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*Asia Pacific: Perspectives*  
Center for the Pacific Rim  
2130 Fulton St, LM202  
San Francisco, CA  
94117-1080

Tel: (415) 422-6357  
Fax: (415) 422-5933  
perspectives@usfca.edu

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**CONTENTS**

***Exploring Korean Values***

>>.....Steven R. Brown and Byung-ok Kil 1

***Transnationalization of Faith: The Americanization of Christianity in the Philippines and the Filipinization of Christianity in the United States***

>>.....Joaquin L. Gonzalez III 9

***Complementary Role of the Rohri Hills and the Thar Desert in the Development of Indus Valley Civilization: New Research***

>>.....Qasid H. Mallah, Nilofer Shaikh, and G. M. Veesar 21

***A New Era of International Trade: A Study of Asian, North American, and Latin American Regional Associations***

>>.....Rolf Mário Treuherz 32

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Our task is to inform public opinion through a broad hospitality to divergent views and ideas that promote cross-cultural understanding, tolerance, and the dissemination of knowledge unreservedly. Papers adopting a comparative, interdisciplinary approach to issues of interrelatedness in the Pacific Rim region\* will be especially welcome. Graduate students, as well as established scholars, are encouraged to submit their work.

\* 'Pacific Rim region' as used here includes North America, Pacific Central and South America, Oceania, Australia, New Zealand, Southeast Asia, East Asia, South Asia (India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, and Sri Lanka), and the Russian Far East.

## Exploring Korean Values

by Steven R. Brown Ph.D.  
and Byung-ok Kil, Ph.D.

### Abstract

The contours of the Korean value system are examined both extensively and through an intensive single-case study in which a representative personality is invited to appraise a set of historical figures under various conditions of instruction focused on Confucian and other values. The Q sample is comprised of the names of 50 historical and contemporary figures (e.g., Kim Ok-Gyun, assassinated reformer of the late Yi dynasty; Chun Bong-Joon, religious leader associated with peasant revolts in the late 19th century; Lee Hwang, 15th century Confucian scholar, et al.). Initially, 25 Korean students Q sorted the 50 names from appealing to unappealing, producing two factors. Intensive studies involved Q-sort appraisals in terms of values such as *In* (Chinese *Jen*, humanity, virtuousness), *Eui* (Chinese *Yi*, righteousness and sense of duty), *Yea* (Chinese *Li*, propriety), and others. Discussion considers sources of stability and change in Korean values.

### Methodological Preface

Values are events that are preferred either for themselves or as means for achieving other desired outcomes (Lasswell & Kaplan, 1950, pp. 16-17), and their meaning and importance gain clarity in terms of the context in which they are pursued. That values are matters of preference implicates subjectivity and thereby places a premium on methods and principles of measurement that give centrality to the self of the person engaged in valuation. Because valuation occurs in contexts, we need to achieve a closeness to facts that elevates indigenization to a special position. In the study of Korean values, therefore, it is essential to adopt a methodological vantage point that focuses on the subjectivity of preferences and that is operationally sensitive to the specificity of the situation.

An approach to the study of values which incorporates the principles of self-referentiality and specificity, and which has already been applied within Korean culture, is Q methodology (Brown, in press; Brown, Durning, & Selden, 1999; Chang, 1996-1997; McKeown & Thomas, 1988; Stephenson, 1953; Xu & Kim, 1997). Knowledge of the procedures associated with Q methodology is now widespread. The individual is confronted with a set of stimuli which are to be evaluated under experimental conditions. The stimuli could be a collection of pictures of Korean pottery or artwork, or even a collection of folksongs, but more typically they consist of verbal expressions drawn from interviews or taken from the popular press.

In one such study, a collection was made of several hundred comments by Koreans about Koreans—for example, (a) “The spirit of fairness and justice burns deep within us,” (b) “We are a sentimental and lyrical people,” (c) “Expediency is deeply imbedded in our consciousness,” and so forth. A sample of these statements was drawn from the larger concourse and administered to almost 40 Koreans, who provided their own perception of the Korean people by

ranking the statements from “most like us” (+5) to “most unlike us” (-5). The responses were correlated and factor analyzed, and the results revealed three separate self-images of the Korean people: There were the Modernizers, who saw Koreans as in the process of change, with traditional values fading but not as yet fully replaced by new values; the Expedient, who viewed Koreans as having become more acquisitive and as having deteriorated into a socially pragmatic stance at the expense of morality; and finally, the Idealizers, characterized by their youth, who saw Koreans in highly idealized and even religious terms, as “putting into practice all that is good.” (A small group of Americans included in the study viewed Koreans in a way quite different from the above; for details, see Brown, 1984.)

In a second study, the concept of indigenization was itself placed under scrutiny in a Q-methodological investigation of 30 social science faculty and graduate students from a major Korean university (Brown & Kim, 1981). Although six separate perspectives emerged, only one accepted a universalist conception of science, i.e., as a way of obtaining knowledge that is independent of context; the other five, while different in many respects, more or less embraced indigenization and the need to tailor research to take into account the specificities of a culture. In this regard, a concluding principle from that study bears repeating:

... the necessary prerequisite for the proper study of Korean society (or any society for that matter) is not indigenization per se, but operationalization, and ... with suitable operations indigenization will take care of itself. Indigenization, however, does not ensure suitable operations, which are therefore more fundamental. (Brown & Kim, 1981, p. 134)

In the study of Korean values or any other aspect of Korean culture that implicates subjectivity, the principles and procedures of Q methodology, when properly employed, guarantee the indigenous integrity of the results, and they do so in the following ways:

1. In a study utilizing Q technique, the sample of stimuli (statements) to which the participants respond are drawn from the culture, hence are a matter of shared communicability. In the study of indigenization, for example, the statements were all taken from a paper by Korean psychologist Kim Jae-un, entitled “Problems Concerning Indigenization of Methodology for Education and Psychology” (Kim, 1979), in which the author was addressing a Korean audience. This does not imply that Kim’s comments would necessarily be agreed to by all, only that they would be understood at a certain level by all of those in the culture who were familiar with the issues.
2. Participants in a study provide their own perspectives by Q sorting the statements, usually from agree to disagree along a numbered scale—e.g., +5 to -5, with 0 (absence of meaning) in the middle. Inasmuch as the statements are assumed to lack inherent meaning until they are endowed with meaning by the person performing the Q sort, the response can safely be said to be indigenous in the sense that it represents the point of view of members of the culture.

3. The resulting data are statistically analyzed using a method (factor analysis) that preserves the indigenous character of the responses. Persons whose subjective outlooks are similar (i.e., they Q sorted the statements in essentially the same order) will emerge in the same group with others who believe as they do. The groups are therefore categories of operant subjectivity (Stephenson, 1977) and are reflective of the culture from which they have been obtained.

Q-methodological studies are therefore by nature as indigenous as can be imagined, and the operant principle which they embody renders the concept of indigenization redundant. There is no guarantee that social scientists, beginning with a personal commitment to indigenization, will necessarily obtain results that are operant, i.e., that will represent functional rather than conventional divisions within society. Q factors, by way of contrast, are always intrinsic to the culture from which they emerge and have the added advantage of being functional inasmuch as they are inextricably tied to the actual Q-sorting operations of participants.

### A Study of Values

This study began in a graduate seminar in political behavior at a Korean university, but for reasons that will become obvious the results were considered provocative and it was suggested that they not be published at the time.<sup>1</sup> A beginning was made with Weber's (1947) theory of charisma, and students were asked to provide a list of any names that came to mind of both Koreans and non-Koreans, living or dead, who, in their judgment, had demonstrated "the capacity to attract other people" for either good or ill. More than 120 such names were generated, of which the following will serve to indicate the range of consideration:

**An Ch'ang-ho** (1878-1938), a foremost patriotic leader.

#### Buddha

**Cha Bum Geun**, professional soccer player, hired away by the Hamburg, Germany team.

**Choi Jewoo** (1824-1864), martyred founder of the Tonghak (Chundo) religion, hanged by the government.

**Chun Doo Hwan**, military General and President of Korea at the time of the study.

#### Confucius

**Eulji Moon Duk**, a military General during the Koguryo dynasty who defeated Chinese invaders.

**Kim Chi Ha**, well-known poet who received a 20-year jail sentence from Park Chung Hee, reduced to house arrest by President Chun Doo Hwan.

**Kim Dae Jung**, opposition leader (and eventually president) whose death sentence was commuted to life by Chun Doo Hwan.

**Kim Il Sung**, then president of North Korea.

**Kim Ok Gyun**, pro-Japanese reformer of the late Yi dynasty, who was assassinated in the early 1900s.

**Kim Soo Hwan**, former Cardinal (now retired) and head of the Korean Catholic Church.

**Kim Yoo Shin**, military General during the Silla dynasty who unified the three dynasties; a symbol of the military.

**Lee Byung Cheol**, (late) president of the Samsung Group, a businessman and Korea's equivalent of John D. Rockefeller.

**Lee Hwang**, a 15th century scholar who brought Confucianism to Korea from China.

**Lee Soon Shin**, late 16th century admiral who defeated the Japanese invasion.

**Non Kye**, a late 16th century kisaeng who pulled a Japanese general into a river, drowning both (the only female mentioned in the list of 120 names).

**Park Chung Hee**, former president, assassinated in 1979.

**Rhee Syngman**, former president (1948-1960).

**Yi Song-gye**, founder of the Yi dynasty (1392-1910).

Also on the list was a variety of well-known non-Koreans—e.g., Mao Tse-tung, Jesus Christ, Leonid Brezhnev (then Soviet premier), Jean-Paul Sartre, The Beatles, Ronald Reagan (then U.S. president), Mahatma Gandhi, Ayatollah Khomeini, Jimmy Carter, General Douglas MacArthur, Karl Marx, Leo Tolstoy, and many others.

As a device for winnowing down the list down to a manageable yet comprehensive few, the names which were nominated were initially assigned to one of the eight value categories employed in the policy sciences (Lasswell & McDougal, 1992):

**Power:** for example, political leaders Kim Ok Gyun and Chun Doo Hwan

**Enlightenment:** Lee Hwang, Kim Chi Ha, Confucius

**Wealth:** Rockefeller, Lee Byung Cheol

**Well-being:** Albert Schweitzer, Lee Soon Shin

**Skill:** Beethoven, The Beatles, Cha Bum Geun

**Affection:** Kim So Wol, early 20th century writer of love poems

**Respect:** Non Kye, Tangun, legendary founder of Korea in 2333 BC

**Rectitude:** Christ, Buddha, Choi Jewoo, Kim Soo Hwan

As might be expected, the most populous category was power, in which half of the names fell; the next-most popular category was enlightenment (a fifth of the names), as befits a Confucian society. The other categories contained only a sprinkling of names.

Following the initial categorization, a sampling of names was drawn from each category (in approximately the same ratio as the popularity of each category) for a Q-sample size of N=50 names, which are shown in Table 2. The names were then typed one to a card, so that each participant had a pack of 50 cards. Participants were then instructed to Q-sort the names from those toward whom they felt most positively (+5) to most negatively (-5), in the following forced-normal distribution:

Figure 1. Q-sort Distribution

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	X <sub>i</sub>
3	4	4	5	6	6	6	5	4	4	3	f <sub>i</sub>

Twenty-five participants, chosen by members of the seminar, provided their Q sorts, which were then intercorrelated and the 25 x 25 correlation matrix was factor analyzed.<sup>2</sup> As shown in Table 1, analysis produced only two factors, the first of which seemed to represent a cultural consensus inasmuch as all Q sorts were significantly associated with it, indicating that all participants had ranked the names in a highly similar fashion reflecting (presumably) that they were in general agreement with regard to those persons toward whom they felt most positively and negatively. A degree of insight into this cultural consensus can be gained initially by examining some of the names associated with the most positive and negative factor scores (all scores are shown in Table 2):

**Positive Consensus:** Buddha, An Ch'ang-ho, Kim Goo, Mahatma Gandhi, Jesus Christ, Albert Schweitzer, Leo Tolstoy

**Negative Consensus:** Kim Il Sung, Chun Doo Hwan, Park Chung Hee, Lee Byung Cheol, Nam Duck-woo, Rhee Kyu Ho, Adolf Hitler

The single highest score was associated with Buddha, whose authority was supplanted with the introduction of Confucianism as the state "religion" under the Yi dynasty, but whose influence obviously remains strong (at least symbolically so) in the 20th century. The fact that Gandhi, Christ, and Schweitzer are also atop this list lends credence to the conclusion that this factor is suffused with rectitude and religious sentiment, or perhaps more generally with reverence. That the factor also includes patriotic leader An Ch'ang-ho, assassinated nationalist Kim Goo, and revered Russian author Tolstoy indicates that the reverence extends to secular figures.

Table 1. Factor Matrix (Appeal)

*Factor Loadings*

R	A	B	age	sex	relig	major	party	philos
1	93	-6	22	f		educ		con
2	90	-19	20	m	Budd	hist	none	soc
3	89	9	25	m	Budd	pol	none	lib
4	85	-18	24	m	Budd	engin	none	natl
5	81	-19	29	m	none	engin	none	lib
6	78	-24	23	m		lit		lib
7	75	-6	25	m	Christ	sociol	none	lib
8	74	9	30	m	sham	pol	none	rad
9	68	16	26	m	Christ	law	none	mod
10	67	11	19	m		lit	none	lib
11	64	26	29	m	none	clerk	none	con
12	63	-24	24	m	none	sociol	none	rad
13	52	-28	20	m	Cath	econ	DKP	lib
14	53	72	28	f		secy	DKP	
15	59	67	47	f	Cath	hwife	DJP	con
16	73	54	49	f	Budd	hwife	DJP	con
17	65	53	38	f		hwife		lib
18	42	50	30	m		pol		mod
19	54	38	41	f	Budd	hwife	none	con
20	61	-64	26	m		sociol	SDP	rad
21	78	-42	25	m		sociol	none	soc
22	77	-38	25	m	Christ	lit	none	con
23	83	-31	28	m	Christ	hist	none	lib
24	74	-33	24	m	Pres	hist	none	lib
25	30	-38	24	f		hist	none	lib

Table 2. Factor Arrays (Appeal)

*Factor Scores*

	Name	A	B
1	Kim Ok Gyun	1	-1
2	Chun Bong Joon	3	-2
3	Mao Tse-tung	0	-5
4	Ludwig van Beethoven	2	1
5	Lee Hwang	1	3
6	Jesus Christ	5	4
7	Leonid Brezhnev	-3	-4
8	Albert Schweitzer	4	4
9	An Ch'ang-ho	4	2
10	Park Chung Hee	-4	5
11	Kim Chi Ha	3	-4
12	John D. Rockefeller	-2	0
13	Adolf Hitler	-5	-3
14	Kim So Wol	1	1
15	Kim Dae Jung	1	-4
16	Jean-Paul Sartre	2	-2
17	Kim Jong Pil	-3	1
18	Lee Soon Shin	3	4
19	Winston Churchill	0	2
20	Buddha	5	2
21	Nam Duck-woo	-4	5
22	Chun Doo Hwan	-5	3
23	The Beatles	-1	-2
24	Ronald Reagan	-1	3
25	Rhee Kyu Ho	-4	-1
26	Mahatma Gandhi	5	0
27	Eulji Moon Duk	2	1
28	Choi Jewoo	2	-1
29	Yi Song-gye	-2	1
30	Park Chong-hwa	-1	4
31	Confucius	3	0
32	Richard M. Nixon	-2	-1
33	Lee Byung Cheol	-4	0
34	Non Kye	1	-1
35	Kim Il Sung	-5	-5
36	Kim Jae Kyu	-2	-3
37	Ayatollah Khomeini	-1	-5
38	Jimmy Carter	-1	-2
39	Kim Soo Young	2	-3
40	Gen. Douglas MacArthur	0	3
41	Kim Goo	4	-2
42	Cha Bum Geun	0	1
43	Aristotle Onassis	-3	-1
44	Chiang Kai Shek	-2	2
45	Karl Marx	1	-4
46	Rhee Syngman	-3	5
47	Kim Yoo Shin	0	2
48	Kim Soo Hwan	0	0
49	Deng Zhao Ping	-1	-3
50	Leo Tolstoy	4	0

A singular feature of those persons whose names received high positive scores is that they are all dead, and almost all underwent severe deprivations during their lives on behalf of a greater societal good: Their reward is continued public respect. This is in marked contrast to the individuals whose names appear at the negative end of this list, all but two of whom (Park and Hitler) were living at the time of the study. It was noted previously that the results of this study were considered provocative, and here is the source of provocation. Those receiving the most negative scores included not only Kim Il Sung, then president of North Korea, but also Chun Doo Hwan, the president of South Korea, plus two members of his government: Nam Duck-woo, Chun's Prime Minister and economic advisor; and Rhee Kyu Ho, the Minister of Education. Also in this group is former President Park, who was assassinated by his own chief of intelligence; and businessman Lee Byung Cheol. It was this alliance of wealth and power for what was widely considered to be private rather than public gain that earned these individuals the lowest scores within this cultural consensus.

If factor 1 represents something of a cultural consensus, then factor 2 represents a source of cultural conflict. As shown in Table 1, although participants 14-25 are significantly and positively associated with factor 1 (hence participate in the consensus described above), they are also significantly associated with factor 2; there is therefore another aspect to their value system and it serves to polarize them. Whereas participants 14-19 are positively associated with factor 2, participants 20-25 are negatively associated. What this polarity represents can be inferred by examining the names most closely associated with the two poles, viz.:

#### **The Establishment**

**Rhee Syngman**, post-World War II president  
**Nam Duck-woo**, Chun Doo Hwan's prime minister  
**Park Chung Hee**, Rhee's "successor" (by military coup)  
**Jesus Christ**  
**Lee Soon Shin**, 16th century admiral who defeated Japanese  
**Park Chong-hwa**, former director of the National Academy of the Arts  
**Albert Schweitzer**

#### **The Anti-Establishment**

**Ayatollah Khomeini**, anti-American Iranian religious leader  
**Kim Il Sung**, president of North Korea  
**Mao Tse-tung**, leader of the People's Republic of China  
**Kim Dae Jung**, political rival of Chun Doo Hwan  
**Kim Chi Ha**, poet placed under house arrest by Chun  
**Karl Marx**  
**Leonid Brezhnev**, Soviet premier

As suggested, the positive pole of factor 2 is populated by individuals many of whom are associated with officialdom and with authoritative control in society: Presidents, presidential appointees, and military symbols (Lee Soon Shin) are

predominant. Even Christ, to the extent he symbolizes officially-sanctioned religion, is included. Only Schweitzer is anomalous in this regard. Hence, participants such as 14-19 (Table 1) not only gave high scores to culturally-consensual figures such as Buddha, An Ch'ang-ho, Gandhi, and Tolstoy, but were also drawn to such Establishment figures as Rhee Syngman, Park Chung Hee, and Lee Soon Shin. By the same token, participants 20-25 not only joined the others in embracing Buddha, An Ch'ang-ho, Gandhi, and Tolstoy, but were also attracted to such Anti-Establishment figures as Kim Il Sung, Kim Dae Jung, Kim Chi Ha, and such outsiders ("outsiders," that is, as viewed within the Korean context) as Khomeini, Mao, Marx, and Brezhnev.

The results above closely parallel those found in a similar study conducted in the United States—namely, a strong cultural consensus and a bipolar secondary dimension—and in both cases more Establishment symbols such as Christ and Schweitzer were included in the cultural consensus, which attests to the natural advantage of the Establishment in penetrating the culture.<sup>3</sup> The fact that Chun Doo Hwan and his compatriots fared so poorly in this regard serves as a reminder to the Establishment that its favored position in the culture cannot be vouchsafed if its representatives stray too far from public expectations. As one of the participants said of the former president, "He goes against history."

Asking participants simply to react to the names of public figures barely scratches the surface of cultural values, but as a methodological illustration this study demonstrates how a commitment to indigenization as a scientific principle can be converted into procedures that provide the social scientist with leverage in studying the subjective aspects of culture. The names were freely given by members of the culture, and so can be considered pro tem to be of importance in the culture. So as to compensate for biases in the kinds of names provided, a sample of 50 names was drawn so as to represent a variety of values (power, enlightenment, wealth, etc.). Participants were then asked to rank-order the names in terms of their degree of appeal, which means that whatever was considered to be appealing as determined within the culture was incorporated within the study: The numbers (from +5 to -5) assigned the various names were a reflection of each participant's values and became the numerical basis for statistical analysis; consequently, the factors which emerged from the analysis necessarily represented value themes, or dimensions, which were a function of the culture itself. Of course, statistical results require interpretation, and persons inside and outside a culture may render different interpretations; nevertheless, the Q-methodological findings upon which the interpretations are based have a demonstrable and undeniable connection to the culture, and this is an important achievement.

#### **The Intensive Analysis of Value Structures**

Crane (1978) states that "it is important to understand the workings of the Korean mind, how the thought-philosophical-value system functions" (p. 13), and if the above study merely scratches the surface in this regard, then it also provides procedures which can be used for probing more

deeply into value structures below the surface. This is achieved in Q methodology by instructing participants to operate with a Q sample under various experimental conditions, and analysis of these experimental performances then reveals the natural segmentations in the person's value system. This is illustrated in the study that follows. Which experimental conditions to select is based largely on theoretical considerations; i.e., in this case, on a priori knowledge about values existing in the Korean culture. There is general agreement, for instance, that traditional Korean values have been influenced mainly by Buddhism, shamanism, and Confucianism (see, for example, Covell, 1982; Hahm, 1998; Roundtable, 1998), especially the latter two. In particular, social life is widely believed to have been influenced by five basic Confucian virtues (*oreun*) (see MacMahon, 1975), i.e.:

- In** (Chinese *jen*): humanity, good will, virtuousness;
- Eui** (Chinese *yi*): righteousness, justice, sense of duty and mutual obligations, of which *hyo* (filial piety) is a sub specie;
- Yae** (Chinese *li*): respect for elders, especially parents;
- Chi** (Korean and Chinese): knowledge, especially of self; enlightenment;
- Shin** (Korean and Chinese): faithfulness and sincerity.

MacMahon (1975) expresses dissatisfaction with the examination of isolated traits and suggests that they have more meaning when seen as a pattern contained in the archetype of the *kunja*, the Confucian ideal, "that gentleman whom I believe to hold the key to understanding the Oriental mentality" (p. 17). Hence, it is not simply the presence or absence of traits that is of interest, but in their patterned relationship, as in the title of Crane's (1978) book, *Korean Patterns*.

With the above as a starting point, a beginning can be made in probing contemporary value structures. In this instance, a single participant was selected and instructed to Q sort the same 50 names used in the previous study, under 12 conditions of instruction—i.e., the participant, using the same set of items, provided 12 separate Q sorts under 12 different conditions (labels below keyed to Table 3):

1. Self: rank the 50 names from those persons whom you consider to be most like or similar to you (+5) down to those whom you consider to be most unlike or dissimilar to you (-5).
2. *In*: rank the 50 names from those persons who, in your judgment, come closest to embodying the value of *in* (+5) to those who embody its opposite (-5).
3. Reason: those who are most realistic, who act on the basis of reason and rationality (+5) versus those who act unrealistically and irrationally (-5).

4. Humor: those who have a sense of humor, who do not take themselves totally seriously (+5) vs. those lacking in humor (-5).
5. *Yea*: propriety and proper conduct (+5) vs. impropriety (-5).
6. Impulse: those who act impulsively and without thought for moral or rational consequences (+5) vs. those who are more constrained and do not act on impulse (-5).
7. Fight: those who take (or have taken) a heroic stand against other persons, groups, or overwhelming odds (+5) vs. those who have not taken a heroic stand (-5).
8. *Kunja*: those who come closest to embodying the characteristics of this Confucian ideal (+5) vs. those who are most unlike this ideal (-5).
9. Sexuality: those who have a strange mystique, who stimulate my curiosity (+5) vs. those lacking in mystique, about whom I am not curious (-5).
10. *Eui*: righteous, just, willing to sacrifice for the sake of others (+5) vs. self-interested (-5).
11. Imperfection: those who need or who would have needed me, or who could have used my help or support (+5) vs. those who do not/would not have needed me (-5).

Table 3. Operant Factors

	Condition of Instruction	A	B
<b>a</b>	Self	04	(70)
<b>b</b>	<i>In (jen )</i>	(65)	(59)
<b>c</b>	Reason	(82)	25
<b>d</b>	Humor	07	-36
<b>e</b>	<i>Yea (li )</i>	(95)	-08
<b>f</b>	Impulse	(-95)	08
<b>g</b>	Fight	(-75)	(46)
<b>h</b>	<i>Kunja</i>	(89)	-03
<b>i</b>	Sexuality	-37	(62)
<b>j</b>	<i>Eui (yi )</i>	20	(75)
<b>k</b>	Imperfection	-35	(64)
<b>l</b>	Appeal	(49)	(75)

*Loadings in parentheses significant (p<.01); decimals to two places omitted.*

To the Korean virtues of *in*, *eui*, and *yea*, and their embodiment in the image of the *kunja*, have been added other concepts such as humor, fight, and sexuality from Schiffer's (1973) psychological study of charisma, as well as reason and impulse as surrogates for the psychoanalytic concepts of id and ego—*eui* (righteousness) is already close enough to the psycho-analytic concept of superego—which Kim (1978) has judged to be of increasing applicability as Korea continues to undergo westernization. As in the previous study, appeal was added to incorporate Weber's (1947) idea of charismatic attraction. The inclusion of self requires little justification: According to Crane (1978), "Perhaps the most important

thing to an individual Korean is recognition of his 'selfhood' ... his inner feelings ... essentially his state of mind" (p. 25), which Crane sums up with the concept *kibun*, a term lacking an English equivalent, but which Crane says is similar to mood. Methodologically, self represents the perspective, or vantagepoint, of the person relative to the value assertions which are rendered in the course of the Q sorting, thereby incorporating the observer into the field of observation.

The 12 Q sorts completed by the participant were correlated, factor analyzed, and rotated according to varimax criteria, resulting in two factors (A and B, one of them bipolar) as shown in Table 3. These factors summarize the three different patterns produced by the participant's Q sortings. Factor B is purely defined by the self (the names of persons who are most like me) and also the person's sense of *eui* as well as the charismatic ingredients of sexuality and imperfection elaborated by Schiffer. Bipolar factor A, on the other hand, is defined at the positive pole by *yea* and the image of the *kunja*, as well as by the presumably Western value of rationality. Ostensibly, no traditional value defines the negative pole of factor A, which is defined instead by the charismatic trait of fighting stance (assertiveness) plus the psychological trait of impulsivity. The value of *in* and the charismatic concept of attraction (appeal) are complex, being associated with both factors A and B; assertiveness is likewise complex on A and B.

Before proceeding to an interpretation of these specific results, it is important to point out that factors A and B are, in a sense, somewhat independent of those values, such as *in* and *yea*, which serve to define them in this particular case; i.e., the value structures which manifest themselves mathematically as factors A and B exist independently of the particular Q sorts which the participant was asked to perform, and in fact could have been revealed using a totally different set of Q sorts obtained with another set of 50 names and a separate set of conditions of instruction. The factors are analogous to the "strange attractors" of chaos theory, i.e., those "sets of points toward which all trajectories seem to be drawn" (Ayers, 1997, p. 375). Through the experiences of social development, we acquire characteristic ways of feeling and responding which can be expressed in a variety of terms, of which *in*, *yea*, *oui*, and others are just a few of many interrelated alternatives which combine to form attractors and containers for subsequent experiences. The role of the conditions of instruction listed in Table 3, therefore, is mainly to release operant responses which are related to those experiential centers of gravity, and whose potentiality is antecedent to the conditions themselves.

The participant in this case is a male college student, the youngest of four children from a poor and uneducated family in which the hated father frequently beat the mother. Upon entering high school, the son began turning his back on family traditions, becoming a Christian and pursuing intellectual achievements. The details of his life are relatively unimportant except that they begin to set the stage for understanding how this person's developing self image has begun separating itself from key symbols of the Confucian tradition. As shown in Table 3, this person's self is firmly

associated with factor B (along with a sense of righteousness [*eui*], the need to help others [imperfection], and mystique and curiosity [sexuality]) and is segregated from such factor A concepts as *yea* and the image of the *kunja*; indeed, the highest scores in factor A go to such traditional figures as Confucius, Lee Hwang, and Choi Jewoo. The symbols of identification of the self, by way of contrast, include modernizer Kim Ok Gyun and peasant rebel Chun Bong Joon along with "outsiders" Christ, Buddha, Marx, and Mao, all of whom stand in opposition to the Establishment that the father likely represented.

This dynamic configuration substantiates Plato's speculation (in Book 8 of *The Republic*) that disjunctions in the harmonious perpetuation of the political system are due to disturbances between fathers and sons (see Lasswell & McDougal, 1992, p. 686). From what little this participant has revealed of his life circumstances, we can infer that the father exaggerated the traditional ideals and endeavored to impose them by force, and that the anxiety which this generated in the son provided him with motivation to deviate, thereby weakening the strength (i.e., stimulus function) of traditional symbols. (The son's anxiety is stimulated in reaction to the discrepancy between the father's exaggerated avowal of cardinal principals [e.g., intimacy] and the degenerate character of his actual operation [tyrannical domination], which gives rise to a perception of hypocrisy and its attendant anxiety.)

It is noteworthy that factor A pits reason against impulse, with righteousness (*eui*) and self independent of this polarity. From the standpoint of psychoanalytic theory, this is equivalent to the ego standing in structural opposition to the id (factor A) and with the superego (factor B) located outside this conflict, which is a classic instance of the triple-appeal principle (Lasswell, 1932). Kim (1978) has noted that the Western experience that gave rise to Freud's theory of the mind was not compatible with the traditional Oriental experience, but that the westernization of the East had brought with it changes and emotional conflicts that were transforming the Korean mind and rendering it more nearly like its European counterpart. This participant is a living specimen of Kim's contention insofar as the factorial structure of his perceptions reads like a case from Freud's notebook. In this regard, we can see how various figures in the external world have become for this student a manifestation, through projection, of the structure of his own outlook (scores for factors A and B, respectively):

<b>Reason:</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>B</b>
Schweitzer	+5	+1
Confucius	+4	-2
<b>Impulse:</b>		
Park Chung Hee	-5	-1
Adolf Hitler	-5	0
<b>Morality (self):</b>		
Karl Marx	-2	+5
Christ	+2	+5

This participant's factor structure and factor scores throw into sharp relief the personal meaning of the secondary world of politics and society. Albert Schweitzer and Confucius are associated with rationality as well as propriety, and figures such as these and others like them are arrayed against the impulsiveness of the likes of former President Park and Adolf Hitler. But factor A is a two-edged sword which this student has discarded, for his self is not associated with this factor, but with the morality and righteousness of factor B, rendered manifest in the lives and teachings of Marx, Christ, and others (e.g., revolutionary poet Kim Chi Ha).<sup>4</sup> This student's preparation is for martyrdom rather than personal gain, for liberation theology rather than national ideology, and for well-justified action rather than contemplation.

### Concluding Remarks

As a prelude to his essay on Korean social life, Crane (1978) suggests that "one way to understand a people better is to take a look at their traditional ideals, their historical goals, and the pithy proverbs that they use as markers to gauge their actions and train their children" (p. 21), and whereas this may be true in certain respects, observation that is too casual runs the risk of getting no deeper than what Miriam Cooke (1997) has recently referred to as "the cellophane of images that cultures construct of each other" (p. 101), and also of themselves it might be added.

In this respect, the two studies reported above are intended to be methodologically demonstrative rather than substantively conclusive. There is neither intent nor need to suggest that the small numbers of unrepresentative cases examined can in any way replace the general conclusions reported, for instance, by Lim (1998)—e.g., that according to polls, Korean traditional values are being replaced by collective individualism, or that goals and results are increasingly emphasized over procedures and means. Nevertheless, it can be said that the large-scale averaging that goes into polling and surveys is apt to obscure as much as it reveals, and that the extensive analysis of many cases needs to be supplemented from time to time with the intensive analysis of just a few (Lasswell, 1938). The principle of indigenization—as well as the principle of specificity (Kantor, 1978), with which it has affinity—requires that measurement and observation take into account the nuances of cultural context; significant differences do not cease propagating at national borders, however, but continue in sub-system contexts and into communities and homes, and even into the varied mosaics of individual lives. To take but one illustration, the single case featured previously reveals three possible modes of conduct (factor A-positive, A-negative, and factor B), only one of which was ostensibly kinetic at the moment it was being measured; but behavior occurs in dynamic fields of social structures and activity, and each behavioral potentiality carries different implications, hence means must be adopted for monitoring these behaviors at intensive as well as extensive levels. While trends are being reported at the aggregate level, then, it is also necessary to monitor those shifts in identity and identification that occur at the individual level and that promise to give us early warning of more widespread changes later on.

### ENDNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> As a reminder, this period (winter-spring 1981) was in the early months of the regime of Chun Doo Hwan, and shortly after the Kwangju uprisings and repression. Student demonstrations were frequent. The senior author was a Fulbright scholar in Korea at the time and was warned that the results of the study, which were not favorable to the regime, could cause difficulties for colleagues and the university. The findings have been shelved since.
- <sup>2</sup> Analysis was by the principal axis method, with squared multiple-Rs in the principal diagonal of the correlation matrix. Only two factors had eigenvalues greater than 1.00, and were retained. Due to the statistical strength of the first factor, the unrotated matrix was accepted as the final solution, which comports with the result of a comparable U.S. study (Brown, 1981, p. 632). Factor scores were then calculated using the Jinni program (Brown, 1980, pp. 301-319). Jinni has since been superseded by *QMethod* 2.06 (Schmolck & Atkinson, 1998), which can be obtained free of charge at URL <http://www.rz.unibw-muenchen.de/~p41bsmk/qmethod/>.
- <sup>3</sup> In the American study (Brown, 1981, pp. 632-633), the cultural consensus included Einstein, Christ, Martin Luther King, Mother Theresa, Kennedy, and Gandhi (vs. Idi Amin, Hitler, Richard Nixon, and Khomeini); the bipolar factor involved the same Establishment (General MacArthur, Billy Graham, Ronald Reagan, Christ, and General Patton) vs. the Anti-Establishment (Mao, Yasser Arafat, Marx, Khomeini, Gandhi, and Castro). Gandhi was the only Anti-Establishment figure to take a prominent place in the cultural consensus list.
- <sup>4</sup> Factor B is not bipolar (see Table 3), but it does contain the names of individuals whom this participant implicitly considers to be the opposite of moral—namely, warriors Kim Yoo Shin, unifier of the three dynasties and continuing symbol of militarism, and Chiang Kai-shek, leader of the Nationalist Chinese; and plutocrats Aristotle Onassis, Greek shipping magnate, and Nam Duck Woo, former prime minister (under Chun Doo Hwan) and economic advisor. The dialectic of factor B therefore places power, wealth, and self-interest in opposition to justice, duty, and self-sacrifice.

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**Steven R. Brown** is professor of political science at Kent State University where he teaches political psychology, methodology, and policy sciences. He is author of *Political Subjectivity* (Yale University Press, 1980) and co-author of *Experimental Design and Analysis* (Sage, 1990), and is currently editor of the journal *Policy Sciences*.

**Byung-ok Kil** is research fellow at the Center for Asia-Pacific Studies, Seoul, Korea. His interests are public policies, intergovernmental relations, security policies, and international affairs in Northeast Asia. He is author of *Security Policy Dynamics* (Ashgate, 2001).