hierarchies on the basis of religion, place of birth, or language. All the Kagodo islanders hold the same belief system and thus it does not have hierarchical implications (see Chapter VII). Out of a total of 288 households, 279 (about 97%) were born in Kagodo with the remaining 9 household heads being mostly civil service job holders. Hence most islanders speak the same regional dialect, Chollado saturi.

As interrelated indicators of stratification, wealth, income, and consumption pattern are the most important variables determining placement in the community's socio-economic hierarchy. Land ownership is not a significant factor determining socio-economic status in Kagodo. Rather ownership of the local general store or the possession of liquid capital as well as boats and nets are considered more important.

According to the principle of "wealth gathers further wealth," the income of the owner tends to increase in accordance with capital investment as a sort of consumption pattern. If once a fisherman possesses a boat and net, for example, he would receive three times the average fisherman's share of myok and more than forty times the average fisherman's share of anchovy. And then he would reinvest the capital in other business such as a cargo boat, a general store, or cattle breeding, which would gather further wealth in return.

Only a few rich households, however, are able to invest their capital in buying new boats and nets either with their savings or through loans. For the average fishing household, it is almost impossible to accumulate capital from collecting and fishing for investment in such fishing equipment. It can only make enough money for "replacement funds" (Wolf 1966:5-6), which are needed to replace minimum equipment for the next year's production and consumption in the slack season. Otherwise the households live on credit both from local stores and kaekju in Mokpo. The poor households must be supported by government and other aid without accumulation of capital or savings.

Every village household is officially ranked in terms of living standard within the village. In order to fix the rate of dues for village public funds, the villagers rank each household by general consent at the village meeting into one of three levels of living: upper, middle, and lower. The villagers are well aware of their own and each other's socio-economic status, even without using the methods anthropologists or sociologists usually employ to measure levels of living. In 1968, 16 households were listed in the upper, 99 households in the middle, and 133 households in the lower socio-economic group.

The upper class was composed solely of fishermen except for one rich merchant already mentioned above.

All of them possessed temma and five owned motor boats and nets. None of the households was headed by a woman, and none belonged to any specific surname groups. The educational levels of the household heads varied ranging from illiteracy to middle school graduate. Quantities and kinds of foods consumed by this class are not much different from those of the middle class.

The middle class or average fishing households are eking out a scanty livelihood, and live in debt. Most general store owners and civil service job holders as well as average fishermen were ranked in this class. Except for one case of a rich fisherman's second wife, all the households of this class were headed by men. Thirty-four fishermen of this class owned temma. Three who owned motor boats and nets were also ranked in this class because their fishing equipment was purchased with a loan from the Mokpo kaekju and they were still indebted to him.

Those households living with government aid or village help in addition to their earnings belong to the lower class. All the twenty-six households headed by women and eight one-person households are ranked in this class. Usually these households do not have a sufficient labor force to bring in a suitable income. By the same token the number of dependents is larger than in the case of the middle or upper class households.

Although the Kagodo islanders occupy different positions in a given socio-economic hierarchy within the village, none of these hierarchies or stratification systems is transferable to a socio-economic class or status group on the national level. Except for one wealthy household, all the Kagodo islanders must be ranked on the lower stratum of the national class structure. If we consider some other variables such as style of living and status judgment, even the wealthy person might not be placed above the national lower class.

Village Organization and Leadership

As a unit of administration, politics, economic allocation, and social control the village has many formal and informal organizations. Formal and official organizations are usually set up by order of the higher administrative units such as the myon, gun, and do. Some of these organizations are so in name only and not active at all. Whereas some informal organizations are very active and their leaders are more powerful than formal leaders.

After the May military coup d'état of 1961, the elected village chief (ichang) was replaced by a semi-official appointed by the myon chief. But the myon chief appoints the village chief usually on the recommendation of the village development committee. The village chief holds office for two years and receives an allowance of ₩ 1,200 per month from the myon administration. In

addition to the allowance he also receives 180 mut of myok (equivalent to ₩ 18,000) per year from the village fund. Thus, in 1968, his income from these two sources amounted to ₩ 32,400. His major functions are, internally, to organize and conduct the village meetings and, externally, to act as an intermediary between the village and the myon or gun administrations. Especially for the external function, he must frequently make round trips to Huksando and Mokpo, which take at least a week by regular cargo or passenger ship line plus involve traveling expenses.

Since the job is fairly time consuming and costs money, the average person would not be able to hold the office. Wealth, leisure, reputation, and education are considered prerequisites for becoming a village chief. Age and experience outside of the island are also regarded as important criteria for the leadership position.

Usually the ban (the sub-unit of village administration) coincides with the residential tom. But the ban chief (banchang) is not always the same as the tom chief (tomchang). The banchang is selected by the village chief and the tomchang is elected by the tom member households. The banchang aids the village chief in village administrative activities such as tax collecting and mobilizing the people for village meetings or work sessions, and he yearly receives 18 mut of myok (equivalent to ₩ 1,800)

from the village fund as material compensation. The tomchang protects the assigned myok tom from unlawful collecting by directing the myok collecting work and received 15 mut of myok per year from his tom member households.

Five members of the village development committee are elected by the villagers at the January grand village meeting (daedonghoe). As a consultative body, the main function of the committee is to advise and recommend courses of action. For example, at the completion of the village chief's term of office, the committee recommends a new candidate to the myon chief on the basis of the villagers' opinion. The committee members hold office for three years but they receive nothing in the way of material reward. Rather, as village opinion leaders, they have enormous prestige in the village.

The Kagodo village fishermen's cooperative association was formally organized in 1964 after the enactment of law 1013 (the law of the fishing cooperative). Nominally, all the village fishermen belong to this cooperative association, but as of 1968 when this research was carried out, association had not functioned at all. When we asked about the association, for example, none of the villagers recognized its existence except a few organization staff members.

These village organizations and their activities are rearranged and discussed at the January grand village meeting. Village meetings are called by the village chief when he deems them necessary and held at the village school. But the January village meeting is the most important one of the year. Towards the end of the year, through the banchang, the village chief announces the date of daedonghoe and the major issues to be discussed at the meeting. The village chief prepares food and wine for those who attend the meeting. Village officials and leaders of various village organizations are nominated, elected, or appointed at this meeting. Myok tom arrangements, tax rating, bidding for various monopolistic rights (e.g., wine and cloth selling rights, abalone and gelidium jelly collecting rights, etc.), and plans for annual village events and the budget are also discussed and settled at the meeting.

Social Control

Since Kagodo is a part of the larger society and culture of Korea, the Kagodo islanders live under the national system of law and order. But none of the islanders has ever been involved in a legal case in the courts. The social order of the island has been maintained largely by the interconnected consanguineous-affinal relationships and local customary sanctions rather than by the enforcement of national law. The doksokmori and

hwajigae are typical sanctioning mechanisms for handling breaches of social morality and custom. Although police officers reside on the island, their main function is to check on the infiltration of spies. Their intervention in settling disputes or conflicts within the village is extremely unwelcome.

Most Kagodo fishermen indulge heavily in over-drinking. At the age of fifteen or so, boys begin fishing on the sea and at the same time begin their drinking career. As a matter of fact, in the average fishing household, the annual expenditure for drink exceeds the expenditure for food. However, the islanders agree that excessive drinking is an impediment to economic success and sometimes voluntarily make temperance regulations at the village meeting by majority vote and then try to enforce them. At the time of this research, a temperance regulation was in force on the neighboring island Hataedo, but not in Kagodo. In Hataedo, the village chief checks all the passengers landing on the island and confiscates all alcoholic beverages. These confiscated items are stored in the village warehouse to be used for special occasions such as marriage feasts and funeral ceremonies.

Filial piety, fraternity, and chastity are not only concerns of the individual, family, and kinship groups but are also village concerns, regarded as matters of social morality. The villagers strongly believe that

if someone breaks the rules of conduct, he should be punished by such sanctioning mechanisms as the doksokmori and hwajigae which have been handed down from generation to generation.

The doksokmori is applied in cases where filial piety and fraternity have been disregarded. If a young man fails in his duty to his parents, the problem is discussed informally among the village elders who may decide to call him before a village meeting. If guilty he is wrapped up in a doksok (straw-mat) and beaten with cudgels by the villagers under the direction of the village elders. After making an apology for his wrong-doing, he is released shame-faced.

The hwajigae is applied to those who commit adultery and incest. Through the same decision-making process as in the case of the doksokmori, the offender is summoned before a village meeting. His outstretched hands are tied to a wooden bar which crosses his back. A small wood-and-leather drum is fastened to the bar so that it can be beaten from behind. The offender is then led through the village by a rope around his waist, and the drum is beaten by a second guard to attract the villagers' attention. When this punishment has been performed to the satisfaction of the village elders, usually after a few hours, the offender is released.

Disputes or conflicts between villages are also settled out of court. One day at the beginning of April, 1968, seven young men of Hangni collected myok unlawfully from a myok tom of an eastern section in Daeri. Aware of this act, the young men of Daeri took three motor boats away from Hangni the next day and claimed ₩ 500,000 in compensation for the unlawful collecting of myok. The Daeri leaders were approached a couple of times by the Hangni leaders for a compromise on the matter, but the young men of Daeri strongly insisted on taking legal proceedings against Hangni residents. The dispute was not settled until the end of May when the Daeri elders returned the boats to the owners, while the young men of Daeri were out of the village collecting myok. The east section of Daeri received ₩ 50,000 from Hangni residents in compensation for the unlawfully collected myok. Although the young men were thoroughly discontended with the elders' transaction, they were finally persuaded to accept it.

Village Solidarity and Relations With the Outside World

The Kagodo islanders always feel constrained by two different worlds: their village (or island) and the outside world which includes the rest of Korea. Especially when they leave the village and interact with outsiders, they feel stronger community spirit or solidarity. Within the village, social integration, harmony, or equilibrium

is maintained through social relationships of both a hierarchical and egalitarian nature within the village structure.

Hierarchies based on age and sex contribute to the strong village solidarity. Relative age is a factor in determining the institutionalized patterns of respect and authority. The relationship between different age groups creates the hierarchical framework for the distribution of power and responsibility, which in turn stabilizes the interpersonal relations and ideologies of the villagers. For example, a young man should respect his elder, who has in return authority and responsibility over the young man. The young man's feelings of awe for old age and the elder's responsibility cause them to avoid each other in everyday life, as their strict role behavior brings them a certain amount of discomfort.

The economic status is another factor which consolidates village solidarity. If once a contract is made between a fisherman and a boat owner, their relationship is expected to continue for years, at the very least, one year. This vertical or hierarchical relationship of fisherman-boat owner further promotes village solidarity through the common goal (large catch) of fishing.

Village solidarity is constantly reaffirmed through communal ritual and the belief system. All the villagers participate in village rites and share the sacred tradition

of the village. In this respect the village is regarded as a religious unit in which there is no hierarchical order. Hence, village social cooperation is further consolidated as religious activity maintains village traditions and morals.

The communal and cooperative work pattern found in seaweed collecting and anchovy fishing also reinforces village solidarity. People enjoy working together in a collective euphoric atmosphere. This group solidarity is further reinforced by material incentives as participants estimate their shares of the catch.

The stronger the village solidarity, the more is the village isolated from the outside world. The degree that the national power structure penetrates into the village can be examined in areas of administration, politics, and economic transactions.

Administratively, national, provincial, gun, and myon governmental systems reach down into Kagodo both directly and indirectly. Various governmental orders and programs are conveyed to the village, and usually the village responds to them. However, being different from other villages such as Hamgumi and Sokpyong, the Kagodo islanders do not affect the decision-making processes at various levels of government administration. In other words, Kagodo islanders are excluded from government policy making. For example, even though the islanders

wish to build a breakwater for the safe mooring of boats, no proposal for it has ever been presented to the government. It is the villagers' belief, according to the village chief's statement, that even if they presented the proposal, it would not be considered or accepted by the government.

The islanders participate in both local and national level elections. But no one from Kagodo has ever run for an elective position above the village level. Furthermore, no candidate from the outside world has ever visited the island for his election campaign. In fact, the Kagodo islanders have remained isolated from both local and national politics above the village level. Most islanders just vote for the candidates whom the village leaders support.

Economically, the islanders depend on external markets for the exchange of their marine products and the materials not produced by them. They have strong bonds based on economic relationships with the kaekju in Mokpo. In their economic transactions the islanders are always subordinated to the kaekju whose method of dealing with them is exploitative. Because of its geographical marginality, administrative exclusion, and political isolation, Kagodo has never attracted the attention of outsiders who have capital to invest in its economic development.

Since, for most islanders, schooling is restricted to within the island, the opportunity to have contact with neighboring islanders and other outsiders is very limited while they are children. But through two and a half years of military service they extend contact with outsiders and gain experience in the outside world, which helps keep a minimal balance between the islanders' internal and external worlds. Since the Korean War in 1950, every Korean young man has been called up at the official age of twenty-one for service in the army. His service lasts for two and a half years, during which time he might have many new experiences. For most Kagodo young men the service affords their first opportunity to travel to other parts of Korea and to come in contact with men from all over the country. If a young man cannot read and write, during his service he goes to a special literacy school that the army runs for illiterate recruits. He also learns many technical skills such as woodworking, brick-making, haircutting, and bookkeeping. All of these experiences in the army undoubtedly have some impact on village life after his term of military service is over, however, it is not yet clear to me just what this impact is.

CHAPTER VII

RITUAL AND BELIEF

Individual: Rites of Passage

As in many other cultures, every Kagodo islander must pass through a number of turning-points in the course of his life from birth to death. Each of these points is marked by a series of rituals and ceremonies. In social anthropology we call these transition points the life crisis, and van Gennep (1908) calls the rituals and ceremonies "rites of passage."

The ritual and belief concerned with pregnancy and childbirth begin even before the event. The islanders believe that pregnancy, childbirth, and the growth of a child are governed by the goddess of life, Samshin. Thus, if a woman is barren for a long time after her marriage, a prayer is given to Samshin by a danggol (patron shaman) or an older woman who may be her mother or mother-in-law. At dawn in a corner of the inner room (women's quarters) which Samshin is believed to inhabit, a bowl of rice and a cup of pure water are offered on a small wooden table and a spell for pregnancy is chanted. The ritual is the

same for a married couple that has no male child but many girls. During the pregnancy the prayer to Samshin is also offered for a safe childbirth and for the good fortune and health of the child after birth. All the rituals concerned with pregnancy and childbirth are enacted mainly on the initiative of the woman's natal family. Her parents, especially, are anxious first about her safety in childbirth and then for the birth of a male child which will stabilize the new mother's status in her husband's family. A woman's position in a family is not stable until she mothers the first son and successor of the family.

The birth takes place at home and delivery is assisted by the woman's mother or mother-in-law, as there is no doctor or professional midwife in Kagodo. Once delivery is completed, the umbilical cord and afterbirth are burnt in the courtyard. A bowl of rice and myok soup are offered to Samshin to express thanks for the safe childbirth. The main gate of the house is stretched with a straw-rope to protect the new born baby from harmful spirits at least for three weeks, during which time the new mother may not go outside of the house and strangers or unclean persons are prohibited from entering. For two or three weeks in the post-partum period, the maternal grandmother helps by taking care of the new mother and child as well as by doing domestic work.

On the one hundredth day after birth a small feast is held to give formal recognition of the child's membership in the community as well as in the family. Close relatives and neighbors, usually only adults, are invited to the feast and entertained with rice, myok soup, white cake, and wine. At this time the baby's maternal grandparents bring with them such gifts as clothing and a carrying blanket for the baby. But the other visitors usually do not bring any gifts.

A similar but much larger feast is held on the first birthday of the child. The child is dressed up and a special table called the dolsang (literally birthday table) is prepared for him. Some symbolic items such as rice, money (wealth), thread (long life), books, pencils (scholar or bureaucrat), flutes (artist), and bows and arrows (warrior) are arranged on the dolsang. The child then chooses a few items which are viewed as predictions of his future life. If the child chooses rice or money, for instance, he is expected to become rich. Birthday cakes are distributed to the neighbors and then, in return, money or a bundle of thread is given to the child as a gift.

After the first birthday ceremony, the child is not usually subjected to any ceremonial treatment until he reaches the stage of marriage. But if the child is so weak that he is in danger of death, or if the parents have

lost previous children in succession, the child is sold symbolically to the danggol or pine tree in order to assure him a long life. When he is sold to the danggol, a shamanistic ritual is performed either in his house or the danggol's house. His name is listed on the danggol's roll and his parents must contribute money or myok to the danggol at least once a year to complete the shamanistic ritual. If the child is sold to a pine tree, a specific tree is selected from around the village in consultation with an occultist after which the child is made to bow three times to the tree which has white paper tied around its trunk. This ceremony is performed every year on the fifteenth day of the first lunar month.

In Kagodo today no initiation rite is performed for either boys or girls. Whether the marriage is traditionally arranged or the result of a love match, the betrothal ceremony is the same and a rather simple affair. As we have seen in the previous section on marriage in Chapter III, because of the limiting factors in marriage (surname exogamy and village endogamy), the parents try to betroth their son or daughter to someone appropriate as early as possible even before the children have come of age. Since there is no professional match-maker in Kagodo, if the boy's parents have a girl in mind, they hint to their friends, neighbors, or relatives that negotiations be started with the girl's parents. If the

negotiations proceed successfully and if the horoscopes of the boy and girl match suitably, then the betrothal ceremony is performed by the parents of both families. The betrothal is formally marked by sending a sasong (a letter in which the boy's horoscope is written) and a suit of the girl's clothes to her family. Similarly, if the marriage must be rescinded because of certain serious problems occurring between the two families, the betrothal is broken off simply by returning the sasong and the clothes to the boy's family.

The marriage ceremony is much more complex than the betrothal ceremony. The nappye date (sending wedding gifts to the bride's house) and the actual wedding date are fixed in consultation with an occultist a month in advance of the wedding. On the nappye day the previously selected jungbang (a messenger, usually the groom's best friend) delivers the wedding gifts including blue and red silk to the bride's house, where he is entertained warmly with a good table and drinks.

Since both the bride and groom are usually from the same village, the groom's family invites the villagers to the feast the day immediately prior to the wedding and the bride's family does so on the next day so as to prevent conflicting invitations. Each of the two families receives wedding gifts such as money, noodles, cakes, and wine from their relatives, friends, and villagers.

The record of the gifts should be kept very carefully because gifts of equal or greater value must be reciprocated later. As the wedding date approaches, close relatives and neighbors are usually asked to help prepare the wedding feast. They render assistance with pleasure, but at the same time they enjoy the certainty that they will receive assistance in return when the need arises. Thus, in a way, their assistance is a kind of investment in a labor force which they will need for preparing a feast at some future time. Apart from this, the assisting relatives and neighbors are always treated with meals during the preparations for the feast and are further honored after the feast by gifts of food.

On the wedding day, around midmorning, the jungbang is sent to the bride's house to announce in advance the groom's arrival. A sedan chair is used for the wedding transportation. On the way to the bride's house the groom is put to the test by mischievous village fellows. Usually the fellows throw him into confusion by giving him a puzzle of difficult Chinese characters. They will not let him pass through the way until he figures it out. The groom's arrival is marked by dashing a jar to pieces on the floor. Entering the bride's house he must go through the bursting flames. The villagers standing by the entrance throw a handful of soybeans at him. These symbolic actions are believed to frighten away evil spirits.

The marriage ceremony at the bride's house consists of two parts: jonan and sanggyonnye. For the first of these, the groom hands over a wooden wild goose which he has brought from his house to the bride's family. In the second part of the marriage ceremony the groom and bride look at each other, at least in theory, for the first time in their lives. As the symbol of the first meeting and their unification, they twice make a very low bow to each other and exchange three tiny cups of wine. The ceremony lasts about an hour, after which the couple has a big table set with many dishes piled high with food. In the late afternoon the couple goes to the groom's house accompanying the bride's senior kinsman as her guardian and the bride's dowry carriers.

While at the bride's house, the wedding feast is held for guests invited to the wedding ceremony. A feast is, of course, always a recreational occasion for the villagers. If the family has wealth by village standards, a pig is slaughtered and a good deal of food and drink are prepared for the feast. But less wealthy families buy a small amount of meat, noodles, and wine from the Mokpo market and supplement them with foodstuffs contributed as gifts from relatives, friends, and other villagers. In any case the invited guests have an opportunity to relish a good meal and to enjoy traditional Korean band music. The banquet continues until midnight and most of the

guests, except for close kin and friends from other villages, leave. The same wedding feast is held on the next day at the groom's house.

The following day, after breakfast, the bride is escorted to the living room to make her obeissances to her husband's family and close relatives who are already seated on the floor. The bride makes a very low bow and serves a cup of wine to each of them in turn. Thus the bride is officially accepted into her husband's family.

On the third day of the marriage ceremony the couple pays a visit to the bride's parents and stays for a couple of days being treated as honored guests. When they return to the groom's home the bride's parents present them with gifts of rice cake and wine so that those are shared among the groom's family and neighbors.

Except for the conscription of young men as described in Chapter VI, there is no significant life crisis from marriage till hwangap (a person's sixtieth birthday), which literally means, returning to the new cycle. In Korea each lunar year takes its name from a combination of ten origins (heavenly stems, chonkan) and twelve animals (earthly branches, jiji) of the oriental zodiac, which forms a cycle of sixty years. So hwangap symbolizes the recycling of a person's life. Hwangap is celebrated with a big feast, a great number of gifts, and much joy by the offspring, close relatives, friends, and

neighbors of the person who reaches sixty. The offspring, including the person's children, in-law children, and grandchildren, get together, prepare the feast, invite the guests, and celebrate the person's reaching the last and oldest age group. Thus, if a person does not have a child, he feels lonely and sad at this time.

It is not unusual for the Kagodo islanders to make funeral preparations long before death occurs, particularly if the person has been sick in bed for a long time or is of advanced age. Because of geographical isolation and inconvenient transportation, the islanders who have aged parents purchase in advance, a coffin and sackcloth to be used for the funeral. Sometimes they organize a mutual aid society called sangpogye which helps the bereaved family through contributions of labor and money which are necessary for the funeral ceremony.

Immediately after a person dies, a small table with a dish of rice, fish, and a pair of straw shoes is offered in the courtyard to the messenger of god from heaven. An elderly person calls "return," "return," "return" three times throwing the clothes of the dead over the roof. The word "return" (bok) is called so that if the dead person is not truly dead, his spirit will return to this world upon hearing it. In other words, it seems to affirm the death. Once the death is affirmed, the burial date and site, usually the village burial ground on the

third day after death, are first determined in consultation with a geomancer who is a learned old man in Daeri, and then given to all children, relatives, and friends of the deceased.

During the time between death and burial, preparation for the burial ceremony is made: mourning dresses are made of coarse white sackcloth (garments, hoods, armbands, and leggings), hemp (belts and headbands), and straw (shoes); in addition to sacrifices, food and wine are prepared to be served to all the participants in the funeral; a coffin and bier are prepared and a team of bier bearers organized; the corpse is washed, dressed in grave clothes, bound with hempen rope in seven knots, and placed into the coffin. Until the corpse is placed into the coffin, several men watch it for three days and nights, gambling to pass the time.

Once the death is announced to the villagers, particularly if the deceased is of advanced age, the villagers usually put off their work on the sea such as seaweed collecting and fishing until the funeral is over. Even if they are not asked for help, they are willing to assist in the preparation for the funeral. Besides their contribution in work, the villagers often donate money to help meet the expenses, or food for the ritual banquet and for treating guests. All this help is reciprocated later when similar occasions arise in other families.

On the morning of the burial day several village men are sent to the burial site to dig the grave. A table is prepared with sacrifices and incense and placed in the courtyard. The coffin is carried out of the house and placed in front of the table. Each of the mourners burns incense one by one while the chief mourners (the spouse, sons, daughters, and daughters-in-law of the deceased) wail aloud next to them. A special service is performed just before the coffin is carried to the burial site, when sacrifices are offered to the dead. As the funeral procession advances, the chief male mourners follow immediately after the coffin, then the flags of condolence and the mourners which follow them in lines. Except for the spouses of the deceased, female mourners do not follow the funeral procession. On the way to the burial site, the bier bearers take a winding road and rest several times.

Upon arrival at the burial site a ceremony for the god of the earth is conducted by a geomancer so that the body will be accepted by the god. When the coffin is lowered into the grave, the chief mourners wail and lament bitterly as if they were being buried themselves. Once the burial is completed, a ceremony for the safe journey of the dead person's spirit to the other world is performed in front of the grave. After eating and drinking there, the participants return to the village.

The disposal of the dead takes various forms according to the status of the deceased and the cause of death. For example, very young children are simply laid flat under the big stone in the children's burial ground called the golchang and a pregnant woman is buried twice in order to separate the unborn baby from its mother.

The chief mourners revisit the grave and perform a special service called samuje on the third day after the burial. The mourning period usually lasts two years, during which time the bereaved family keeps an alter at the place where the coffin was kept before burial. On every first and fifteenth day of the lunar month, early in the morning, the chief mourners perform a ceremony called sangmang at the altar. The first (sosang) and second (daesang) anniversaries of the parent's death are elaborately celebrated and all the children, relatives, and friends of the deceased participate in them. After the second anniversary of the death, the mourning period is over and a memorial service is performed annually on the anniversary of the death. This memorial service is usually a small one, restricted to the spouse and immediate descendants of the deceased.

Familial: Ancestral Worship, Animistic and Shamanistic Rituals

Ancestral spirits, family protecting dieties, and animistic spirits are directly concerned with family affairs and various appropriate rituals are practiced. Ancestor worship ceremonies are performed cyclically on the anniversaries of the death of ancestors of various degrees and on calendrical festive days such as the New Year's Day, hanshik (the one hundred and fifth day from the winter solstice) and chusok (the fifteenth day of the eighth lunar month). To propitiate the family protecting deities, shamanistic rituals are practiced by the family danggol or household head. Some natural things are believed to possess animistic spirits. In connection with that belief, it is also believed that if someone moves or brings those things possessed of evil spirits into his house, his family members will meet with misfortune and thus necessitates a special animistic ritual.

The islanders believe that there is a close relationship between the dead and the living. Each of the dead ancestors up to the fourth generation is individually venerated on his memorial day by his living descendants. On this occasion the oldest male offspring is responsible for initiating and performing the ceremonial duties. Special food and drink is prepared and offered at the house altar for the ancestral spirit. This ceremony takes place at night and is attended by immediate descendants of

the deceased. They believe that if they fail to carry out the proper ceremonies, they might be subject to sickness, economic failure, and unhappiness. Ancestors are not actually thought of as potentially malevolent but it is thought that they would deny protection to their descendants if they were neglected or improperly treated. Thus ancestral spirits are respected through ritual and offering. Although, at least in theory, it is the responsibility of male members to perform the ceremonial duties, the women actually participate in ancestor worship more actively.

The calendric ceremonies for ancestral worship are rather festive affairs. On the New Year's Day and chusok, close patrilineal kin families gather together at the oldest offspring's house and perform a special ancestral worship ceremony for all the deceased ancestors together. After sharing elaborate food and drink, they visit their ancestral graves and pay homage to the ancestral spirits. On hanshik they also go to the graves to clean them, offer sacrifices, and enjoy themselves eating and drinking in the open air of spring.

Even though the villagers do not participate in the calendric ceremonies for matrilineal and affinal ancestor worship, on New Year's Day they pay ritual visits and exchange gifts and salutations with matrilateral and affinal relatives.

Two protecting deities are worshiped by the family: one is songju which inhabits the girder of a house and protects the household head, and the other is jowang which inhabits the kitchen and protects the housewife. In January a special shamanistic ritual called songjugut or songjupuri is practiced by the family danggol to propitiate the deities. Since there is no shaman or danggol in Kagodo, in order to practice the ritual, a danggol is invited from Huksando. She has an exclusive right to perform shamanistic rituals in the Kagodo area. If she wishes, she may sell the danggol rights to other shamans who, without the rights, are not allowed to carry out any shamanistic rituals in the area. When a family builds or moves into a new house, another ceremony for songju is performed by the household head.

One day at sunset a village youth informed me that a dokkyong (incantation-chanting service) would be performed in the evening at his neighbor's house. The neighboring family had built a new stone fence two weeks prior to the event. Immediately after the family built it, the household head was suddenly taken ill. Consulting with a geomancer, it was learned that some stones possessing an evil spirit had been brought from the mountain and caused the man's illness.

When I went to the house after supper, a learned old man and two young men were ready to perform a dokkyong.

A small empty urn was placed in front of the newly built stone fence but no sacrifice was offered. After sundown, around nine o'clock, the learned old man began to chant an incantation while beating a drum, and the two young men intermittently struck the fence stone with hammers to the accompaniment of chanting and drumming sounds. The tempo became faster and faster, and finally when the chanting, drumming, and hammering came to a climax, they stopped and the two young men closed up the urn tight with a cover and fastened it with a left-twisted straw rope. Up to this point, the entire ritual had taken about two hours. Later that night the urn, in which the evil spirits were now supposed to be confined, was buried under the crossroad outside the village.

Communal: "Dang" Belief and Ritual

Although many elements of Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism have filtered into the islanders' belief system, in Kagodo no Buddhist, Toaist, or Confucian temple has ever existed as an independent religious institution. There has been virutally no Christian penetration in Kagodo. The only belief and ritual system which involves the entire village is that of the dang (a village shrine) where the village communal rite, dangje, is carried out at least once a year.

Each village of the island has its own dang near the village, usually on the upper part of a mountain behind the village. Except for Daeri, each village has just one dang. Only Daeri has two shrines: an upper shrine (sangdang) located on the hillside behind the village and a lower shrine (hadang) located at the village seashore entrance. The shrine is marked by a tree tied with many pieces of white paper around its trunk and branches with the boundary being piled up with a heap of stones. Near the shrine is a small spring for ceremonial use. The ceremonial equipment is preserved in the shrine. Since the dang is a sacred place inhabited by gods where ceremonies are performed, even in everyday life various taboos are observed by the villagers in connection with the shrine. It is prohibited, for example, to enter the shrine or to make a noise around it.

The status, divinity, and number of gods worshipped in connection with the village communal rites are not the same in each village or even within the island. For example, in the upper shrine of Daeri, sanshin (god of the mountain) is a chief god and his kitchen maid dongja-ahae and buchonim (Buddha) are subordinated to him. While in the lower shrine eight deities such as sanshin, hwangsobang (Mr. Hwang), kimsobang (Mr. Kim), and kaettongsang'i (someone else) are worshipped. In addition to sanshin, a couple of Buddhist monks, yusangguk-sunim and

soje-aegisunim, and their two sons, chekdunsu and beridunsu, are worshipped in Hangni. Tojikwan (the god of earth), chongkak (bachelor), and the symbolic Taoist old men such as dang-yonggam and kittong-yonggam are worshipped as divine beings in Daepungni. Among these gods, sanshin is symbolically represented as a Taoist old man. Thus from the characteristics of these gods, we may conclude that most village gods are personalized and they can be divided into three categories: Taoist, Buddhist, and layman.

Village rites are performed on the first day of the first lunar month. Although, in theory, all villagers participate in the communal rites, the actual ceremonies are carried out by two functionaries of the rites (the master of ceremonies, the dangju and his assistant, the haju) who have been previously selected from among the villagers. About two weeks prior to the dangje, village leaders and elders meet together, select the functionaries, and decide the amount of money each household should contribute. The functionaries are not necessarily professionals but are selected on the basis of two major criteria: their ritual cleanliness and horoscopic fitness. Ritual cleanliness means that a person has not had a birth or death in his family during the past year. Horoscopic fitness is determined by comparing a person's horoscope with the time and date of the ceremony. Once

the functionaries are selected, they must accept the duties and observe various taboos whether they really want to or not. They must seclude themselves from outsiders and purify themselves both in mind and body. Their houses are tied with ceremonial ropes to signal that villagers and outsiders may not approach them.

On the first day of the first lunar month, around one or two o'clock at night, the dangju and haju go up to the shrine bringing the raw materials for food and wine with them. Fish and meat are not used for the ceremony. They prepare rice and rice cake, and brew wine in the shrine. Until the gods are invited, the dangju and haju must not make any sound. They communicate with each other through gestures and sign language. After finishing the preparation, the dangju first arranges the provisions on an alter, then invites the gods by calling their names one by one at intervals, and makes a very low bow nine times. On his knees, he prays to the gods for peace and the prosperity of the village and individual families. During the prayers he burns white paper, piece by piece, calling the names of the household heads one by one. Once the prayer is completed, a bowl of rice is kept in a covered pot and placed on an alter. Some of the provisions are wrapped in paper and thrown into the sea, while the rest of the provisions are brought to the dangju's house and consumed by him and the haju only. In the lower

shrine of Daeri, a ceremony similar to the one described above is performed on the next day.

In reward for their services, the dangju and haju each later receive two straw bags of barley or ₩ 5,000. Although a village communal ceremony called byolshingut, more elaborate than usual, is supposed to be held every three years by the village danggol, it has not been held for the last ten years because its cost is too burdensome to the villagers.

After the dangje is over, a musical band parade begins. On the third day of the first lunar month the village youths convene on the beach and organize the band which consists of ten or fifteen players of traditional Korean musical instruments. In Daeri a gong, two small hand gongs, a single horn, a double drum, two drums, and eight small hand drums are preserved as village communal property for the village festivals. Some fancily dressed jesters also participate in the parade. The village children and observers follow them. The band goes from house to house and plays music, and at the end of the music the leader of the band prays aloud that the households they visit may have prosperity and well-being during the year. Then all the participants are entertained with food and drink. This band parade lasts until the fifteenth day of the month, when the villagers start to prepare for the spring seaweed and sea shell collecting.

PART III

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGE OF VILLAGE LIFE: THREE CASE STUDIES

In the following three chapters we describe different features of socio-economic change at the village level among three fishing communities (Hamgumi, Sokpyong, and Kagodo) and then analyze the factors that influenced the socio-economic development of each community. In Hamgumi, a village on Kumodo Island located on the south sea, a village leader's entrepreneurship together with the cooperation of the villagers brought about change in the economic sphere through a cooperative movement and communal enterprises. In Sokpyong, a coastal village located on the east coast, the villagers engaged in numerous village collective works to improve their living conditions by successfully completing village self-help and government aid projects. But Kagodo has not changed nearly so much as Hamgumi and Sokpyong for various specific reasons. Prior to presenting the case materials on socio-economic change and analyzing the relevant factors therein, we first describe the ethnographic setting of each community

except for Kagodo which was already described in Part II. Since many ethnographic facts in Hamgumi and Sokpyong are similar to those in Kagodo the ethnographic data presented in this part are selective but comparable to those presented in Part II.

CHAPTER VIII

HAMGUMI: CHANGE IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE

Village and Its Context

Hamgumi is one of fourteen villages in Kumodo, an island 10 kilometers long and 4 kilometers wide (see Map 1). Its total area is 21 square kilometers. Administratively, Kumodo is known as Nam-myon, Yochon-gun of Cholla Nam-do province. The nearest port city, Yosu, the provincial capital, is 32 kilometers away. By sea, however, communication between the island and the mainland is so convenient that the islanders can make a trip to Yosu twice a day by a regular passenger and cargo steamship taking four hours. The village of Hamgumi is located on the northwestern tip of the island. The Hamgumi villagers have frequent contacts with adjacent villagers as well as with Uhangni, a myon seat which is a distance of 6 kilometers southeast from the village.

The known history of settlement on Kumodo Island is very sketchy. According to the Nam-myon Status Report (1961), it is said that during the Yi-Dynasty (from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century), the people entering

this island had been restricted in order to reserve the timber for the use of the Imperial Court. At the end of the Yi-Dynasty, from 1884 to 1894, felling of timber was carried out by outsiders under the direction of a local governor appointed by the Emperor Kojong, after which the timber was sent to Seoul, the capital of Korea. Since then Kumodo island has been besieged by a constant stream of people from neighboring areas who have settled there.

One of the early settlers, Myong-Jo Moon (eighty-five years old at the time of this study in 1969), reflects on the seventy year history of village settlement. When he came to the village from Kedo with his parents and grandparents at the end of the last century, no residents were there. But after their settlement, the number of households rapidly increased to more than fifty within twenty years. The number of households had doubled during the last fifty years. Thus, the known settlement history of this village is no longer than eighty years. Archaeological evidence, however, shows a longer history of settlement. During our field work period, we found several dolmens and a polished stone axe around the village. These archaeological remains suggest that somebody had already lived in this area before the people entering this island were restricted by the Yi-Dynasty Imperial Court.

In 1969 the total number of households in the village was 104 and the total population was 798 people

of which 395 were male and 403 were female according to my house to house census. None of the 104 households was headed by a woman, and all the household heads except for twenty persons were born in Hamgumi. My census figures indicate that 48 household heads (46%) had no education, 50 (48%) had a primary school education, 4 (4%) had a middle school education, and 2 (2%) had a high school education. The average dependency rate of a household, calculated on the same basis as described in Chapter II, is 3.9. Occupational distribution indicates that of 104 households, 66 earn their principal livelihood from fishing and cultivating, 33 engage mainly in cultivating, and only one engages in fishing exclusively. Besides these occupational groups there are two general store owners, one carpenter and one barber. During the last ten years there has been neither immigrants from other villages nor emigrants from the village except for some young men who have temporarily gone out to serve in the army, to look for labor opportunities in town and in the cities, or to attend high school in Yosu and other cities. At the time of this study, there were twenty-six temporary emigrants including thirteen students, eight military men, and five outside job holders such as civil servants, shopkeepers and servants.

Family and Kinship

The average family size in Hamgumi is 7.3 persons which is larger than the averages of the other two communities studied (5.3 persons in Kagodo and 5.7 persons in Sokpyong). At the time of this study in Hamgumi there was no family composed of one or two persons, while twenty-three families (22.1%) of the total were composed of more than ten persons. The size ranges from a minimal three-person family to one composed of fourteen people. About 48 percent of the total families contain three or four generations. As in Kagodo, large families made up of many generations tend to be rich. For example, all the five families composed of fourteen members belong to the upper socio-economic group by village standards.

A large family composed of many generations usually takes the form of an extended joint family. To show what an extended joint family is composed of and to illustrate the family division, let me take an example of a family in Hamgumi. As Figure 4 shows, Lim's family is composed of fourteen members extending through four generations. Lim was fifty-nine years old when we were in Hamgumi. As one of the early settlers in the village, his deceased father made a large fortune by reclaiming uncultivated hill land and left it to Lim, the only son. His mother is still alive. He married a woman from Yusongni, an adjacent village of Hamgumi. They have four

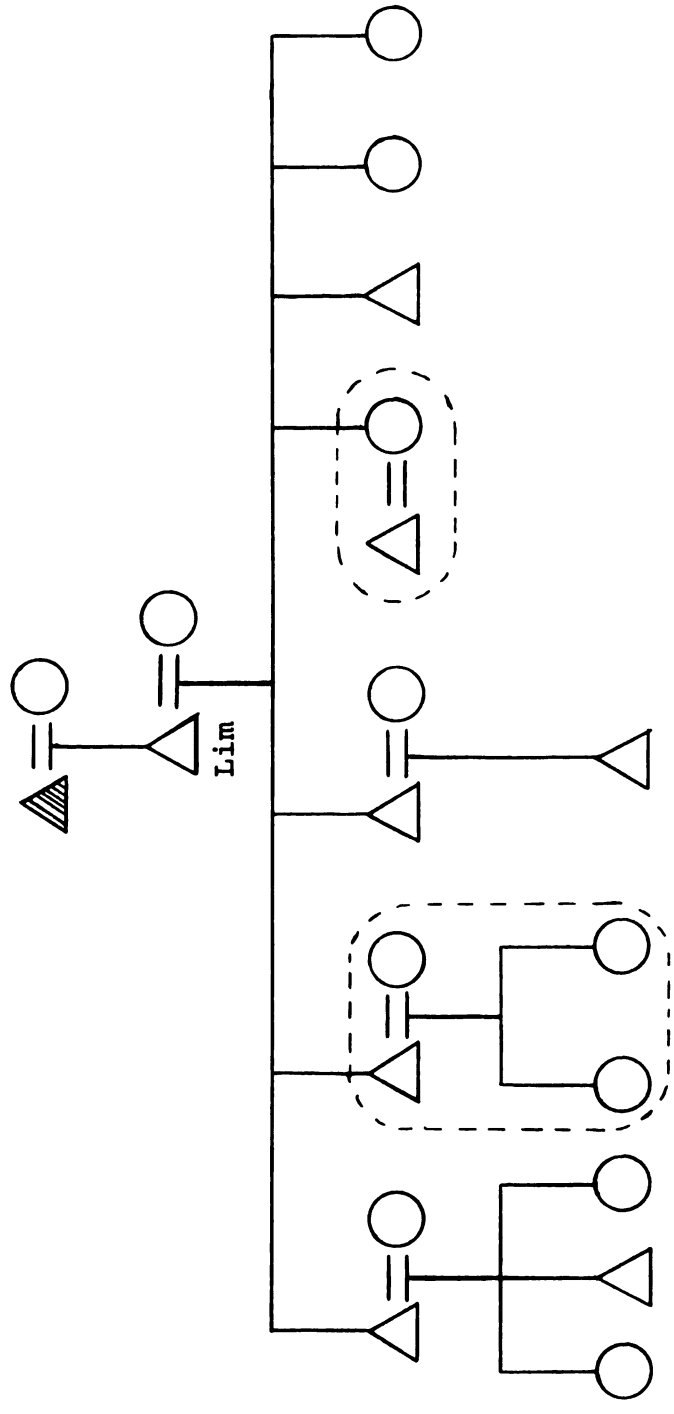

Figure 4. Lim's extended joint family.

sons and three daughters. Except for the second son's nuclear family and a married daughter, all his children, grandchildren, mother, and wife live together in a large single family unit.

The second son's family division occurred about two years prior to our field work. He married a woman of the Kim family in the same village and lived in Lim's family for three years after his marriage. According to the information of the neighbors, the second son and his wife tried to set up their own independent nuclear family from the outset of their marriage. They asked Lim to give them one-fourth of the land and to build a new house for them, but Lim and his oldest son did not comply with his request. In this controversy over the problem of family property division the second son's parents-in-law became involved and encouraged their daughter and son-in-law to stick to their original request. After that, the affinal relationships between the Lim and the Kim families went from bad to worse as did the domestic family relationships among brothers, their wives, and their parents. Tensions and conflicts among family members were constant. The family division was delayed until the third son's marriage. Immediately after the third son's marriage, Lim and his four sons talked over the matter and finally decided that, except for the first son, who would permanently remain in the house, each of the following sons would receive

a rented room and four panbo of land out of a total of twenty-four panbo. When we were in the village, the second son was living in a rented room in the same village with his wife and two daughters. The third son was looking for a job in Yosu.

In Hamgumi there are no dominant patrilineal kinship groups either in number or power. The villagers are heterogeneous both in their native places and kinship origins. Within the village they have neither a permanent patrilineal kinship organization nor collective property in the form of ancestral estates. Accordingly the patrilineal kinship affiliation does not serve to distinguish hierarchical ranks among different kinship groups. Rather the matrilateral and affinal relationships provide the bases of cooperation in the villagers' interpersonal relationships within and beyond the village boundaries. Available marriage network data indicates that of 66 wives, 28 (42.4%) were native Hamgumi villagers and the remaining 38 (57.6%) came from outside the village. It is also indicated that of 63 Hamgumi village women, 19 (30.1%) were married within the village and the remaining 44 (69.9%) were married outside the village. Although there are many different surname groups in the village, marriage between a boy and a girl of the same village is discouraged, because two families related by marriage can easily become involved in family affairs or village

controversies which may cause bad feelings between them as illustrated in the previous case of the Lim and Kim families. If two families live in the same village, they try not to involve themselves in any family affairs or village controversies and try to avoid each other except for such occasions as feasts and ritual visits for which mutual aid and cooperation are necessary. But if a marriage involves two individual families of different villages, matrilateral and affinal relationships contribute to cooperation both in personal and intervillage relationships. More detailed discussion of these relationships will be given in Chapter IX.

The Economic Base of Village Life

The main subsistence activities in Hamgumi are farming, seaweed collecting, and fishing. Village households, except five, engage in agriculture whether the scale of cultivation be small or large. Although agriculture is very important for those who have relatively large landholdings, it has not been considered an important economic activity by the average villager. Because of the seasonal overlap in agriculture, seaweed and sea shell collecting, and fishing, the work on the land has usually been carried out by those who are too old or too young to do collecting or fishing. In Hamgumi, the size of the villager's landholdings is smaller than that of twelve average Korean farming villages (Yang 1967:341) but bigger

than that of Sokpyong (see Table 7). But since there is neither an irrigation system nor sufficient use of fertilizer in this village, the fertility of the soil is becoming more exhausted every year.

The main crops cultivated in this area form two agriculture complexes: winter crops in the dry season and summer crops in the rainy season. The villagers raise two crops a year on the same land. The main staples are barley and sweet potatoes. Barley, wheat, garlic, and vegetables for seed-oil are grown in the winter from the end of the ninth to the fourth lunar month of the next year. Immediately after the harvest of winter crops, summer crops including sweet potatoes, soy beans, potatoes, red peppers, and cotton are cultivated. The summer crop season continues from the end of the fourth to the ninth lunar month when the new cultivation of winter crops begins immediately after the summer crop harvest.

Until the recent change in economic spheres, which will be described later in this chapter, the seaweed and sea shell collecting activities were almost the same as those of Kagodo described in Chapter IV. The only difference was a rotating system of the myok tom assignment to the residential tom. For example, as Figure 5 indicates, myok collecting zones are divided into five parts (I through V), each of which is assigned to one residential unit (A through E) and rotated yearly. Therefore the same

TABLE 7

Statistics on Landholding Classification for Hamgumi, Sokpyong, and the Average Korean Farming Villages

Size of Class (Panbo)	Hamgumi		Sokpyong		Farming Villages	
	Number of Households	%	Number of Households	%	Number of Households	%
No Land	5	4.8	32	17.1		
Less Than 3	18	17.3	63	33.7	148	17.6
3 - 5	34	32.7	39	20.9	164	19.5
5 - 10	35	33.7	44	23.5	264	31.3
10- 15	9	8.7	7	3.7	157	18.6
15- 20	2	1.8	2	1.1	67	7.9
Over 20	1	1.0			43	5.1
Total	104	100.0	187	100.0	843	100.0

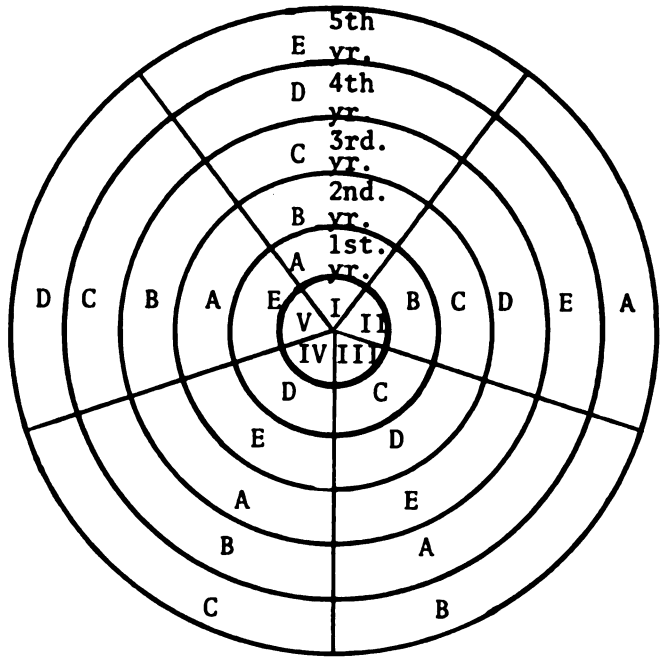

Figure 5. The rotating system of "myok tom" in Hamgumi.

cyclical assignment of myok toms repeats itself every five years. Traditionally the collecting work has been done by women while the fishing activities have been carried out solely by men.

There are two major fishing seasons per year: the spring fishing season which is mainly for scomber, pomfret, shrimps, and yellow corvina from the second to the fifth lunar month and the autumn fishing season which is for hair tail, scomber, and shell fish from the eighth to the eleventh lunar month. Besides these two major fishing seasons, an octopus-trap operation is carried out by some fishermen from the fifth to the eighth lunar month, and

the culture of purple laver is carried out from the ninth to the first lunar month. Scomber fishing, the major form of deep sea fishing, is carried out by five to ten-ton motor boats with drift nets and gill nets. The catch is then sold to The Scomber Drift-Gill-Nets Association in Yosu. In 1969, the villagers owned nine motor boats and fourteen temma. But before they built a breakwater, the boat owners frequently suffered the loss of boats from summer typhoons or winter storms because the village did not have a good natural harbour.

Because it is an important aspect of the villagers' economic activities, the marketing system cannot be over looked in this section. The villagers are wholly dependent on the Yosu market. Although to some degree they still have commercial transactions with a few kaekju in Yosu, they are relatively free from the fetters of the kaekju system. The fifteen kaekju deal only with a small amount of dried marine products and all fresh fish are collected and distributed by the provincial branch of the fishermen's cooperative association in Yosu. The villagers buy and sell other commodities freely higgling and haggling with any traders in the free market.

Social Stratification

As in Kagodo such factors as age, sex, education, religion, kinship, and place of birth are not important indicators of the village social stratification system.

More important variables determining placement in the village socio-economic hierarchy are wealth, source of income, and consumption pattern. Land ownership especially is very significant in indicating socio-economic status in Hamgumi.

Using the same ranking system as that of Kagodo, every Hamgumi village household was officially ranked in terms of living standard within the village. In 1968, 18 households were listed in the upper socio-economic group, 42 households in the middle, and 44 in the lower. Of 18 upper class households, 13 engage mainly in agriculture and 5 earn their principal livelihood from both fishing and agriculture. All the thirteen households engaging mainly in agriculture owned more than ten panbo of land. Three of the upper class households possessed motor boats, nets, and temma. It is a recent trend for upper class households to invest their capital in boats and nets. Most upper class families take the form of an extended joint family. Ten families are composed of more than ten family members, and seventeen families are composed of three or four generations.

The Hamgumi middle class is not much different from that of Kagodo except for the fact that the former is more dependent on agriculture than the latter. But the size of their landholdings is relatively small, less than seven panbo, which is not sufficient for the livelihood of seven

or eight family members. Thus, for middle class households, agricultural activities have only minor importance for their livelihood, their main income source being fishing and seaweed collecting. Ranked in this class were average fishing-farming households, households engaged exclusively in fishing, and two general store owners.

The lower class is composed of those who have less than three panbo of land and no fishing equipment. A carpenter and a barber also belong to this class. These households are making a poor living through government aid in addition to their earnings.

Ritual Activities

The life cycle of an individual and its related "rites of passage" from birth to death in Hamgumi are not much different from those in Kagodo. But the number and kinds of participants in the ritual activities and festivities is considerably different from Kagodo. Especially in the wedding feast, the hwangap celebration, and the funeral ceremony, the range of participants varies depending on the family's status and the individual's circle of outside acquaintances. If a family is wealthy, has a large circle of acquaintances, and many matrilateral and affinal relationships with outsiders, the wedding feast and hwangap celebration continue two or three days for the villagers and outside guests.

Sometimes myon and gun administrative officials, police officers, and provincial branch officials of the fishermen's cooperative association are invited to such feasts. They are seated as guests of honor in the guest room together with village leaders, and entertained warmly with a good table and drinks. In return they usually donate five hundred or a thousand won delivered in an envelope to the family head. During the course of eating and drinking, some important village administrative and political transactions are performed among them. Thus the ceremonial feast is not only a recreational occasion for the villagers but also politically important as the villagers get cooperation from outsiders there, in particular from administrative and political authorities.

Ritual activities concerned with the family such as ancestral worship, animistic and shamanistic rituals are the same as those of Kagodo. Although there had been communal dang beliefs and rituals among Hamgumi villagers until thirty years ago, no form of dang belief and rituals is practiced now. About thirty years ago a rich and powerful villager, Lee (who will be discussed more in the next section, village leadership), suggested that the dang forest should be cut down so the land could be used for cultivation. He also explained that dang belief and ritual took too much time, money, and labor from the villagers and gave them no benefits. Some villagers were suspicious

of and some in agreement with Lee's opinion. But nobody dared cut down the dang forest because they were afraid of possible later disasters. Lee purchased the dang forest land from the village and cleared it himself for use as arable land. Since then communal dang beliefs and rituals have not been practiced at all in Hamgumi.

Village Leadership

Until 1964 the villagers were badly exploited by a rich man and successive village leaders. For more than ten years prior to 1945, a rich and powerful villager, Lee, the man who cut down the village dang forest, had been running a brewery. He kept four concubines including two women who were born in Hamgumi. Frequently he asked the villagers to drink rice wine on credit and let them help themselves. After the drinking was over, he charged a lot of money for the wine and collected interest on delayed payments. Owing to the debts which accumulated over time, the villagers had to finally hand over their land to him. In 1945 he died and the fifteen sons of his five wives got involved in a quarrel over the inheritance, which caused them to exhaust their fortune.

From 1945 until 1964, successive village chiefs also exhausted the communal property by building a school in the village, entertaining local government officials, neglecting to report damage done to the village by typhoons or storms so as to get aid for restoration from the

government, and so on. In 1962 there was a severe typhoon (named Sarah) which laid waste the whole country. At that time most fishermen lost their boats, nets, and even a few lives. The government subsidized them for restoration of the damage, but the Hamgumi villagers did not receive anything because of the chief's negligence.

In the spring of 1964, there was a movement to organize the fishermen's cooperative association in the village. The village chief, Hso, and a few young village leaders took a leading part. However, most villagers, who had been troubled with the previous unreliable village chiefs and their unsuccessful communal enterprises, were unsympathetic to the movement. Hso and his colleagues began to visit every house and persuade the villagers of the benefits of the cooperative. Finally, in October of the same year, the fishermen's cooperative association was organized with the villagers' dubious support.

The Fishermen's Cooperative and Communal Enterprise

Pae, a former village chief, was elected as the first head of the fishermen's cooperative association. Although he is to be advised by an advisory committee elected within the association, the head has a powerful influence on the communal enterprise. Before the cooperative association was organized, communal enterprises were carried out by successive village chiefs under the control

of the village council, but now that the fishermen have their own cooperative association, the communal enterprise lies entirely in the hands of the head, who makes maximal use of this supremacy for at least two years of his service. Conversely, the role of the village chief is restricted solely to village administrative affairs connected with the myon or gun.

The first enterprise on which Pae embarked was to build a breakwater for the safe anchorage of the fishermen's boats. Since the fishermen did not have sufficient money to build the breakwater, they had to try to get a grant-in-aid from the government. Pae appealed to the provincial administration concerned with granting aid. He has continuously maintained contact with the executive during his two years of service as head of the cooperative association. But all his efforts came to naught. The provincial administration was short of finances because of the damage of the typhoon in 1962. Pae was displaced from office and Hso chosen to succeed him.

In 1966 Hso, too, tried to build the breakwater. Before announcing his intention to the villagers, he tapped the opinion of the executive branch about the project at various levels in advance and felt confident that his plans would be realized. He went first to the gun administration and gun cooperative offices and got the support of both authorities. They recommended that he

keep in touch with the provincial administration so as to make sure the project was considered in the next year's budget. He did so and, in addition to the breakwater project, presented a petition for official permission for the culture of abalone and sea mussel. By the Korean fishery law all culturing must be licensed by the government.

When he proposed a new plan for abalone-sea mussel culturing at a cooperative meeting of the village, most of the villagers remained indifferent to the project. They were afraid it would be expensive and did not really want to take the risk of launching another enterprise while the breakwater project was still in trouble. But taking into consideration his scrupulous social prudence, energetic application to his own enterprise, and bureaucratic capabilities (these characteristics will be further described in detail in the following section: his entrepreneurial career), the villagers finally decided to support the plan.

Permission for abalone-sea mussel culturing was obtained at the end of 1966, and the grant-in-aid for building a breakwater (₩ 1,200,000) was included in the provincial budget of 1967. Accordingly, the breakwater was built with the villagers' labor together with the grant-in-aid from the government in the spring of 1967, and marine resources including abalone and sea mussels

have since been solidly under the control of the fishermen's cooperative association.

Meanwhile, the fishermen's cooperative was chosen as a model cooperative in the province and the officials of the government's Bureau of Fisheries visited the village to observe the developing fishery. Hso's achievements were reported in the daily newspaper by a reporter. He was re-elected head of the fishermen's cooperative association in 1968.

The second communal enterprise was to maximize the profit from marine resources. Actually, in 1968, the cooperative made a profit of ₩ 400,000 from abalone-sea mussel culturing. The cooperative sold the right of collecting abalone and sea mussel within the given time limit (fifty days during the second and third lunar month), to a private entrepreneur who owned diving machines. Without an official license for culturing, they could not sell the right. Before they got the license, any private entrepreneur could collect the shell fish at will. In 1969 the cooperative was planning to get some additional licenses for other shell fish culturing. With these licenses it can make an additional profit of ₩ 450,000 a year. It was also planning to sell the rights to collect myok within a given time limit to the private entrepreneur.

Entrepreneurial Career of Hso

A brief picture of the entrepreneurial career of Hso may be helpful for the analysis of this case study. He was thirty-four years old in 1969. He was born and raised in the community. When he was seven years old his father died and his mother remarried a widower who had four sons in the village. This is the reason why his surname, Hso, is different from his brothers surname, Rha. His family was too poor to send him to middle school. Six years of elementary school was the extent of his formal education. But he completed a middle school level correspondence course at home.

Before serving in the army, he worked in the myon office as a clerk. At the age of twenty-nine he was elected the village chief. As we have seen in the previous section, he served for two years as village chief, for three years as head of the fishermen's cooperative association, and was still in this office in 1969.

As an entrepreneur his career is more distinguished than any other villager's. Now he lives in a fine tin-roofed house with his wife and three sons. He is also engaged in fishing with his own ten-ton motor boat with drift net and gill net. When he was discharged from military service, however, he had neither a house nor a wooden boat or even a piece of land to cultivate. He started his business with empty hands. In the beginning

of 1964, for the communal expenses, the village had to sell the right of collecting myok in one of the five myok tom. But nobody in the community wanted to buy it because in the previous two years the villagers gained nothing from the myok tom owing to winter storms. He bought it at a low price (₩ 40,000) with money borrowed from his eldest brother. In this year myok grew well and the harvest was much more abundant than usual. Since this was a general trend all over the country, the price of myok was also relatively low. However, Hso did not sell them until the autumn when their price went up. In the summer he had received an allowance for his service as village chief, so with his livelihood assured, he took the risk of delaying the sale of his myok from which he eventually made a profit of ₩ 300,000. The same year he also made a large profit by buying a full vessel of earthenware during the summer at a low price on credit and selling them in the autumn at a high price. All this profit was reinvested in fishing gear. He bought a five-ton motor boat at a price of ₩ 500,000. Two years later he could afford to buy his present ten-ton motor boat, nets, and tin-roofed house. He also contributed a large amount of money for the construction of a concrete harbour road in the village.

Implications of Entrepreneuship in Socio-Economic Change

In analyzing the case material described above, we are concerned with three main interrelated subjects: the entrepreneurial career, the change in economic sphere, and the predictability of future socio-economic re-organization. The entrepreneurial career can again be analyzed in terms of three stages: initial capital, strategy to exploit resources, and profit. In order to obtain support both from villagers and bureaucratic authorities, an entrepreneur has to first exploit his initial personal capital and then adapt his strategy to ecological, bureaucratic, and social restrictions. And finally, the success of the communal enterprise can be measured by evaluating his profit from the enterprise.

Before dealing with the entrepreneur's initial capital, the quality of Hso as an entrepreneur should be examined. First of all, in his personal enterprise, he bore the economic risk of the enterprise and tried to maximize economic profit for himself from a limited supply of assets. In the communal enterprises he also entertained a certain amount of risk and expected rewards for his pains though his profit was not of a personal but a social nature. In this respect he meets one essential point in the following definition of "entrepreneur" (Barth 1963:8):

> . . . the entrepreneur's greater willingness to take risks is exemplified by his (1) committing a greater fraction of his total assets in a single venture, (2) putting trust in his own deductive reasoning as against common opinion, and perhaps even (3) delighting in gambler's odds, leading to possible risk-favouring departures from the mini-max principle, where other actors might entertain a conservative, exaggereated fear of the risk of loss.

At an initial state as an entrepreneur, Hso initiated transactions between disparate values by building a breakwater, by obtaining the license for shell fish culturing, and by selling the right of collecting shell fish. Through these enterprises he initiated new activities into the village and maximized value for the villagers. His invested personal capital was the confidence of the villagers founded on his scrupulous social prudence, energetic application to his own enterprise, and his bureaucratic capabilities. Personally he did not have a good family background, sufficient formal education, or business training. The kinship structure and open status system of the village also favored the investment of his capital. If he were in a kinship oriented village which had a caste-like estate system, he would fail to be a successful entrepreneur, because kinship distinction frequently gives rise to village factionalism which prevents the villagers from cooperating; and, in addition, because of his poor kinship and family background, he probably could not be accepted as a village leader by any of the dominant kinship groups.

His ultimate strategy was to make resources available to the village. The first stage for this strategy was to organize the fishermen's cooperative association. This task was achieved by his good neighborliness even though he faced an impediment due to the previous village chiefs' unsuccessful careers. At the second stage he had to have local support and frequent consultation with experts belonging to the bureaucracy to carry on communal enterprises successfully. He had successful contact with government officials at the gun and provincial levels first, and then he got local support with the confidence of the villagers. In successive communal enterprises the restrictions both in local support and bureaucratic contact have been progressively reduced.

In the communal enterprises he tried to maximize economic profit not for himself but for the village. His personal profit was rather of a social kind: local political power and experience and skills for his private enterprise. While the economic profit from shell fish culturing took a monetary form, the form of profit from building a breakwater was safety when engaging in fishing activity which could in turn give rise to prosperity from fishing in the community.

We can see the change in economic spheres resulting from these local enterprises. Since the right of collecting shell fish was sold to private entrepreneurs who owned

diving machines, the village women do not have to work under water to collect shell fish any more. Accordingly they can concentrate more on the land, cultivating barley and sweet potatoes. Since the breakwater guaranteed the safety of the fishermen's boats, men's fishing activity became safer. The rich villagers who formerly concentrated on agriculture began to invest their capital in buying boats and nets. The number of boats in the community increased from 8 wooden boats and 5 motor boats in 1966 to 14 wooden boats and 9 motor boats in 1969. Although it is hard to believe that the increase in the number of boats was caused solely by the breakwater, it is at any rate true that there was no damage to boats from typhoons or storms after it was built.

If the right of collecting seaweed is to be sold to private entrepreneurs in the future, the village women will not have to work under water any more for their subsistence, though some of them may sell their labor and collect seaweed for private entrepreneurs. As a consequence, the villagers will make double profits: communal profit from selling the rights and individual profit from selling the women's labor. The seasonal overlap in agriculture and seaweed collecting will also disappear. Then the allocation of time and resources will be rearranged and with them, reorganization of the socio-economic sphere including the labor pattern of women. While men work

on the sea engaged in fishing, women will spend more time on the land cultivating barley and sweet potatoes.

CHAPTER IX

SOKPYONG: GOVERNMENT AID PROJECTS

General Background of the Village

Sokpyong is a coastal village of 1,068 people located on the cape of Changki between Kuryongpo and Taebo in Kuryongpo-up (up is a township equivalent to myon), Yong'il-gun of Kyongsang Nam-do province (see Map 1). At the northernmost tip of the cape, a lighthouse sends a beam twenty-five nautical miles out to sea to warn ships of the low-lying reefs that dot the area. The cape forms the bay of Yong'il-man along its west coast up to the port city of Pohang, which is the seat of the provincial branch office of the fishermen's cooperative association as well as the centre for collecting and distributing marine products around the area.

Kuryongpo is the nearest town and is situated at a distance of four kilometers south of Sokpyong. This town is very important for the villagers' social life not only as a fishing port or a seat of up-administration but also as a local periodic market place and an all-purpose centre. By bus, which runs every half an hour from

6:00 a.m. to 8:00 p.m., it takes twenty minutes to get from Sokpyong to Kuryongpo and one and a half hours to Pohang.

Transportation and communication with the neighboring villages, towns, and cities are so convenient that the villagers' social intercourse with outsiders is relatively frequent. Many students of Sokpyong are attending the middle and high schools in Kuryongpo and Pohang. After finishing their studies, they come back to the village with new ideas and items of technology or get jobs and settle down there.

Several genealogical records indicate that some of the present villagers' ancestors already lived in Sokpyong early in the sixteenth century and that their graves are still maintained and visited by their descendants. Archaeological evidence also points to widespread settlement in the immediate area before genealogical records were kept. We found many potsherds and ceramic pieces considered to be "Silla pottery" (cf. Kim 1960) from the shell mounds which we excavated in the village during the field work. As a good historical mark of the village an old site on the heights where a signal-fire was lighted in the late Koryo-Dynasty (918-1392) or early in the Yi-Dynasty (1392-1910) remains in a barley field at a distance of 1.5 kilometers southwest of the village. (As to the Korean signal-fire system, see The Korean Military Academy 1968:468-535).

In demographic composition, the village as a whole must be classified as a farming-fishing village. But most individual households concentrate their efforts much more on fishing than farming. In 1969 the total number of households in Sokpyong was 187, of which 137 were headed by fishermen, 35 by farmers, and the remaining 15 by various job holders such as a barber, a miller, a poultry raiser, a shopkeeper, a watch repairman, a skipper and engineer employed on a commercial fishing boat, and a up-office clerk. The average dependency rate per household is 3.2. The educational level of the household heads varies from illiterate to college graduate and is generally higher than the educational level of the other two communities studied. Of the total 187 household heads, 85 (45.5%) had a middle school education, 8 (4.1%) had a high school education, and 2 (1.1%) had college educations. After the Korean War began in 1950, some immigrants came into the village and a few families moved out to nearby towns and cities. We did not obtain the emigration data but our immigration data shows that two families came from North Korea during the war and settled there, three families immigrated from other gun, seven families moved into this village from other myon, and nine families came from other villages in the same up.

Family Composition and Kinship Ties

The composition of families in Sokpyong is similar to that in Kagodo. The family size is relatively small (average 5.7 persons) ranging from minimal one-person broken family to a twelve-person family. In 1969 twenty families (10.7% of the total) were composed of one or two persons, while only nine families (4.8%) were composed of more than ten persons. The generational composition is as follows: 13 families (7.0%) were composed of one generation, 125 families (65.2%) had two generations, and 52 families (27.8%) had three or four. Accordingly the predominant familial form in Sokpyong is the nuclear two-generation family.

Family division entails the equal division of family property among all sons including land and privately owned myok collecting grounds. But, in fact a greater proportion goes to the first son, who remains permanently in his parents' house as the heir to ancestor worship status. If a younger son gets a job in the town or in the city and then continues to live there with his wife and children, no division of land and myok collecting grounds occurs. Instead of dividing the family property, the father and oldest son financially aid the younger son to get a house in the town or in the city, and occasionally send him agricultural and marine products.

The villagers' kinship consciousness is relatively strong yet they have minimal competition and conflict between different kinship groups. There are twenty-one surnames among 187 family units in Sokpyong. Of these, Kims (65 family units) are the most prevalent both in number and social prestige. The next most dominant surnames are Chong (23), Lee (22), and Ha (19). None of these surname groups has either a permanent patrilineal kinship organization or collective property in the form of ancestral estates within their village boundaries. But most of these surname groups do belong to their own clan or lineage organizations beyond their village boundaries. For example, the Chongs' surname group has a lineage organization whose members are the patrilineal descendants of a common ancestor. Most members of the Chongs' lineage organization live in the Yong'il-gun area. They meet together once a year to observe their ancestral worship ceremony in Kuryong where the ancestral graves are located and use collective lineage land to meet the expenses. Through this meeting and mutual visiting on such occasions as weddings, hwangap, and funeral ceremonies, the Sokpyong villagers have a wide range of inter-village relationships and cooperative activities with other villagers.

Matrilateral and affinal relationships also widen the range of Sokpyong villagers' inter-village relationships

and cooperation with outsiders. Our available marriage network data indicate that 10 (10.6%) of 94 wives were native Sokpyong women with the remaining 84 wives (89.4%) coming from other villages; only 3 (4.5%) of the 67 Sokpyong village women were married within the village while the remaining 64 women (95.5%) were married outside the village. Village exogamy relates individual families of different villages and the widespread marriage networks of Sokpyong villagers throughout the broad area greatly affect their village life.

When an individual villager or group of villagers plans to build a fishing boat with a low interest loan from the gun administration or up-branch of the fishermen's cooperative association, they first look for a villager who has a matrilateral or affinal relative in an official position, and then they approach the man who holds the office to ask for his help. Since matrilateral and affinal relationships are usually accompanied by positive feelings of obligation, the man in an official position will usually exert some influence over the matter.

The Economic Sphere

Because land is limited, agriculture is not considered an important subsistence activity by the villagers. As Table 7 in Chapter VIII shows, the size of the Sokpyong villagers' landholdings is quite small. On a small piece of land, they intensively grow various mixed crops such

as rice, barley, wheat, soy beans, millet, sorghum, red pepper, and other home-consumed vegetables.

If local marine producing activities are classified according to fishing grounds and kinds of major catch, there are two main types: coastal seaweed and sea shell collecting and offshore anchovy, squid, cod and saury fishing. Seaweed is collected by women divers with sickles, but sea shells are collected by men using diving machines. Although the fishing techniques vary according to the species of fish, the main techniques practiced in Sokpyong are use of a lift net with lighting for anchovy fishing, long line or gill net for cod fishing, drift net for saury fishing, and squid angling.

The ownership of myok collecting grounds in Sokpyong is different from that of Kagodo or Hamgumi. Traditionally all the myok collecting grounds along the East Coast have long been privately owned by a few influential families which had power and wealth (Kim 1960:40, Lee 1966:467-468, and Park 1966:214-215). These privately owned myok collecting grounds were inherited by their sons according to the rule of primogeniture and rented to poor tenant fishermen at a high rate. Myok collecting grounds were transmitted from seller to buyer just as land was. Although in 1962 the Korean government declared that all seaweed collecting grounds should be communally owned and managed by the village fishermen's cooperative association, the

regulation was still only partially observed in Sokpyong at the time of this research. In 1969 forty-three households were the private owners of myok collecting grounds and only two myok collecting grounds were owned by the village fishermen's cooperative association.

Unlike myok collecting, gelidium jelly is collected entirely under the control of the fishermen's cooperative association. During the gelidium jelly collecting season, a supervisor is sent to the village from the up-branch office of the cooperative so that he may supervise the collecting work, drying, packing, warehousing, and recording of the amount of products. All the processing work is done by the village fishermen's cooperative association. Later the dried gelidium jelly is consigned for sale to the provincial branch of the cooperative in Pohang. For these services the cooperative charges 15 percent of the amount of the sale, of which 4 percent goes to the village cooperative, 9 percent to the up-branch, and 2 percent to the provincial branch. The remaining 85 percent of the amount of sale goes to the women divers who collect gelidium jelly.

Until quite recently, myok and gelidium jelly collecting work was done by Chejudo women divers because at that time there were no local women divers in the Sokpyong area as women divers were looked down upon by the villagers. At the end of the Yi-Dynasty, Chejudo

women divers began to go out to work in the coastal areas of the Korean peninsula (Izumi 1966:116-117 and Kim 1960: 40). When they first came to the Sokpyong area, twenty or thirty women divers were recruited from the Chejudo Women Divers' Association under the leadership of a native Chejudo man who advanced some money to the women divers for their trip and room and board expenses which were to be repaid later. Usually from the third to tenth lunar month they collected seaweed during which time they lived in rented dwellings or boarding houses in the village. The women divers received 10 or 20 percent of the collected myok and 85 percent of the collected gelidium jelly, of which 10 percent went to the recruiter. Later the leadership for recruitment passed to a local broker who recruited annually more than a thousand Chejudo women divers and distributed them in such areas as Kampo, Yangpo, Kuryongpo, Sokpyong, and Taebo.

During the last ten years, however, local women began to learn diving and eventually competed successfully with the Chejudo women divers in collecting seaweed. At first the local women worked together with the outside divers but later they completely drove away the outsiders from the village by refusing to rent them houses or to employ them in seaweed collecting. Thus since 1965 the Chejudo women divers have not returned to the Sokpyong area, and in 1969 there were about eighty local women

divers in the village. Now that most young village women, whether they are married or unmarried, do diving without regard to class or family prestige, women divers are no longer looked down upon by the villagers.

A diving machine is used for octopus fishing and for the collecting of such sea shells as abalone and wreath shells. Each diving machine team consists of six or seven fishermen. On a temma a diver is supported by six crew members and the catch is divided into 18 jit (shares): 7 for the boat and machine owner, 5 for the diver, and 6 for the six supporting crew members. If the boat is motorized, the team consists of six fishermen and the catch divided into 20 jit: 8 for the boat and machine owner, 5 for the diver, 2 for the skipper, and 3 for the three supporting crew members. In 1969 the average team catch was estimated at ₩ 7,000 per day with 12 diving machines in Sokpyong. The total number of boats was 30 (18 temma and 12 motor boats) including three motor boats owned by the village fishermen's cooperative association. As will be shown in the following section (village class structure) all boat owners and diving machine owners belong to upper and middle class households.

From the eighth to tenth lunar month, squid angling is carried out in the offshore fishing grounds. Sometimes the Sokpyong fishermen go up to the northern coast of Kangwon-do province, where squid fishing is most successful

both in terms of quality and quantity. Since squid angling is performed individually and does not require cooperative team work, its work pattern and sharing system differ from those of other fishing operations in which cooperative team work is needed. Usually on a five ton motor boat, twelve fishermen are angling squid and each keeps his own catch. The location of the angling seat on a boat as well as the fishing ground is so important that the assignment of angling seats on a boat is determined by lot. The best seat is in the central rear part of the boat and the worst is the bow. During a squid fishing trip, the fishermen's food and equipment are prepared individually by the fishermen themselves. Each fisherman's catch is divided into five jit: two for the boat owner and three for the fisherman himself. The skipper and engineer are paid by the boat owner according to the proceeds from each trip. The squid is processed by the fishermen's wives into dried squid for later sale.

After the squid fishing season is over, anchovy fishing is carried out during the eleventh and twelfth lunar month using the lighting lift net (bunggichomang) or drift-gill net in the same fishing method as the one described in Chapter IV. But in Sokpyong, anchovy is not pickled in salt but processed into dried anchovy.

Both gill-net cod fishing and drift-net saury fishing begin around the twelfth lunar month. Cod fishing

season is over in the second lunar month but saury fishing continues through the fifth lunar month of the next year. Because these two types of fishing operations usually require large (18 to 20 ton) motor boats, expensive nylon nets, and large operating expenses, the Sokpyong fishermen cannot afford to operate such fishing industries. However, some of them may be employed seasonally as crew fishermen on the boats which are owned and operated by individual capitalists or fishing companies in Kuryongpo and Pohang. In this case crew recruitment is primarily based on the intimacy of the boat owner's interpersonal relationships, bilateral kinship ties, and affinal relationships.

The employed fishermen including the skipper and engineer, receive and divide 20 percent of the proceeds from each catch, regardless of its size. Of this 20 percent, the skipper and engineer receive 40 and the other crew fishermen (usually 7 or 8) share the remaining 60 percent. In the 1968-69 saury fishing season a fisherman's average income per month was ₩ 15,000. During the season his food and lodging were provided for by the boat owner who received 80 percent of the catch. The boat owner must pay all the expenses for the boat's maintenance and repairs as well as the expenses of each trip including gasoline, food, and equipment.

The villagers' commercial transactions rely heavily on the Kuryongpo market which opens once every five days. As a periodic "3-8 market" (at intervals of five days) (Stine 1962:70 and Skinner 1964:70), it meets on the third, eighth, thirteenth, eighteenth, twenty-third, and twenty-eighth of each month (not lunar month). Usually the village men and women go to the market bringing marine products with them and buy daily necessities. There is no kaekju system in Kuryongpo or Pohang. Since the Kuryongpo market began operation in 1937, the villagers have been wholly dependent on it. Although a new periodic "1-6 market" (at intervals of five days) has been operating in Taebo since 1958 and despite the presence of a permanent market in Pohang, the Sokpyong villagers usually do not frequent them.

Almost every market day, the villagers go to Kuryongpo even if they do not have anything to buy or sell. For them, Kuryongpo is more important as a center of social, economic, political and cultural activity rather than as a market place. Sometimes they just go there to meet friends, relatives or neighboring villagers, to spend their leisure time drinking and chatting, to see a movie or show, to send a letter or telegram, or to see the officials of the fishermen's cooperative association or up-office and negotiate with them on administrative and political matters.

Village Class Structure

The major indicators of village class distinction are the ownership of mechanized fishing equipment, the size of landholdings, and the private ownership of myok collecting grounds. Despite its recent change, traditional kinship status is still considered an important indicator of village class distinction by the villagers. These indicators are interrelated in determining the placement of each household in the community's socio-economic hierarchy.

According to the ranked list of each village household's economic status prepared by the villagers themselves to fix a rate of dues for the village public funds, in 1969 there were 11 upper class, 76 middle class, and 100 lower class households in Sokpyong. The upper class is composed of six fishing-farming households, four farming households, and one miller household. All upper class fishing-farming households are owners of motor boats, diving machines, and private myok collecting grounds. The landholding size of upper class farming households is larger than ten panbo. Three out of four upper class farming households also have private myok collecting grounds in addition to their land. Most private myok collecting ground owners are also the influential families in the community. This is the reason why private myok collecting ground ownership still remains in Sokpyong

despite the government regulation which requires communal management of seaweed collecting under the ownership of the village fishermen's cooperative association.

Sokpyong's average fishing households belong to the middle class. This class is composed of 39 fishing-farming households, 19 fishermen's households, 15 farming households, and 4 other job holders including a poultry raiser, an up-office clerk, a skipper and an engineer employed on a commercial fishing boat. Their landholdings are relatively small. Although some of the middle class households own motor boats, temma, diving machines, and private myok collecting grounds, their standard of living is not so high as that of upper class households because most of their fishing equipment and myok collecting grounds were purchased with a loan from public and private sources to which they are still indebted.

Sokpyong's lower class is composed of the majority of fishermen without means of production, tiny scale farmers, war pensioners, women-headed households, one-person households, a barber, a watch repairman, and shop-keepers. Thirteen lower class households do not even have their own houses and live in low-rent single-rooms.

Class affiliation is an important factor in selecting village leaders. Most successive village leaders have been drawn from the upper class of a few predominant surname groups. Both the present village

chief and head of the village fishermen's cooperative association are representatives of a powerful surname group. They have strong and competent leadership as well as the requisite education and leisure time to carry out the duties of their offices. With the support and cooperation of both the majority of villagers and outsiders including other villagers and administrative authorities, they have exerted effective leadership in many village self-help and government aid projects as will be seen later in this chapter.

The Cooperative Function of Ritual

Since individual rites of passage, familial worship and ceremonies, and communal belief and rituals in Sokpyong are substantially the same as those in Kagodo, it seems more worthwhile to examine the cooperative function of ritual activities in Sokpyong rather than to describe minor differences in the rituals themselves.

All the life cycle rituals provide an opportunity for interpersonal cooperation. On the one hundredth day after birth and the first birthday of a child, close bilateral kindred, affines, and neighbors are mainly invited to the ritual feasts. On these occasions gift exchange as well as formal recognition of the child's social membership is an important function of the rituals. At marriage and hwangap more extensive gift giving and cooperating relationships take place. In preparing for

the feast, close relatives and neighbors render services with pleasure. Since the Sokpyong villagers' marriage network is widespread throughout a broad area and since they also have widespread patrilateral kinship relations in neighboring villages, towns, and cities, the range of participants in the feast are not confined to within village boundaries. The more powerful and wealthier the family, the wider is the range of participants. All the invited guests bring gifts in various forms. The acceptance of a gift and service carries with it a moral obligation to reciprocate when the appropriate time comes.

During our field work period an influential family performed a funeral ceremony in Sokpyong. When preparations were made for the funeral, all village fishermen put off their fishing operations and assisted in the preparations. On the funeral day a team of bier bearers came from Kuryongpo, because the oldest son of the deceased was a member of the Kuryongpo parents' bier-bearing society. This is a sort of cooperation beyond village boundaries, while ancestral worship plays a cooperative role at the family and patrilineal kinship level.

Twice a year, in the third and ninth lunar months, Sokpyong villagers perform village communal rites called "kolmeki" for a good catch of fish. They believe three founding fathers of the village inhabit a rock in the sea, which is where the ritual is performed. Preparation for and observance of the rites as well as the procedures for

selecting the functionaries, are substantially similar to Kagodo's village communal rite, dangje. When preparations are made for the rites the whole village acts as a single unit and village-wide cooperation takes place as the villagers contribute money for the expenses. According to informants, if a villager does not wish to join in these communal rites there is no sanction, but, they add, this has never happened. The amount of the monetary contribution varies depending on each household's economic status. This principle also has been applied to their village self-help and government aid projects.

Village Self-Help and Government Aid Projects

Since World War II the villagers have carried out various village collective works and cooperative projects to improve their living conditions. Some of these were successfully accomplished while others were confronted with difficulties. In carrying out these projects, the villagers performed them at the outset by their own effort without any help from outside the village. But later, especially since 1965, they received financial support from the government. Thus, using the criterion of financial source, these projects may be classified into three categories: self-help, grant-in-aid, and loan projects. The major collective projects performed by the Sokpyong villagers are summarized in Table 8.

TABLE 8

The Major Collective Projects Performed by the Sokpyong Villagers

Year	Projects	Financial Sources		
		Self-Help(₩)	Grant-in-Aid(₩)	Loan(₩)
1946-47	School building	?		
1947	Village warehouse	170,000		
1962	Evening session	?		
1963	Village library	20,000	3,000	
1964	Loud speakers	150,000		
1965-66	Wharf	240,000	960,000	
1966	Moorings	20,000		
	Seaweed culturing	34,665	99,035	
	Motor boat	240,800	530,000	
1967	Motor boats	241,600	465,600	1,086,400
1968	Cooperative store	150,000		
	Road widening		140,440	
	Village hall		199,375	
	Well-digging		100,200	
Total		1,267,065	2,497,650	1,086,400

Until the end of World War II, the village school children had to attend the primary school in Kuryongpo which involved a trip of more than two hours on foot. Their absence was forced during the rainy season and the cold winter. Because of these difficulties the villagers planned to build a school in Sokpyong. Several influential village leaders, the representatives of powerful surname groups who had strong competent leadership which is an essential condition for constructive change, conducted an intensive campaign of raising funds for building a school and collected contributions from middle and upper class households. This movement, together with strong support from influential upper class families, made it possible within a few months to raise the funds needed to build a one-room school. The village leaders organized and directed the school-building project. The total number of the village households was divided into alternating work teams. Every household was assigned three days in which to contribute labor for the project. However, the lower class households contributed extra days of labor in addition to the assigned three. Thus, except for work needing specialized skills such as building design and carpentry, all school building work was performed by the villagers' labor. Finally, in 1946, they completed building the one-room school to which only the first and second grade students were admitted. In the next year they added two more rooms, and it was officially authorized as a public

school by the government in 1949. At the time of this research, this school had its nineteenth graduation ceremony and the number of graduates totaled 938, of which 554 were male and 384 female.

In order to engage in the business of trucking dried marine products such as myok, gelidium jelly, and dried squid, the villagers found it necessary to build a village warehouse for storage purposes. Although it cost the villagers as much as ₩ 170,000 from their own pockets like the previous school building project, the village warehouse has contributed greatly toward raising enormous village funds which enabled the villagers to carry out succeeding projects. Most dried marine products are stored in the village warehouse and the owners of the products must pay 1.5 percent of the amount of the sale for storage to the manager of the warehouse when they sell and truck the products.

After the village fishermen's cooperative association was organized in 1962, the cooperative opened an evening session for middle school courses in its office for the village children who could not afford to attend a middle school after their six years of education. A college graduate was appointed instructor and was payed from the village funds. In the first year about sixty students were enrolled and since then forty or fifty students attend the evening session every year. The cooperative

also installed a village library and three sets of loud speakers. The up branch of the fishermen's cooperative association made grants of ₩ 3,000 for the village library. But the loud speakers were installed entirely at the villagers' own expense. This money was provided by the village fund which had benefited from the warehouse income so that the village would have more rapid and accurate communication. This communication system has contributed greatly toward mobilizing the people for village meetings or work sessions as well as for transmitting the weather forecast, local news, and market trends to the villagers.

In the beginning of 1965, at a meeting of the village fishermen's cooperative association, the present head of the association proposed a new project to construct a wharf. The proposal was passed unanimously by the villagers and submitted to the local government by the head.

Because of the widely prevalent low-lying reefs, fishing boats could not lie alongside the shore to load and unload. The proposal was accepted and the grant-in-aid for constructing a wharf included in the local government budget of 1965 and 1966. During these two years the villagers finished constructing a 40 meter long wharf at a total cost of ₩ 1,200,000, of which 80 percent was grant-in-aid from the government and the remaining 20 percent was money raised from the members of the

cooperative directly. The villagers also built 52 meter long moorings for the safety of fishing boats at their own expense.

In the summer of 1966, the government announced that a grant-in-aid for a seaweed culturing project would be given to the Sokpyong cooperative, but the grant did not actually reach the villagers until the beginning of December. The project was to build a cement construction on the bottom of the sea so that the spore of seaweed could stick to it and propagate. The villagers were forced to finish the construction work by the end of the year, since the grant-in-aid for the project was valid only for that long. They purchased 300 bags of cement from a Pohang wholesaler on credit and finished the work in a hurry by December 20. After the work had been inspected by the technical staff of the county and provincial administration, the cost was met as follows: 25.93 percent (₩ 34,665) from the members of the cooperative, 36.67 percent (₩ 49,035) from the county administration, and 37.40 percent (₩ 50,000) from the provincial administration. But in a month the cement construction was destroyed by rapid turn of the tide.

Together with the numerical increase of fishing craft, the qualitative improvement in size and power of fishing boats has been the goal of government policy in regard to the Korean fishing industry. Accordingly, the

government has been making efforts to invest as much as possible in the construction of fishing boats. In September, 1966, the Sokpyong village fishermen's cooperative association had a chance to build a motor boat with a grant-in-aid from the government and its own self-help fund. The boat was designed and built by a shipyard in Kuryongpo. It was motorized (5 ton and 15 horse power) and equipped with cooking facilities for the fishermen in the fishing operation. Two more motor boats of the same size were built in 1967 with a government loan (₩ 1,086,400), a grant-in-aid (₩ 465,600), and the cooperative's self-help fund (₩ 241,600). All of the three boats were covered by a marine insurance policy. In 1968, each boat was rented to individual entrepreneurs at the rate of ₩ 75,000 a month, 20 percent of which was laid aside to redeem the government loan at a low interest rate.

In 1968, a self-help project and three grant-in-aid projects were carried out by the villagers. After the villagers built the village cooperative store by their own effort, they submitted a grant-in-aid proposal for three projects to the up branch office of the fishermen's cooperative association (see Table 8). After the higher level administration agreed to the proposal, the villagers first widened a road from the wharf to the provincial highway so that a truck could come to the wharf directly. The road would not only improve transportation but

contribute toward opening a fresh fish market in the village. The next project was to convert an old village warehouse into a village hall for the frequently held village meetings. Finally, to provide a sufficient and sanitary drinking water supply, a well-digging project was undertaken. Before the construction of the new wells, there were only three open wells for common village use, from which the supply of water in the village was neither sufficient nor sanitary. Thus the lack of a protected water supply had caused the villagers inconvenience in everyday life, especially during the dry season. By digging five more open wells, the village gained a sufficient and sanitary water supply.

Relevant Factors and Outcome of the Projects

If the collective projects performed by the Sokpyong villagers are evaluated in terms of success and failure, they are mostly successful with few exceptions. What are the factors considered to be the most important in influencing success or failure? What is the impact of the projects upon village life? The following account will discuss these questions and show how the villagers brought about planned changes in their socio-economic life.

First of all, geographically and socially, Sokpyong is not as isolated as Kagodo and Hamgumi. For a long time the villagers have had wide contact with outsiders

through their school life, outside employment, kinship and marriage networks, and marketing and other economic transactions. Free transportation and communication further helped to enrich their experiences, which brought ideas of change and progress into the minds of most villagers. As a consequence of their own wants and values, the villagers strongly recognized a need for change through their own efforts and through government aid. The creation of this felt need for change was essentially the foundation of and prerequisite for improvement of their life. Although there were a few exceptions, most projects were chosen by the villagers themselves on the basis of full discussion and recognition of their importance. Once the projects were decided on, all villagers participated voluntarily in accomplishing their goal and freely contributed the necessary labor and money.

In planning the project to build a village warehouse, the villagers fully utilized the local system of economic relationships. Since myok, gelidium jelly, and squid are usually processed into dried products and stored in a warehouse until they are trucked, this project was perceived as being a practical course of action resulting in economic gain. Furthermore, at the time of this project, seaweed collecting work was done entirely by outside women divers. Consequently, the village income from storage paid for by the women divers (for gelidium

jelly) and owners of dried myok and squid was very important for swelling village funds.

National and international political conditions also influenced considerably the projects performed. After the conclusion of the Korea-Japan Fisheries Agreement in 1965, the Korean government made large investments in improving the basic installations of the fishing industry. Sokpyong is one of the many fishing villages which benefited from the government. Most projects performed in Sokpyong since 1966 have been financially supported by the government.

The project to build a cement construction for seaweed culturing failed because of the lack of a felt need and in flexibility in planning. Originally this project was neither planned nor wanted by the villagers but rather was the result of a plan drawn up by government officials in the government ministry office. To make things worse, the grant-in-aid from the government was delayed a long time, while the project was rushed so it would be finished quickly. If the government had carefully considered the project, the original plan, including the time schedule, would have been altered in order to meet conditions which had not been foreseen. Government officials and villagers also should have considered which time would be opportune in terms of the local marine environment. The winter season is the worst time for such a project because in

winter, currents run fast and tidal friction is at its greatest. Therefore, the most advantageous time would have been the summer season when the waters around Sokpyong are the most calm.

In summing up, it should be stressed that the villagers' cooperation played the most important role in successfully completing their collective projects. Although Sokpyong villagers have some minimal competition and conflict between different kinship groups, they did not bring about divisiveness in performing such collective projects. Rather by selecting effective leaders from powerful kinship groups, the villagers let the village leaders exert their competent leadership. As we have seen, it was not difficult to obtain village unity and cooperation in Sokpyong for raising money and mobilizing labor to build a village school. All these cooperative tendencies among the village people functioned effectively in the process of socio-economic development.

Perhaps the greatest effect of the projects was the villagers' attitude toward the possibility of change. The experience acquired through successful project performances led them to believe that they could improve their own circumstances by their own efforts. This positive attitude toward change will no doubt greatly contribute to future changes in village life. When we left the village in 1969, people were planning several

new projects, one of which was to install a telephone by laying telephone wires from Kuryongpo to the village. It was expected that the project would provide an opportunity for further change in the village life by improving the system of communication with the outside world.

CHAPTER X

KAGODO: RETARDED CHANGE

Impediments to Socio-Economic Change

There is no doubt that societies are constantly changing. But the rate of change may be minimal or maximal according to different socio-economic conditions. Likewise Kagodo has undergone considerable internal change, but not nearly so much as other Korean fishing villages such as Hamgumi and Sokpyong. Although during the past several years, for instance, a considerable number of socio-economic development projects have been initiated in many Korean fishing villages by the government or villagers themselves, these projects have lagged in Kagodo for some particular reasons. Even now, in Kagodo, the way of life is almost the same as generations before; Kagodo fishermen collect seaweed and sea shell in the same way; they continue the same relationships with the kaekju; they live in the same manner keeping almost the same family and kinship relations, village organization and power structure, and ritual and belief systems.

Most impediments to change in Kagodo lie in the complex interplay of ecological and social factors as well as in psychological and cognitive factors. Its geographical marginality has prevented the free circulation of people, goods, and messages which might bring about more migration, trade, and exchange of new ideas and technologies.

One of the effective impediments to change is the limitation of alternatives in time and resource allocation. Because of limitations on land use, primitive fishing methods and techniques, and the lack of opportunity for wage work on the island, most islanders' economic activity is confined to seaweed collecting and anchovy fishing (see Chapter IV). Since the 1920's many institutions and facilities such as a lighthouse, schools, and branches of the myon office and police substation have been established on the island, and in some respects they improved the islanders' education and administration. But, in the economic sphere, these new institutions and facilities have not provided the islanders with opportunities for wage work as an economic alternative to gathering and fishing. All the salary work and official jobs in Kagodo are held by outsiders who usually do not enter easily into local affairs.

The lack of capital within the community is another important obstacle to change. Explaining the rise

of entrepreneurship in the peasant sector, Forman (1970: 137) makes the point that capital formation within the local economy is essential for the expression and development of entrepreneurship. As we have seen in Chapter VI, for Kagodo fishermen, it is almost impossible to accumulate capital from collecting and fishing for investment in the development of the fishing industry. Furthermore, in Kagodo there has never been a grant-in-aid or loan from the government for village collective works and cooperative projects which would improve the islanders' living conditions. Rather the technological innovation in anchovy fishing, which will be dealt with in the following section, has been carried out by an individual fisherman and capital for the initial investment came from outside the community via a loan from the kaekju, to whom a significant proportion of the total profits then accrued.

As crucial impediments to change in Kagodo, monopolistic domination by the kaekju and the weakness of the village fishermen's cooperative movement should not be over looked. As we have seen in Chapter V, the kaekju acts as a permanent and ready supplier of all the fishermen's needs. But his behavior has rather ominous consequences in terms of the possibilities for improvement of the fishermen's living conditions. Considering that he stands to gain little from improvements in the fishermen's socio-economic conditions, the kaekju has little incentive

to spend money for the fishermen's technological and institutional innovations. It is the kaekju, on the one hand, who manipulates the social environment to his own ends so that he can maintain a permanent superordinate-subordinate relationship with his client fishermen. It is the fishermen, on the other hand, who dare not free themselves from the shackles of the kaekju system, being afraid of coming economic difficulties and isolation from the outside world. Certainly, one of the reasons why Kagodo fishermen have failed to develop their cooperative movement lies in the kaekju's control and their own psychological anxiety.

If the Kagodo islanders were not fettered by the kaekju system, they might have a strong village fishermen's cooperative association. They have many potential cooperative bases such as interrelated kinship ties, cooperative seaweed collecting and fishing operations, and various ritual events. But these potentialities cannot be realized due to the impediments described so far. In particular the kaekju system acts as a restraining factor on the islanders' economic transactions with the outside world.

Change and Continuity in Material Culture and Technology

As compared to the degree of change in social organization and institutions of Kagodo, some material and technological changes have been remarkable even though other aspects of material culture and technology have changed little. A series of innovations in the anchovy fishing operations which have taken place in Kagodo since the 1920's are especially illustrative of the dramatic change in technology.

The successive introductions of the kerosene flare, the gas lamp, and the present dynamo-operated spotlight for attracting anchovy were not of internal origin in Kagodo but the result of outside influence (see Chapter IV). Once these items were introduced to one fisherman, they were accepted rapidly by other fishermen because of their high utility and low cost. The periods and processes of diffusion of these items were almost the same as in other Korean fishing villages such as Hamgumi and Sokpyong. But the introduction of motor propulsion was not such a case in point. Its cost was so heavy a burden to the average fisherman that it could not be purchased easily. The same was true of the substitution of nylon for cotton nets. Furthermore, both in Hangni and Daepungni, there were no good harbor facilities for mooring fishing boats. There was not even a likelihood of securing the funds to build a wharf. In spite of these barriers, from 1958

to 1968, eight sailboats had been equipped with outboard motors, dynamos and nylon nets.

These technological innovations changed the existing pattern of economic relationships in the community as well as provided for much greater productive efficiency. The new advancements have led to a demand for more experts, which in turn has led to changes in the role differentiation and recruiting pattern of crew members. The system of distributing earnings has also been rearranged according to the amount of capital invested, the degree of expertise, and the contribution of labor for the fishing operations (see Table 6 in Chapter IV). Because of differential income levels, the gap between wealthy and poor fishermen began to widen. Most motor boat and net owners are now ranked in the upper class in the community.

Contrary to what has developed in anchovy fishing, however, the methods and techniques of seaweed gathering and sea shell collecting and cultivating have remained unchanged for many generations. Diving machines, seaweed and sea shell culturing methods, and new agricultural techniques and practices have not been introduced to the Kagodo islanders.

Some other marked changes have taken place in the material culture during the past few decades. The most visible changes are the styles of men's and children's clothing. While women wear the more traditional Korean

two-piece suit-dress (chima-chogori), children and men prefer and usually wear western-style clothes which have become popular in Korea since the Japanese occupation. These clothing items are mostly ready-made and purchased in Mokpo or from itinerant peddlers. Young men, in particular those at work, wear the military uniform procured when they were discharged from military service. Only on formal occasions such as holidays and funeral and religious ceremonies do most islanders still wear the traditional Korean costume.

Some of the islanders' material goods have also been exchanged for new ones. People now in their sixties and older remember that what they have today they were lacking in their childhood days of about fifty years ago. At that time there was neither a tile-roofed nor tin-roofed house in Kagodo, but now the islanders have three tile-roofed and thirty-five tin-roofed houses. A number of new items have come into their everyday life: radios, wall clocks, wrist watches, aluminium cooking utensils, and plastic containers.

In spite of these changes in material culture, the basic house plan and domestic arrangements of the people--kitchen facilities, sewage system, toilet and other sanitary facilities and practices--still remain unchanged. There is no private well or pump on the island except for one in the lighthouse. All the villagers draw water from

public wells. Except for lighthouse keepers, no villagers enjoy electricity. The Kagodo islanders, like many other fishing villagers, use kerosene lamps for illumination.

Although some new aluminium and plastic cooking/eating utensils have been introduced to the islanders, the method of food preparation as well as dining practices have not changed at all. The main items of food served by the Kagodo islanders are not much different from those of the Kanghwa islanders described by Osgood (1951:80-82). But the combination and amount of these food items must vary widely between the two communities. The amount of fish and seaweed consumption is probably greater in Kagodo than in Kanghwa, an island on the West Sea. According to the Kagodo islanders' opinion, their liquor consumption is increasing year by year. Their over-drinking may be interpreted psychologically as a method used to overcome their anxiety, loneliness and the frustration resulting from geographical isolation and the harshness of reality (cf. Oh 1969:46). As the village general stores and peddlers have been expanding due to their prosperity, much of the villagers' assets go toward the purchase of a new range of snack items such as sweets, candy, cookies, honey, soda, and various fruits produced in the mainland as well as to the purchase of liquor. The smoking pattern has also shifted from long pipes to cigarettes.

The village drugstore plays an important role in changing the villagers' health situation by providing them with Western medicine. But still it is almost impossible for them to consult a doctor or go to a clinic because there is no hospital near the island nor is there enough money to pay for what they do have.

The Future

Nobody can accurately predict the future of Kagodo and its people. Neither is prediction the primary aim of this study. But if we regard the future as a continuing process of change tying together the past and the present, it is possible to depict it to a certain extent. In this section I will speculate only briefly on the destiny of Kagodo and its people using the ethnographic data presented so far.

Because the socio-economic conditions in Kagodo have not changed much, the degree of potential change is enormous. Although frequently the islanders' lack of motivation to accept innovation is cited by government officials as the reason for lack of progress, in reality the islanders are ready to accept new ideas and technology. For they are discontent with present conditions and try to improve them, anticipating future rewards. As we have seen from the series of innovations in anchovy fishing and in some aspects of the material culture, the islanders are quite pragmatic about the effectiveness of a new idea

or technological device and willingly embrace change in spite of many obstacles. They are neither lazy nor reluctant to accept innovations. This receptiveness is hindered by their realization that the given resources can never enable them to improve their socio-economic conditions.

In the beginning of this chapter I pointed out some impediments to change in Kagodo. What is necessary for the development of Kagodo is a joint effort by government officials and villagers that will enable the latter to overcome these impediments. The geographical, sociological, and ideological isolation of the Kagodo islanders can only be broken down by better transportation, more migration, more commercial transactions, more communication with the outside world, and so on. If government policy makers seriously want the islanders to improve their socio-economic conditions, then they must undertake a program which the islanders themselves desire. When I asked the islanders which was the most urgent problem to be solved, one of the village leaders indicated that their primary long-cherished desire was to facilitate transportation, which might further accelerate the movement of people (migration), the flow of goods and services (commercial transaction), and the transmission of information (communication). Since the government has already opened a steamship line between Mokpo and Kagodo, it has

only to administer the operation more effectively so that the steamship runs faster and through the whole year as scheduled.

As the Kagodo population increases, collecting, fishing, cultivating, and other means of production will not be sufficient for the islanders to make their living at the present level of technology. Therefore, in order to avoid such a situation, the islanders will have to take one of several alternatives: they may leave the island for mainland jobs; they may improve the present methods and techniques of production; or they may seek and develop other economic alternatives to their present economic pursuits.

The outward movement of the islanders would depend both on national economic development and their own competence. The increasing employment opportunities following rapid national economic expansion would accelerate outward migration of youths as in the Japanese case (Chang 1971:166). Their education, work skills, and ties with the outside world would also affect their outward migration. Even if they leave the island to find jobs, their early occupational career would be spent in low-salaried unskilled work, e.g., menial and domestic service, because of their deficiencies in prerequisities needed to assume vertical mobility.

Further improvement of the present methods and techniques of production, especially the development of the fishing industry in Kagodo, depends on external capital. From a short-range point of view, it may be helpful for the islanders to make their living with the government aid. But from a long-range point of view, it may be more efficient to provide them with the basic production facilities such as harbor facilities, motor boats, nylon nets, and other modern fishing equipment. If the government really wants to aid the islanders, it must give them funds to exploit their own resources effectively rather than immediate relief in the form of rice and goods. Adequate loans for development of the fishing industry is another alternative badly needed by the fishermen. The Kagodo fishermen must be released from the monopolistic domination of the kaekju. For this purpose, on the one hand, the government must guard the fishermen from exploitation by the kaekju. On the other the fishermen themselves must sever that relationship. As general suggestions for the elimination of the kaekju system, the Korean Economic Research Institute (1967:82-87) brought out two points: more capital investment is needed in the fishing industry at the village level and development of the fishermen's cooperative movement needs to be furthered.

Another important alternative is to seek and develop new non-fishing economic pursuits including

sericulture and orange growing as subsidiary occupations. In 1965 two technical staff members of the provincial administration visited the island and incidentally found wild mulberry trees distributed all over the mountain area of the island. They estimated the possible annual amount of silkworms as 918 hives on the basis of a sample survey. Since then sericulture has become a major concern of the islanders though it is still not popular on the island. The Sohuksan Middle School teachers have concentrated on introducing scientific methods and techniques of sericulture to the students in addition to the regular curriculum. The technical staff members also found that the island was suited for orange growing in its soil and climate. At the time of this research, an innovative village youth who completed his high school education was growing ten orange trees experimentally and by their third year the trees were blooming. Orange growing has already been widely known as a successful and highly profitable enterprise in Chejudo and on some other southern Korean islands. Thus it seems highly probable that in the future both sericulture and orange growing will become important subsidiary income sources for the islanders, because these two enterprises may be carried out by women and old and young people without disturbing fishing activities.

As we have seen so far, we anticipate that in Kagodo there will be further change in the future. We

expect the young people to successfully undertake this future change. The young people, particularly those who have been educated above the primary level and who are discharged from military service, are expected to be an important channel through which new ideas, thought, behavior, and technology will be introduced to the islanders. Doubtless this speculation about the destiny of Kagodo and its people will have to be checked against the findings of future investigations.

PART IV

CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation has been an attempt to understand and compare the socio-economic organizations and changes of three Korean fishing communities. In our introductory chapter we made the assumption that the socio-economic organizations of Korean fishing villages are different from those of agricultural villages; that although many features of the socio-economic organizations of fishing villages have common characteristics as contrasted to those of agricultural villages, there are some variations, and that there are many possible ways for Korean fishing villages to adapt in the process of socio-economic development.

In the preceding chapters we have described the ethnography of Kagodo and presented selective ethnographic data for Hamgumi and Sokpyong. We also have examined the different features of socio-economic change among these three fishing communities and analyzed the factors that influenced the socio-economic development of each community. Now in the final concluding chapter, we turn to three

levels of comparison: the comparison of the ecological processes found in fishing and agriculture, the comparison of organizational variations among three fishing communities, and the comparison of the different processes of change in three fishing communities.

CHAPTER XI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Fishing and Agriculture: An Ecological Comparison

The data presented in the preceding chapters exhibit divergent forms and developing features of the socio-economic organization of three fishing communities. But, ecologically, fishing communities, as opposed to agricultural ones, have characteristics in common. Because they differ, it is useful to compare the ecological processes operating in fishing and agriculture. Although we must be cautious in extending any generalizations gained from a single body of ethnographic material, the comparison will be valuable for a clear understanding of the marine ecosystem of fishing and of the land-bound ecosystem of agriculture as human adaptive mechanisms. The concept of ecosystem used in this dissertation is a single analytical system within which environment, technology, and human activities are involved. As Geertz (1963b:3) puts it, "an ecosystem consists of a biotic community of interrelated organisms together with their

common habitat." As noted in Chapter I, in analyzing the two contrasting ecosystems, I have methodologically relied heavily on Netting's model of cultural ecology (1965).

Both fishermen and farmers are biologically dependent upon plant and animal life for their food. In this sense they are always in a symbiotic relationship with certain plants and animals. Their social and economic relationships in a society may be also recognized as a kind of symbiosis. The farmer's exploitation of the land is limited by the restrictions of territoriality and individual ownership. But the sea, in contrast to land, is a virtually limitless frontier for fishermen. As we have seen in the preceding chapters, only seaweed and sea shell collecting grounds in which marine resources are relatively immobile belong to certain human groups or individuals, but it is not feasible to make boundary markers on the open sea for exploiting mobile fish.

Considering first their symbiosis with other species associated with them in natural environments, a fisherman's symbiosis is rather parasitic while a farmer's is mutualistic. As Chang (1971:168) points out, "under present technology, the marine ecosystem of fishermen imposes a much more forceful limitation upon livelihood than does the land-bound ecosystem of sedentary farmers equipped with a highly effective manipulative technology coupled with additional means of conservation." Fishermen

exploit wild marine plants and animals where they occur naturally. Fishermen do not wait for a harvest which must be budgeted over a long period of time. Therefore, fishermen are necessarily dependent on marine plants and animals but these organisms are not necessarily dependent on fishermen. Unlike fishermen, however, farmers harvest cultivated plants and raise animals which are relatively immobile on a restricted plot of land where they are grown and raised. As Wagner (1960:105-110) points out, farmers must provide and maintain an appropriate environment for plant growth, and care for the plant itself. The life of the plant is customarily thought of as accomplishing stages of germination, establishment, vegetation growth, flowering, fruiting, and seed dispersal. And finally, the harvest can take place during any stage from vegetative growth onward, depending on the farmer's purposes. For the next planting, seeds and bulbs must be preserved, guarded from pests, and kept from spoiling between harvest and planting. Domestic animals also require feeding and protecting by farmers. Thus farmers and domesticated plants and animals are interdependent.

Since the sea is a virtually limitless frontier to fishermen, the only obstacles to the intensified utilization of marine resources in a large fishing territory are lack of productive technology and knowledge. Differential control of marine resources within fishing

is entirely dependent on the fishermen's knowledge of their ecological niche and the technology used to exploit it. Advanced fishing equipment such as motor boats, nylon nets, and fish-detecting sonar devices may aid in the location and exploitation of fish. But, with a simple fishing technology, the fishing activity depends only on wind, human muscles, and human eyes. In considering the control of resources in agriculture (unlike fishing) land ownership is as important as productive technology and knowledge.

Because the property forms of fisherman and farmer are different from each other, the patterns of their capital investment are also different. While a fisherman invests most of his capital in fishing equipment such as boats, nets, and other productive apparatus, a farmer invests his capital first in the land and then in mechanized equipment, irrigation, improved seed, fertilizer, and other capital goods to increase his production. Whereas the farmer's land is permanent and safe from natural disasters, this is not true for the fisherman's fishing equipment. Boat owners must maintain and repair their boats and face the risk of financial loss. There is a definite danger of loss of boats due to sudden squalls and of boats colliding with rocks especially in stormy weather. Even the profits from marine fishing are not as certain and steady as those from farming. As Kottak

(1966:25) puts it, there is considerable variation in the size of the catch from day to day, season to season, and year to year. Even if effort expended by the crews of different boats is held constant, some boats catch more fish than others. This happens purely by chance. As compared with farming, fishing involves more risks and its profits are more ephemeral.

Fishermen's working conditions and managerial patterns are considerably different from those of farmers. Most agricultural tasks such as planting, weeding, and harvesting are performed on a relatively small plot of land by members of the whole family, including both men and women who are all able to work together. Even when farm laborers are hired, they are under the managerial control of the employer and easily supervised by him. Unlike farming, however, fishing is performed cooperatively by a group of crews who usually are not members of the same family. As we have seen in the anchovy fishing operation, various statuses and roles for the crews are set in terms of division of labor and authority. Their patterns of behavior on the boat seem to be highly stereotyped and their pursuit of fishing approaches mini-maximization (minimization of loss and maximization of gain).

Assuming that a minimax strategy can be used to predict group behavior, Davenport (1960) applied game

theory to Jamaican fishing. According to his assumption (Ibid.:3), game theory is "a theory of human behavior in certain kinds of decision-making or problem-solving situations." In his analysis of Jamaican fishing, he attempts to predict how many captains will be involved in each of the alternative fishing strategies available to them from an analysis of the individual actions of each captain. With the similar assumption that game theory can serve as a prototype for a processual model of interaction, Barth (1966:5-11) also applied the theory to Northern Norwegian fishing. Analyzing the statuses and roles of a skipper, a netboss, and twelve fishermen involved in herring fishing operations, he revealed the patterns of highly stereotyped behavior concerning the decision-making process. But the situations in which game theory can validly be applied have been debated by Dwight W. Read and Catherine E. Read (1970). According to D. W. Read's (1970:11) critique,

> . . . the maximization model does appear to describe observed behavior in the case of Jamaican fishermen better than a model based on individual motivations and actions. The action of the members of the group of captains is better explained by reference to the larger economic and ecological system than to individual personalities involved in making the decisions among strategies.

The Korean fishermen's strategy and decision-making in their fishing operations are highly unpredictable. Because of the large fishing territory, the unpredictable habits of fish, and weather and sea conditions, fishermen

are beyond managerial control. Direct supervision of the fishermen's action is extremely difficult. Thus, the exploitation of their labor by non-fishing boat owners occurs only through the unfair share system, by which almost 60 percent of the total yield of fish is alloted to the non-crew members who invested capital (as we have seen in Chapter IV).

The settlement pattern of fishing villages is quite different from that of agricultural villages. As we have seen in the beginning of this chapter, due to the fishermen's cooperative work pattern and for the convenience of easy access to beach and wharf, the settlement pattern in fishing villages is as compact as that of the city of Seoul. Because of the arrangement for cultivating plots of land, in rice farming villages homesteads are more dispersed than those of fishing villages. The settlement pattern of slash and burn agricultural mountain villages is the most sparse (cf. Lee 1960:2 and Han 1964:34).

When we consider the ecological features of relations among men, the relationship between fishermen and farmers in their daily interchange of farm and marine products is also symbiotic. But fishermen are more dependent on farmers because their work is less self-sufficient than that of farmers. Fish are exploited not to serve local demand, which is negligible, but to supply the outside world. According to Matsushida and Homma's

survey on Korean fisheries (1969:436), a small fishing population (5.1% of the total population) supplies a large proportion (80%) of the animal protein in the people's diet. Therefore, at least in theory, fishermen's economic transactions with people in other economic spheres are more active than those of farmers.

Family and kinship organization also appears to be ecologically adaptive. As we have already pointed out several times, the fishermen's family size tends to be smaller than the farmers'. This difference seems to be congruent with differential labor requirements and work patterns in the two ecosystems. In farming the maximum number of available hands may be mobilized, and the extended large family appears to mobilize labor most effectively. But this is not true in fishing. Only able-bodied men work on the sea in the form of cooperative team work. Furthermore, seaweed collecting grounds are communally owned and the collecting right is granted equally to household units. Thus fission along nuclear family lines perpetuates the smaller, more efficient units.

Although fishermen and farmers keep the same descent rule which is patrilineal, their kinship organization and consciousness are considerably different. As compared with fishing villages, agricultural village hierarchical ranks are more distinctive in terms of status and authority of different descent groups, kinship

solidarity is stronger, and there is a greater distribution of lineage organizations. Some of the factors which effected these differences have been explained in Chapter IV. Of these, the most important one seems to be the existance of collective property, in particular, collectively owned land in terms of ancestral estates.

The way in which fishermen cooperate is also different from that of farmers. In many phases of land cultivation we can find a cooperative activity which is called pumashi. Pumashi is a kind of reciprocal labor exchange. The intensity of agricultural work is not constant in the productive phase; in certain periods it is light, in others there is a great deal of pressure. In the easy periods, a farmer can cope with the work by himself or with the assistance of members of his immediate family. But in the busy periods he needs additional help. This additional help can be obtained by asking neighboring farmers to lend a hand on a pumashi basis. For example, if farmer A renders one day of labor for the transplanting of rice seedlings to his neighbor, farmer B, A's labor must be reciprocated with one day of labor (instead of paying wages) for the transplanting of rice seedlings or weeding by B. The phases of land cultivation for which pumashi assistance is usually asked are transplanting of rice seedlings and weeding and harvesting of rice. In a pumashi situation, the working neighbors must be treated

by the proprietor of the land with a noon meal and two snacks. Sometimes in the busy periods, farmers organize a more or less permanent collective work team called a ture. All members of the ture perform some work together. A group of neighboring farmers, A, B, C, D, and E, work successively, first on A's field (weeding for instance) then on B's field, on C's, and so on.

Although fishermen have cooperative labor organizations in their seaweed collecting and fishing activities, their forms and functions are different from those of farmers. In seaweed collecting and fishing, such forms of cooperative activity as the pumashi and ture do not exist. As we have seen in Chapter IV, the members of a myok tom organization and the crew members for anchovy fishing work together cooperatively, but they do not exchange labor. Instead, they have an appropriate share system for dividing their products, such as myok collected or fish caught. This share system is entirely unknown in land cultivation. We need further comparative studies of this subject in the future. At this moment we can only say that the socio-economic organization of Korean fishing villages is different from that of agricultural villages because of their differing adaptive mechanisms to two dissimilar ecosystems.

Organizational Variations Among Three Fishing Communities

Although many features in fishermen's ecological adaptations to their environment have characteristics in common when contrasted to those of farmers, there are variations in socio-economic organization among the three fishing communities we have studied.

The most striking similarity among the three communities is their settlement pattern. Due to the fishermen's cooperative work pattern and for the convenience of easy access to beach and wharf, which are the fishermen's main work places on the land, the village houses are densely concentrated along the beach. This compact settlement pattern is not only characteristic of the communities studied but generally a feature of fishing villages in Korea as well. As a common economic pursuit, all the fishermen of the three communities are mainly engaged in exploiting such marine resources as seaweed, sea shell, anchovy and other species of fish. But the ownership of seaweed and sea shell collecting grounds, the work pattern, and the method of production and distribution are different for each community.

In myok collecting the Kagodo islanders have a tom system by which myok collecting grounds are communally owned, the villagers work together for communal production, and all the collected myok is equally divided into shares

for all the households in the village with additional shares going to the boat owners and meal providers. Although myok collecting grounds are communally owned, in Hamgumi the village sells the collecting rights to an individual entrepreneur who seeks marginal profits in his individual production and distribution of myok and to whom the village women divers individually sell their labor. In Sokpyong, however, there are two kinds of ownership of myok collecting grounds: private and communal. Private owners buy labor from individual village women divers and the management of production and distribution of myok is under their own control. In the communally owned myok collecting grounds in Sokpyong, the villagers work together and divide the collected myok into equal shares as in Kagodo.

In sea shell collecting, both in Kagodo and Sokpyong, there is no specific limit to collecting rights. Since Kagodo islanders do not have diving machines, outsiders collect sea shells at will around Kagodo by using their diving machines. But in Sokpyong the villagers collect sea shells by using their own machines. Even though the Hamgumi villagers do not have diving machines, since they obtained legal permission for sea shell culturing from the government, it is possible for them to sell the collecting rights to an individual entrepreneur who does own them. In obtaining this license, the

entrepreneurship of the village fishermen's cooperative chief played an important role.

From the outset, anchovy and other fishing activities were not communal by nature but rather were characterized by individual team work. These fishing methods and techniques have been further developed along an individual base as opposed to those of seaweed and sea shell collecting. Since the fishermen's strategy was directly connected with such ecological factors as weather, fishing grounds or spots, and fish habits, the individual fishermen's roles and skills performed in the fishing operation have been highly specialized. Furthermore, since the motorizing of boats and modernization of fishing equipment required bigger capital, the fishing organization and reward system have become more and more complex according to capital invested and the degree of a fisherman's expertise. Despite being widely separated from one another, it appears that the basic methods and technological level of anchovy fishing are essentially the same in all three communities studied. This might be the result of influences from the outside world, especially from the mainland ports of Mokpo, Yosu, and Pohang which have had frequent communication with each other.

Although agriculture is becoming more important, it still remains undeveloped in all three communities: the cultivable land is generally scarce; agricultural

facilities and equipment are very poor; and the productivity of both land and labor are relatively low. Furthermore, because of the seasonal overlap in agriculture and fishing, the farming work is usually carried out by women and other family members who are too young or old to engage in fishing.

The degree of the fishermen's dependence on the kaekju in their commercial transactions seems to in part parallel the degree of physical and social isolation of their community from its immediate market. For instance, the Kagodo fishermen, being the most isolated of the three communities, depend the most overwhelmingly on the kaekju in Mokpo. Whereas in Hamgumi, which is less isolated than Kagodo, the fishermen are relatively free of the fetters of the kaekju in Yosu. As we have seen in Chapter IX, the Sokpyong fishermen got rid of the kaekju's control entirely. The development of a fishermen's cooperative movement and the availability of more capital either by their own accumulation or through an adequate loan facility would further help in releasing the Kagodo fishermen from the monopolistic domination of the kaekju.

The village class structure is a little different in each of the three communities. In Kagodo the ownership of the local general store as well as boats and nets are considered the important indicators of social stratification. Land ownership is not significant as an indicator

of socio-economic status in Kagodo, while it is a very important indicator of social class both in Hamgumi and Sokpyong. Traditional kinship status and the private ownership of myok collecting grounds are regarded as the important indicators of village class distinction only by the Sokpyong villagers. Because the value orientation toward property is different in each of the three communities, the patterns of their capital investment are likewise different. The villager's educational level and occupational distribution also vary among the three communities: the educational level is generally higher in Sokpyong than in Kagodo and occupational distribution is more varied in Sokpyong than in Kagodo, while Hamgumi stands between them both.

The proportion of village endogamous marriage seems to parallel the degree of physical and social isolation of the community from the outside world. Available data indicate that the proportion of village endogamous marriage in the three communities is as follows: 80.4 percent in Kagodo, 42.4 percent in Hamgumi, and 10.6 percent in Sokpyong. Both in Hamgumi and Sokpyong there are no cases of chimajarak marriage (a form of marriage between sisters or female cousins of one family and brothers or close kinsmen of the other family), which is not uncommon in Kagodo.

Both in Kagodo and Sokpyong, the familial form generally tends to be the small nuclear family. Because few families own property sufficient to support a large family, family division tends to occur immediately after a son's marriage. In Kagodo, the myok tom system by which the right to collect myok is granted to household units further accelerates the division of family. But the familial form in Hamgumi is the large extended joint family. Many families in Hamgumi have relatively large landholdings in comparison with Kagodo and Sokpyong. Hamgumi families also tend to delay family division even after a son's marriage.

None of the kinship groups in the three communities has a permanent patrilineal kinship organization within their village boundaries. As Freedman (1958 and 1966) and Potter (1970:127) hypothesized, if "collectively owned land (or other common property) in the form of ancestral estates is a sine qua non for the development of strong lineage organizations," all three communities fail to meet an essential prerequisite for developing lineage organizations because none of the kinship groups in the communities has any form of collective property. Beyond their village boundaries, however, some of the kinship groups belong to their own clan or lineage organizations. As we have seen in Chapter IX, through this organizational meeting and mutual visiting, the Sokpyong villagers have

a wide range of inter-village relationships and cooperative activities.

The range of matrilateral and affinal relationships beyond the village boundaries varies considerably among the three communities. The Kagodo islanders have the most limited matrilateral and affinal relationships within the island, and the Sokpyong villagers have the widest range beyond their village boundaries. The range of these relationships together with patrilateral relationships is directly related to the extent of villagers' inter-village relationships and cooperation with outsiders. The wider the range of patrilateral, matrilateral, and affinal relationships, the wider is the range of cooperation with outsiders. The degree of cooperation with outsiders can be measured, in a way, by the range of participants in such occasions as life cycle rituals and feasts which create the diffused reciprocal give-and-take relationships. As Belshaw (1955:56) puts it, "people cooperate not only because they like gregarious activity but also because economies can be effected through joint labor and because assistance to one man creates an obligation for return assistance in time of need; the same is true of more modern work." The degree of cooperation both within and beyond village boundaries is the strongest in Sokpyong, less strong in Hamgumi, and the weakest in Kagodo.

Different Processes of Change in Three Fishing Communities

In Part III we have seen how each community has undergone socio-economic changes, which factors have accelerated or retarded the changes in each community, and how such changes have affected the general patterns of community life. Since the features of socio-economic change were different in each community, it now remains for us to compare the processes of change and to tentatively draw a general course and direction for change using the data presented in this dissertation. Of course some of the conclusions will have to be complemented and modified in the light of further investigations.

As a changing adaptive mechanism to environmental settings, the ownership of myok collecting grounds is a good model for understanding the processes of change. At present, we cannot say very much about the origins and developmental processes of this phenomenon but we can hypothesize that (a) in the early period of settlement there might not be any limitation or exclusiveness involved in the rights to collect myok (no ownership); (b) but as the population increases, there might be certain restrictions on these rights for the existing community members' subsistence (communal ownership for subsistence); (c) as power and wealth are unequally distributed so that classes emerge, the rights might go to a few influential persons who have more power and wealth (private ownership);

and (d) with legal support and under government control, the rights go to the community as a whole which collectively and autonomously manages the enterprise by leasing the rights to an individual entrepreneur or by involving itself in production processes for a market economy (collective ownership for market).

If we apply this hypothetical scheme to the three communities studied, the developmental processes of the ownership may be reconstructed as follows:

Kagodo: A → B

Hamgumi: A → B → D

Sokpyong: A → B → C → D

In Kagodo the myok collecting grounds have never been privately owned (C) nor collectively owned for lease (D), rather they have been communally owned by the restricted community members for their own subsistence (B), while in Hamgumi the community has gone from communal ownership for subsistence (B) to a collective form for lease and the market economy (D) without having passed through a stage of private ownership (C). Although there is no evidence of communal ownership for subsistence (B) in Sokpyong, there appears little doubt about the existence of communal ownership prior to private ownership (C), because myok had been regarded as the fishermen's common property before its collecting grounds were privately occupied by a few

influential persons (Park 1966:215). It is a recent trend that in Sokpyong the ownership has changed again into a form of collective ownership for lease and market (D) as common property of the village fishermen's cooperative association.

Through analysis of these processes we can explore the dialectical nature of change. Differential adaptive mechanisms to environmental settings gave rise to different patterns of ownership and social differentiation which reinforced the need for processes affecting the new patterns of ownership. As we have seen in previous chapters the system of assigning myok tom to the residential tom in Kagodo is different from that of Hamgumi. And the collective ownership of myok collecting grounds in Hamgumi is also different from that of Sokpyong. Furthermore, previous communal ownership is far different from the new collective ownership. Thus, as Blau (1964:336) points out, the processes of change in the myok collecting ground ownership involve "neither evolutionary progress in a straight line nor recurring cycles but alternating patterns of intermittent social reorganization along different lines."

Fishing methods and techniques have changed mainly through outside contacts. As compared with the customary spiritual life, material and technological traits are easily borrowed without modification. Many of the present

Korean fishing techniques and mechanical equipment are the results of direct or indirect influences from other countries such as Japan and those of the West. We can find evidence of this fact from the fishermen's language. Many foreign words derived from Japanese and English are still used by the fishermen who cannot read or write. This phenomenon is similar to that described by Norbeck (1954: 201-206) in a Japanese fishing village. Some examples of such foreign words are as follows:

Japanese Origin

Japanese Word	Korean Adaptation	English Meaning
deguriami	deguri	large trawlnet
kichakusen	kinchaku	purse seine boat
nagashiami	nagasi	drift net
tenma	temma	small wooden boat
ulcki	oki	float

English Origin

English Word	Korean Adaptation
battery	batteri
engine	enjing
flashlight	frasi
motor	mota
rope	ropu

Most of these foreign words had been borrowed, together with their related mechanical equipment, during the Japanese occupation of Korea (cf. Park 1966:331-355). During this period, many Korean fishermen were employed by Japanese fishing companies and acquired the new fishing methods and techniques which have been widely spread over the country even after the Japanese withdrew.

The adoption of new fishing methods and techniques have much improved productivity which in turn affected not only the fishermen's attitude toward work but the marine ecosystem as well. As technology improves and productivity increases, on the one hand, fishermen tend to be more and more competitive and profit seeking on an individual basis and their decision-making in fishing strategy tends to be more rational as we have seen in anchovy fishing. On the other hand, the maximization of technological efficiency in a fishing operation tends to deplete available marine resources by using diving machines and trawl and seine nets near the shores of fishing villages. The marine resources eventually will be exhausted unless certain conservation measures are undertaken. Thus, for the preservation of marine resources, in 1964 the Korean government made a law by which the unlimited catching of fish is prohibited, and licenses for the various types of fishing activity must now be obtained (cf. Lee 1966: 479-487).

These technological changes accompanied institutional changes connected with the development of a local fishing cooperative. As we have seen in the cases of Hamgumi and Sokpyong, effective readjustment to the local environment and to fishing has been accomplished by use of the cooperative. For example, the communal enterprises in Hamgumi (including the instituting of legal permission for abalone-sea mussel culturing) and many collective projects in Sokpyong (which brought about both institutional and technological changes) were mainly made possible by local fishermen's cooperative movements. In Hamgumi these institutional and technological changes gave rise to the change in the villagers' economic sphere, i.e., their emphasis on agriculture, particularly by women who were freed from sea shell collecting.

Even though prediction or recommendation are not the primary aim of this study, in considering the path of future change we feel a responsibility to assist the fishermen, with whom we have talked in the course of our study, so as to improve their socio-economic life in a positive way. In the beginning of this dissertation we made an assumption that the fishermen's cooperation is a developing notion without which their present socio-economic development probably would not yet have taken place. If this assumption is accepted, we strongly suggest that the fishermen's cooperative movement will

be one of the prime factors leading to the further improvement of their socio-economic life in response to future change.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

KOH'S GENEAOLOGY

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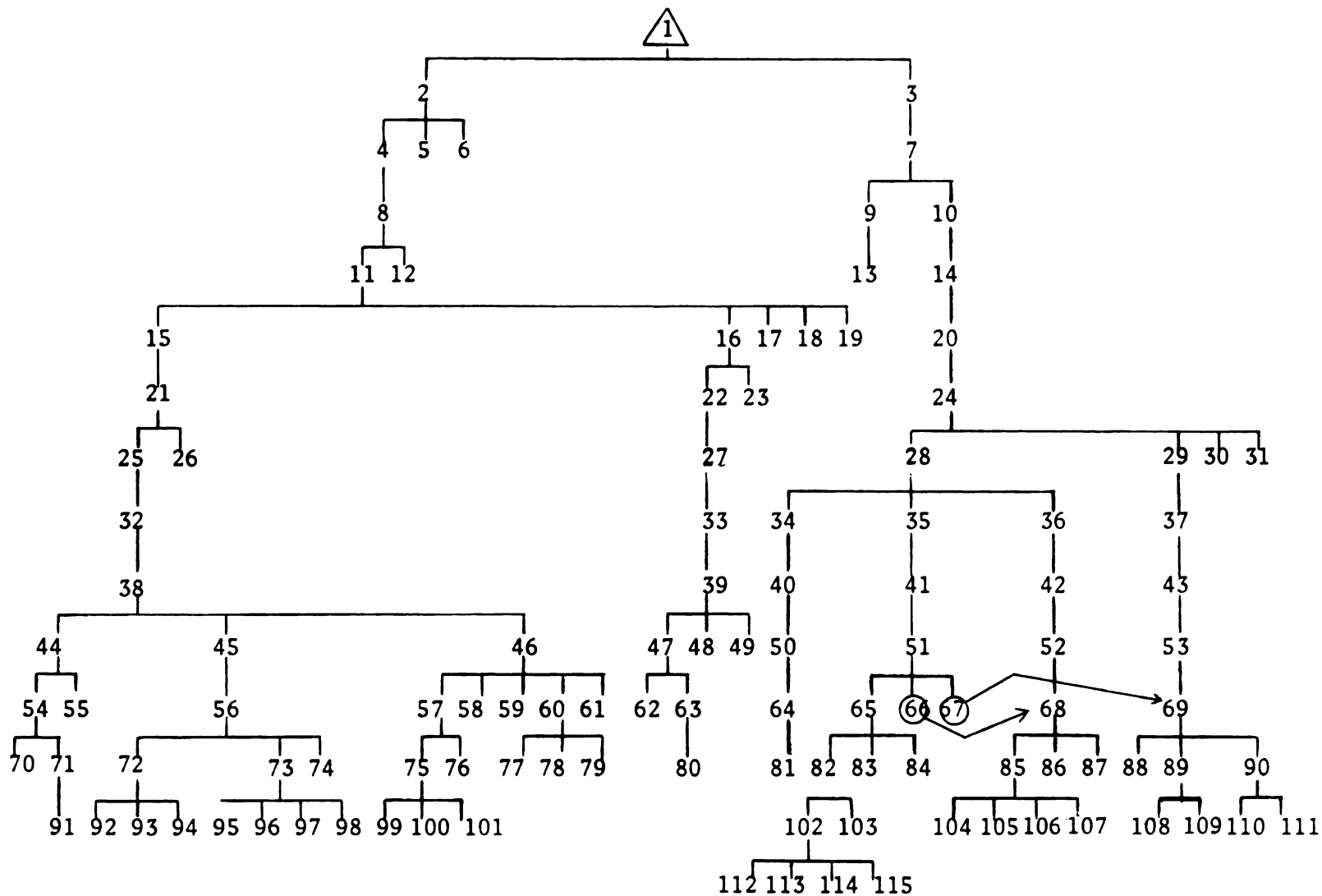

APPENDIX B

GLOSSARY OF KOREAN WORDS

APPENDIX B

GLOSSARY OF KOREAN WORDS

Baejit	A boat-share.
Ban	A sub-unit of village administration.
Banchang	A Ban chief.
Banho	A half-share member household of myok tom organization.
Banjit	A half-share
Boson	A boat for carrying fish owned by middlemen.
Buchonim	Buddha.
Bunggimang or Bunggichomang	A lift-net with lighting.
Byolshingut	A village communal ceremony practiced by a shaman.
Chimajarak	A marriage form in which sisters or female cousins of one family marry brothers or close kinsmen of another family.
Choki	A species of fish, yellow corvina.
Chongchinhoe	Patrilineal kinship organization.
Chongchung	Patrilineal kinship group.
Chonghoe	Clan organization.
Chungson	A middle sized fishing boat.

Chusok	The fifteenth day of the eighth lunar month.
Daedonghoe	A grand village meeting.
Daesang	An ancestral worship ceremony observed on the second anniversary of the parent's death.
Dang	A village shrine.
Danggol	A patron shaman.
Dangje	A village communal rite performed in the village shrine.
Dangju	The master of a Dangje ceremony.
Deritsawi	An adopted son-in-law.
Do	An administrative unit equivalent to a province.
Dog	A pottery jar containing pickled anchovy.
Dokkyong	A service in which incantations are chanted.
Doksokmori	A traditional sanctioning mechanism which is used for breaches of filial piety and fraternity.
Dolsang	A birthday table set out on the first birthday of a child.
Gadak	A ply; a counting unit of myok (ten pieces of myok).
Gongjit	A meal-share.
Gun	A local administrative unit equivalent to a county.
Haju	An assistant master of the Dangje ceremoney.
Hanshik	The one hundred and fifth day from the winter solstice.
Hwajigae	A traditional sanctioning mechanism applied in cases of adultery and incest.

Hwangap	The sixtieth birthday.
Hwasuhoe	Clan organization.
Ichang	A village chief.
Jit	A share.
Job	A counting unit of myok (one hundred mut of myok).
Jonan	A marriage ceremony in which a groom hands over a wild goose to the bride's family.
Jowang	A family diety which inhabits the kitchen and protects the housewife.
Jungbang	A messenger who carries the wedding gifts from the groom's house to the bride's house.
Kaekju	A commission merchant or a middleman in commercial transactions.
Kochi	A counting unit of myok (twenty pieces of myok).
Kogu	A commission exacted from buyers in commercial transactions with the kaekju.
Kolmeki	A village communal ceremony through which the participants express their wishes for a good catch of fish.
Minmyonuri	A foster daughter-in-law.
Munchung	A clan.
Mut	A bundle; a counting unit of myok (two hundred pieces of myok).
Myok	A kind of edible seawood.
Myon	A local administrative unit (equivalent to a township) just above the village level).
Nappye	A marriage ritual in which the groom sends wedding gifts to his bride.

Omgu	A commission exacted from sellers in commercial transactions with the kaekju.
Panbo	A unit of land acreage equivalent to 0.245 acre.
Pashi	A mobile fish market on the sea.
Pumashi	A form of reciprocal labor exchange which involves neither payment of money nor payment in kind.
Ri	A local administrative unit equivalent to a village.
Samshin	A goddess of life who governs childbirth.
Samuje	A special mourning ceremony performed by the chief mourners on the third day after burial.
Sanggyonnye	A marriage ceremony in which a groom and a bride look at each other, theoretically for the first time in their lives.
Sangmang	A special mourning ceremony performed by the chief mourners on every first and fifteenth day of the lunar month during the mourning period (two years).
Sangpogye	A mutual aid society which helps the bereaved family by contributing labor and money for the funeral ceremony.
Sanshin	A god of the mountain.
Sasong	A letter from a boy's family to a girl's family to mark their formal betrothal (in which the boy's horoscope is written).
Saturi	A dialect.
Songju	A family deity which inhabits the girder of a house and protects the head of the family.

Songjugut or Songjupuri	A shamanistic ritual practiced to propitiate Songju.
Sosang	An ancestral worship ceremony observed on the first anniversary of the parent's death.
Temma	A word originated from Japanese which means a small wooden boat.
Tojikwan	A god of earth.
Tom	A seaweed collecting zone or the residential unit of those villagers who collect seaweed together in the same collecting zone.
Tomchang	A chief of tom organization.
Ture	A more or less permanent rotating work team.
Up	A local administrative unit equivalent to a town or myon.
Won (₩)	A coin worth about one-third of a cent in foreign exchange in 1969.
Wonho	A full-share member household of myok tom organization.
Wonjit	A full-share.