



Tacit Knowledge and the Sociological Turn in Population Studies in Korea in the 1960s and 1970s

In-soo KIM

Abstract

Three fertility surveys were carried out in Korea in the 1960s through funding provided by the Population Council. In this study, I reveal the sociological turn in population studies in Korea that occurred over the 1960s and 1970s by focusing on sociologist Yi Hae-yeong's 1965 fertility survey and a 1972 scholarly conference hosted by the Korean Sociological Association under the title "Sociological Evaluation of Korean Family Planning Research Activities." I analyze the academic foundations of fertility surveys in the 1960s (i.e., 'coupling to American academia'), internal changes of the actors implementing the surveys in the field (i.e., 'feedback from the field'), and the discursive challenge to medical doctor-led implementation of fertility surveys initiated by tacit knowledge of survey (i.e., 'competition for institutional resources'). Thus, I review the attempt at the Koreanization of social surveys in the field of sociology and the sociological turn in population studies, and explore the reason this legacy has been forgotten.

Keywords: fertility surveys, Yi Hae-yeong, Population Council, tacit knowledge, Koreanization of social surveys, sociological turn in population studies

This work was supported by the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Korea and the National Research Foundation of Korea (NRF-2017S1A5B5A02025592).

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Introduction: Scope and Objectives

In South Korea (hereafter Korea), the 1960s are remembered as the formative decade for fertility surveys. In 1962, Professor Yang Chaemo's team from the Department of Preventive Medicine and Public Health at Yonsei University implemented a rural fertility survey in Goyang, Gyeonggi-do province. In 1964, Professor Kwon Ihyeok's team from the Department of Preventive Medicine and Public Health at Seoul National University implemented an urban fertility survey in Seongdong-gu, Seoul. In 1965, Professor Yi Hae-yeong's team from the Seoul National University Population Studies Center carried out a midsize town (*eup*) fertility survey in Icheon, Gyeonggi-do province.¹ Each of these surveys was carried out with financial support from the Population Council (PC), which was in turn funded by the Rockefeller Foundation, in accordance with its objective of comparing fertility by city, countryside, and midsize town.

Yang Chaemo (2001, 316–317) recalled the following in his autobiography: “Upon viewing the list of sociologists included in the research team of the Korean Family Planning Association (Hanguk gajok gyehoek hyeophoe) in 1962, Dr. Marshall C. Balfour advised, ‘Don’t get lost in the forestry of sociology.’”² Kwon Ihyeok, in his various autobiographies as well as in his edited volume of participating doctors, emphasized the significance of fertility surveys and family planning for public health (I. Kwon 2008). Various historical documents published by the agencies that oversaw the Korean family planning program also positively appraised the contributions of the doctors (Hanguk bogeon sahoe yeonguhoe 1991; Daehan gajok gyehoek hyeophoe 1991). In this regard, Cho Eunju (2018, 165) has evaluated the medical doctors involved in Korea’s family planning

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1. The current name of the Seoul National University Population Studies Center is the Institute for Social Development and Policy Research (ISDPR), Seoul National University.
 2. Sociologists such as Yi Man-gap, Pak Sangtae, and Yu Uiyeong participated in the design process of these surveys. Yi Man-gap also participated in the research design process of Kwon Ihyeok's fertility survey (1964) (Interview with Yi Man-gap, 2004; ‘Family Planning Officials and Key Personnel, Republic of Korea,’ Folder 1002, Box 60, FA 210, Series 2, RG 1, Population Council Records, Rockefeller Archive Center).

program as demonstrating well the subjectivity and behavior of a non-Western elite educated in the West.³

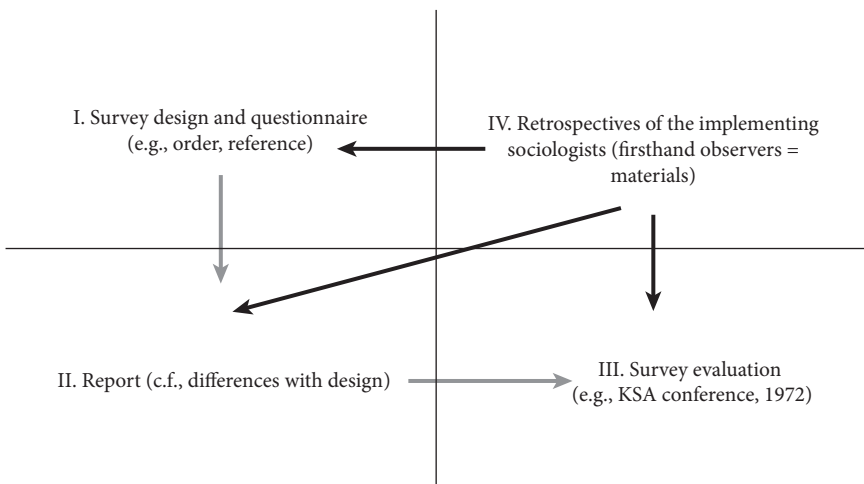
Fertility surveys carried out in Korea in the 1960s were oriented to the state regulation of the reproductive process and women's bodies—in other words, birth control. Such state intervention was carried out by means of the social survey funded by a foreign foundation. Despite the immense social significance of fertility surveys, not to mention their significance as a form of social survey, there remains a lack of adequate analysis of the first such fertility survey carried out by sociologists (as opposed to medical doctors) in Korea—that is, Yi Hae-yeong's 1965 fertility survey. Currently, such research is limited to just two articles (I. Kim 2015, 2016) analyzing the 1965 survey in terms of social survey theory based on interviews with Kwon Tae-hwan, who participated in implementing the 1965 survey as a research assistant.

In this study, I trace and explore the significance of the 1965 fertility survey carried out by a group of sociologists in Icheon, Gyeonggi-do province and a 1972 scholarly conference organized by the Korean Sociological Association (*Hanguk sahoe hakhoe*, or KSA) and titled “A Sociological Evaluation of Korean Family Planning Research Activities” (*Hanguk gajok gyehoek yeongu hwaltong-ui sahoehakjeok pyeongga*). I address the following questions. First, on what intellectual basis and through what networks did Korean sociologists carry out the Icheon fertility survey of 1965? Second, what were the social conditions shaping the

3. Studies on the family planning program have primarily focused on analyzing the population politics of countries based on Foucault's concept of biopower and governmentality. These studies analyzed the relationship between national policy and individual reproduction behavior (Greenhalgh and Winckler 2005; DiMoia 2008; Huang 2009; Homei 2016). Other studies have focused on the activities of transnational organizations led by the United States, in particular on the power of population control discourse that played a role in the development of contraception technology (Connelly 2003; Takeshita 2012). Also, there have been a few studies analyzing how colonial population politics was reorganized and reconstructed into a family planning program during the Cold War (Amrith 2006; Hodges 2008; Sawada 2014). However, knowledge-sociological analysis of the actual conduct of the fertility survey that serves as evidence for the family planning program, and the practical effects of it, has not yet been actively conducted.

implementation of social surveys in Korea and how did they stimulate the intellectual sensibilities of Korean sociologists in the field at this particular historical juncture? Third, how did the experience of implementing the Icheon fertility survey contribute to the capabilities of Korean sociologists? Rather than reducing the history of Korea's early social surveys as a mere reception of Cold War American sociology, I explore the context in which they were implemented and draw out the practical effects of social survey knowledge. Furthermore, I emphasize the specific character of social survey knowledge as tacit knowledge acquired through practice and experience and the process by which such knowledge serves as a resource for the academic field. The materials and analytical method of this article are described in Figure 1.

I seek to reveal the context of the social surveys carried out at this time by integrating separate sets of research materials. First, making use of PC documents collected at the Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC), I analyze the process by which the fertility surveys were carried out. I review how the PC,



(I) Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC)

(II/III) Korean Social Science Data Archive (Hanguk sahoe gwahak jaryowon, KOSSDA)

(IV) Oral data collected through interviews with senior scholars

Figure 1. Materials and Research Design

which commissioned surveys with a certain purpose and selected who was to carry them out, intervened in the survey design process, including setting the sample and formulating the questionnaire. Second, I analyze the process of writing the reports pertaining to the surveys, reviewing how factors unanticipated in the survey design process were discovered in the field. Third, I analyze and interpret the meaning of how the fertility surveys were evaluated in terms of methodology at the time. For these last two tasks, I make use of data available through the Korean Social Science Data Archive (Hanguk sahoe gwahak jaryowon, KOSSDA). Finally, through interviews with individuals directly involved in the implementation of these surveys, I evaluate their contemporary meanings.

The Characteristics of Social Survey Knowledge and the New Understanding of Social Surveys that Emerged during the Cold War

To analyze fertility surveys as a form of social survey, it is first necessary to review the properties of a social survey. First, social surveys require funding and administrative support. Instances are all too frequent in which planned social surveys fail due to insufficient funding or administrative capacity. Second, social surveys are not carried out simply to collect facts but rather to produce them. Categories and concepts used in social surveys are not stipulated retrospectively but prior to the implementation of the survey (Hacking 1986; I. Kim 2013; Choe 2016). Since the objectives and purpose of a survey are reflected in the questionnaire and measurement tools, in analyzing these, one can discern the survey's epistemological concern. Third, social surveys function both as power/knowledge (Foucault 1980) and symbolic power (Bourdieu 2014). The results of social surveys are recognized as objective knowledge that may circulate within the academic field. Furthermore, the ability to carry out surveys is an extremely useful resource within discursive struggles over symbolic capital in academia. Fourth, statistics produced through surveys can be linked, mixed, and combined to construct specific arguments, theories, and abstract concepts (Latour 2016, 444). Therefore, if the process of producing statistics (social

surveys) is not revealed to be objective, the statistics themselves can be said to offer only limited information about reality. Fifth, social surveys are also characterized by a kind of tacit knowledge acquired through implementation, experience, and training.

Considering such properties, the meaning of social surveys carried out in Korea in the 1960s was ambivalent in terms of survey initiative. First, surveys at this time were carried out through the financial support of private American institutions such as the Asia Foundation (AF), PC, and the Agricultural Development Council (ADC) funded by the Rockefeller Foundation (RF). Professional advisers from these institutions also directly participated in choosing who would carry out the surveys, constructing the questionnaires, and selecting the samples. The epistemological frame of those providing the research funding thus determined the direction of the collection of social information. Second, the native knowledge-elite carrying out the social surveys was directly linked with Cold War American academia through their experience of fellowships and studying in the United States. In these respects, Korea's survey sovereignty was only partial.

Meanwhile, one should consider the structural conditions of Korea's academic field at the time. The Cold War served to legitimize the postcolonial, which had also engendered significant changes in Korea's academic field. Cold War scholarship tended toward the localization of knowledge production—knowledge produced by a native elite—demonstrating a significant difference with the colonial collection of social information. During the colonial era, the Japanese Government-General and Keijō Imperial University (now Seoul National University) monopolized survey research, completely excluding Koreans. Circumstances following liberation (1945) were no different. Amid political chaos culminating in the ravages of the Korean War (1950–1953), state organizations were weak, as were the capacity and resources (funding) for implementing social surveys. Until the 1950s, surveys carried out in Korea were far from social surveys in a modern sense. Social surveys implemented in the 1960s, as the first survey-like surveys implemented since the end of colonial era, thus allowed for the actual experience of something only imagined in the interim (I. Kim 2018, 456–457). Accordingly, in determining the implications of knowledge

production in a postcolonial society, it would be insufficient to conclude that such knowledge production was dependent due to the unilateral receipt of research funding and methodological training alone. Rather, a more in-depth analysis should uncover the peculiar issues arising in the practical phase of the knowledge production process—the actual implementation of the surveys—and analyze the effects and consequences of these issues.

Coupling to American Academia: The Reception of Social Survey Methodology

The first social survey truly worthy of the name in the field of sociology in Korea was the “Korean Rural Family Survey” (Hanguk nongchon gajok josa) carried out in January 1959 with AF funding. Yi Man-gap, Yi Hyo-jae, and Yi Hae-yeong implemented the survey under the direction of Ko Hwang-gyeong. Prior to participating in this project, Yi Man-gap and Yi Hae-yeong had taken advantage of a visit to Korea by the head of the Rockefeller Foundation (RF) Department of Social Science Dr. Roger F. Evans in October 1955 to attain an RF scholarship to study in the United States. These two would eventually become the driving force behind the fertility surveys implemented within the field of sociology in the 1960s and 1970s.

Yi Man-gap wrote the following in his 1955 scholarship application: “Sociology should be the positive and empirical study of society...I desire that sociology may become a synthetic science which can supplant Marxism and really solve future social problems.”⁴ Yi Man-gap went on to study at Cornell University under the guidance of Professor Robin M. Williams and would design a survey titled “A Study of Attitudes of Korean Students in the U.S.” in January 1956. In his report to the RF after returning to Korea, Yi Man-gap described the sociology he had originally learned at Tokyo Imperial University from 1941–1944 as speculative and philosophical. In contrast, he described American sociology as empirical and praised its

4. “Curriculum Vitae: Lee, Man Gap (Yi Man-gap), 1955,” Folder 5652, Box 385, FA 244, Series 613, RG 10.1, Rockefeller Foundation Records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

APPLICATION FOR FELLOWSHIP, SCHOLARSHIP, OR OTHER EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE GRANT IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

(Read instructions carefully. All forms should be filled out in English and in duplicate.)

SECTION I - PERSONAL DATA

1. NAME OF APPLICANT (Please list name, including family name)
 Mr. **LEE, Hae Young**
 Mrs.

2. PERMANENT ADDRESS (Street number, city or town, province and country)
30-2 Inhae-dong, Chongso-ku, Seoul, Korea

3. PLACE OF BIRTH (City or town and country)
Seoul, Korea

4. DATE OF BIRTH
 Month Day Year
July 31 1926

5. MARITAL STATUS (Indicate whether single, married, widowed, or divorced)
Married

6. LIST AGES OF YOUR CHILDREN
Daughter—1 year & 6 months

7. COUNTRY OF YOUR PRESENT RESIDENCE
Republic of Korea

8. FOR MORE THAN TWO WEEKS UNLESS HELD WHERE YOU CAN BE REACHED (If appropriate, state)
 TEMPORARY MAILING ADDRESS
I do not expect to be away from my permanent address.

9. PERSONS TO BE NOTIFIED IN CASE OF EMERGENCY (List below name, address and relationship)
 IN HOME COUNTRY IN THE UNITED STATES
LEE, Hae Sun (eldest brother) Lilian LEE (sister-in-law)
11-55 Inhae-dong, Chongso-ku, Seoul, Korea Shepherd College, Shepherdstown, W. Vir., USA

10. LIST BELOW ANY CLOSE RELATIVES OR FRIENDS IN THE UNITED STATES

NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP
Lilian LEE	Shepherd College, Shepherdstown, W. Vir., USA	sister-in-law
CHUN, Myung Ja	(Harvard University) 66 Hilary St., Cambridge, Mass.	friend
CHUN, Hae JONG	(Harvard University) 66 Hilary St., Cambridge, Mass.	friend

11. LIST EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS ATTENDED AND ANY IN WHICH YOU MAY BE ENROLLED AT PRESENT

NAME OF INSTITUTION	LOCATION	DATE (Month and year)	STATUS (Student or other)	DEGREE OR OTHER ACHIEVEMENT	DATE (Month and year)	ACTUAL DATE OF DEGREE OR OTHER ACHIEVEMENT
Chae-dang Primary School	Seoul	Apr 1954	Graduate		1958	
Kyunggi Middle School	Seoul	Apr 1954	Graduate		Mar 1955	
Seoul University Preparatory College	Seoul	Apr 1954	Graduate		July 1956	
Department of Sociology, College of Liberal Arts & Science, Seoul National University	Seoul	Sept 1956	Student	B. A.	July 1960	

12. LIST SCHOLARSHIPS OR FELLOWSHIPS HELD AT PRESENT OR IN THE PAST

SOURCE AND AGENCY	WHERE HELD	DATE (Month and year)
None	None	

NOTE TO EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES: All communications concerning this application should be addressed to the Institute of International Relations, 1 East 67th Street, New York 21, New York.

Figure 2. Yi Hae-yeong's RF scholarship application (1955)

Source: The Rockefeller Archive Center.⁵

APPLICATION FOR FELLOWSHIP, SCHOLARSHIP, OR OTHER EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE GRANT IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

(Read instructions carefully. All forms should be filled out in English and in duplicate.)

SECTION I - PERSONAL DATA

1. NAME OF APPLICANT (Please list name, including family name)
 Mr. **MAN Gap Lee**
 Mrs.

2. PERMANENT ADDRESS (Street number, city or town, province and country)
395-5, Shindang-dong, Songdong-gu, Seoul, Korea.

3. PLACE OF BIRTH (City or town and country)
372, Paekha-dong, Deang-gu, Kyonggi-do, North Pyong-an Province, Korea.

4. DATE OF BIRTH
 Month Day Year
February 18 1921

5. MARITAL STATUS (Indicate whether single, married, widowed, or divorced)
Married

6. LIST AGES OF YOUR CHILDREN
1 year, 1 year

7. COUNTRY OF YOUR PRESENT RESIDENCE
Republic of Korea

8. FOR MORE THAN TWO WEEKS UNLESS HELD WHERE YOU CAN BE REACHED (If appropriate, state)
 TEMPORARY MAILING ADDRESS
US Air Academy Officer's Quarters, Chidasa, South Kyongsang-Province, Korea **1st Feb. Last of May**

9. PERSONS TO BE NOTIFIED IN CASE OF EMERGENCY (List below name, address and relationship)
 IN HOME COUNTRY IN THE UNITED STATES
Joe Yong Chung Col. Chi Hyang Chung
395-5, Shindang-dong, Songdong-gu, Seoul, Korea. Air Attache, Korean Embassy, Washington D.C.
Korea. Wife. a Fellow-officer.

10. LIST BELOW ANY CLOSE RELATIVES OR FRIENDS IN THE UNITED STATES

NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP
John Flantikov	2301 Deer Park, N.W.D., Omaha, Nebraska.	Friend
Thomas E. Schafraster	80-1100, 10th St. S.W., Chicago, Ill.	Friend
Hyung Gap Choi	51 84 S. 10th St. South Bend, Ind.	Friend

11. LIST EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS ATTENDED AND ANY IN WHICH YOU MAY BE ENROLLED AT PRESENT

NAME OF INSTITUTION	LOCATION	DATE (Month and year)	STATUS (Student or other)	DEGREE OR OTHER ACHIEVEMENT	DATE (Month and year)	ACTUAL DATE OF DEGREE OR OTHER ACHIEVEMENT
High School	Matsuyama, Japan	Apr '38	Graduate		Mar '41	
Course of Sociology	Tokyo, Japan	Apr '41	Student	B.A.	Sept '44	
Department of Literature, Tokyo Imperial University	Tokyo, Japan	Apr '41	Student	Graduate of Sociology	Mar '53	
Air University	Maxwell, Alabama	Jan '53	Student	Graduate of Sociology	Mar '53	

12. LIST SCHOLARSHIPS OR FELLOWSHIPS HELD AT PRESENT OR IN THE PAST

SOURCE AND AGENCY	WHERE HELD	DATE (Month and year)
None.	None.	

NOTE TO EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES: All communications concerning this application should be addressed to the Institute of International Relations, 1 East 67th Street, New York 21, New York.

Figure 3. Yi Man-gap's RF scholarship application (1955)

Source: The Rockefeller Archive Center.⁶

utility for underdeveloped countries such as Korea.⁷ While in the United States, he had concentrated on learning social survey methodology and acquiring knowledge of the principles of rural sociology. Yi Man-gap would eventually emerge as a social survey evangelist. In an article written in 2004, he recalled, “the reason I endeavored to learn social survey methods in the United States was the desire to know the reality of Korean society” (M. Yi 2004, 16–17).

Yi Hae-yeong expressed in his 1955 application a deep interest in urban

5. “Application: Lee, Hae Young (Yi Hae-yeong), 1955,” Folder 5650, Box 385, FA 244, Series 613, RG 10.1, Rockefeller Foundation Records, Rockefeller Archive Center.
6. “Application: Lee, Man Gap (Yi Man-gap), 1955,” Folder 5652, Box 385, FA 244, Series 613, RG 10.1, Rockefeller Foundation Records, Rockefeller Archive Center.
7. “Report of Man Gap Lee (Yi Man-gap): Submitted August 15, 1956,” Folder 5652, Box 385, FA 244, Series 613, RG 10.1, RF Records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

and rural family issues and the relationship between culture and personality. Just like Yi Man-gap, Yi Hae-yeong also made clear his intention to learn social survey methodology. The reason he became interested in family issues was his awareness of the rapid dissolution of the traditional family system resulting from families separated by the Korean War and population pressures. Yi Hae-yeong anticipated that the latest research in the United States and Europe regarding transformations in family forms since the industrial revolution would be important points of reference for his own studies. He also anticipated a long-term demand for surveys on Korean society, asserting the need for preparation in this regard.⁸

Just like Yi Man-gap, Yi Hae-yeong lost interest in what he found to be the extremely speculative and philosophical German tradition of sociology after reading the works of prominent scholars within American academia, such as Robert Morrison MacIver and William Fielding Ogburn. Yi Hae-yeong thus expressed a clear preference for the empirical methodology developed within American sociology along with the fields of anthropology and social psychology.⁹ At the University of North Carolina, Yi Hae-yeong carried out research under the guidance of professors John Gillin, Gordon W. Blackwell, and Daniel O. Price. In his report to the RF submitted upon returning to Korea, he emphasized the importance of an interdisciplinary approach incorporating sociology and anthropology with reference to community research. Regarding family studies, Yi Hae-yeong read Marion J. Levy's *Family Revolution in Modern China* as recommended to him by Reuben Hill. He highly praised this book not because it revealed a similarity between China and Korea but because it offered an excellent model for constructing research questions. He added to this appraisal that the idea of Confucian family life advanced in the West was quite divorced from reality.¹⁰

In a letter Yi Hae-yeong wrote to Dr. Roger F. Evans during his sojourn

8. "Curriculum Vitae: Lee, Hae Young (Yi Hae-yeong), 1955," Folder 5650, Box 385, FA 244, Series 613, RG 10.1, RF Records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

9. "Curriculum Vitae: Lee, Hae Young (Yi Hae-yeong), 1955," Folder 5650, Box 385, FA 244, Series 613, RG 10.1, RF Records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

10. "Report to the Rockefeller Foundation," Folder 5650, Box 385, FA 244, Series 613, RG 10.1, RF Records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

in the United States, he mentioned the need to establish a field laboratory for Korea by an American university. His idea, for which he also began talks with Seoul National University, was that capable American scholars be dispatched to Korea to help students with their education.¹¹ He thus observed and critically reflected on the biases in American anthropology regarding Asian society during his studies in the United States and emphasized the need to train researchers. In 1964, he founded the Population Laboratory (PL) and cultivated personnel for carrying out population research and social surveys while implementing a fertility survey in 1965 pertaining to Icheon, Gyeonggi-do province. It appears that his determination formed during his studies in the United States was a major factor in this process.¹²

After Yi Man-gap and Yi Hae-yeong returned to Korea, they began to construct social survey questionnaires using Goode and Hatt's *Methods in Social Research* (1952) as a guide. This book would come to hold an important status in the carrying out of social surveys in Korea. Yi Man-gap and a group of graduate students in the Department of Sociology at Seoul National University studied the book, translated it, and published a corresponding methodology textbook.¹³ The book also served as the main reference in the process of preparing the questions and measurement tools for the 1965 fertility survey regarding Icheon, Gyeonggi-do province.

At the time, however, the research method of social surveys did not so easily circulate among Korean sociologists. Many criticized social surveys for their lack of philosophy and theory. Yi Man-gap (1958) emphasized that Max Weber and Emile Durkheim had greatly influenced American social

11. "Letter from Hae Young Lee (Yi Hae-yeong) to Roger F. Evans (May 16, 1956)," Folder 5650, Box 385, FA 244, Series 613, RG 10.1, RF Records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

12. Yi Hae-yeong studied at the University of Pennsylvania from 1962–1963 where he met Professor Vincent H. Whitney, who was also a PC consultant. Yi Hae-yeong told Whitney that after returning home he wanted to establish a demographic laboratory at Seoul National University and would apply for funding from the PC. "Letter from Hae Young Lee (Yi Hae-yeong) to Vincent H. Whitney (May 28, 1963)," Folder 825, Box 53, FA 210, Series 2, RG 1, Population Council Records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

13. Interview with Professor Kwon Tae-hwan, April 15, 2014, Chuncheon (home). The resulting textbook was *Sahoe josa bangbeomnon* (Social Survey Methodology) (1960).

survey methodology, but his colleagues remained generally unpersuaded. These circumstances clearly convey the status of social survey methodology at the time. There was a widespread suspicion in Korean academia that it would be impossible to analyze Korean society with a Western methodology. In 1963, the KSA began the debate on “research and problems of Korean sociology.” In 1965, marking the tenth anniversary of the founding of the KSA, debate continued over methodological problems in the analysis of Korean social structure. Here, it was demanded that empirical research methodology be appropriately adjusted to Korean society. This critique foreshadowed the critical awareness that arose in the 1970s about pursuing the “indigenization/subjectification of social science” (*sahoe gwahak-ui tochakhwa/juchehwa*) and “Korean sociology” (*Hangukjeok sahoehak*) (Sin 1976; Hwang 1978; Hanguk sahoe gwahak yeongu hyeobuihoe and Yuneseuko hanguk wiwonhoe 1979; C. Kim 1997). The sociologists who had trained in social survey methodology while studying in the United States thus ultimately confronted the new problem of providing evidence for the suitability and validity of this methodology with respect to the Korean reality.

Feedback from the Field: The Concern with Koreanness and the Emerging Reality

Regarding the debate over the indigenization/Koreanization of sociology, Yi Man-gap endeavored to shift the focus by advocating for the scientific quality of social surveys. Nevertheless, many sociologists continued to emphasize the need for a suitable methodology to accurately capture the reality in Korea. Even those advocating for social surveys could not but recognize the disparity between this methodology and the reality in Korea. Yi Hae-yeong espoused a critical awareness, acknowledging the need to first explain the uniqueness of population problems in developing countries, which were different from the West.

Currently, many people are pursuing a model of development suitable to developing countries. However, the most pressing problem in the case of

developing countries is that the understanding of their social systems is fundamentally inadequate. The matter of producing and refining a development model is a technical one. Meanwhile, understanding the social system is essential for resolving population problems in a developmental context. (Yi and Kwon 1978, 'Preface')

The testimony of Kwon Tae-hwan, a veteran social survey researcher who participated in the implementation of the 1965 fertility survey, is also notable: "Calls came in from the Rockefeller Foundation and Ford Foundation. 'Why aren't you applying to our program this time around?' I wrote a letter in reply: 'We don't like your demands. You recommend that we use very sophisticated statistical techniques and if we can't do this you treat the research as inferior. That isn't right for us. Right now, we are considering the most suitable research method for the state of our knowledge.'"¹⁴

Such perceptions led sociologists to assert that questionnaires in social surveys had to be suited to the Korean reality. Kwon Tae-hwan recollected the following:

In 1974, a Japanese professor by the name of Takeshita had been dispatched to Korea from Washington, D.C. for the World Fertility Survey.¹⁵ After researching Korea, he discovered how much he liked the questionnaires included in the Icheon survey and used them to develop his own questionnaire...Each country should adopt a core questionnaire and module. The module would be chosen according to a country's circumstances and interests, whether an economic module, cultural module, psychological module, etc. (I. Kim 2015, 103)

While this was an international survey comparing countries all around the world, at its base lay an interest in Koreanness. However, the intentions,

14. Interview with Professor Kwon Tae-hwan, April 15, 2014, Chuncheon (home).

15. Dr. Yuzuru Takeshita was a professor at University of Michigan and a staff member of the World Fertility Survey project in charge of Korea and the Philippines. He visited Korea in 1976 and revised the draft of the *Korean National Fertility Survey: First Country Report* of the National Bureau of Statistics of the Economic Planning Board.

measurement methods, knowledge, and information of the American private institutions and international organizations that developed the study were shaping the general trend of social survey research in Korea at the time. The English-language reports replete with statistical charts served the interests of these funding institutions. Social surveys carried out in Korea in the 1960s and 1970s were thus subject to external forces, reflecting the asymmetrical structure of international relations manifest in research funding, academia, and evaluative agency. Social surveys at this time were also an example of so-called “original equipment manufacturing” (OEM). They were conceived of as internationally comparative, but proper comparison highlighting the unique meaning of the Korean reality was never possible. In this manner, the objective circumstances of social surveys and the intentions of the actors carrying them out were divorced from each other.

Meanwhile, the socioeconomic conditions of 1960s Korea restricted the categories of measurement within social surveys. For example, the category “occupation” indicated the lack of differentiation of the social structure. This was frequently expressed in terms of Korea’s “backwardness” with respect to Western society, which had already undergone industrialization. In social surveys, Korea’s backwardness led to a methodological problem prompting the critical awareness that tools suitable to Korean society had to be designed. In this regard, Ku Hae-geun (Hagen Koo) of the University of Hawai’i described the social disparity between Korea and the United States he perceived while completing his dissertation in the United States.

I participated as a teaching assistant in a research project pertaining to the phenomenon of rural exodus in Korea jointly overseen by Professor Herbert Barringer of the University of Hawai’i and Yi Man-gap of Seoul National University...I acquired permission from both professors to use the survey materials in my dissertation. Upon returning to the United States, I discovered an important fact when organizing the materials. While working on the category “occupation,” I realized the impossibility of accurately differentiating between Korea’s various self-employed workers according to American standard classifications of occupation... I

also realized that this was not just a problem for the category of occupation but rather an issue owing to the difference in economic structure between advanced and backward countries. (Ku 2001, 72–73)

Ku's reminiscence points to the direct influence the level of modernization and industrialization of society has on the selection of measurement tools. In Korea's social surveys in the 1960s, the category of "occupation" was not objectively presented as a multiple-choice question, as is the case now, but subjectively in a fill-in-the-blank form. Perhaps it is only possible to neatly distinguish between occupations in an industrialized society where most people work for a salary. In addition to the fill-in-the-blank question, participants' social class was indirectly inferred by inquiring about home ownership (own or rent) and whether one owned electric appliances. One can thus discern that the reality of Korea as a backward society was already reflected in the implementation of social surveys itself. The properties of the observed society were directly influencing social survey methodology, a phenomenon to which the researcher self-consciously responded.¹⁶

In summary, the plan for the so-called "Koreanization of social surveys,"¹⁷ that is, the demand to implement social surveys in a manner suitable to the Korean situation, was dominant during this era. The surveyor

16. Another problem that arose was the inability to reconcile the disparity between reality and language: the problem of translation. Yi Man-gap (1979, 25) described this problem as follows: "It would be problematic to simply invoke terminologies commonly used internationally without knowing the historical facts of the grave keeper (*myojigi*), mountain ranger (*sanjjigi*), storehouse keeper (*changgojjigi*), and farmhand (*meoseum*). If the request is made to simply confirm whether [a participant] from the rural class corresponds to a landlord, independent farmer, tenant farmer, or farm worker, one will not be able to properly understand social status in Korea's rural society."

17. This study understands the critical awareness of social survey research in Korea in the 1960s and 1970s in terms of "Koreanization," a concept encapsulating the terms "contextualization" as well as "indigenization." While the term "indigenization" is sufficient to represent behavior, it does not reveal a subject's critical awareness. "Koreanization" is appropriate for describing the critical awareness of the agents who carried out fertility surveys in the 1960s, who argued for the necessity of devising a population studies methodology appropriate to the reality of Korean society by negotiating the field from a sociological perspective.

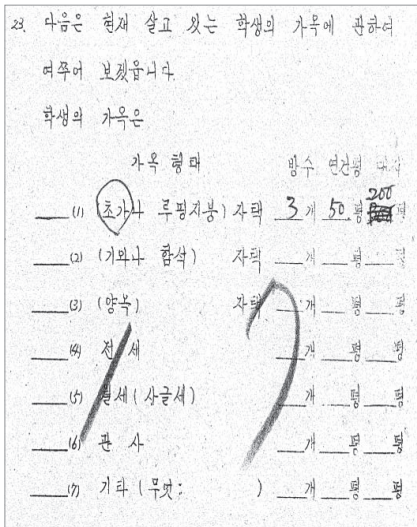


Figure 4. Question from the “Study of the Effect of Vocational Education in Big Cities” (1967)

Source: Seoul daehakgyo ingu yeonguso.

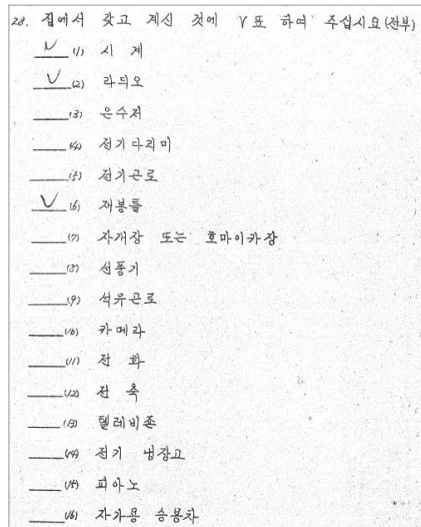


Figure 5. Question from the “Study of the Effect of Vocational Education in Big Cities” (1967)

Source: Seoul daehakgyo ingu yeonguso.

entering the field could not but recognize the disparity between the Korean reality and the American methodologies in which he had been well trained. As the colonial era came to an end—an era in which one inevitably viewed the social reality through the lens of another—Koreans unavoidably encountered an embarrassing situation in which a methodology suitable to understanding Korean society had not yet been devised. Nevertheless, while acknowledging the differences between advanced and backward societies, researchers had begun to anticipate the painful moment when they would have to revise and supplement the social survey methodologies they had learned in the United States.

Competition for Institutional Resources: Critique of the Medical Doctors' Fertility Surveys

The “Sociological Evaluation of Korean Family Planning Research Activities” (Hanguk gajok gyehoek yeongu hwalton-g-ui sahoehakjeok pyongga), a 1972 conference organized by the KSA and funded by the AF, was a monumental event. This conference served as a forum for sociologists to voice their criticism of the activities of the country’s family planning program and fertility surveys.

The position of the PC, which funded the 1960s fertility surveys, was that aggressive and technical birth control through contraception was necessary in developing countries because overpopulation would pose a serious barrier to economic growth. Medical doctors in Korea faithfully adhered to this position. Korea’s family planning program (*gajok gyehoek saeop*), implemented by the doctors, consisted of fertility surveys, birth control campaigns (promotion and education), and the administering of birth control and contraception at community health centers. These activities were part of a program known as “action research.” Michael Latham (2011, 95) criticizes this pattern of practice as “a very aggressive form of social engineering” that concentrates on technological solutions without considering the aftermath.

In response, sociologists asserted the necessity of birth control suitable to the Korean situation and criticized the problems engendered by the doctors’ purely technical approach (birth control) and their neglect of the side effects of contraception on women’s bodies. For example, they pointed out how the doctors were supplied by the PC to surgically install the Lippé’s Loop in women’s uteruses as part of the family planning program, even though this procedure inflicted many harmful side effects on a woman’s body. This was an example of a medical experiment the safety of which was unsubstantiated using Korean women as test subjects (Latham 2011, 103–105; Pae 2004, 226–231).¹⁸ Sociologists also criticized the doctors for misunderstanding the Korean situation and misleading the family planning

18. Pae (2004) also describes how these trials were carried out in Taiwan.

program. Such criticism by Korean sociologists focused on the doctors' mentality, which narrowly restricted family planning to birth control. Meanwhile, they also extended their criticism to Western scholars' discourse on the developmental path of the Third World: "Dramatic decreases in fertility also occurred prior to the 1960s. I think the dramatic decline since the 1960s is the product of intense urbanization and industrialization and the accompanying drastic changes in values rather than the family planning program. This fact is also already attested to in the evaluation of the urban family planning research project" (M. Yi and Y. Kim 1972, 86).

Korean sociologists asserted that decreased fertility was not a result of the family planning program under the doctors' direction, but rather due to social factors such as the rapid rise in the age of first marriage, improvements in levels of education, changes in the country's sociocultural environment, the dissolution of traditional lifestyles and behavior, collapse of the extended family system, and so forth (Hanguk sahoe hakhoe 1972, 147). As Im Heuseop (1972, 90) stated, "That the effort to discover the complicated and diverse determining factors and independent variables of the reproductive process and reflect the effects of these factors in the planning and implementation of the family planning enterprise has been deficient is a commonly known fact."

In addition to criticizing the Western perspective that resulted in a one-dimensional emphasis on birth control in Korea's population policy and the doctors acting as the faithful executives of this policy, sociologists raised a number of other issues. First, there was survey design.

Those in charge of evaluating the family planning program acknowledged the criticism that comparison and consistency were difficult because changes to the survey items were inevitable according to prevailing necessities. However, the countercriticism was raised that "prevailing necessities" referred to the needs of foreign institutes providing research funding rather than Korea's needs. The argument was thus articulated that surveys had to be implemented in accordance with Korea's needs. (Hanguk sahoe hakhoe 1972, 152)

Second, sociologists questioned whether rural areas, which the family planning enterprise set as the unit of analysis, were truly homogenous and whether the representativeness of the case studies was assured: “Korean rural communities, which are largely composed of natural villages (*jayeonchon*), each have their own particular history, geographic characteristics, modes of living, and scale. Attempting to build a general model for the entire family planning enterprise based on conclusions reached through investigation of the Goyang and Gimpo, areas close to Seoul is very dangerous” (Ko and Kim 1972, 53).

Third, sociologists challenged the restriction of survey samples to married women of childbearing age. This was because the reality of Korean rural communities, in which patriarchy prevailed, was that childbirth was determined by the husband’s expectations. It was accordingly asserted that the surveys had to include husbands among the samples (Hanguk sahoe hakhoe 1972, 153). In particular, Yi Hyo-jae argued that fertility could be properly understood only when the strong preference for sons prevalent in Korean society was factored in as an important variable.

Among Koreans, the existence of a son as an important determinant of the number of children and the implementation of family planning has been repeatedly verified through research results. The categorical preference for sons has been a significant variable influencing childbirth among Koreans. In a survey of housewives in Seoul carried out in 1966, the rate of the use of contraception was higher among those with two sons and one daughter: As much as 80.8 percent of this group used contraception. Among those who had only three daughters, just 22.6 percent used contraception. (H. Yi 1972, 133–134)

In a survey of urban poor performed at the time, among the reasons stated for desiring a son the most common was “security for old age” (H. Yi 1972). This suggests a relationship between the strong preference for sons in Korea at the time and the attitude of trying to compensate for the lack of social welfare through family resources.¹⁹

19. While serving as KSA president in 1973, Yi Hyo-jae published, with AF funding, a paper

Besides these criticisms, various other arguments were presented with respect to managing an array of new problems encountered amid the implementation of family planning, such as how to successfully approach poor urban families. Sociologists argued that offering medical service was insufficient by itself and that this method should be supplemented with sociological knowledge; that it was problematic for American sociologists ignorant of Korean society to be devising the questionnaires; and that the doctors' surveys supported family planning but that more effort was needed because they were unable to reveal intermediate variables preventing the use of contraception (Hanguk sahoe hakhoe 1972, 149–151).

As divulged in the sociologists' criticisms and arguments, the Koreanization of social surveys was an agenda initiated as a result of the problems encountered in the actual implementation of surveys based on question sets determined by foreign funding institutions. Simultaneously, this was a slogan that sociologists came to monopolize as they attempted to differentiate themselves from and gain the upper hand over population researchers in the fields of medicine and healthcare. It was thus sociologists who proposed that the achievements of the Korean family planning program had not come through the technical solutions of medical science, that the program could no longer be left to doctors, and that it had to be reconstituted on the basis of understanding the particular characteristics and dynamics of Korean society.²⁰

entitled "An Eighteen-month Study of the Effect of Woman's Employment and Organizational Participation on their Attitudes toward Family Planning in Korea." "Letter of agreement: Dr. Lee Hyo-chai (Yi Hyo-jae) (January 12, 1973)," grant no. K-3039.

20. The Yi Hae-yeong team's fertility survey (1965) was also restricted by such structural conditions. Initially, a sample survey was planned, but due to the lack of a statistical processing machine and weak administrative capacity, a full-scale survey was eventually conducted. Yi Hae-yeong asserted that an "all-inclusive survey will relieve us from the complicated calculation of sampling errors and data processing." "Letter from Hae Young Lee (Yi Hae-yeong) to Vincent H. Whitney (March 11, 1965)," Folder 985, Box 59, RG 1, Accession 1, FA 210, Population Council Records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

Reopening the Issue of Questionnaires: The Sociological Turn in Population Studies

At the 1972 conference, sociologists expressed the desire for a sociological turn in population studies, heretofore the domain of medical doctors. This was a competition over initiative. The 1965 Icheon, Gyeonggi-do province fertility survey served as a knowledge resource in this contest. This was because the implementation of this survey allowed for the development of the capacity for criticizing other surveys.

The reality was that population studies in Korea had been under the direction of doctors up until this time. In the colonial era, the Keijō Imperial University Department of Hygiene and Preventive Medicine (Wisaeng yebang uihak gyosil) oversaw population research. With the objective of managing Koreans not in terms of medical intervention on an individual basis but at the level of the biological population as a whole, colonial population research involved the collection of statistical knowledge pertaining to population as a tool for adjusting birth rates, death rates, and life expectancy. Behind this operation, the fundamental goal was the biological survival of ethnic Japanese in Korea. Thus began the project of understanding changes in vitality among Japanese who had immigrated from the metropole to a colony characterized by a different climate and natural features, and comparing these changes with the vitality of the already acclimatized native people as a control group (Pak 2019, 14).

The measurement of fertility began in 1944 with a Government-General of Korea survey involving Japanese and Koreans in five cities and seven rural communities. The survey adhered to the precedents of the fertility survey carried out in Japan in 1940 (Chōsen sōtoku kanbō chōsa-ka 1944a; 1944b), which was Japan's first nationwide fertility survey and used a sampling method (Ozaki 1940). Circumstances in colonial Korea did not allow for this, however, and the fertility survey was thus limited to inferring a general trend based on the selection of a few cities and rural communities.

The fertility surveys of medical doctors Yang Chaemo and Kwon Ihyeok, carried out in 1962 and 1964, respectively, were historically significant in two ways. Here were groups of experts in a postcolonial society

who had acquired new knowledge through study in the United States. At the same time, however, these were doctors little different from their counterparts who had graduated from Keijō Imperial University but had also later trained in health and preventive medicine through study in the United States. For example, Mizushima Haruo, who wrote *Chōsen jūmin no seimei-hyō* (Life Table of Korean Residents, 1938), received his PhD at the Graduate School of Public Health of John Hopkins University with an RF scholarship (1928–1930) and went on to teach a class on hygiene and preventative medicine at Keijō Imperial University.²¹ Yang Chaemo graduated from Severance Medical School and received his master's degree from the University of Michigan Graduate School of Public Health. Kwon Ihyeok graduated from Seoul National University and went on to study at the Graduate School of Public Health at the University of Minnesota. Viewing population phenomena from a medical perspective, each of these doctors, although of differing nationalities, shared a common understanding of public health, social hygiene, and preventive medicine. How might the fertility survey carried out by sociologists have differed from the ones carried out by these doctors?

In order to investigate the differences between the fertility surveys produced by each research team, one may look at the questionnaires. First, the Yang Chaemo team's survey was a "knowledge, attitude, and practice of contraception" (KAP) survey. It also involved the operation of a clinic and education program for individuals and groups, and a separate survey was planned for evaluating the effectiveness of the education program. This example of so-called "action research" was a measure demanded by Dr. Balfour of the PC.²² Balfour recommended to Yang Chaemo that he engage

21. The case of Mizushima was quite exceptional. Shiga Kiyoshi, head of the Department of Medicine of Keijō Imperial University in the late 1920s, engaged in a number of exchanges with the RF to request funding for the Keijō Imperial University Department of Medicine and Government-General staff. He declared his intention to introduce American-style medical practice and establish public health education and a research system, but his plan ultimately ended in failure (Matsuda 2019, 523, 551).

22. "Demographic Grant: College of Medicine, Yonsei University," Folder 670, Box 47, RG 1, Accession 1, FA 210, Series 2, Grant Files, Population Council Records, Rockefeller

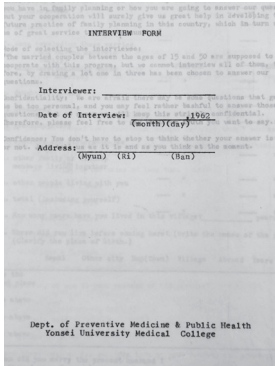


Figure 6. Questionnaire of the Yang Chaemo Team (1962)

Source: The Rockefeller Archive Center.

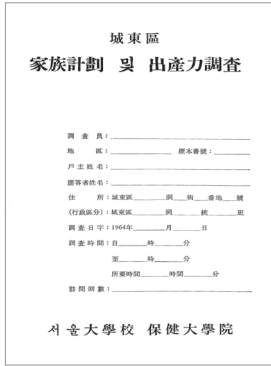


Figure 7. Questionnaire of the Kwon Ihyeok Team (1964)

Source: Hanguk sahoe gwahak jaryowon.

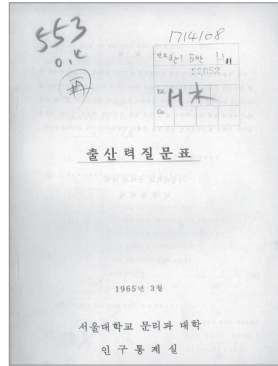


Figure 8. Questionnaire of the Yi Hae-yeong Team (1965)

Source: Hanguk sahoe gwahak jaryowon.

in exchanges with Japanese population researchers (Yoshio Koya, Minoru Tachi, Minoru Muramatsu, etc.)²³ and that he consult Taiwan’s fertility survey for reference.²⁴

The Yang Chaemo team’s survey featured a questionnaire composed of fifty-three questions. The items set as the sociological and psychological variables were as follows:

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- Archive Center. In a letter to Yang Chaemo (May 21, 1963), Ronald Freedman expressed that “The success in obtaining acceptance of contraception in the action program seems quite exceptional.” The letter can be found in the same folder as the demographic grant.
23. During World War II, these Japanese researchers argued for the expansion of the Japanese population from a eugenics point of view, but turned to supporters of birth control under the auspices of the Rockefeller Foundation after Japan’s defeat in 1945. For a detailed analysis, refer to Insu Kim (2019).
 24. Takeshita Yuzuru, a PC affiliate staying in Taiwan at the time, sent Yang Chaemo the relevant material at Balfour’s request. “Letter from Ronald Freedman to Dr. Jae Mo Yang (Yang Chaemo) (May 21, 1963),” Folder 670, Box 47, RG 1, Accession 1, FA 210, Series 2, Grant Files, Population Council Records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

1. Social settings: (1) Role of individuals in kinship, friendship, workshop
(2) Participation in social environment
2. Family variables: (1) Marital adjustment, Husband or wife dominance
(2) Family composition and structure (3) Family division of labor
(4) Family interaction
3. Persons variables: (1) Style of life, familistic work-mobility, mobility orientation
(2) Social attitudes toward work, economic anxiety
(3) Psychological characteristics (4) Privacy in house²⁵

Some notable questions in the questionnaire include the following: “Who is the decision maker in the family?”; “What is your level of satisfaction with your marriage?”; and “Have you ever discussed with your husband the number of children you would like to have?” These were questions exploring the relationship between family life and contraception/childbirth. However, the questions did not reflect a strong sociological or socio-psychological awareness, nor were they formulated in terms of a consistent theoretical position.

The questionnaire of the Kwon Ihyeok team’s 1964 fertility survey was composed of seven sections: 1) Marriage, pregnancy, childbirth, and “Record of Childbirth”; 2) Fertility; 3) Family size; 4) Knowledge, attitude, and practice of contraception (KAP); 5) Communication and concepts; 6) Husband and wife’s personal characteristics (education, religion, etc.); and 7) Possession or lack of furniture and household goods. What stands out about this design is the conscious comparison with Taiwan’s fertility survey and the intention to measure the influence of the degree of contact with modern media on the reproductive/contraceptive activities.²⁶ Outside of these features, the Kwon Ihyeok team’s survey was another example of action research almost identical to that of the Yang Chaemo team.

25. “Overall draft of study contents of family planning study,” Folder 670, Box 47, RG 1, Accession 1, FA 210, Series 2, Grant Files, Population Council Records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

26. “Comment, Questions, and Suggestions: Design of the Sungdong-gu Action Research Project” (by M.C. Balfour, February 1964), Folder 915, Box 57, RG 1, Accession 1, FA 210, Series 2, Grant Files, Population Council Records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

In contrast, the Yi Hae-yeong team's survey featured some strikingly different aspects. First, the primary PC adviser for this survey was sociologist Vincent H. Whitney at the University of Pennsylvania. Whitney had been deeply involved in exchanges with Yi Hae-yeong during his second period of study in the United States. By comparison, the PC adviser to the Yang Chaemo and Kwon Ihyeok teams had been Balfour, a medical doctor. This was a likely reason for differences between the two groups of surveys. Whitney provided extensive advice to the Yi Hae-yeong team for their survey design process, suggesting the following: strengthening baseline information for the measurement of the results of the Korean government's family planning program several years later; midsize towns (*eup*) as the unit of analysis and methods for justifying this choice; methods for protecting the privacy of interviewees and resolving other problems that arise in a fertility survey using unmarried youth as interviewers; methods allowing for comparison with the Taiwan fertility surveys in the survey design process; and methods for training personnel for carrying out population studies.²⁷

The Yi Hae-yeong team's questionnaire included items pertaining to contraception, married life, and family life. In this respect, one notes the absence of a number of questions from the Yang Chaemo and Kwon Ihyeok teams' questionnaires, including those regarding age at marriage, whether or not husband and wife lived together and whether or not they shared a bed, stillbirths, abortion and miscarriage, artificially induced abortion, period of living apart from one's birth family prior to marriage (*bunga*), domestic partner, arranged marriage/love marriage, manner of filial piety, whether or not ancestral rites were observed, etc.

The sociological concepts of "differential fertility" and "intermediate variables" were also reflected in the Yi Hae-yeong team's questionnaire.²⁸

27. "Letter from Vincent H. Whitney to Hae Young Lee (Yi Hae-yeong) (June 19, 1964)," Folder 985, Box 59, RG 1, Accession 1, FA 210, Population Council Records, Rockefeller Archive Center. In addition, following advice from Takeshita Yuzuru and Ronald Freedman, Icheon-eup was finally selected over Yeosu-eup as the survey area. "Letter from Vincent H. Whitney to Hae Young Lee (Yi Hae-yeong) (March 18, 1965)," Folder 985, Box 59, RG 1, Accession 1, FA 210, Population Council Records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

28. "Research Proposal on a Study of Differential Fertility in Korea" (Submitted by Hae Young

According to Yi Hae-yeong's proposal, in the West, differential fertility rate in a traditional sense related to social variables like income, education, and residence had already been reduced, but in Korea the situation was different. Birth control through contraception was limited to urban areas, yet here differential fertility had an important significance. Meanwhile, Yi Hae-yeong predicted that differential fertility in Korea would hardly exist outside of cities. This was because Korean society at the time tended toward producing as many children as possible regardless of socioeconomic background. The variables that the Yi Hae-yeong team set for differential fertility were education, occupation, religion, rural/urban residence, housing condition in terms of number of rooms and possession/lack of household items (i.e., social class), and contact with modern media such as magazines and newspapers.

Intermediate variables included in the Yi Hae-yeong team's survey were intended to examine and understand the sociocultural determinants of fertility. The concept of intermediate variables, devised by Davis and Blake (1956), referred to factors directly influencing sex, pregnancy, and childbirth. Intermediate variables can be divided into three categories based on three kinds of phenomena: biologically determined phenomena; sociocultural determined phenomena unrelated to individual will; and phenomena in which individual decision plays an important role, albeit subject to sociocultural restrictions. The Yi Hae-yeong team's fertility survey was thus an attempt to reveal the influence of social environment and living conditions on biological phenomena (Hanguk ingu hakhoe 2016, 798–801). Meanwhile, these sociologists carried out an additional survey by extracting a special sub-sample. Having experienced the limitations of a standardized questionnaire for revealing the basic motivational determinants of behavior, the sociologists decided to implement an informal and in-depth survey composed of open-ended questions.

In summary, the Yi Hae-yeong team's fertility survey can be evaluated as an attempt to introduce sociocultural variables into population research.

Lee [Yi Hae-yeong], 1964), Folder 985, Box 59, RG 1, Accession 1, FA 210, Population Council Records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

One last note to add would be that Yi Hae-yeong was also receiving advice from Balfour at the time. Balfour advised Yi Hae-yeong that his survey be related to the action research surveys of the Yang Chaemo and Kwon Ihyeok teams to a certain degree but not a copy.²⁹ Perhaps this indicates that Balfour had belatedly come to accept the idea that action research alone was insufficient to properly understand Korea's fertility phenomena and that there was a definite need to understand the actual context of Korean society.

Conclusion: The Forgotten Legacy of the Koreanization of Social Surveys and the Sociological Turn in Population Studies

It is a well-known fact that Korean social survey knowledge was established in the 1960s under American influence. Besides offering fellowships, social survey research funding, and covering the costs of data compilation and buying books, private foundations and international institutions in the United States provided all of the knowledge related to social survey methodology. The consequence of this was the Americanization of knowledge and institutional dependency. As a critical reaction, from the 1970s, sociologists in Korea began to argue for the indigenization (Koreanization) of the social sciences. This movement declared the need to reconsider the forces and dynamics of Korean society on the basis of history and culture.

Nevertheless, such an understanding of the composition of the academic field in the 1960s and 1970s is both half right and half wrong. The receipt of funding and knowledge does not necessarily lead to a unilateral process of dissemination from center to periphery. Although researchers carrying out social surveys at this time developed their question sets and approached their subjects according to the directives of private American institutions, they could not but end up revising and reorganizing their

29. "Letter from Hae Young Lee (Yi Hae-yeong) to M.C. Balfour (May 12, 1964)," Folder 985, Box 59, RG 1, Accession 1, FA 210, Population Council Records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

surveys according to contingencies in the field. The carrying out of social surveys demanded constant feedback and stimulated reflexivity. Such is the reconstitution of knowledge that occurs in the field. At the same time, the social surveys functioned as an impetus for changing the actors who implemented them. Training and gaining knowledge and expertise in social surveys armed these researchers with the symbolic capital that allowed them to seize the initiative in the institutionalized academic field. The Yi Hae-yeong team incorporated sociocultural variables affecting fertility into its questionnaire, and by creating and measuring these criteria, developed the knowledge capacity and resources to critique medical population studies. It is in this sense that the 1965 Fertility Survey and the 1972 KSA conference were significant.

In that case, why might Korean sociologists have forgotten about the agenda for the Koreanization of social surveys and sociological turn in population studies? First, perhaps the weakness of survey resources is one reason. The fertility surveys carried out by sociologists were never implemented regularly or in depth enough to become a viable alternative to the ones carried out by medical doctors.³⁰ These circumstances were referenced at the 1972 academic conference: “As the debate developed, the doctors requested that the sociologists produce an alternative instead of only criticism. The sociologists explained that the purpose of the seminar was to examine from a sociological perspective the state of Korea’s family planning and proper directions to pursue into the future, not to present an alternative upon having conducted sufficient research pertaining to family planning” (Hanguk sahoe hakhoe 1972, 156). Furthermore, as the PC withdrew from Korea in 1973, the assembly chain of the social survey process—fellowship/grant → trained workforce → social/field survey → report publication → academia → fellowship/grant → etc.—dissolved and the field of population studies contracted.

Second, later generations of scholars came to espouse a strong psychological resistance and discomfort regarding social surveys as it was

30. The Yi Hae-yeong team’s implementation of a second fertility survey in Icheon (1974) is worth noting as an important attempt in this regard.

the authoritarian state cultivating and making use of social survey knowledge at the time. There was a strong tendency in policy research for social surveys to degenerate into tools of state power. This tendency could not but be all the stronger in the case of a dictatorial state (T. Kwon 2006), a context that was also a factor behind the argument for the Koreanization of social sciences in the 1970s and radicalization of social sciences in the 1980s.

Social survey research in Korea has developed through continuous interaction with social reality as an object of observation and the field. The reason for paying attention to fertility surveys carried out in Korea in the 1960s and 1970s, which served as the origin Korea's social survey research, is to reemphasize that sensitivity to social realities and the field is the very basis of social survey research.

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