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# South Korea

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42

The Subject

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# The Society

## A. Introduction

At the time of its liberation from Japanese rule in 1945, Korea had survived 13 centuries as a distinct national entity, despite repeated foreign invasions and domination brought on by the country's exposed position between Japan and the Asian mainland. Between invasions, the peninsula's semi-isolation gave Korea a chance to evolve its own culture in comparative independence and to absorb some of the cultural currents—Chinese, Japanese, and Western—which came to its shores.

During this time the Korean people developed a high degree of cultural as well as physical homogeneity. There were no significant ethnic minorities, and the country was not divided sharply by language or religion. Despite their exposure to many different influences, the people fully accepted the elements of only one culture, that of China. Confucianism—the most pervasive Chinese cultural influence—gave the Koreans a structure of moral and ethical values and a highly integrated social organization, reflected mainly in the kinship organization and in the filial piety which governed the family and clan. Despite the great impact of these Chinese elements, however, the cultural synthesis was distinctively Korean and inspired a strong sense of ethnic identity. Figures 1 and 2 show historical and cultural symbols revered by all Koreans.

After World War II, Korea's division at the 38th parallel into Soviet and U.S. military occupation zones led to the emergence of two distinct societies in Korea: one Communist and the other anti-Communist. While sociological change has been slower and less drastic in the South than in the North, the pace has been rapid in both parts of the peninsula. A destructive war lasting from 1950 to 1953 and the presence of large numbers of foreign troops further hastened disintegration of the old social order.

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Many South Koreans have become aware that their historic way of life is at an end. The leaders of society, mainly intellectuals, bureaucrats, and military men, are increasingly concerning themselves with problems inherent in constructing a society which—though consonant with Korean traditions—must respond to the demands of modern civilization. Their efforts are halting and uncoordinated, however, and their attention is frequently preempted by political and economic problems requiring immediate action. They must also cope with social unrest fostered by the decay of traditional social values, the inability of growing industrialization to keep pace with a still-expanding population, and the Koreans' volatility.

Sentiment favoring unification with North Korea has always been strong, the main questions being when and on what basis it would occur. If the high-level Seoul-P'yongyang talks that began in 1972 between the Red Cross societies and the North-South Coordinating Committee lead to real rapprochement, South Korea must brace itself for still another sociological change as the two halves try to mesh conflicting social systems.

## B. Structure and characteristics of the society

Mounting industrialization and urbanization have brought rapid and significant change to South Korean society, although their full implications are not yet clear. The cities' greater opportunities for education, jobs, and contact with modern influences attract many persons from rural areas, especially the young. Yet despite this exodus, over half the population still lives in rural areas and retains family and village traditions. The result is a large economic and cultural imbalance within the country which the government is trying to correct through education and economic advances.



FIGURE 1. Statue of Adm. Yi Sun-Sin, the national hero who defeated Japan in 1592

### 1. Family and clan

The traditional close-knit Korean family is an enduring Confucian landmark whose solidity shields the individual against harsh conditions of life even in times of severe social change like the early 1970's. A patriarchal structure links all family members through respect for and obedience to the oldest living male, and sons are ranked in a hierarchical order based on age. Wives are officially and formally denigrated, and daughters play a secondary role because of the stress on perpetuating the family line. This rigid hierarchy sometimes is too constraining for the volatile Korean temperament, and outbursts of anger, rebelliousness, and cruelty ensue.

Often, however, there is a marked contrast between the forms of etiquette and social discrimination on the one hand and the real nature of personal relations on the other. The head of the house—traditionally expected to be aloof or stern toward his wife and children—often shows genuine affection for them. Wives, moreover, are frequently highly valued, self-assertive partners in running family affairs, while daughters usually are cherished and loved as warmly as sons despite their lesser role. Although obligation and deference take precedence over sentiment, the family has a permanence and stability that provide great emotional support for the individual.

The Korean clan is a larger and less binding kinship group which gives the individual an even wider basis of social status and economic security. There are over 1,000 clans, usually identified by the common surnames of the male members. Fewer than 100 of the

300 existing surnames are at all common; five surnames—Kim, Yi (Lee), Pak, Choe, and Chong—are borne by about half of all Koreans. Except in wealthier families, a clan usually consists only of relatives who live in a particular village or locality, jointly venerate common ancestors, and make decisions on such matters as marriage and inheritance. The upper classes traditionally maintain ties with the original clan home, no matter how far away the family may have moved. The clan is basically important in the villages and also significant in the commercial and political worlds. However, the influences of urbanization and—to some extent—of military conscription are beginning to break down the older ties of family and clan.

### 2. Classes and social groups

Koreans are still somewhat class conscious, although the traditional class structure—legally abolished over 70 years ago—changed radically with the decline of the elite under the Japanese and the development of a new social structure after liberation. As in Japan, the tradition of a hereditary aristocracy proved older and stronger than imported Confucian concepts in determining class ranking and status. The *yangban*—historically a wealthy landowning class—monopolized real power by excluding all but its members from top



FIGURE 2. Turtle, Korea's good-luck symbol, appears on royal tomb

posts in the military and civil service. The gulf between this elite group (about 10% of the population) and the rest of society was unbridgeable and so strictly enforced for five centuries that it left a lasting impression even in present-day society. By heritage, marriage, or adoption, a remarkable number of those with wealth, education, political connection, or power are accepted as *yangban*.

Despite Confucianism's rejection of military service as degrading, military men were highly regarded in Korea until the middle of the Yi dynasty (1392-1910), after which a period of more than 200 years of peace forced them to be tillers. Even after the Confucian view prevailed, those *yangban* whose antecedents traditionally had been military officers continued in the same profession. Moreover, all *yangban* agreed on the practical need for those in power to control the military.

In modern times the military have come to occupy a more important role. Particularly since the 1961 coup, military and former military men have held prominent posts in government and in government-owned industry. While not fully approved in this capacity by some of the more traditional elite, the military and ex-military seem increasingly accepted as leaders by the population as a whole.

*Chungin*, the small traditional middle class composed of minor officials and technicians, has been replaced by a modern middle-income group whose members occasionally rise to the ranks of the elite. This growing class consists of educators, physicians, and other professional persons, successful businessmen, and some field-grade military officers.

The class status of the great mass of commoners (*sangmin*)—most of them farmers—has changed little. Prior to modern times the *sangmin* had varying degrees of personal freedom. Farmers, who in theory ranked second after scholars in the Confucian scale, were often little better than serfs, but craftsmen and merchants could occasionally rise to the ranks of *chungin* and sometimes enjoyed greater *de facto* rights and liberties. Today's farmer (Figure 3) does not consider himself a member of the lower class, because Confucian sanction of his vital role in the economy still gives him a sense of superiority.

Until the present century the "despised people" (*chi'onmin*) were at the bottom of society legally, if not always economically. These included beggars, soccerers, prostitutes, and men engaged in professions, such as butchers, stigmatized by Buddhist or other religious taboos. Many were public or private slaves, the former were freed early in the 19th century, but private slavery survived until 1907 and the institution



FIGURE 3. Farmer carrying rice on an "A" frame

may still survive, though extralegally, in remote areas. Negative popular attitudes toward all of these people are still present in society.

In a typical village—the basic unit of society for most Koreans—joint agricultural activities have virtually erased any identification with a self-conscious social class. Subtle variations of status within the village are important to its residents but do not divide most villages on the basis of class. Status is based on family wealth and social position—the first usually determined by land or fishing equipment and the second by education, connections with *yangban* families and officials, or the number of sons in the family and the attractiveness of its women. Each village still tends to remain a tightly knit unit largely isolated from neighboring villages.

Throughout Korean history local and provincial loyalties and antipathies have played an important part in both social and political life. The *pan*, a grouping of neighboring families for communal or craft cooperation, is a significant traditional association used by the government for administrative and social control. Persons from one province band together to compete with natives from other provinces. This tendency is more marked the further the province lies from Seoul; northerners are considered particularly cohesive. Among *yangban* descendants, traditional friendships and hostilities and membership in former

factions of long ago still influence marriage, employment, and political affiliation to some extent.

Other types of factional ties cut across older clan and regional links. Classmates, even from elementary but particularly from high school days, keep in touch and meet for social, economic, or political purposes. In the armed forces, cliques based on Korean Military Academy class years and other service ties have acquired importance in national affairs.

Urban society has become more fluid and unstable under the impact of education, mass media, political and economic change, and large-scale immigration from the countryside. Education and academic scholarship remain important criteria of social status, but extended public education has made them less distinctive as indicators of social rank. Another change is the decline of the Confucian ethic as either a consciously held guide to personal conduct or a sanction of class differences in the social order. The increasing breakdown of traditional values has been accompanied by great emphasis being placed on achieving status through individual performance.

### 3. Social ethics and attitudes

Korean behavior traditionally has been guided by Confucian precepts that subordinate the individual to the group. The family and its clan extension are always prominent, while friendship circles and other associations play a secondary though important role. This network of close ties has provided a focus of stability despite great changes in mores caused by war, political and economic uncertainty, and increasing urbanization. Urbanization, in particular, is a fundamental force for change, opening to youth the option of leaving home to seek new opportunities in the city. The aspirations and outlook of even those who stay home are subject to change through radio, broadcasts which undermine Confucian puritanism and severely dent traditional parental authority.

By custom, Koreans have substituted a carefully established code of etiquette—sometimes thinly disguising personal advantages—for absolute moral values. Asian "situational" ethics are so far removed from Western concepts of universal morality as to appear amoral to many Occidentals. Lying, for instance, is sanctioned if it preserves order and harmony and the well-being of the family or clan. Debts and contracts are honored according to the degree that the personal relationship involved demands such action. Theft and dishonesty are condoned when practiced against members of a different clan, region, or class. Under these conditions the family unit offers the only true security, and

nepotism is widely practiced to reinforce the principal's position. Foreigners, who are outside this system of interpersonal relationships and often deemed the chief source of Korea's woes, are fair game for duplicity.

Koreans tolerate whatever activities are necessary to earn a living. One Korean usually considers another Korean corrupt only if the latter's greed exceeds acceptable levels. Short of this point, to accuse a man of stealing is to invite public censure. Even criminals must eat, and shooting a thief is murder. Public opinion generally turns against the perpetrator of violence—whether he be a motor vehicle driver who accidentally kills someone through no fault of his own or a person who commits premeditated murder. On the other hand, to interfere with fate and save a person from an accident is to assume responsibility for that person for the rest of his life. Thus Koreans suspect—often with cause—that other Koreans who do good works have ulterior motives. Many Koreans know that Western civilization places a high value on acts of pure altruism and admire the Westerner who behaves according to his own cultural values. This respect, however, is unlikely to deter a Korean from taking advantage of Westerners if he feels such action would benefit his family or other similar ingroup.

The Confucian doctrinal features that build respect for responsible social behavior and properly constituted public authority began to erode under often inept and rapacious rule in the late Yi dynasty, and they virtually disappeared after Japanese annexation, when resentment against foreign rule seemed to give patriotic sanction to almost any action that flouted official authority. The average Korean feels far removed from the government and is skeptical of top officialdom.

The upper classes often look down on the rank-and-file military and try to use their money and influence to save their sons the social stigma and hardships of military duty. In the early 1970's this became more difficult, however, as harsh draft-evasion laws were implemented. Other South Koreans are generally proud of their army and accept the idea of their sons' serving for the national defense.

Race prejudice is strong among Koreans, despite constitutional and legal prohibitions against it. Although Koreans today are generally friendly toward foreigners, they still consider non-East Asians "barbarians." Koreans are particularly intolerant toward Negroes. Racially mixed marriages are frowned upon, although Koreans often will marry Westerners to escape the harsh conditions of life in Korea.



Buddhism, and especially Confucianism, have accorded Korean women a social position inferior to that of men. Nevertheless, the women tend to be strong-minded and outspoken, and historically have been more independent than Japanese women. With some notable exceptions, women take little part in public affairs, although they may exercise considerable influence behind the scenes.

Traditionally, social contact between the sexes is narrowly restricted from age 7 until late in life. Boys are taught to be aloof and superior toward girls—an attitude which carries over into adult life. Social life traditionally is restricted by sex, but such social segregation is gradually being modified by Western influences. In Seoul, for example, prominent men sometimes are accompanied by their wives at Western-style functions, but men and women still tend to gather in separate groups on those occasions. There is a double standard in sexual morality: husbands commonly resort to outside liaisons if they can afford them, but such conduct is strictly forbidden to wives. It would be considered both foolish and criminal, however, for a man to go outside the free and easy circle of *kisaeng* (female entertainers), prostitutes, and harlots for casual sexual relations. The streets traditionally have been safe for women at any time of day or night, although the incidence of rape has increased since World War II.

Buddhist and Confucian concepts have given form and substance to Korean civilization for centuries, but Koreans have become increasingly aware that their traditional modes of thought and behavior do not adequately meet the needs of contemporary society. During March 1970, in a move designed to eliminate waste, the government enacted a law calling for simplification of elaborate family rites such as weddings, funerals, and ancestor worship. In contrast to the Communist North, however, no all-encompassing belief has developed in the South to displace the traditional social and ethical system.

#### 4. Language

The Korean language is distinct from the languages of neighboring peoples despite its kinship to the Ural-Altaic family of languages—which also include Mongolian, Tungusic, and Turkic—and its many borrowings in both words and structure from Japanese and Chinese. The language spoken in any one locality is intelligible throughout the peninsula, although there are six regional dialects having slight differences in accent, pronunciation, idiom, and colloquial usage and distinctions intensified by the long division of

Korea. The dialect of Seoul and the surrounding provinces is the most prominent of the four predominating in South Korea.

Chinese dominated Korea's language for centuries, particularly in the scholastic field, and most Korean records were written in Chinese until the 20th century. A simple phonetic script called *hangul* (Korean writing) or *munmun* (sound letters)—with 24 symbols including 10 vowels and 14 consonants—was developed some 500 years earlier, but Chinese-biased Korean scholars deemed it vulgar and fit for use only by women and children. Nevertheless, a mixed system of writing developed with Chinese characters used for technical and proper nouns and traditional honorifics, and *hangul* used for typically Korean nouns, connectives, verbs, and idioms. The use of Japanese as the official language throughout Japan's occupation of Korea in the first half of the 20th century added a modern technical vocabulary which the Koreans retained after 1945.

After World War II both South and North Korea made the use of *hangul* a symbol of nationalistic aspirations in the battle against illiteracy. North Korea decreed the exclusive use of *hangul* soon after the Communist regime took over, but South Korea did not start to move in that direction until 1960. That year the government ordered that official documents and school textbooks be printed in *hangul* within the next few years, and urged that newspapers convert to it as soon as practicable. Figure 4 shows children learning *hangul*. Middle schools stopped teaching Chinese characters entirely, and high schools limited such study to 1 hour a week. In late 1972, however, the Education Ministry reversed this policy and

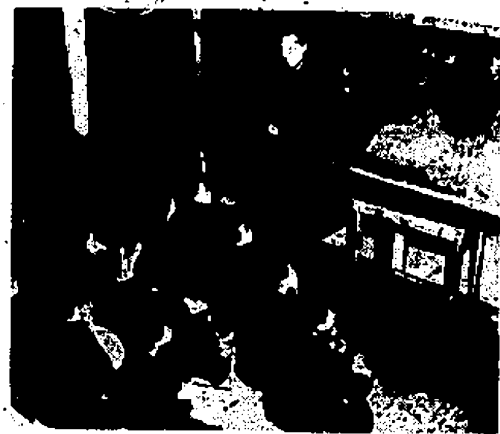


FIGURE 4. A *hangul* lesson

announced that for purely educational reasons, regular classes in Chinese characters would be resumed in middle and high schools beginning in the fall of 1972, about 2,000 characters would be taught in all, with about 900 of them in middle school. However, the government's continued stress on *hangul* was clearly indicated in late 1972 by Yi Hu-rak, co-chairman of the two Koreas' North-South Coordinating Committee, when he noted that "it is a very important task to correctly unify this language of ours into one."

Japanese language study, banned since Korea's liberation in 1945, was renewed in early 1973 in high schools and colleges. Because the Japanese tried to replace both the native language and script with Japanese, most Koreans over 40 retain at least some knowledge of this language. Older, educated Koreans often think and write in Japanese more readily than in Korean. Japanese remains a lingua franca for foreigners ignorant of Korean, although English is rapidly replacing Japanese as a second language. Every South Korean high school graduate has supposedly studied English for 6 years and every college graduate for 10, but it is estimated that only a small fraction of even the college graduates can read English easily, and many of those who do read it cannot speak it.

### C. Population

The Republic of Korea's last official census, taken in October 1970, placed the population at 31,469,132. It was estimated to have reached 32,877,000 by mid-1973—more than double the population of North Korea but less than one-third of Japan's 108.2 million. Korea's population is one of the most homogeneous in the world; as of 1970, South Korea had only 47,713 resident aliens (excluding servicemen, members of the diplomatic corps, and visitors). Japanese and Americans predominated; the next largest groups came from the Republic of China, the United Kingdom, and West Germany.

#### 1. Density and growth

South Korea's average population density is one of the highest in the world (Figure 5); the country is more crowded than Japan—more than 860 persons per square mile against Japan's 756. In some fertile valleys, population density is more than 1,000 per square mile, and there is an average of only 2.2 acres of land for the typical farm household of 6 persons. In

1970 Seoul, the capital, had the highest density—23,400 persons per square mile—while Pusan, the country's second largest city and its major port, had the next highest, at 13,520.

Most citizens still live in rural areas, though by 1970 the percentage of rural dwellers had decreased to 61% from a high of 83% in 1919. Kyongsang-pukto,<sup>1</sup> located in the east-central area, had the largest 1970 population of any single province, but over half the population was centered in the rice-growing plains and valleys of the west and south coasts. Rural population densities—ranging from 677 to 851 persons per square mile—were highest in the western provinces of Kyonggi-do, Ch'ung-ch'ung-namdo, and Cholla-pukto and the southern provinces of Cholla-namdo and Kyongsang-namdo (Figure 6). All these provinces but Kyonggi-do had lower density levels than in 1966, however, because of the mounting exodus to the cities.

Indeed the major population trend since World War II has been movement toward the large cities, swelling urban growth rates far beyond the national average. Korea's liberation from the Japanese spurred the repatriation of many Koreans from Japan and China in the late 1940's, while the Korean war in the early 1950's sparked a mass migration of refugees from North Korea, the majority of whom settled in the cities. Urban industrial development during two 5-year economic development plan periods (1962-66 and 1967-71) drew large numbers of migrants from rural areas, where population pressures on the land are great and incomes small. New industrial projects may well boost urban population to 65% of the total by 1981.

In all large cities the population growth rate has more than doubled that of the nation as a whole, while in Seoul it has more than tripled the national rate. As the site of central administrative organizations as well as major industrial plants, Seoul in late 1972 had more than four times the population than it had two decades earlier, and over half of this increase was attributable to migration from rural areas. Its 1972 population (6.01 million) accounted for about one-sixth of the nation's total, and its density of 25,528 persons per square mile was the highest in the world.

The population of South Korea is a young one. In 1966 approximately 40% of the people were under 15 years of age, 50% were below 19, and 36% were between 20 and 44. The age-sex profile for that year (Figure 7) shows the broad base typical of an Asian land with a high birth rate but reflects results of the

<sup>1</sup>For diacritics on place names, see the list of names on the apron of the Summary Map in the County Profile chapter and the map

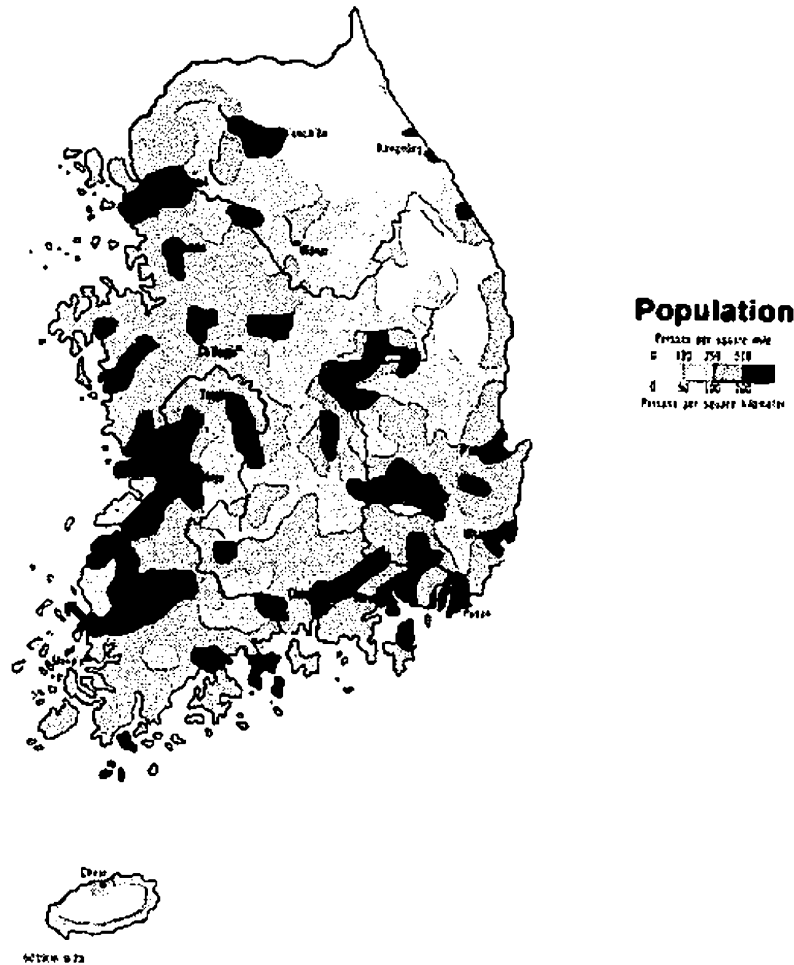


FIGURE 5. Population density

birth control program which began in 1962. The relatively small number of males then between 35 and 45 years of age in 1966 largely reflects deaths during the Korean war.

South Korea's population growth rate has been high, but by the end of 1970 the annual rate had dropped to 2.1% from the 3% level reached before the national birth control program began in 1962. Other factors in the drop include the increased use of abortion—though illegal until recently—and the rising average age for women to marry (23 in 1970 compared with 17 in 1949). The death rate was 8.5

and the birth rate 30.0 per 1,000 persons in 1970. Infant mortality, despite a nearly 50% drop from the mid-1940's and vast improvements in health and sanitation facilities in the last two decades, remained at 58.2 per 1,000 live births from 1960 through at least the time of the 1966 census. Life expectancy in 1968 was 60.5 years for males and 67.7 for females. Migration has been a negligible factor in population change. The country is not likely to attract any sizable number of immigrants, and under present world conditions there are few places for large numbers of South Koreans to go.

FIGURE 6. Provincial population by area, density, and urban-rural percentage, 1970

PROVINCE	AREA*	POPULATION	PERCENT*	
			PERSONS PER SQUARE MILE	URBAN RURAL
	<i>Square miles</i>			
Seoul City**	230.0	3,536,377	23,400	100 0
Pusan City**	139.4	1,880,710	13,520	100 0
Kyonggi-do	1,229.7	3,358,105	2,734	47 53
Ch'ungch'ong-pukto	2,869.1	1,481,566	516	20 80
Ch'ungch'ong-namdo	3,362.1	2,860,600	851	17 83
Cholla-pukto	3,101.0	2,131,522	687	19 81
Cholla-namdo	5,115.1	4,625,733	904	22 78
Kyongsang-pukto	7,704.2	4,559,481	592	33 67
Kyongsang-namdo	4,010.5	3,119,393	777	22 78
Kangwon-do	6,414.6	1,866,928	291	29 71
Ch'eu-do	691.7	365,522	528	29 71
Total	38,475.0	31,469,132	818	39 61

\*Percentages and total area are rounded

\*\*Seoul and Pusan, which have special metropolitan status, are treated as provinces for statistical purposes.

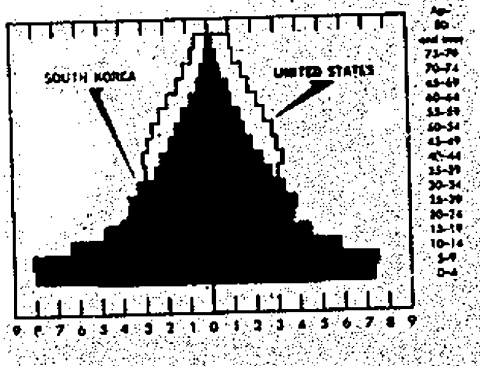


FIGURE 7. Age-sex distribution, South Korea and the United States, 1966

2. Government policies

Concerned over pressures placed by a mounting population on the country's sparse resources, the government is promoting or considering several programs to alleviate the situation. One of its chief aims is to slow the growth rate to 1.5% by 1976, 1.0% by 1981, and 0.5% by the early 2000's. Attempts by the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs to have abortion legalized finally succeeded in January 1973, when the Extraordinary State Council sanctioned the practice as of May 1973.

Meanwhile, an ambitious birth control program has made some headway since 1962. The program has aimed—through educational efforts ranging from rural lectures to urban television programs—to overcome the traditional agrarian and Confucian predisposition to large families. By 1972, birth control services and contraceptive devices were being dispensed and vasectomies performed by nearly 102 health centers, some 1,000 designated clinics, and a number of mobile vans. To the extent possible, services and devices have been provided free to those unable to pay. Although over 2 million acceptors had been recruited by 1972, many of them discontinued birth control practices after a brief period, and only an estimated 1 million couples were believed to practice contraception regularly. Some success was apparent in the growth rate's decline to 2.1%, but the program still goes against the traditional beliefs that birth control is a "stand against providence" and that many children may be assets to parents in later years. A further drawback will come in the mid-1970's when the number of women entering marriage age will double as a result of the post-Korean war baby boom—virtually guaranteeing a rise in the birth rate.

The government also is determined to slow the rapid rate of urbanization, particularly in Seoul. Actual or projected steps in the early 1970's include a reduction of tax rates for those who set up new factories and offices in provincial areas; the imposition of a "citizenship tax" on households and corporate bodies

in Seoul, and possibly in Pusan and Taegu as well; the levying of a "construction tax" or an outright ban on the building of new factories and offices in urban rather than provincial areas; the destruction of unauthorized squatters' shacks; the placement of "green belts" around major cities and provincial capitals; the creation of satellite cities near Seoul to ease the concentration of people in the city proper; and a buildup of small towns, islands, and rural communities (through the *Sae Maul Undong*, or New Community Movement) to attract people away from the cities.

While the government has paid lipservice to promoting the immigration of Koreans from North Korea, Japan, and Sakhalin, it has more actively sought opportunities for emigration. A total of 91,898 South Koreans left home for some kind of residency in foreign countries between 1962 and the end of 1972. The government has long favored sending workers to such places as South Vietnam, West Germany, and Latin American countries. In 1972 it extended its list to include even some Communist countries and announced that draft dodgers, ex-convicts, and physically handicapped people would be among those encouraged to go.

### 3. Marriage and divorce

Marriage was practically universal in old Korea. The 1960 census revealed, however, that nearly one third of the population 15 years old and over was single. The average wedding age in 1971 was 27 for males and 23 for females—compared with 20 for males and 17 for females about half a century earlier. The trend among young people appears to be to postpone marriage in favor of more education or until they become financially established.

Divorce, strongly discouraged by social custom, is becoming more frequent under the pressures of urbanization and modernization. Infidelity and personality conflicts were the two most common causes cited in divorce actions in the Seoul Family Court during 1972. Divorces are easier to get in South Korea than perhaps anywhere else in the world; couples have only to sign a statement and report their action to the court. Nevertheless, South Korea's divorce rate is probably the lowest in the world—only 0.3 per 1,000 population—since most women still believe divorce is immoral and is an unacceptable social stigma.

The practice of concubinage, formerly sanctioned as a means of insuring a male heir, is now dying out. The institution is not recognized by South Korean law, and

the government has discouraged it by occasionally firing employees known to have concubines.

## D. Employment

The rate of employment, relatively high during the economic boom of the 1960's, had declined sharply by 1972 in all sectors but agriculture, self-employment, and casual labor. *Sae Maul* projects in rural areas helped to cut the overall 1972 unemployment rate from 6.5% in March to 3.1% in June, but industrial employment did not expand and opportunities for jobs in the professional, technical, and managerial fields were poor.

### 1. Job opportunities

Employment prospects reflect local economic conditions and needs as well as government policies toward them. In Seoul, where 40% of the nation's jobless live, unemployment among college graduates increased 60% and among high school graduates 90% in 1972. Primary-school dropouts, who agreed to take low-paying unskilled jobs, and certain specialized industrial workers found employment more easily. The government—now more concerned with offsetting Seoul's heavy population pressures than with boosting that city's economy—is pushing for industrial development mainly in the two Kyongsang provinces. As a result, industrial workers do well in the new centers of Ulsan (petrochemicals and refining), Pohang (steel), and Masan (electronics, iron, marine engines, and textiles.) It seems certain that the 203,000 workers to be given skilled training during the Third Five Year Plan (1972-76) will be decentralized after they complete their courses. Prospects for professional, technical, and managerial personnel are poor throughout the country because of hiring freezes on civil servants and on employees of public corporations, and because of an expected 30% cutback in private companies' needs for professional and clerical personnel.

Overseas employment is a possibility for some kinds of workers through a program sponsored by the Office of Labor Affairs. Between 1965 and 1972 some 81,821 people—largely construction workers, miners, and nurses—worked overseas, mostly in South Vietnam and West Germany. In 1973 the government is sending 10,200 more, as follows: 4,900 miners and nurses to West Germany; 1,000 technicians to Canada and Guam; 1,700 technicians to Southeast Asian countries, including South Vietnam and Indonesia; 200 laborers to Japan and Taiwan for technical

training, 3,000 sailors to find jobs with foreign shipping companies.

As government programs to boost employment materialize, however, the Korean worker (Figure 8) may find his best opportunities right at home and no longer have to pull up stakes and chance it in the big city. These programs include: public works projects, such as construction of dams, industrial water supply systems, and expressways; winter work projects for direct wage earning such as making straw rope and bags, rice paddy rearrangement (draining and preparing for the next season), and planting barley in seasonally dry river basins; and work in 770 textile plants which are to be erected, one in each county, by 1976.

## 2. Attitudes

Despite mounting industrialization and government emphasis on skilled labor, age-old Confucian concepts devaluing manual labor die hard in Korea. There is a great deal of "voluntary unemployment" among



FIGURE 8. Refinery workers covering pipe

college graduates who—with financial support from home—wait around indefinitely for jobs they consider suited to their academic background and training. They look for work in the cities where they are, but disdain going to the "boomlocks" where jobs might be available. One reason for this reluctance is that a Korean employee, who like his Japanese counterpart tends to stay with the same employer for the rest of his working life, wants to be sure to make the right initial choice. Government service attracts a higher percentage of the population than in other countries—1.2% compared to 1.4% in the United States—with good reason. Despite occasional cuts to eliminate overlapping functions, the government pays well and is considered prestigious.

People who have less education are more realistic about employment and take what they can find. Farmers, despite their often low income, traditionally take pride in their lifestyle and skills and resent implications that their farming methods are inadequate. Young people from agricultural areas, however, are increasingly lured to the city with its opportunities for industrial jobs, education, and the glamor of modern society. The government's eventual creation of many rural-based jobs could reverse this trend.

Korean workers are not satisfied with labor conditions because of the limited chances for mobility, the lack of a minimum wage, poor working conditions, and a dearth of fringe benefits. Average industrial wages are less than half the amount needed by an urban family of four, and workers are basically at the mercy of their employers who not only determine how much wages to pay but often feel no compunction to pay them on time.

Women, who comprise up to 36% of the labor force and are involved in some 200 kinds of occupations, are discriminated against. Women work more than 11 hours a day—as against the average 8.7 hours for men—and receive less than half as much salary. About 35% of the women interviewed in an Office of Labor Affairs survey in late 1972 said they began to work to support family members, about 50% to support themselves, and about 27% to enhance their social careers. Women are the sole breadwinners for more than 10% of the families in Seoul, and the number of working women increases by about 3.1% yearly—particularly in such labor-intensive industries as textile manufacturing. Society's attitude toward women's emerging role is ambivalent. On one hand it concedes such emergence is inevitable if society is to modernize, but on the other hand it views this fact with considerable anxiety and regret.

The lowest legal working age is 13, and retirement is usually mandatory at 55. Young people can get unskilled industrial jobs at around age 14, but there are few full-time jobs for average citizens.

### 3. Labor and labor-management relations

The chief labor organization is the Federation of Korean Trade Unions (FKTU), which in late 1972 embraced 17 national unions with 301,624 dues-paying members. The largest affiliates are the auto, textile, chemical, and seamen's unions. The FKTU is a charter member of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, but South Korea does not belong to the International Labor Organization (ILO)—probably out of fear that the FKTU's status under the law as Korea's sole labor federation would conflict with ILO Convention 87 governing freedom of labor union organizations. According to the Labor Union Law, organizations whose purpose is "to hamper ordinary operation of already existing labor unions" cannot acquire status as legally recognized trade unions. While in practice this has given local components of the FKTU a monopoly in organizing their respective workers, it has also protected the labor movement from being undercut by company-sponsored unions.

The FKTU has been under more or less obvious government control or influence since its inception in 1946, and has been largely a creature of whatever government is in power. During the Rhee regime (August 1948-April 1960), the FKTU served as a quasi-political organization of the Liberal Party. After a sweeping reorganization of its leadership under the Chang Myon government (August 1960-May 1961), the FKTU began to assume a more independent role, but financial difficulties forced it to seek ties with the regime.

Following the military coup in May 1961, the junta dissolved the FKTU along with most other social and political organizations. In August 1961, however, after considerable screening, re-registration, and reorganization to assure its pliability as an instrument of the regime, the FKTU was allowed to reappear. Following the restoration of civilian control in 1963, union leaders recognized that unions could not escape government and political pressures. As the leadership grew in experience, however, and as a younger and more aggressive group emerged to replace older leaders, the militancy of FKTU unions increased. During the 1960's unions often went on strike despite government opposition, and sought legislation to improve living and working conditions. In the early 1970's—as the workers' docility toward employers has

given way to a sense of outrage and solidarity—branch unions have sometimes staged walkouts or sitdown strikes, although strikes are forbidden and although the FKTU is under even stricter government control.

There are 50 trade associations, but they have little to do with the conduct of industrial relations. Management has not found it necessary to organize, since most economic production units are small and direct worker-employer relations eliminate the need for go-betweens. In units of any size, the system of industrial relations is largely paternal. Employers, moreover, feel reassured by the facts that only permanent employees are union members and that the oversupply of labor relative to available jobs makes workers more subject to employer pressures.

### 4. Labor legislation

In late 1972 the government declared martial law, passed a comprehensive "special measures" law, and announced that social unrest will not be tolerated and all elements of unrest will be removed." By these and later rulings the government gained complete control over wages, prices, and labor relations; unions were specifically denied the right to collective bargaining.

Prior to the declaration, most of South Korea's labor legislation dated from 1953, when laws passed during the U.S. military occupation were either superseded or broadened. These laws, although reflecting the influence of the United States and the ILO, were modeled to some extent on Japanese legislation and were not always readily adaptable to South Korean conditions; both coverage and enforcement were seriously deficient.

Despite martial law and subsequent rulings, the government in 1973 claimed to be pressing for the same labor-standard objectives of previous legislation: payment of overdue wages to employees; installation of a minimum-wage system; a levying of requirements on workshops (having 50 or more employees) to set up welfare facilities; and enactment of a national welfare annuity law.

## E. Living conditions and social problems

### 1. General

Levels of living in South Korea, although far lower than in the United States and Western Europe and substantially lower than in Japan, are vastly improved over 15 years of a decade ago. For most of the 1960's, real wages—which reflect actual purchasing power—increased by about 10% a year in the urban industrial

sector and by a much lower rate in the rural sector. In 1971-72, however, there was no real income rise even in industry because wage increases only matched the cost of living increase.

The greater purchasing power of the average citizen has been accompanied by an increase in consumer goods and services, including both food and other necessities and luxuries such as motor vehicles and television sets. Consumption patterns have improved, with the ratio of expenditures on necessities declining in relation to spending on luxuries. This is much more true in the cities than in the countryside, however, where the farmers' way of life has changed little over the years.

Despite the general improvement in material welfare among the urban population, wide discrepancies exist. Unskilled workmen continue to eke out a marginal existence. This group includes large numbers of migrants from the countryside searching for a better life but unable to compete for the better jobs. The massive influx of these migrants over the past two decades has far exceeded the ability of the government or private industry to provide them with adequate housing and basic services such as sanitary wells, piped water, and sewerage systems. Consequently, scores of thousands live in slum areas which are among the worst in East Asia. Although these migrants have more money than their country cousins and have greater access to medical facilities and other urban advantages, the typical farmer has certain basic amenities—fresh air, a house with two or more rooms, and a household well and privy—that the slum dweller lacks. On the other side of the coin, some city residents are relatively well fed, clothed, and housed.

In the urban job market, intense competition among the unskilled and semiskilled has tended to keep wages low and resulted in some unemployment and a high rate of partial employment. Moreover, government and industry have deliberately promoted a low-wage policy so as to stimulate competitive prices for Korean goods. The less skilled workers receive little help from voluntary labor or social organizations or from the government's small-scale social welfare programs. Furthermore, urban pressures among the new migrants are undermining the close-knit extended family system, traditionally an important source of psychological strength and economic security.

In Seoul there is a rapidly growing, wealthy elite of politicians, senior bureaucrats, and industrial and commercial entrepreneurs whose affluence is reflected in new mansions, chauffeur-driven automobiles, expensively dressed women, luxury goods in crowded stores, and a varied night life. Ironically, this display is

largely responsible for attracting the rural immigrant, who, once in the city, finds himself excluded from this luxury and in many cases more dissatisfied than before.

The government's preoccupation with industrial expansion has contributed to rural neglect. Much rural housing remains primitive and rundown, partly as a result of the migration of many able-bodied males to the cities, and two-thirds of the houses have no electricity. Moreover, inadequate roads isolate some areas, limiting the farmer's ability to market his produce at favorable prices as well as his access to the more modern cultural and social influences of the urban centers.

Since early 1971 the government has been attempting to revitalize rural areas under the comprehensive *Sae Maul* movement. Administered and largely funded by the Ministry of Home Affairs with assistance from other ministries, this program calls for substantial public expenditures on roads, housing, water supply, flood control and irrigation systems, and agricultural modernization. Expanded fuel supplies and more extensive rural electrification and communications networks are other objectives. In addition, the 770 factories to be built in farming and fishing areas by 1976 will give local residents supplementary income. In the *Sae Maul* program great stress is laid on self-reliance, with much of the labor being supplied by the farmers themselves.

## 2. Housing

Insufficient and low-quality housing constitutes a major and widespread problem. The latest census (October 1970) enumerated only 4,470,000 housing units nationwide for some 5,858,000 households, leaving 1,418,000 or 25.4% of the families "homeless." The housing shortage is most severe in Seoul, where 46.3% of the households neither owned nor rented officially approved and licensed housing units. These "homeless" families live for the most part either in slum shacks and shanties or double up with other households. A ground and aerial survey completed in early 1972 revealed about 174,000 slum shacks in the Seoul area, most of them clustered near factories. They are inhabited by perhaps 1 million people, or one-sixth of the entire metropolitan population. Made of scrap building materials and debris, a typical shack may be shared by as many as seven or eight persons. One slum area near Seoul was described in 1971 as having one privy for 120 families; another had one water spigot for every 40 or 50 families.

The government has voiced its determination to improve housing and eliminate the slum areas, but



progress has been minimal. One approach has been to relocate factories and workers' living quarters away from the main urban centers. However, as of early 1975 only a few factories and workers had been so relocated. More significantly, the government since 1962 has sponsored the construction of a number of low-rent apartment developments for slumdwellers, while at the same time destroying thousands of shacks and placing legal restrictions on the construction of new ones. In many cases, however, the "key money" required for the apartments' occupancy is too high for the new migrants, with the result that some flats remain vacant while others are occupied by less needy Seoul residents. Moreover, although the Korea Housing Bank provides loans to home buyers and builders, high land costs and interest rates keep lower income families from using them. As a result slum areas continue to proliferate.

Under the government's Third Five Year Economic Plan (1972-76), 900,000 new housing units—mostly low-rent apartments—are planned, but the anticipated population increase and continued migration of rural families into the cities indicate that the housing shortage will not diminish appreciably. As with other government programs in the social welfare field, a major snag is the government's inability or unwillingness to devote sufficient public funds to the task. Consequently the bulk of the housing program must be privately financed; the government provides assistance in the form of tax exemptions, administrative aid, and technical advice and expertise.

Most Seoul residents—excluding those in the slums and the low-rent apartments—live in tile-roofed wood and stucco houses one or two stories high, usually built around a garden or open court and heated by a system of flues extending under the floors from the kitchen fireplace. A small but growing number of upper and middle-class families live in Western-style houses and modern, high-rise apartments. Rental housing comprises a little less than half the total.

The typical rural house is a thatch-roofed cottage with mud walls on a wooden framework. Groups of such houses are sometimes surrounded by low-lying walls of piled rocks. The size of the house generally denotes the wealth and social level of its occupants. Poor families live in small two-room rectangular houses, most of them no larger than 15 feet square. These dwellings are overcrowded, insanitary, dark, and poorly ventilated, with low ceilings, few windows, and in some cases dirt floors. Well-to-do farmers are likely to have an L-shaped dwelling arranged to form two sides of a courtyard. The house may have a tiled

rather than a thatched roof. Figure 9 shows different types of housing.

In line with the *Sae Maui* movement, the Ministry of Construction in July 1972 announced a Rural Housing Development Program under which some 400,000 obsolete houses, out of a total of some 3 million rural dwellings, are to be replaced by new houses by 1981. Many will have tiled roofs. Financing is to be provided by low-interest government loans, with the farmers themselves providing labor and some materials.

### 3. Other problems

Rapid industrialization, urban overcrowding, and rural neglect have worsened other problems. Among these are a high incidence of disease, environmental pollution, inadequate schooling for the poor and the rural populace, and a continuing high rate of crime. Moreover, the weakening of the structured, extended family system in the cities has added to the rate of juvenile delinquency, the number of illegitimate births and abandoned children, and the need for care for the aged. Liaisons between U.S. servicemen and Korean women have produced several thousand "mixed-blood" children; ostracized from Korean society, many resort to crime or become wards of private welfare groups.

South Korea's crime rate soared as a result of the social demoralization and economic stresses in the wake of the Korean war. From 1953 to 1961 the incidence of crime increased by 400%, and by 1965 it was double the 1961 figure, reaching a high of almost 968,000 recorded criminal offenses. Since 1965 the number of offenses has decreased, probably in part as a result of improved economic conditions. During the 1966-71 period, criminal offenses averaged roughly 570,000 annually, with 858,000 in 1971. Less than a third of these, however, are classified as penal offenses. Statistics on criminal offenses by categories are lacking, but the great majority—such as robbery, theft, smuggling, and fraud—appear to have an economic basis. Juvenile offenses, mostly "thievery" and "violence," constitute a substantial percentage of criminal activity; in 1971 police authorities reported that 11% of all offenses were juvenile offenses, with a large percentage being penal.

Prostitution, although outlawed since 1962, is permitted in certain urban areas by tacit governmental consent. According to the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs there were 19,353 prostitutes in these areas at the end of 1969.

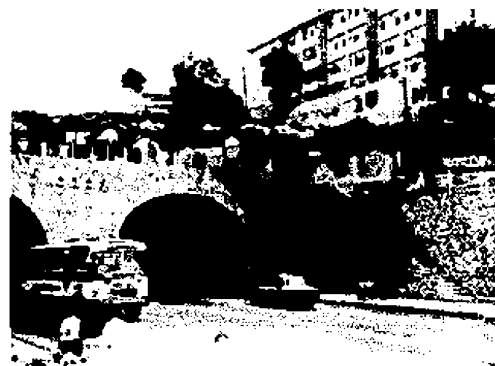
Drug abuse is also widespread, especially in the larger cities. Marijuana, opiates and derivatives



*Mud and reed thatched-roof houses in village*



*Single-family units in housing project*



*Urban apartment above underpass*

**FIGURE 9. Types of housing**

(including heroin), barbiturates, and amphetamines are easily obtainable, with marijuana and barbiturates the most frequently used. In March 1973 the Extraordinary State Council passed a law providing the death penalty, life imprisonment, or a minimum 10-year sentence for smugglers and illegal producers of hallucinatory and stimulant drugs such as LSD, lushishi, and amphetamines for profit or to satisfy a personal habit. The presence of large numbers of U. S. troops has exacerbated the drug problem and threatens to make South Korea a major transit point for narcotics destined for the United States. Alcoholism is not a significant problem.

The imposition of martial law in 1972 has led to intensified punishment for lawbreakers. Beginning in October of that year, for example, a highly publicized

joint military-police roundup resulted in the arrest of thousands of hoodlums, pimps, prostitutes, gamblers, dealers in adulterated foods, and others, mostly in the Seoul and Pusan areas. Other, more positive steps include plans for the construction of vocational training schools for juveniles. By and large, however, insufficient funds, lack of training, bureaucratic confusion, corruption, lack of concern with causative factors, and a general lack of direction continue to minimize the effectiveness of crime prevention and control measures.

#### **4. Social welfare**

For centuries Koreans have looked to the family and to its patriarchal clan extension to provide protection and care. This attitude still prevails in rural areas and

to a lesser extent among urban people. It accounts in part for the continued desire for large families and numerous sons, which Koreans traditionally equate with economic security for their old age.

Organized welfare activities, first conducted on a limited scale by Christian missionary groups and then by the Japanese colonial administration, were of minor importance until the Korean war. The impact of that conflict and the resulting dislocation of the society and economy gave great impetus to public welfare activities. Traditional welfare practices based on the family and clan were totally inadequate to handle millions of refugees and displaced persons, outbreaks of major epidemics, and an unusually high incidence of crime. Emergency U.S. and U.N. relief measures were inaugurated and were followed by long-range rehabilitation programs such as those carried on by the U.N. Korean Reconstruction Agency until 1956 and continued thereafter by the United States. U.S. assistance programs have emphasized economic development rather than relief or welfare programs. The United States continues to support the South Korean Government and the voluntary agencies in their disaster relief and economic development projects.

The government has made an effort to improve and increase public welfare services—particularly at local levels—but the services provided are generally inadequate. The Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, which administers most government welfare programs, has bureaus of medical administration, public health, pharmaceutical administration, social welfare, women's affairs, and labor. Other welfare programs are administered by the Office of General Affairs and the Central Relief Committee.

Only a limited number of people receive direct government support. These include individuals who distinguished themselves in the pre-1945 anti-Japanese resistance, families of deceased veterans of that period, disabled veterans of the Korean and Vietnam wars, defectors from North Korea, and others specified by law. The form of their support includes pensions, preferential employment rights, and financial help for the education of their children. Veterans with 10 years' service receive preferential housing loans or farm loans. The government also provides monies and food grains for disaster relief, such as after the devastating floods of 1972. Underprivileged children receive some help from a police-administered juvenile guidance service; a few vocational schools for needy juveniles also are being established. Workmen receive some protection through industrial safety and health and accident

compensation laws, and in early 1973 the government was considering a workmen's pension plan to be financed by both employees and employers. To meet the growing problem of care for the aged, the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs in December 1972 submitted a draft bill calling for the establishment of publicly supported homes for the aged in every province. During the same month it proposed a plan to give tax exemptions to those persons and institutions contributing to or involved in social welfare.

The government has voiced its intention to institute a more comprehensive social welfare program. In November 1972 the Health Ministry outlined a broad 10-year "master plan" for the future welfare of the South Korean people "from the cradle to the grave." In addition to promising better health care, disease control, and sanitation measures, the plan calls for greater emphasis on population control, establishment of a minimum wage, and elimination of "public nuisances"—presumably pollution sources such as certain factories and open trash incinerators.

Private organizations play a major role in the welfare field. Religious and other charity groups, in large part supported privately from the United States, spend several millions of dollars annually for orphanages, hospitals, and schools. The main nongovernmental organizations include the Korean Red Cross, the Korean Tuberculosis Association, and—particularly in the field of health education—the Korean Boy Scouts, YMCA, and Salvation Army. South Korean welfare groups are handicapped by a scarcity of money and trained personnel, and efficiency is sometimes further reduced by the twin vices of factionalism and corruption. The effectiveness of Korean-run orphanages in particular is often reduced by their being operated for personal profit. The government has attempted to impose stricter financial controls and to coordinate more closely the welfare work of religious and secular groups. In 1971 there were 1,147 welfare institutions in South Korea, including 405 children's homes, 100 infant and maternal welfare homes, and 44 homes for the aged.

## F. Health

Basic public health and sanitation levels in South Korea are poor compared with those in the United States or Japan and lag behind other programs in the country. Population density, inadequate housing, nutritional deficiencies, poor sanitation, and growing environmental pollution foster the spread of disease. The government devotes only a small percentage of its national budget to public health—1.76% in 1972—

and whatever progress it makes is limited by popular ignorance, a shortage of funds, and the flight overseas of medical personnel trained in Western medicine. Some assistance is provided by agencies of the United Nations, the United States, and private—usually religious—organizations.

### 1. Diseases

Communicable diseases remain a major problem, although their incidence has declined because of immunization programs and the development and use of antibiotics and insecticides. Smallpox appears to have almost disappeared, the incidence of typhus fever is very low, and fatalities from many other diseases have been substantially reduced. Malaria is no longer a problem in most of South Korea, but remains endemic in some remote mountain areas along the east coast; it has also been found among soldiers returning from Vietnam.

The more serious diseases still prevalent in Korea include tuberculosis, typhoid and paratyphoid fevers, cholera, leprosy, infectious hepatitis, hemorrhagic fever, and diphtheria. The number of tuberculosis patients in 1970 was estimated at 4.1% of the entire population; deaths run into the tens of thousands every year. There are annual epidemics of Japanese B-encephalitis, with some 2,000 cases every summer, of which one-fourth to one-third are fatal. There was a major cholera epidemic in 1969-70, but massive immunization measures prevented any widespread recurrence during 1971-72. Venereal diseases are widespread, with over 120,000 cases of gonorrhea reported in 1969 and many more probably unreported. Parasitic infection, from a wide variety of worms and flukes, is almost universal among Koreans because of the popular habit of eating uncooked fish, crustaceans and vegetables and of using polluted water for bathing and drinking. There is a fairly high incidence of cancer, particularly stomach cancer. Hypertension, congestive heart failure, and strokes are also common. Although the government sponsors a Sabin polio vaccine program, it is not thorough and there are several hundred new polio cases every year.

South Korea's animal disease problems are manifold; parasitism in particular aggravates the course of disease and seriously reduces the productive capacity of livestock. Several important diseases of animals—such as blackleg, which infects cattle and sheep; hog cholera; and Newcastle disease, which kills thousands of chickens annually—are significant problems. Rinderpest, for many years the peninsula's most serious animal disease, has been eliminated in

South Korea, and an immunized zone is maintained to prevent reintroduction from North Korea.

Health problems in South Korea are compounded by the entrenched position of traditional Chinese medicine (*han yak*) and shamanism in Korean society. Before seeking help from a physician trained in modern medical science, even Westernized Koreans will often first consult an herb doctor or a practitioner of acupuncture. In the countryside the superstition persists that disease and death are caused by evil spirits who are angered by any recourse to medical assistance. Thus, it is not uncommon for villagers to call in a shaman even before consulting the relatively more enlightened herb doctor.

There are numerous carriers of disease. It is estimated that rats outnumber the human population by from 6 to 10 per person. Wild animals such as bats and foxes transmit rabies. Among Koreans snakes are the poisonous pit viper and Russell's viper. Snails, crustaceans, and several species of freshwater fish are commonly infested with parasites. The toadfish, greatly relished as food, is poisonous when improperly prepared. The country is fairly well drained, having few swamps and marshes, but mosquitoes, fleas, flies, lice, and mites of many kinds are prevalent and are carriers of disease. Koreans have built up a degree of immunity to many of the diseases and parasites common to their homeland, but—debilitated by other parasites and chronic diseases—they generally live at a slower pace than Westerners.

### 2. Diet and nutrition

The diet of the average South Korean is high in starch and deficient in animal protein, fat, calcium, and vitamins, particularly vitamins A, B1, and B2. Dietary deficiency diseases such as pellagra, rickets, and beri-beri persist, although improved food-consumption patterns have reduced their incidence.

According to a nutrition survey covering the years 1970-71, the average annual per capita calorie intake of South Koreans was nearly 2,700—higher than in most Asian countries. Since about 80% of this is provided by grains and vegetables, however, the diet is very low in animal protein and lacking in some of the essential amino-acids. Minerals and vitamins are obtained from fruits and vegetables, which are eaten fresh in the summer and preserved in the winter. The urban diet is generally more adequate and better balanced than the rural one.

Rice is the staple of the South Koreans' diet. Other grains used, but less popular with South Koreans, include barley, wheat, millet, and buckwheat. Vegetables include beans, cabbage, cucumbers,

Japanese radishes, sweet potatoes, leeks, hot peppers, and turnips. The most common fruits are apples, berries, melons, peaches, pears, and persimmons. Native nuts such as chestnuts and walnuts also are used. Meat is expensive and scarce; when available for the main meal, it may be beef, pork, or poultry. Chicken is a favorite meal. The popularity of dairy products is increasing. Eggs, which have been considered a delicacy to be eaten only on special holidays or at important feasts, are now eaten more frequently as egg production increases. Fish—fresh, salted, dried, cooked, and raw—is consumed in great quantities (Figure 10).

Korean cooking tends to be highly seasoned. *Kimchi*, a spiced dish made from varying combinations of pickled vegetables, fruits, nuts, red pepper, garlic, and ginger, is included in almost every meal. *Sunggyung*, a drink made from water and reboiled rice from the bottom of the cooking pot, is taken after each meal. Tea has never attained the widespread popularity it has in China and Japan, but coffee is fairly popular, largely as a result of U.S. influence. The national alcoholic beverage is rice wine, called either *yakchu* or *mak'zoh* depending on its quality. Grain spirit, or *soju*, is also common. South Korean beer is considered excellent.



FIGURE 10. Fish—a major source of protein

### 3. Food storage, water supply, and pollution

Food storage and sanitation practices are poor. Although refrigerated storage areas and sanitary meat and fish processing plants have been built in the major cities, produce and meat generally are sold unrefrigerated in the open markets. As a result of unsanitary marketing practices, food spoilage and outbreaks of food poisoning are common. The Food and Drug Law provides for the inspection of foods, beverages, drugs, pharmaceuticals, food-handling and eating places, and industrial or commercial establishments manufacturing items for human consumption. Nevertheless, enforcement of the law is token, and adulterated foods apparently have proliferated and added to the food-poisoning toll. Since late 1969, however, the government has tightened its ban on such ersatz products and penalized a number of stores and restaurants which sold them.

The centuries-old practice of using "night soil" fertilizer (Figure 11) produces contaminated foods which if eaten uncooked or undercooked are dangerous to health. By the early 1970's, however, the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs had installed a number of "clean vegetable centers" and decreed that a public eating place or hotel restaurant using vegetables fertilized with human excrement would lose its licence and its operators could be fined and imprisoned.

There has been some improvement in the provision of potable water and the development of waste-disposal systems, particularly in the urban areas. At the end of 1972, 40% of the population—as compared to 22% in 1967—was served by piped water systems or had access to a supply from treated wells. At the beginning of 1972, 85% of Seoul's population received treated piped water, but the amount available per capita remains lower than in cities of comparable size in Japan or the West. The Third Five Year Plan (1972-76) provides for an expanded water-purification system for Seoul and other urban areas and the construction of 4,400 new pipe systems and 55,200 sanitary wells, as well as improvements in existing systems. This expansion would affect the urban sector primarily. Most farmers would continue to rely on rivers, creeks, springs, and untreated wells—many of them contaminated by night soil and industrial waste.

There is little current information on sewerage systems. By 1967 there were 1,005 miles of sewerline in 64 cities, far short of the government's objective. Incheon, Pusan, Seoul, and Taegu have sewerage systems which serve only the central portion of the



FIGURE 11. Woman spreading night soil

cities. Sewage from these systems is discharged by gravity flow into nearby streams or the sea. Commercial and public buildings in these cities use septic tanks, but most people are not served by the sewerage system and dump raw waste into nearby streams or have it collected or used for fertilizer.

Rapid industrialization and urbanization, especially in the Seoul-Inch'on, Taegu, and Pusan areas, have produced environmental pollution—smoke, dust, noxious gases, noise, and various kinds of waste—surpassed in few areas of the world. This pollution is causing respiratory ailments, illnesses stemming from polluted water, and mental and emotional disorders (Figure 12). Official surveys conducted in 1965 and 1967 revealed that water pollution, dust, congestion, and noise were "far above permissible levels." By 1970, dust accumulation in Seoul was reportedly 10 times that of London and three times that of Osaka

Japan, one of the most industrialized cities in East Asia. Similarly, contamination by sulphur dioxide and other noxious gases is well above limits accepted for the preservation of a healthy environment. A March 1973 survey found that air pollution in Seoul was up 300% over 1965. Water and seafood contamination continues to be added to by the widespread practice of dumping industrial, urban, and human waste into the rivers and coastal waters.

Some decrease in water and air pollution may result from the requirements for antipollution devices and practices that were enacted into law in 1971, but the government's disinclination to place any real barriers in the way of industrialization, its fear of discouraging foreign investment, and its unwillingness to pay the cost of funding an effective antipollution program suggest that enforcement will be token. Also in 1971 a plan to cope with pollution in the capital city area



FIGURE 12. Women protesting "harmful environment"

called for relocating many of its industrial plants. Of Seoul's more than 3,700 industrial installations, 215 of the "worst polluters" were to be moved to or near Kwangju—the major city of the Cholla provinces—and 2,000 others were to be relocated elsewhere.

#### 4. Medical services and care

Medical services in South Korea have improved greatly since the Japanese period, largely as a result of efforts to check epidemics during the Korean war and of the assistance given by the United States and other countries in constructing, staffing, and equipping medical facilities. Nevertheless, modern medical care generally is limited to those living in the larger population centers, and its expansion throughout the country is hampered by the exodus of South Korean medical personnel to other countries.

In 1971 South Korea had 276 civilian hospitals and 5,700 clinics, as well as about 4,900 various other facilities such as health centers, herbal medicine and other clinics (Figure 19), sanitariums, midwife centers, and dental care centers. The number of hospital beds in 1972 reportedly was 17,506, or a ratio of one bed for roughly every 1,850 persons. There were also 40 military hospitals with 14,000 beds in the late 1960's. The better hospitals—such as the Protestant-supported Severance Hospital and the Seoul National University Hospital—are well equipped and clean, but the majority have antiquated equipment and poor sanitary conditions. Because of the inadequate bed-to-patient ratio, most hospitals emphasize outpatient care. In an attempt to make up for the paucity of rural facilities, mobile military medical teams provide free



FIGURE 19. Mother registers baby at Seoul's Mother and Child Clinic

treatment to doctorless villages, but in general medical care for the rural population remains poor.

Facilities for the treatment of mental illnesses is inadequate. About 900,000 persons reportedly suffered from serious mental illness as of mid-1969. In 1971, 360,000 such cases were handled by the five hospitals (with a total of 1,400 beds) devoted to psychiatric and related cases. Other hospitals have psychiatric departments, but details are lacking.

Public health administration is centralized in the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs. Three of the five bureaus in the ministry—public health, medical administration, and pharmaceutical administration—deal directly with medical affairs. Increased authority is delegated to provincial and local health authorities through emphasis on local training programs and the assignment of personnel to rural areas. Each province and the cities of Seoul and Pusan have a bureau of health and welfare subordinate to the local governor or mayor, who in health matters is responsible to the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs. At county and city levels, local health centers are responsible for public health activities.

The lure of lucrative foreign practice has caused a severe shortage of doctors and nurses in South Korea. As of 1969, 40% of the population lived in rural towns and districts where there was no physician. This situation is not believed to have improved appreciably. Of the approximately 13,400 physicians licensed by the present government since its founding in 1948, only about 8,700 remained in South Korea as of early 1969. Of these, some 2,000 were in the armed forces, another 1,000 or more were health officials, and some 3,000 practiced in Seoul. Of the 1,913 doctors who left South Korea for the United States from 1962 to 1968, only 49 (or 3%) had returned by early 1969. Moreover, at least one-sixth of South Korea's 12,000 registered nurses were working in 16 other countries as of mid-1969, and 300 reportedly left for West Germany by the end of the year.

This exodus prompted the government to rule in 1969 that doctors must serve at least 1 year in rural clinics before they can obtain exit visas, but the restriction seems to have done little more than delay the outflow. Korean medical sources estimated in mid-1971 that almost 30% of South Korea's corps of licensed physicians was overseas, most of them in the United States, and that almost 40% of its qualified nurses were serving abroad, mostly in West Germany. By late 1971 the total number of licensed physicians—including those outside the country—was officially given as 16,207, the number of qualified nurses as 16,351, and the number of dentists as only 2,452. In



FIGURE 14. Women receiving training to become midwives

In addition, there were some 3,460 accredited herb doctors, 6,266 midwives (Figure 14), 7,101 assistant nurses, and smaller numbers of bone-setters and acupuncturists. In mid-1972 the exit restriction on doctors was lifted, resulting in a further decline in the number of trained physicians practicing in South Korea.

Most medical personnel have been educated in South Korea. The medical course comprises 2 years of preparatory work in college and 4 years of medical school, followed by an intern-residency program. The curriculum is similar to that in U.S. medical schools, but the training is often deficient—particularly in diagnosis of clinical data. The 14 medical schools graduate nearly 700 physicians annually. Nurses' training is conducted at special schools on three levels—for graduates of middle school, high school, and college. Medical personnel are licensed to practice, after successfully completing state medical examinations, by the authority of the Minister of Health and Social Affairs.

The Minister of Health and Social Affairs is vested with special authority to carry out health activities during epidemics or other disasters. During such an emergency, civilian medical resources are usually augmented by those of the country's armed forces, whose medical services are closely patterned after those of the U.S. military. The government also may request outside assistance—mainly from U.S. Government and private sources. The medical services of the U.S. Armed Forces and relief services from U.S. voluntary agencies have been used extensively in epidemics and disasters.

## G. Religion

Shamanism (spirit worship), Buddhism, and Confucianism are the traditional religious forces in South Korea. Religion's vital historical role in the society and culture has diminished as a result of new politicoeconomic forces almost entirely divorced from religion. While great numbers of Koreans once adopted Buddhism (fourth to 14th centuries, A.D.) and more recently Christianity (since the 18th century), most Koreans do not think of religion as a distinct doctrine espoused by an organized group or looking toward some sort of life after death. Nominally, however, over half the population adheres to one or another of the major religions.

### 1. Shamanism

Shamanism is Korea's oldest religion and the base on which all others were superimposed. Its emphasis on assuaging a host of evil spirits appeals mainly to the uneducated and superstitious, who summon its practitioners, or shamans (*mujaeng*), at times of family or community crisis—death, illness, famine, or flood. Shamanistic rituals are most common in rural areas, where farmers consider them an effective means of coping with nature, but many members of the urban lower classes also rely on such practices. Closely linked with Shamanism is ancestor worship, of both indigenous and Confucian origin. Many South Koreans maintain small shrines in their homes to commemorate deceased parents or family ancestors. Shamanists have formed no significant associations in South Korea and as a group have no influence on public opinion or secular affairs.

### 2. Buddhism and Confucianism

Both Buddhist and Confucian concepts became evident in Korea during the fourth century A.D., after two centuries of mounting Chinese cultural influence in Korea because of migration and colonization. While Confucian teaching was initially limited to a few students at the courts of the Korean princes, the propagation of Buddhism was widely encouraged and it was gradually superimposed on the spirit worship of the Korean people.

A "golden age" of Buddhist teaching, scholarship, and art flowered under the Silla (676-918) and Koryo (918-1392) dynasties, the latter of which made Buddhism the state religion. When the Yi dynasty (1392-1910) overthrew the Koryo rulers, however, it adopted Confucianism as the state religion and suppressed Buddhism. The families of scholars and



high-ranking officials began to observe Confucian rites in funerals and marriages, the common people were encouraged to establish their own ancestor spirit shrines rather than conduct spirit worship in Buddhist temples, and Confucian attitudes toward the family, social relationships, and authority took hold in ethical thinking.

Confucianism still has greater prestige than other beliefs, and Confucian scholars continue to command respect because of their intellectual achievements. Although those of the older generation still follow basic Confucian tenets in their daily lives, by and large Confucianism has lost most of its vitality as a creed. Members of the younger generation—especially students in higher educational institutions—have rejected Confucian traditions in their tendency to revolt against authority.

Buddhism also has lost influence, although its social base, broadened over the past half century, now includes more members from the middle and upper classes. Most South Korean Buddhists favor a type of Mahayana Buddhism which stresses the need to attain enlightenment through mental self-discipline and meditation rather than the observance of rituals. While South Korean Buddhist leaders do not exercise as great a role in society as do their counterparts in South Vietnam or Japan, some lay Buddhist scholarship is being revived as an academic discipline, monasticism is being reformed and adapted to meet the needs of contemporary society, and social welfare activities are being organized by both monastic and lay groups to serve national as well as local interests. Many of the larger temples and shrines in South Korea are important architectural or historical landmarks, and some contain art treasures of considerable value (Figures 15 and 16).

An Education Ministry's White Paper on Religion estimated that in September 1972 there were 7,065,773 Buddhists and 4,423,000 Confucianists in South Korea. Since Confucianism has no priesthood and little organic form, however, the estimated membership figure does not accurately gauge its importance in society.

### 3. Christianity

According to the White Paper, there were 4,253,423 Christians, comprising nearly 13% of the South Korean population; about 50% are Protestant and the remainder Catholic. The propagation of Christianity by Western missionaries in Korea during the 18th and 19th centuries spurred the partial opening of this "hermit kingdom" to the West in the late 19th century

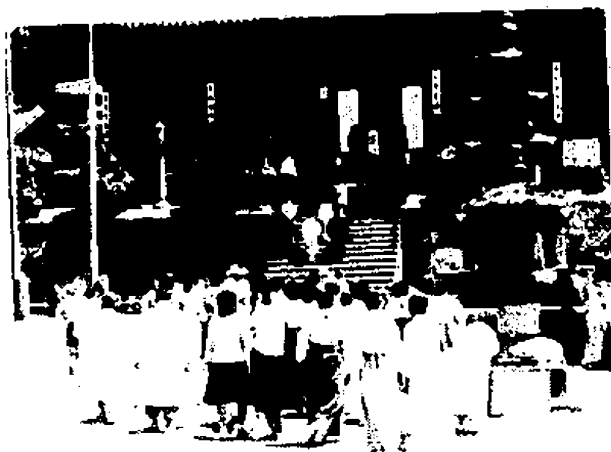
and the introduction of such Western concepts as political democracy and national self-determination in the 20th century. Following Japan's seizure of the country in 1905, Christianity became identified with the Korean independence movement and thus escaped the colonial stigma it acquired in many other subject nations.

Because many Christian groups have sent bright young students abroad for advanced study, Christians tend to exert an influence on society out of proportion to their numbers. Many independence leaders were Christian, and Christians are prominent today in such fields as government, education, medicine, and the social services. Despite the prominence of Christian leaders, however, and the fact that Christianity has been more dynamic and better organized than other religions practiced in South Korea, Christian doctrines have not made a major impact on the population. Nevertheless, there is general appreciation of the missions' part in the pre-1945 independence movement and their contributions in the fields of education and social welfare.

### 4. Ch'ondokyo

Christianity indirectly influenced the development of some eclectic Korean sects, the most significant being *Ch'ondokyo* (Religion of the Heavenly Way), which gained prominence in the agrarian unrest that swept Korea in the late 19th century. Developed as a nationalist-inspired synthesis of other religions, *Ch'ondokyo* contains elements from indigenous Korean mythology, Confucianism, and Taoism and has adapted some of the liturgy and symbolism of Buddhism. There are also extensive doctrinal and ritual borrowings from Christianity, including monotheism and rites resembling the sacrament of Holy Communion. *Ch'ondokyo* was politically significant down to the period after World War II, when the sect was active in founding the republic, but it has not been very active since. According to the White Paper, there were an estimated 718,072 members in September 1972.

Non-Christian Koreans generally are casual about their religious beliefs, and the practices and rites of the various religions are often closely meshed. A nominal Buddhist may sometimes enlist the services of a *mutang*, and everyone who has finished even primary school knows something about Confucian precepts. The religious creed of most South Koreans is a personal blend of the beliefs of Shamanism, Buddhism, and Confucianism.



Citizens thronging to main building



Monk strolling on grounds

FIGURE 15. Famed Buddhist temple, Haein-so

## II. Education

### 1. General

Koreans traditionally have shown a respect for education bordering on reverence. Scholars have enjoyed the highest prestige and honor, and parents have been willing to make great sacrifices for their children's schooling. This Confucian-based esteem was reinforced by exposure to Western education through Christian missionaries, study abroad, and the introduction of Western technology by the Japanese—although the latter restricted the Koreans' educational opportunities and banned the use of Korean in all schools above primary level. After 1915, education was identified with nationalist aspirations and economic reconstruction; today it is considered the key to the nation's modernization, the solution to its social problems, and essential for an individual's economic and social mobility.

The chief goal of South Korean education is universal literacy in *hangul*, the native phonetic alphabet. All postwar governments have encouraged its use, and the Park government has decreed that all textbooks and official documents be printed in *hangul* by the early 1970's. The literacy rate of 88.1% revealed by the 1970 census showed great progress over the 21%



FIGURE 16. Granite Buddha at Sokkuram Grotto, Kyongju

rate in 1945 and even a 3.1% rise over the rate in 1966. Illiterate persons are concentrated in the higher age group, those over 45 years of age accounting for 76% of the total. The obvious success in raising the literacy level may be attributed to expanded primary education under the compulsory education law, to adult education courses, and to special literacy classes held for the armed forces. Nevertheless, the government considers the ability to read and write *hangul* as the test of literacy, many people considered literate by this standard probably cannot write much more than their name or read anything but the most elementary material.

At the time of greatest U.S. influence, immediately following World War II, there were moves for local control of education, but since then the administration of the school system has become increasingly centralized, despite occasional gestures in the direction of local autonomy. The Ministry of Education directly or indirectly controls curriculum, textbooks, and personnel in both public and private educational institutions. The Ministry's tight hold over institutions of higher learning was apparent in the early 1970's when colleges and universities were closed several times to end or forestall student demonstrations opposing the extent of military training, the imposition of martial law, and the suspension of constitutional rule to give the President an indefinite term in office.

The Korean educational system is based essentially on the outmoded pre-World War II Japanese model, but has been significantly modified in response to Western influence and—more recently—to indigenous Korean ideas. Education is compulsory and nominally free through the sixth grade, but since the mid-1950's parents have had to provide funds for "school construction," and to pay for textbooks and school supplies for the primary grades as well as regular tuition at the higher levels. Grades are organized into 6 years of primary school, 3 each of middle school and high school, and 4 years of college (Figure 17).

Private schools figure prominently in the system. Primary education, being compulsory, is almost totally public; only about 1% of primary students are in private schools. However, the shortage of public facilities at higher levels has made private schools increasingly important in secondary and higher education. In the 1971/72 school year, private institutions absorbed 45% of middle school enrollment, 55% of high school enrollment, and 67% of the enrollment in higher education.

The government is trying to increase girls' educational opportunities to accord with constitu-

tional guarantees of male-female social equality. All primary schools, over half of the middle schools, and a little over one-third of the high schools are coeducational. In 1971/72, girls comprised approximately 48% of the enrollment in primary schools, 39% in middle schools, 38% in high schools, and about 20% in schools above the high school level. Academic standards in many secondary schools for girls are still inferior to those for boys, however, and young women are handicapped in trying to pass entrance examinations for colleges or universities. Also, many parents still consider it more important to spend family funds to educate their sons rather than their daughters.

The school year is divided into two semesters on the Japanese pattern. The first semester begins in early April and runs until about mid-July; the second begins in middle or late September and continues to mid-March, with a winter vacation intervening from mid-November to mid-January. High school diplomas and degrees in higher education are normally conferred in March.

The number of students, schools, and teachers has risen steadily since the end of World War II, despite the dislocation caused by the Korean war. Between 1945 and 1971/72 the student population increased by 362% and the number of schools and colleges 374%. A large increase occurred in secondary schools, which grew by 1,613%; the number of students in higher educational institutions increased by 1,987% and in elementary schools by 425%. The number of teachers of all classes was 706% higher in 1971/72 than in 1945, but they still remained in short supply relative to the student population. Figure 18 presents school statistics for selected years.

## 2. Primary and secondary education

A South Korean child may begin his formal education as early as age 4, with entrance into a 1- or 2-year kindergarten. Such preprimary schools are subject to government control but have no official curriculum, and the Education Law lists their main function as "the physical and mental development" of the child. The fact that all but one of these schools are privately operated and that enrollment is limited points to a general lack of concern over the need for preprimary education as well as to its high cost.

Primary education is supposed to be universal, but this goal has not been attained because of an acute shortage of teachers and classrooms—particularly in rural areas. In 1971/72 over half of all primary classrooms held more than the prescribed maximum of

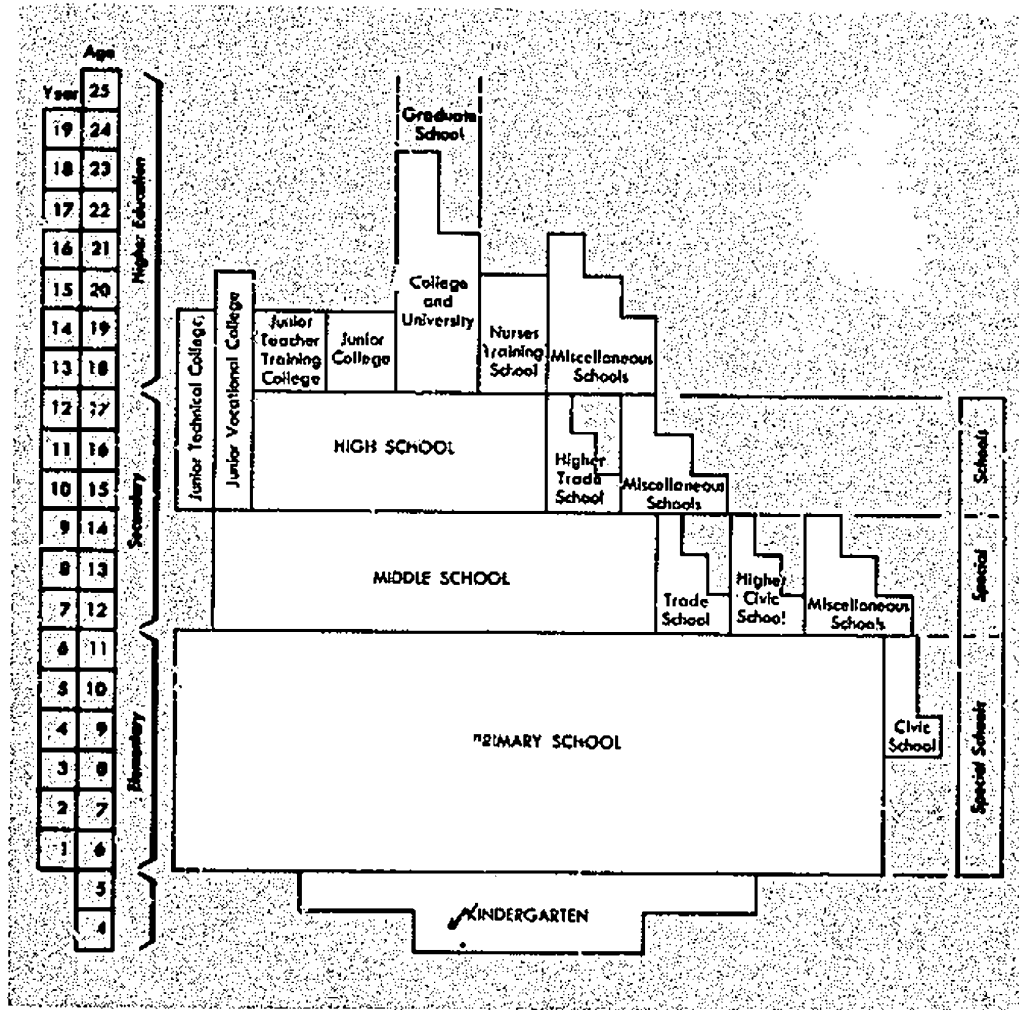


FIGURE 17. Education system, 1972

60 students. Despite a vigorous building program, many elementary schools have had to adopt a system of multiple shifts. The situation has been aggravated by a constant annual increase in the number of children reaching school age.

The primary school curriculum places the main emphasis on Korean-language instruction. Mathematics, social studies, and hygiene are taught throughout the 6-year primary level, but only 2 years of instruction are offered in science and in practical arts (manual training for boys, home economics for

girls). The Ministry of Education also requires that "moral education" be taught, primarily through the social studies courses. Until the mid-1960's the average teacher taught almost exclusively by textbook—even in practical subjects such as home economics—and made little use of teaching techniques that involved functional application or attention to individual students. In the mid-1960's, however, textbooks were revised to stress the importance of the pupil's physical and social environment and the practical application of subjects to everyday life. In November 1972 all

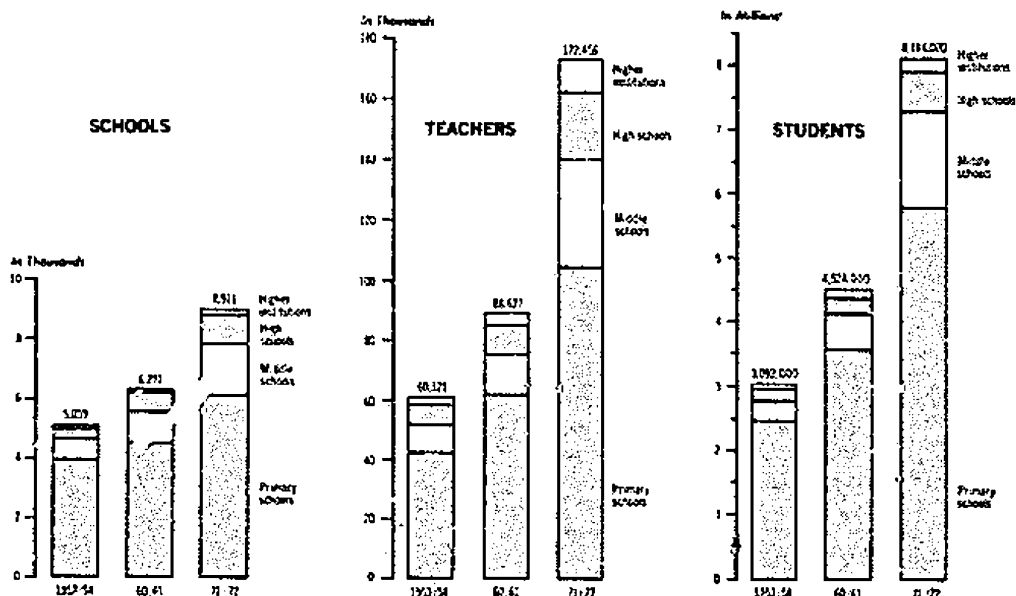


FIGURE 18. School statistics for selected years

primary schools began to have one "no textbook day" a week which can be spent on field trips, sports, handicrafts, or in any way suitable to each school's situation.

The dropout rate at the primary level is fairly low, but a steep decline in enrollment occurs at grade 7, the first year of middle school. Because of tuition and other expenses for education above the primary level, students in secondary and higher education are drawn largely from the more affluent families. In November 1971, however, the Ministry of Education—hoping to broaden the education of more citizens—announced the start of a 5-year plan during which compulsory education would be gradually extended through the middle school level. The competitive middle school entrance examination was abolished in 1968 and a lottery system inaugurated which designates which school each student will enter. The changeover, while popular with many students, placed one more financial burden on underpaid middle school teachers, who had relied on fees for tutoring students for examinations to supplement their slim income. Financial reasons prompt the departure of many elementary and secondary school teachers; over 7% left the profession in 1971.

The 3-year middle school curriculum is basically an extension of that for primary school but also includes the learning of 900 Chinese characters and the introduction of a foreign language, usually English. The subjects taught in the middle schools are generally continued in the academic high schools.

In secondary education the government has been concerned with strengthening technical and vocational education and encouraging more students to enroll in such schools rather than the traditionally more prestigious academic high schools. In February 1973 the Ministry of Education announced a zone system to supplant the present fierce competition for entry into certain high schools whose graduates go on to the top colleges and universities. The new system requires all high school applicants—technical and academic—to take uniform state examinations. Applicants for technical high schools will then be screened by the schools of their choice, but applicants for academic high schools will be assigned by lottery to any one of several such schools in their area.

Financial support to vocational and technical schools has been increased; they have been given better equipment, and an attempt has been made to improve both their teaching staffs and their

curricula. In 1971 there were 500 vocational high schools, 31 junior technical and vocational colleges, 69 technical schools, and 72 higher technical schools—which provided training to 871,718 students. Nearly one-fourth of the vocational high schools are agricultural institutions, located mostly in small provincial towns in farming areas. Other vocational high schools, situated mainly in the cities and larger towns, include commercial schools, technical schools, fishery and marine schools, and general vocational schools. The commercial schools offer various business courses, including accounting and typing; the technical schools offer a broad curriculum, including chemical and civil engineering, electronics, mining and metallurgy, architecture, automotive mechanics and machine shop training, polytechnics, and printing; and the fisheries and marine schools offer courses in fishery technology, navigation, and marine engine mechanics. All these schools must also include certain basic academic subjects, such as Korean, English, social studies, mathematics, and science, but classroom time spent on those subjects is minimal except for the last two, which are often related to the vocational curriculum. Higher vocational and technical schools and colleges offer similar courses at advanced levels. Over half the vocational and technical schools are privately operated. Tuition-free training is offered by many private schools, particularly those operated or financed by industrial enterprises.

Adult education aims at providing the rudiments of an elementary education for children above primary school age or for young adults who have missed such education during their early training; literacy classes for adults; and vocational training. South Korea's rising literacy rate reflects the success of the efforts made to eliminate illiteracy. Vocational training for adults is still important, however, especially in remote agricultural and fishing villages where there are no regular vocational training facilities. Generally, private schools or small, privately organized classes—many of them operated by Christian missions—dominate adult vocational education.

Civic schools at the primary level offer two types of curricula for older children and for adults in 1-, 2-, and 3-year courses. The first type covers the regular primary curriculum in condensed versions, while the second offers intensive training in literacy. The Ministry of Education also operates an informal anti-illiteracy program through classes organized by township and village headmen. The latter conduct annual surveys of adult illiterates in the village and muster them into summer classes, where they are

taught by college students on vacation or by regular primary school teachers. Higher civic schools offer 1- and 3-year courses at the middle school level. These institutions, like the folk high schools in Denmark, try to supply training in civic consciousness as well as condensed versions of middle school curricula. The government also provides academic and vocational training through adult education centers in the provincial towns.

### 3. Higher education

Higher educational institutions of all kinds have proliferated since the country's liberation from the Japanese. Almost one-half of the high school graduates enter college.

Perhaps the biggest question confronting South Korean education is whether the relatively large expenditures for it are being made efficiently and effectively for the social and economic growth of the country. South Korea's educational outlays rose from 2% of the national budget in the war years to more than 18% in 1971.

The quality of higher education varies widely from one institution to another. Even the best colleges and universities have limited research facilities and inadequate libraries, and there is a serious shortage of textbooks and reference works in the Korean language. Many faculty members are unable to keep in touch with modern research in their respective fields. Consequently, they frequently offer instruction from antiquated or outdated sources and provide only a minimum of laboratory work in the sciences. Because of the limited library and laboratory resources, students spend more hours in class than would be typical in a U.S. institution of higher learning. The instruction is almost exclusively by lecture, and the classes are large. There is a general lack of course continuity, sequence, or integration. The Ministry of Education usually approves a list of subjects for a given major field, and this becomes the fixed curriculum for that field until formal action is taken by the Ministry to amend it. This system of control has tended to foster a reluctance on the part of college or department heads to suggest curriculum changes.

With the exception of Seoul National University (SNU), the South Korean universities and colleges with the highest scholastic standards are private institutions. These include Korea University, Yonsei (Yonsei) University, and Ewha Women's University. Not all of the privately operated institutions, however, have high or even acceptable standards. In fact, many small private colleges can be characterized as little

more than profitmaking diploma mills. The government closed some of these in 1963 and converted others into junior colleges or miscellaneous schools.

In general, the professional training provided by South Korean colleges and universities remains inadequate by Western standards. The 6-year course for a medical degree, for example, is far below U.S. requirements for an M.D. Also, despite the expansion and improvement in higher technical education, scientists and engineers graduating from most South Korean universities are regarded as having training equivalent only to that provided in a U.S. junior college. Yonsei University, SNU, and the Jesuit-sponsored Sogang College are regarded as the most competent in science, engineering, and other technical fields, but they are nevertheless inadequately equipped and staffed to meet their needs.

#### 4. Student activism and activities

There is a tradition of student political activism in Korea going back to the days of Japanese rule, when student strikes were frequently staged by both college and high school students. After liberation from Japan, students engaged in agitation, demonstrations, and strikes which involved issues ranging from poor conditions and corruption in the schools to broader national issues such as the rigging of elections by the Rhee regime in 1960. Under the Park regime, students are also undoubtedly frustrated over the curbs on political freedom, but because of strict government control they have little opportunity to vent their concern. In undertaking political action, students benefit from the great respect for the educated person prevalent in Korean society and are motivated by the belief that they are the voice of the people on social issues and the defenders of liberalism against dictatorship.

Not all student activism is spontaneous; in many cases student groups have been organized, subsidized, and manipulated by the government and also by the ruling and opposition political parties. This practice is made possible in part by the ephemeral nature of student organizations, many of which are personal cliques whose opportunistic leaders are willing to accept subsidies for aligning their followers with dominant groups. In the 1948-60 period the Rhee government sponsored the Students National Defense Corps, whose branches served as the student government body in high schools and institutions of higher learning. The Park government in its early days tried to organize a student group, the Reconstruction Students Association, but more recently has moved toward

minimizing and monitoring all student activities. All political parties commonly organize students for support in their campaigns.

In the 1960's antigovernment elements were most firmly entrenched at SNU, Yonsei University, and Korea University—particularly at SNU's colleges of liberal arts and sciences, of law, and of commerce. In 1971, however, the only student clubs registered at SNU were recreation groups, probably supplemented by circumspect "friendship" groups meeting informally at *makkal* (rice wine) houses.

Extracurricular student activities, other than political, have included publication of student newspapers and participation in intercollegiate athletic contests, intramural athletic programs, and choral groups. Many students have also volunteered to serve in rural community development projects.

## I. Artistic and cultural expression

### 1. The past

Art and learning as important carriers of popular values and traditions historically have served both a moral and educational function in Korea. Although developing formal artistic and intellectual modes of expression has been an upper class preoccupation, all Koreans have been aware that these achievements are connected with their daily life and conduct. The artist and scholar are held in high esteem. In old Korea they often lived among the village people—to some degree this custom is still followed—and gave them a respect for learning and artistic creation. The people thus created a rich folk tradition of their own, reflecting the ideals and principles of conduct taught by the classical scholars as well as their shamanistic tribal origins.

Past achievements include the production of outstandingly beautiful ceramic ware—particularly the blue and green celadon pottery of the 12th century (Figure 19)—and important discoveries such as printing with movable metal type (1403). From the seventh through the 12th centuries, while Europe was moving through the Middle Ages toward the Renaissance, Korea enjoyed a golden age of artistic and intellectual achievement. Buddhism introduced a literature that stimulated and enriched Korean life and left a rich legacy of art and architecture. Gardening, lacquerwork, painting, and sculpture flourished. Metal casting, in particular bell founding, acquired a distinctive Korean character (Figure 20). In rural areas simple forms of entertainment, including festivals and ceremonies with music and dancing, evolved into unique forms of Korean folk art,

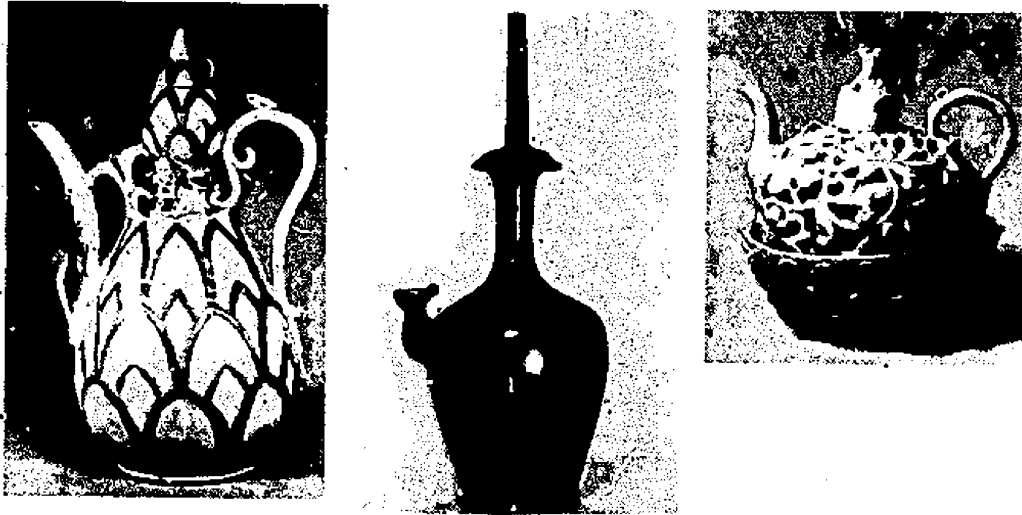
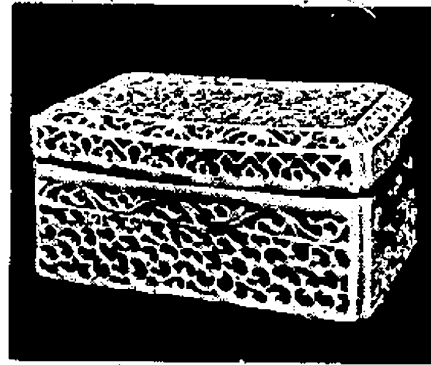


FIGURE 19. Examples of celadon from the Koryo Dynasty



providing the peasants with a cultural medium to express their natural appreciation for beauty and esthetic creations (Figure 21). The Korean musical drama is still widely popular, and Koreans of all classes are fond of singing and dancing. With the decline of Buddhism under the early Yi kings, Confucianism gave a new impetus to Korean culture but gradually released influences which stultified both artistic vitality and intellectual independence.

The Japanese occupation in the first half of the 20th century greatly speeded the decline of traditional arts and crafts. During this period early attempts were made to imitate Western art forms. They were awkward—more so because they were introduced via Japan—but they were honest efforts by a few Koreans to synthesize the new influences seeping into the country and the native forms of expression so as to achieve an original artistic and intellectual revival.

The poems, songs, and stories that have been handed down from generation to generation in family and village, the tombs, pagodas, temples, and statues scattered throughout the country, and the memory of ancient skills in handicraft have given Koreans of all classes a sense of common cultural identity. They also have provided inspiration and incentive for new artistic achievement.

## 2. Present and future

Seoul is the cultural center of the country. Located there are a number of libraries, conservatories, museums, theaters, and other cultural institutions. The National Central Museum, opened in the Kyonghok Palace compound in August 1972, will contain nearly 72,000 items by the end of 1973. The National Classical Music Institute (successor to the Yi



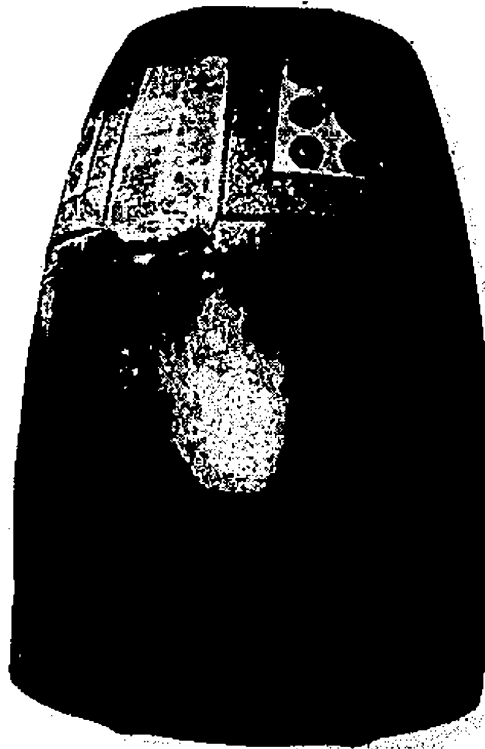


FIGURE 20. Bell of King Sondok, Silla Dynasty, cast in A.D. 771

Academy of Music) has a collection of classical instruments, in addition to a small staff of musicians dedicated to the study and preservation of Korean classical music (Figure 22). The Republic of Korea National Academy of Sciences and Letters, the Academy of Arts, and the Institute of Koreanology have all been founded since the Korean war to boost different facets of Korean culture.

Western influence in contemporary artistic expression is pronounced, but many artists try to give their work a distinctively Korean flavor. Since the turn of the century, Korean literature has emulated modern European literature and has maintained relatively insignificant ties with Korea's ancient and medieval literary ages. The writers' difficulty in establishing a national identity and literary tradition of their own may be traced to very rapid Westernization at the turn of the century. Nonetheless, modern Korean literature has lagged behind the main current of postwar world literature.

Modern Korean literature was born under Japanese colonial rule; from 1945 to 1950 a new political consciousness arose, and a host of younger writers moved to the forefront with new techniques. Early attempts at modernization were imitative and, because they were based on European models of an earlier time, tended toward the melodramatic and the romantic. The climate was created for a new modern literature, however, and there was a turning point during the Korean war years.

During the war most writers moved south; their set themes at this time were anxiety, a spirit of resistance, and humanitarian social consciousness. Sartre, Camus, and Kafka were widely read, and the hopelessness and discouragement of the Korean intellectual community was embodied in a feeling of rootlessness similar to that of the European "lost generation" between the two world wars. The Korean war split a traditionally unified nation and spurred the literary community to search for new themes.

Since 1958 two distinct literary circles have emerged: the older, established authors, who describe the existing world with a more naturalistic technique; and the younger writers, who delve into the subconscious man and rely heavily on the stream-of-consciousness technique. Han Musuk's *The Steps of Light*, published in 1960, is an example of the latter school. Concurrent with this is the "new generation"



FIGURE 21. Traditional folk masks used in dancing



FIGURE 22. Students at National Classical Musical Institute playing traditional music on Kaye-ko

writers' general distrust of the older generation, for the same reasons that prompt a "generation gap" in Western countries.

Much of the same process has occurred in poetry, which in the past was Korea's most imaginative and mimetic literary form. New currents in poetry were evident following the Korean conflict, when the vernacular came into more frequent use and more personal insight was expressed—as exemplified by Kim Namjo's poetry about her personal life. Self-examination and revolt against conventionalism were major themes, and the more abstract poetry which resulted appealed to only a limited audience. The space allotted to poets in literary journals and newspapers, their traditional media, was gradually reduced, leading eventually to the publication of many specialized poetry magazines and a revived interest in poetry. During 1972, poet Kim Chi-hu got into trouble with the government for publishing "Five Thieves" and other poems which were interpreted as antigovernment satires.

Painting and sculpture have been stimulated by frequent exhibitions of both Western and Korean works. Members of two groups of young painters—the

*Tachun Mtnguk* (Republic of Korea) and the *Hanguk* (Korea) artist associations—have exhibited works in galleries abroad as well as in Korea. Sculpture, the least known art despite the heritage of stone Buddhas from the Silla dynasty and lesser relics of the Yi dynasty, is practiced as a creative art by some devotees, but major commissions are for statues of great personalities of the past. Painting and sculpture entries in national exhibitions include both modern and traditional works (Figure 23).

Music is appreciated throughout the country, and Koreans particularly enjoy singing. Guests at social events are often expected to sing songs or do solo dances as part of the occasion's enjoyment. Symphony orchestras and chamber and choral music groups are popular. The National Symphony Orchestra and other ensembles give frequent concerts—largely of traditional Western music but sometimes including Korean numbers adapted for Western instruments. Yun I-sang—the most noted of several modern Korean composers—has won an international reputation for his symphony, "Beak," based on Korean court music, and more recently for his opera, "Sim Chong," which premiered in Munich in August 1972. Korean instrumentalists frequently score high in international contests; pianist Paik Kun-woo was one of four finalists in the United States' prestigious Levintritt competition of 1971.

Koreans are fond of the theater, and classical and contemporary plays by Shakespeare, Eugene O'Neill, and more recent playwrights are received with enthusiasm, as are traditional and modern Korean productions. Although exorbitant production costs drastically curtail performances of drama groups other than those attached to universities, at least two small troupes were active in Seoul in early 1973. The *Shilhum Kukchang* (Experimental Theatrical Troupe) was putting on traditional dramas with a modern psychological twist, while the *Chayu Kukchang* (Freedom Theater) presented avant-garde dramas such as Ionesco's "Bald Prima Donna."

Under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture and Public Information, nationwide musical and theatrical contests are held, and public schools have increasingly emphasized the fine arts. Many awards and prizes have been established by both government and private groups in order to encourage literature and other arts, and a classical poetry contest brings participants to Seoul from all over the country each year. Since 1969 the Ministry has presented the Korea Culture-Arts Awards, which pay the equivalent of US\$41,000 a year to winners in 10 categories.



"Resurrection," modern sculpture by Nam Chol



"Autumn in a Valley," traditional painting by Pak Taesong

FIGURE 23. National Art Exhibition entries, 1970

The government sponsors an annual folk art festival and is trying to keep afloat such groups as the *Namsadang*—Shakespearean-type troupes of men and boys who once traveled widely, presenting age-old plays to rural as well as urban audiences. Chinese court dances and music, which have survived in Korea long after their disappearance in their homeland, are also being kept alive under government sponsorship. The first 5-year culture and art development plan, beginning in 1973, will assure continued government support for projects aimed at reviving national culture. A Korean folk arts troupe participated in the International Folk Arts Festival at the Munich Olympic Games in 1972 and was enthusiastically received in Europe, the Middle East, and Thailand.

Despite the vigor of contemporary Korean artistic and intellectual endeavor, knowledge and appreciation of what is being done is limited to a relatively small number of educated people who live mostly in the cities. Unlike Japan, which has had an important merchant class for several centuries, South Korea is just beginning to develop an urban middle class that

could produce a bourgeois interest in the world of fashion, theater, music, and literature. In the meantime, most South Koreans continue to look to the distant past as the embodiment of their cultural achievement.

#### J. Public information

Public information media are comparatively new in South Korea. Under the Yi dynasty, books were the chief means of communication other than word of mouth. After annexing Korea, the Japanese took advantage of modern developments in the daily press, radio, stage, and motion pictures, primarily for propaganda purposes. Since 1945, popular interest in public information media has mounted as the literacy level has risen and communication facilities have improved. Despite intermittent government efforts to control public information, South Koreans—in urban centers and increasingly in rural areas—are fairly well informed about major events and trends in the world.

### 1. Press and periodicals

As of mid-1972 there were 37 major daily newspapers with a combined circulation estimated at just under 5 million; 16 of them were printed in Seoul and 21 in Pusan and other provincial cities. The Seoul papers include 8 vernacular news dailies (*Tonga Ilbo*, *Chungang Ilbo*, *Seoul Sinmun*, *Kyonggang Sinmun*, *Sina Ilbo*, *Taehan Ilbo*, *Hanguk Ilbo* and *Choson Ilbo*—all but the last two are evening papers); 2 English-language dailies (the government-owned *Korea Herald* and the *Korea Times*, a sister paper of the *Hanguk Ilbo*); 1 Chinese-language daily; 1 vernacular sports newspaper; and 4 economic dailies. Six of Seoul's vernacular dailies publish weeklies—3 tabloids and 3 in magazine form—all with large, nationwide circulations. The major Seoul papers are read by educated Koreans throughout the country, but the provincial newspapers' readership is confined largely to the cities where they are published. Only a few provincial papers are designed to appeal to a rural readership.

The leading as well as largest newspaper is *Tonga Ilbo*, one of the few journals surviving from the Japanese period and long the most popular and widely respected of all South Korean papers. Its consistent record as a champion of democratic principles began in the 1920's and was later enhanced by its opposition to the Rhee government's authoritarian policies. Self-supporting, it has not been politically influenced by government financing or by subsidies from other sources. Many South Korean newspapers, however, must be subsidized to survive, are not noted for high journalistic standards, and have a high mortality rate. Often they are no more than instruments for personal, commercial, religious, or political propaganda, stressing sensationalism and personalities rather than issues.

The constitution provides for freedom of speech and of the press, along with other civil liberties. In practice, however, the executive branch of the government has frequently bypassed these constitutional guarantees to penalize newspapers for criticism of government policies or personalities. The Rhee government from time to time fined or jailed offending newspaper publishers or editors under the provisions of countersubversion laws—suspending or revoking a paper's license as an added penalty. Usually Rhee limited himself to less direct pressures, including the withholding of newspaper allocations, bribery, physical intimidation, and harassment by police and tax officers.

The spirit of independence and opposition typical of the South Korean press—often expressed in an

irresponsible and immoderate style—was accentuated following the fall of the Rhee government. With government restrictions on the licensing of publications removed, newspapers and press services appeared by the hundreds. The practices of blackmail and influence peddling, longstanding among Korean reporters, became more prevalent. Government officials, political figures, and public personalities in general regularly paid reporters to gain favorable publicity or to buy off criticism.

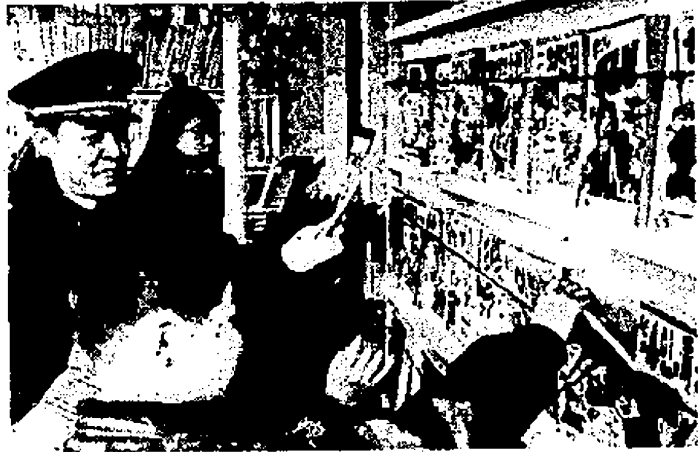
After the military coup in May 1961 the authorities reinstated the licensing system and revived press censorship. These pressures were relaxed when civilian government was restored 2 years later, but government pressures have since waxed and waned in direct ratio to political crises. The South Korean Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) plays a major role in managing the press by subsidizing newspapers, maintaining surveillance over their staffs, and cajoling their editors to tone down or delete criticism of the government.

During 1972, as the government worked to implement President Park's martial law declaration of December 1971 and consolidate his power outside the constitutional system, the press was warned not to indulge in "irresponsible commentaries" on security matters, not to spread "false rumors," and to accept the fact that the people should be ready to give up "part of the freedom we have enjoyed." One ROK CIA casualty during the year was the editor-in-chief of *Tonga Ilbo*, who was forced to resign for undisclosed reasons. Another government pressure tactic during 1972 was the adoption of a "press card" system whereby reporters are issued cards which provide ready access to government sources but are subject to recall at any time.

The two major news agencies—the *Hapdong News Agency* and the *Tongyang Press*—maintain a nationwide network and have exchange agreements with the major international news services. The Associated Press, United Press International, and *Agence France-Presse* are the services most frequently used by South Korean newspapers.

Registered magazines and other periodicals totaled 682 in late 1971; they had a combined circulation of nearly 2 million and covered subject matter ranging broadly from scholarly pursuits to movie gossip. Of the total, 24 were general-interest magazines, 14 were literary, 49 were religious, 12 were for children, and 583 included house organs, school magazines, and academic reviews. *Nongwon*, a monthly agricultural publication, reportedly has the highest circulation of any commercial publication, while *Sasanggye* (World

FIGURE 24. Police-provided comic books



of Thought) and *Sin Tonga* (New East Asia) have the largest circulations among the so-called intellectual journals.

The government has also been active in periodical publishing. Several ministries and other government agencies, as well as the armed forces and the police, issue magazines and bulletins of one kind or another. The police spearheaded a drive during 1972 to provide Korean children with "wholesome" comic books (Figure 24).

## 2. Books and libraries

The South Korean book-publishing industry is active but is impeded by a lack of capital. Virtually all publishers operate on credit, and when they overestimate the market for their books they are unable to pay the printers for their services. Excessive competition by many small, "fly by night" publishers, moreover, has placed an unusual demand on the facilities of printing companies, raising printing costs and lowering the quality of book publishing. Most books are issued as paperbacks.

Because of the generally unsophisticated readership, a large amount of cheap, sensational material is published. Most publishers direct the bulk of their output at young readers; about 60% is of the comic book variety. The next largest category is reference books and textbooks for all educational levels. "General literature," chiefly fiction, is third. Long historical romances—sometimes running to as many as 20 serialized volumes—are popular, particularly among older readers and housewives. The Ministry of Education is authorized to conduct postpublication screening of books, but no specific information is

available on the implementation of censorship regulations on domestically published books.

Foreign publications, particularly Japanese literature, are popular. For some time imported Japanese books and magazines far outstripped those from the United States, since U.S. hardback books were too expensive for the average South Korean. The circulation of U.S. books among South Koreans has increased, however, because of the availability of pirated editions, legitimate low-cost Japanese reprints, and stepped-up distribution of imported U.S. books through commercial channels and the United States Information Service (USIS). In late 1971 the government eased its ban on the import of books from Communist countries, so as to provide "broader opportunities for academic research on Communist issues"; however, it stipulated that all such books should be "academic and technological ones free from political and ideological elements." In February 1973 the government ruled that importers of "irregular" foreign books would have to register with the Ministry of Culture and Public Information—thus facilitating government screening.

South Korean libraries, which totaled 3,457 with about 18.3 million volumes in 1972, are inadequate to meet the growing demand of the reading public. Nevertheless, they have been expanded and improved considerably during the past two decades, largely through U.S. assistance in augmenting library collections and training librarians. The largest single institution is the National Library in Seoul, which in the mid-1960's reportedly contained over half of all the volumes in the nation's libraries. The five next important are two others in Seoul and one each in

Pusan, Taegu, and Inch'on. The rest of the 70 public libraries are located in Seoul or in smaller cities and towns throughout South Korea; they are heavily used, even though most of them charge small fees. In addition, over 20,000 "village libraries" have been set up in provincial communities for a rural populace which otherwise would have no easy access to books.

The most extensive library facilities are maintained by educational institutions. The largest and best collections are in the leading universities—Seoul National University, Korea University, Yonsei University, and Ewha Women's University—particularly the last two. Most institutions of higher learning, however, lack well-planned and well-organized libraries. Library facilities in primary and secondary schools vary with the size and standing of the school; some consist only of a small reading room stocked with a few random volumes. The National Assembly Library services the legislature, and there are also "special libraries" at such places in Seoul as the Bank of Korea and at the armed forces' National Defense College. The USIS maintains small libraries in Seoul, Pusan, Taegu, and Kwangju and has organized a library association which sponsors regular discussions on modern library techniques and distributes monthly bulletins to libraries throughout the country. The French and West German embassies in Seoul have libraries which are widely used by South Korean foreign-language students.

Despite vigorous efforts by the government and the Korean Library Association to support these libraries and to promote reading through such programs as annual Book Reading Week, the average Korean is said to read only 48 to 70 pages a year compared to 2,000 to 3,000 by the average foreigner.

### 3. Motion pictures

Motion pictures are a major source of entertainment in South Korea, where there are over 600 theaters plus a large number of outdoor theaters which show 16-mm. films. Various government agencies serve rural audiences through mobile units and find motion pictures an excellent means of informing or propagandizing the people.

Although progress has been made in developing a domestic film industry, foreign films—usually exhibited with Korean subtitles—attract larger audiences than domestic ones. U.S. films have always been the most popular, particularly musicals, slapstick comedies, and Westerns, but there are also imports from France and Italy. Japanese commercial features are banned both for their alleged "deleterious impact on Korean culture" and their undoubted competition

with domestic South Korean films, but two Japanese entries in the 1962 and 1966 Asian Film Festivals in Seoul were shown to invited audiences.

South Korea has an active motion picture industry, both governmental and private. The largest producer is the National Film Production Center of the Ministry of Culture and Public Information, which produces newsreels and documentaries with heavy emphasis on the activities of President Park. The Ministry of National Defense produces 16-mm newsreels regularly for distribution to military units; other film production by government agencies is negligible, except for that of the South Korean CIA, which contracts feature-length anti-Communist films to various producers.

The major film companies among the 14 producers—Shin Films, *Yon Bang*, Korea Art Film, and *Hanguk*—account for between 40% and 50% of the annual production of feature films. Production is strictly controlled by the Ministry of Culture and Public Information, which can also dictate content. The local industry is hampered not only by governmental interference but also by antiquated equipment, inferior color-processing laboratories, high costs, and squabbling among the rival companies.

Despite these problems the South Koreans have turned out over 200 films annually since the late 1960's. Most have been romances or adventure stories; some have been based on the chronicles and legends of the Korean monarchy and others on more recent historical events—such as the anti-Japanese movement and the Korean war. Despite the generally poor quality of most of the films, both in story and technique, South Korean pictures and actors have won awards at international film festivals. In 1965 two documentaries *Cry, The Sad Sky* and *Sam Yong, the Deaf Mute*—received awards at festivals in Tokyo and Venice, and *Shur Village* won top prize at the First International Oceanic Film Festival in Spain in 1972. Korean actresses won the best actress award at the 15th and 18th Asian Film Festivals (1969 and 1972). The Motion Picture Promotion Union of Korea was organized in February 1971 to boost Korean films abroad.

### 4. Radio and television

Radio outranks newspapers as the chief communication medium, but a large part of the approximately 3.7 million radio receivers are in urban areas. While some villages have no radios at all and many country folk rely largely on word-of-mouth communication for news, radio has become an increasingly important influence in rural life. The government has greatly increased the size of rural

audience during the past few years by leasing villages at low rental thousands of radio speakers wired to the nearest government station. Moreover, the Education Ministry's 5-year plan (1972-76) calls for building six educational broadcasting stations in the southern and western coastal areas to help children living in remote islands with their studies. Finally, more and more farm families can afford to buy transistor radios, which the expanding electronics industry sells at low cost.

The "publicly managed" but government-financed Korean Broadcasting System (KBS) was replaced in March 1973 by the Korean Broadcasting Corporation (KBC), described as being a "public corporation whose management is under the direct control of the Ministry of Culture and Public Information." The KBC broadcasts a wide variety of programs for domestic and foreign consumption. Its domestic service, which broadcasts 22 hours a day, consists mainly of news and light entertainment. Most programs originate in Seoul and are relayed by regional stations, covering the urban and most of the rural areas of South Korea. KBS used to transmit over 100 program hours a week to North Korea and to the large Korean minority in the People's Republic of China. The content of these programs was largely anti-Communist, but since the two Koreas' North-South Coordinating Committee agreed in November 1972 to ban "mutual slandering" on radio programs, Seoul has stopped announcing any broadcasts as being specifically designed for North Korea or the Korean community in China. KBC does transmit about 11 program hours per week to the Koreans in Japan. KBC also transmits programs to Europe, Asia, and Latin America in English, French, Japanese, Korean, Mandarin, and Spanish.

In addition to the government radio, South Korea has two small commercial networks, the Munsuwa Broadcasting Corp. and the Tongyang Broadcasting Company, plus the non-profit Christian Broadcasting System and several individual stations controlled by private and religious interests. By late 1972 there were about 73 radio and radio-relay stations, including 17 KBC branches. These are all regulated through government licensing. The U.S. Armed Forces in Korea maintain a network of radio and TV stations for U.S. personnel and sponsor special programs intended primarily for North Korean consumption.

Television is becoming a significant medium of communication. KBS-TV (now KBC-TV), inaugurated TV transmissions in 1961, and two commercial TV networks—TBC-TV and MBC-TV—were set up in 1964 and 1969, respectively. All three operate separate

nationwide networks with relay stations in major cities. The U.S. Armed Forces operate AFKN-TV.

KBC-TV broadcasts 6 hours a day, with about half of the time devoted to music and other entertainment, a third to cultural and educational features (often including English-language classes), approximately one-seventh to news and commentary, and the rest to children's features. The other networks place greater emphasis on entertainment. *Victory of Human Beings*, a KBC-TV program produced by Kim Tong-huk, won the grand prize in the TV division of the international broadcasting program contest sponsored by the Asian Broadcasting Union in Teheran, Iran, in October 1972. Because of the high cost of program production, many entertainment features of all the networks are imported, mainly from the United States, and are presented with Korean subtitles. Locally produced TV programs are broadcast live.

In early 1973 an estimated 1 million TV sets were believed to be in use in South Korea. Originally, most sets were imported from Japan and the United States and were owned largely by well-to-do families in the Seoul and Pusan areas. The government is fostering the domestic production of TV sets, however, and hopes to work out some means of selling TV receivers to South Korean households on a monthly installment basis. Thousands of Seoul citizens thronged around the few TV receivers then in that city to watch the landing of the first men on the moon in July 1969, and TV viewers all over South Korea saw the 20th Olympic Games held in Munich in August and September 1972.

### K. Suggestions for further reading (U/OU)

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and bronzes of Korea's earliest recorded era through the painting and calligraphy of the Yi dynasty, which ended in 1910.

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