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DEVELOPMENTAL LEADERSHIP: A COMPARATIVE STUDY
OF TWO KOREAN VILLAGES

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN POLITICAL SCIENCE MAY 1979

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ABSTRACT

It was assumed that the one key factor determining the transformational capacity of a social system, and thus determining the level of systemic achievement of the society, is, other things being approximately equal, the degree to which the system's leader is effective. It was also assumed that leadership effectiveness is a function not only of the leader's personal attributes but also of situational attributes. On the basis of this line of thinking, both design and conduct of the present study were basically guided by the logic of the most different systems design.

For the purposes of this study, I constructed leadership rating scales and conducted field surveys in two Korean villages where a large number of situational factors were similar, but leadership factors and the indices of development were dissimilar. To be specific, two Korean village leaders (Saemul Undong leaders) were compared by means of rating scales in terms of hypothesized leadership characteristics: (1) change-orientation, (2) sense of sacrifice (selflessness), (3) planning ability, (4) organizational ability, (5) human relations skill, (6) achievement drive, (7) communication ability (articulateness), (8) out-system orientation, and (9) responsiveness to the ideal of the New Village Movement (Saemul Undong).

The rating results indicated that the leader of the faster-developing village was perceived by the villagers which he leads to exhibit to a greater degree leadership characteristics listed above than
the leader of the slower-developing village. On this ground, it was argued that (1) the pace of developmental change (in a contemporary Korean village) is in good part a function of the above-listed set of leadership characteristics, and (2) the characteristics are regarded as essential elements for successful developmental leadership performance in the village-level social system of Korea.

In addition to a formal interview, the leader's leadership behavior was described and analyzed on the basis of direct observation and biographical data. Major propositions drawn from the observation and analysis were: (1) The more experienced the leader in the ways of the modern world, the more likely he will be a capable village leader; (2) The amount of idiosyncracy credit the leader earns best explains the leader's leadership effectiveness in the context of contemporary Korean villages; (3) Demonstration of the ability to manipulate the external world to the benefit of the village and the demonstration of concern for the public seem to be the best ways to gain idiosyncracy credit; (4) The initiating-directive style of leadership is more likely to be effective in bringing about a developmental change in the village level social system under conditions in which development movement is conceived and pursued by the government in an authoritarian-mobilizing manner; and (5) An effective leader is one who can behave in a way that is task-oriented (instrumental) on some occasions and socio-emotional (expressive) on others.

An underlying value premise of the present study is: economic growth and quantitative betterment of the living standards of a society is, even if it is brought about in a coercive manner, more desirable than poverty. Perhaps, this value premise has led me to look at the
research problems explored in this study from a perspective in which ends justify means, and, thus, the initiating-directive mode of leadership behavior was regarded as "effective-good" and the non-initiating-responsive mode as "ineffective-bad."
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ABSTRACT</th>
<th>iii</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES</td>
<td>xii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## CHAPTER I. THE PROBLEM AND ASSUMPTION

1. The Problem
   1. Research Interest
   2. Context
   3. Central Objective: A Fundamental Research Question

2. Research Method
   1. Basic Rule
   2. Research Design and Data Collection
   3. Modification of the Original Research Design

3. Basic Assumption
   1. Assumption
   2. Rationale of the Assumption
   3. Theoretical Rationale
      a. Contextual Rationale: The Korean Case
      b. Theoretical Rationale
   4. Significance

## CHAPTER II. KEY CONCEPTS: DEVELOPMENT AND LEADERSHIP

1. Development
   1. Development = Economic Growth
   2. Development = Growth + Equality
   3. Development = Good Growth + Desirable Change
   4. Development = Means + Ends
   5. Development As Process
   6. "Development" As Used in This Study

2. Leadership
   1. Meaning of Leadership
   2. Resources of Leadership
   3. Identification of Leader(s) and Unit of Analysis
CHAPTER II. KEY CONCEPTS: DEVELOPMENT AND LEADERSHIP (continued)

(4) Ways of Approaching Leadership ....... 20
   (a) Trait Approach. ............... 20
   (b) Situational Approach. .. .... 21
   (c) Interactional Approach. .... 21


CHAPTER III. THE NEW VILLAGE MOVEMENT: A NEW POLITICAL FORMULA FOR DEVELOPMENT

1. Initiation of the Movement ............... 26
2. Administrative Channel for the Movement. .... 28
3. Objectives of the Movement ............... 30
4. The Extent and Criteria of Governmental Support for Village Development ...... 32
5. The Saemaul Undong (New Village Movement) Leader: ............... 33
   (1) Importance of Leadership .......... 33
   (2) Locus, Power, and Incentives of the Saemaul Leader .. .... 34
   (3) Education of Leaders .......... 36
6. Summary. ............... 38

CHAPTER IV. DEVELOPMENTAL LEADERSHIP QUALITIES: A REVIEW. ......... 42

1. The Regime-Desired Leadership Qualities. ......... 42
2. Functional Prerequisites of the Village Leader: Roles and Tasks. ......... 44
3. Related Leadership Theories ............... 47
   (1) The Theory of Charisma: The Weberian View. ......... 47
   (2) Glenn D. Paige's Conception .......... 48
   (3) Gerth and Mills' Idea. ......... 48
   (4) View of I. Robert Sinai .......... 49
   (5) The Theory of Need for Achievement: David C. McClelland. ......... 49
   (6) Kautskian View .......... 50
   (7) A Theory of Value Determinism: The International Studies of Values in Politics. ......... 51
   (8) Taketsugu Tsurutani's Conceptual Scheme ......... 51
   (9) Ralph M. Stogdill's Summary of Leadership Traits. ......... 52
4. Summary. ......... 53

CHAPTER V. DEVELOPMENTAL LEADERSHIP QUALITIES: A MODEL ......... 57

1. An Anticipated Set of Leadership Qualities ......... 57
2. The Logic of the Causal Chain. ......... 58
CHAPTER V. DEVELOPMENTAL LEADERSHIP QUALITIES: A MODEL

3. Rationale of the Model: Why Nine Variables?

   (1) Change Orientation (Innovativeness) .......................... 60
   (2) Sense of Sacrifice (Selflessness) ...................... 62
   (3) Drive for Task Achievement ....................... 63
   (4) Planning Ability ............................................. 64
   (5) Communication Skill (Articulateness) .................. 66
   (6) Organizational Ability ....................................... 67
   (7) Human Relations Skill ......................................... 68
   (8) Responsiveness to the Ideal of the New Village Movement .......................... 69
   (9) Out-System Orientation ................................. 71

4. Summary ................................................. 72

CHAPTER VI. FIELD WORK DESIGN ................................................................. 76

1. The Logic of the Field Work Design: The Most Different Systems Design .......................... 76

2. Components of Situational Assets ......................................................... 78

   (1) Economic Conditions in the Base Year .......................... 80
      (a) Size of Aggregate Arable Land at the Village Level .... 80
      (b) Number of Households ......................................... 80
      (c) Land Distribution Pattern ..................................... 80

   (2) The Level of Institutional Development .......................... 80

   (3) Geographic Conditions ............................................ 81
      (a) Location, Size, and Features of Terrain of the Village ............................................ 81
      (b) Distance from Urban Center and Transportation System ............................................ 81

   (4) Qualities of Villagers .............................................. 81
      (a) Educational Background ........................................ 81
      (b) Length of Urban Residence .................................. 81
      (c) Exposure to Mass Media ....................................... 81

3. Indices of Systemic Achievement (Development) ........................................... 82

CHAPTER VII. FIELD STUDY: DATA COLLECTION AND OBSERVATION ............................................ 85

1. Selection of Research Sites ......................................................... 85

2. Conduct of Observation and Interviewing ....... 87

3. Features of Sample Villages: Situational Comparison ............................................ 89

   (1) Geographic Setting .............................................. 89
   (2) Demographic Setting ............................................. 89
   (3) Economic Setting .................................................. 90
   (4) Mass Media Penetration ........................................... 91
   (5) Institutional Development ......................................... 91
   (6) Villagers' Urban Residence Experience ............................ 92
CHAPTER VII. FIELD STUDY: DATA COLLECTION AND OBSERVATION (continued)

(7) Clan Structure ........................................ 93
(8) Social Conflict ........................................ 93
(9) A Historical Factor: Gambling ..................... 94
(10) Summary ............................................. 96

4. Comparison of Systemic Achievement ............... 96
   (1) Similarity in the Initial Stage of Development: 1971 .... 96
   (2) Dissimilarity in the Process and Achievement .......... 98

5. Summary ................................................ 102

CHAPTER VIII. MEASUREMENT AND ANALYSIS OF LEADERSHIP QUALITIES .. 104

1. Measurement ............................................ 104
   (1) The Logic of Scale Construction .................. 104
   (2) Questionnaire ..................................... 106
   (3) Pre-Test ........................................... 108
   (4) Ratings by Others (Villagers) ..................... 109

2. Analysis ................................................ 109
   (1) Graphic Analysis: Frequency Polygon .............. 109
   (2) Propositions Drawn From Rating Analysis .......... 124

3. Reliability and Validity ................................ 125
   (1) Reliability ........................................ 125
   (2) Measurement of a Biasing Effect .................. 126
   (3) Validity ......................................... 128

CHAPTER IX. SOURCES OF DYNAMICS OF LEADERSHIP .................. 131

1. Anticipated Sources of Leadership Qualities ........ 131
   (1) Amount of Formal Education ..................... 132
   (2) Length of Urban Residence ....................... 132

2. Comparison of Two Leaders' Antecedent Variables ..... 134
   (1) Similarity ....................................... 134
   (2) Dissimilarity .................................... 135
   (3) Analysis of the Background History ............... 136

3. Dynamics of Leadership Performance: Change Strategy .... 138
   (1) A Review of Conceptual Guidelines ............... 138
      (a) George M. Beal's Conception of Change Strategies ... 138
      Empirical-Rational Strategy ...................... 139
      Normative-Reeducative Strategy ................... 139
      Influence-Manipulative Strategy ................... 140
      Power-Coercive Strategy ......................... 140
CHAPTER IX. SOURCES OF DYNAMICS OF LEADERSHIP (continued)

Conflict Strategy. ........................................... 140
(b) Hollander's Theory of
Idiosyncracy Credit ........................................ 141
(c) Gerth and Mills' Leader
Typology .......................................................... 142
The Routineer ...................................................... 142
The Innovator ...................................................... 142
The Precursor ...................................................... 142

(2) Observation: Two Leaders' Leadership
Strategies .......................................................... 143
(a) Characteristics of Mr. Noh's
Leadership Performance .......................................... 144
(b) Characteristics of Mr. Choi's
Leadership Performance .......................................... 150

4. Propositions Drawn ............................................. 152

CHAPTER X. CONCLUSION: AN OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH PROCEDURE AND
MAJOR FINDINGS .................................................. 156

1. An Overview of Research Procedure. ......................... 156
2. An Overview of Major Findings. ............................. 157
3. Implications for Further Research. ......................... 165
(1) From a Methodological Point of View ................. 165
(2) From A Substantive Point of View ....................... 165

CHAPTER XI. A METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTION: VALUE PREMISE .......... 174

APPENDIX QUESTIONNAIRE .................................. 179

BIBLIOGRAPHY ..................................................... 183
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Components of Respondents in Each Village.</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Demographic Conditions of the Two Villages</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 The Amount of Arable Land and Distribution Pattern</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 The Level of Mass Media Penetration.</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Villagers' Educational Background Level.</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 The Extent of Villagers' Urban Residence</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Two Villages' Level of Community Development 7 Years Ago.</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 The Extent of Differentiation of Leadership Characteristics Based Upon the Most Frequently Chosen Scale-Point.</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Comparison of Total and Mean Rating Scores of Each Variable Obtained by Each Leader</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Mean Score Difference of Each Leadership Characteristic Between the Two Leaders.</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Comparison of Simplified Response Pattern of Each Scale.</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Profile of Developmental and Less Developmental Leader Based on the Villagers' Rating</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Profile of Developmental and Less Developmental Leader Based on Observer's Rating</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIGURE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Locus of Leadership.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Administrative Channel in New Village Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Village Leader's Major Functions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Logical Structure of Conceptual Framework.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Hypothetical Village Development Trend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Level of Village Conflict Perceived by Villagers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Cumulative Frequency of Number of Projects Completed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Perceived Level of Village Development (By Villagers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>The Extent to Which the Leader has Displayed a Tendency to Act in Accordance with the Spirit of the New Village Movement (Commitment to the Ideal of the Movement)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>The Extent to Which the Leader has Displayed a Tendency to Subordinate His Own Interests to the Interests of the Community as a Whole (Selflessness).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>The Extent to Which the Leader has Displayed a Tendency to Seek New Ways of Doing Things Such as New Agricultural Practices and New Community Development Programs (Change Orientation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>The Extent to Which the Leader has Displayed a Desire to Excel Over Other Villages in the Race for Community Development or has Emphasized Getting Things (Development Projects) Done (Achievement Drive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>The Extent to Which the Leader has Displayed an Ability to Make Plans with Regard to Community Development Projects; What Project Shall Be Done and How It Shall Be Done (Planning Ability).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>The Extent to Which the Leader has Displayed an Ability to Assign People to Appropriate Tasks or Roles So That People Can Work Effectively and in Cooperation With Each Other (Organizational Ability)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FIGURE

15 The Extent to Which the Leader has Displayed an Ability to Express Clearly His Ideas and Opinions vis-à-vis Other People Such as Villagers and Local Officials (Articulateness) ................. 117

16 The Extent to Which the Leader has Displayed a Skill to Establish and Maintain Friendly Relations With Such People as Villagers and Local Officials (Human Relations Skill) .... 118

17 The Extent to Which the Leader has Displayed a Tendency to Visit the Outside World in Order to Obtain Information or Muster Resources in Support of Community Development (Out-System Orientation) ............................ 119

18 Comparison of Leader Characteristics by the Mode Point of Rating Scales ............................................. 120
CHAPTER I
THE PROBLEM AND ASSUMPTION

Suppose we could divide a whole society into two test groups with all conditions except political leaders being equal. Let us assume that each leadership group has different conceptions of ends and means. Suppose that the experiment runs from time 1 to time 2 in groups A and B, with political leadership groups PLa and PLb acting upon conditions Ca and Cb. If conditions at time 2 were identical to those at time 1 for both groups we would assume that PLa and PLb had no effects beyond condition maintenance. If, however, conditions at time 2 both differed from those at time 1 and from each other, then we would assume that the different political leadership groups had some effect.¹

1. The Problem

(1) Research Interest

There exists a continuing, if somewhat vague, willingness on the part of development administrators and scholars alike to recognize that leadership is an important element in accounting for societal development in general and to specific problems of social change, such as rural development, in developing countries. There is, for instance, an argument that an active community, vibrantly responsive to varied pressure for social change, can be the work of human leadership.² In this study, my research interest centers around the concepts of leadership and development. Primarily, those developmental leadership characteristics which are assumed to be closely associated with the pace of community development (developmental change) at the village level social system will be explored.
(2) **Context**

Since 1971, rural villages in Korea have been undergoing a rapid change. The Park Chung-Hee regime has made a deliberate and continuing attempt to accelerate the rate of economic and social change throughout the nation, and especially in rural areas, in the name of the New Village Movement.

One characteristic of the New Village Movement is that in order to mobilize rural people toward the goal of rural development as designed for the Movement, rural villagers were reorganized under the leadership of a Saemaul leader (New Village Movement leader) in each village.

In this context, the term village leader as used in this study refers to Saemaul Undong leader working in village-level social system in contemporary Korea within the framework of the New Village Movement.

(3) **Central Objective: A Fundamental Research Question**

When we look at on-going social entities like villages, we may find that, despite the serious commitment of the regime to the sweeping transformation of rural society, some villages develop more quickly than others. Thus a fundamental question to be answered in this study is: Why does a certain village change more quickly than another? Keeping this question in mind, much attention will be paid to the distinctive characteristics of an effective village leader contrasted to a relatively ineffective village leader who is working in a different, but similar, village setting.
2. **Research Method**

   (1) **Basic Rule**

   A methodological principle by which this research endeavor has been guided was the middle-range view of theory building process: The in-between of grand theory and raw empiricism. Middle-range theory suggests that our theoretical basis must be specific enough to be empirically testable, and our data must test or confirm theoretical hypotheses. Thus, theory that cannot be testable is considered to be impractical, and data not related to theoretic hypotheses irrelevant for them, although such data may have another kind of theoretical usefulness. Relating theory to empirical domain or referents, and empirical domain or referents to theory has been regarded by many scholars as a vital point in the theory building process. The researcher believes that even though untestable theory is still theory, it cannot be identified as a good theory. If a theory is to be a good theory, it should have the highest degree of testability. While a theory never can be fully verifiable or justifiable, it must be nevertheless falsifiable. It must be possible for an empirical theory to be refuted by experience. In addition, we should note that no theory can explain a particular empirical domain if we fail in assuring some extent of scientific validity and reliability.

   (2) **Research Design and Data Collection**

   On the basis of the logic of the comparative and experimental design, two Korean villages were selected for the purposes of this study.
Data were largely collected by means of field survey. The formal interview was conducted by virtue of a structured questionnaire designed to measure the village leaders' leadership characteristics, employing an other-rating method. Analysis of the data was made in the form of a frequency polygon for vivid comparison.

(3) Modification of the Original Research Design

At this time, it should be mentioned that originally the researcher intended to explain village development via the concept of individual modernity. During field study, however, it was decided to re-focus the study on comparing two village leaders with the assumption that differences in village development are more strongly associated with leadership factors than with individual modernity factors. Leadership characteristics are conceived as major explanatory variable for village development and change. Consequently attention was directed at the leadership characteristics each leader manifests.

3. Basic Assumption

(1) Assumption

Formally stated, a guiding assumption of this study is that one key factor determining the transformation capacity of a social system, and thus determining the level of systemic achievement of the society, is, other things being approximately equal, the degree to which the system's leader is effective in performing his leadership requirements. It is also assumed that leadership effectiveness—"an appropriate goal setting and a productive use of human and natural resources, at or beyond potential"—is a function not only of the leader's attributes but also
of situational variables. Keeping this assumption in mind, suppose that all the situational factors are held constant at the initial stage of the developmental process. What factors, then, would be salient predictor variables for leadership effectiveness and thus for social change at Time 2? No doubt, a leader's personal attributes which make up the leader's leadership competence will loom large.

(1) **Rationale of the Assumption**

(a) **Contextual Rationale: The Korean Case**

In contemporary Korea, rural development is basically pursued in the combined form of the top-down and the self-reliance approaches. By the "top-down approach" is meant that the government formulates general guidelines and programs for agricultural and community development at the village level social system. In this approach, government employees or mass media carry these guidelines into the rural villages so that they can be transformed into tangible results. "Self-reliance" means that a rural village has autonomy in setting goals, mobilizing resources, and implementing action programs. It is, to some extent, characterized by citizen initiative and participation in the process of developmental change of the community (village). By "combined approach" is meant that, although general outlines for change at the village level social system are provided by the government, the concrete action programs for change are determined by the village itself, in accordance with the general outline of the government-set developmental planning. In this approach, a core leader of a village usually takes the initiative for deciding what to do and how to do it, for obtaining necessary resources, and for carrying out the development projects. In
contemporary Korea, each village has a core developmental village leader--called the New Village Movement leader (Saemaul Undong leader)--who has a certain amount of authority and power for initiating and supervising developmental actions in the village. Therefore, the quality of the village leadership (The New Village Movement leader's leadership quality) can be regarded as one of key factors determining the pace and direction of village development. It thus merits special attention.

(b) Theoretical Rationale

An individual who occupies a central leadership position in the operation of a given society will certainly be associated with changes in the productivity and growth of the society. This idea has been persuasively argued and explored by several social scientists such as Paige (1977), Almond and his associates (1973), Tsurutani (1973), Sinai (1971), Jacob et al. (1971), Kincaid (1976), Toynbee (1947) and many others.

Sinai, among others, succinctly justified the importance of leadership in a group or society. He writes,

In order to surmount the opposition of existing arrangements, in order to break the dragchains of fixed habits and automatic customs, in order to transcend that boundary beyond which the majority of people do not function promptly by themselves, leadership is required from a special minority.

According to Toynbee, developmental change in a society does not occur in a day or haphazardly. It usually occurs as a result of men's protracted struggle to break through the framework of social inactiveness and stagnation captured in the "cake of custom." He continues to argue that the growth of civilization is the work of creative individuals or minorities, who must devise appropriate responses to social challenges
and also lead the society to opt for those responses. When the elites no longer fulfill this function, decline and death result. As the bulk of mankind tends to remain mired in past ways the task of the creative minority is to contrive some means of carrying this sluggish rear guard along with them in their eager advance. Led by an elite, civilization grows through a series of successful responses to continuing challenges. What is emphasized by Toynbee is that if a society is to develop, it should have creative individuals who fashion a response to the challenge. They should lead the masses so as to make successful responses to the varied challenges. The growth of civilization hinges upon the behavior of a creative minority who can be conceived as leaders.

Paige, who has serious addressed himself to the study of leadership, especially political leadership, also conceives of leadership as an aspect of developmental causation. Leaders, according to Paige, as a source of enormous creative potential within the given society, can, individually and collectively, have a creative influence upon society akin to that of scientists and artists. His idea of developmental causation is clearly articulated in his definition of the concept of political creativity. He writes,

By political creativity we mean the capacity for combining ideas and action in such a way as to produce conditions that are, for a given society, different from those previously existing. Assuming that leaders constitute a source of enormous creative potential for a given social system, Paige placed leadership at the center of social progress.

Taketsugu Tsurutani (1973) and Gabriel A. Almond (1973) have each
endeavored to illustrate empirically the importance of leadership in national development and social change. Coincidentally, they concluded that leadership, motivated to modernize society, is one of the requisites for national development. According to them, changes in the structure and culture of the system are predominantly attributable to the behavior of the leader, especially the problem-solving capacity of the leader.

As a result of his empirical investigation, Tsurutani argues that the pace of national development and modernization is essentially the function of leadership variables. Almond and his associates also conclude that leadership is important in the strategy of developmental causation, not as a substitute for other forms of developmental causation, but as an essential approach.

More specifically, the importance of leadership in the process of community development has been widely recognized.

Jacob and his research associates, for instance, hypothesized in their research project (International Study of Values in Politics) that social change in the community level social system is the product of human leadership. Their research results show that the quality of community leaders is positively related to relative activeness of the community-level social system.

According to Everett M. Rogers, leadership variables seem to be especially important in explaining the success of change programs in village-level society. He also suggests that the quality of village leaders is positively related to the relative success of change programs in the village. Kincaid views village development as the result of an increase, or growth in the efficiency of community leadership.
performance with which the system mobilizes input resources and transforms them into system outputs. He postulates that a village as a system has a given productive potential at any point in time, and the extent to which this potential is realized can be mostly explained by leadership factors.\(^{14}\) Rostow argues that the take-off of a society requires the existence and the successful activity of some group in the society which is prepared to accept innovations.\(^{15}\) Borrowing his idea, it can be conceived that take-off of a village also requires the existence and the successful activity of an unusual leader or a group of innovators (leaders) in the village who are prepared to commit themselves to the higher cause of collective good and interest.

In summary, taking into account all the positions reviewed here, it can be concluded that any attempt to approach development via the notion of leadership would certainly be meaningful.

4. **Significance**

From a methodological point of view, this study is an exploratory case study in the sense that the empirical domain of the study is mainly composed of two villages and their village leaders, one from each village. Thus data gathered can hardly provide the foundation for scientific generalization of the proposed hypotheses and the grounds for disproving an established generalization. However, I am convinced that what is known about one or two villages and their leaders can provide some meaningful materials for further studies and thus serve as a basis for theory-building enterprises. It can even be claimed that the cumulative effect of such studies will lead to fruitful generalization. In addition, from a "policy-relevancy" viewpoint, the study is considered
as significant in the sense that the study can provide some policy
guidelines for rural development applicable to some Third World
countries like Korea.
NOTES TO CHAPTER I


CHAPTER II
KEY CONCEPTS: DEVELOPMENT AND LEADERSHIP

Development as here employed thus covers the entire gamut of changes by which a social system, with optimal regard for the wishes of individuals and sub-systemic components of that system, moves away from a condition of life widely perceived as unsatisfactory in some way toward some condition regarded as "humanly" better.¹

This means that to the extent that leadership and development are related, different kinds of persons are effective as developmental leaders in different kinds of circumstances. There is no ideal development man.²

1. Development

Development can be conceived in various terms. Some may see it in terms of economic growth, others may see it in terms of growth and change, while still others may see it in much more ethical terms.

(1) Development = Economic Growth

When development is conceived in economic terms, it usually connotes the elimination of poverty, rising standards of income and living, growing prosperity and productivity. What is most deficient about the notion of development measured by per capita income is that it reflects little about a sense of well-being and economic equality. "The growth-first-and-let-equality-come-later" mentality often has been justified by the "trickle-down theory"--that leading sectors, once advanced, would then spread their advantage to the lagging sectors. Thus development
policies of the 1950s and 1960s paid little attention to the value of equality.  

(2) Development = Growth + Equality

In the 1970s the focus of attention began to shift to measuring the equality of distribution. Dudley Seers, for instance, conceives of development in terms of the following criteria: (1) decrease in poverty, (2) decrease in inequality, and (3) decrease in unemployment. He writes:

An accurate definition of the term development needs at least the following three questions: What has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality? If one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have, it would be strange to call the result "development," even if per capita income doubled.  

(3) Development = Good Growth + Desirable Change

According to this view, a change can be considered as development only when it takes a system from an existing state of affairs to a better state of affairs and good growth. If any growth causes a change to a worse state of affairs, it cannot be considered as development. Peter L. Berger wrote,

Development will then refer to such instances (actual or projected) of economic growth and sociocultural modernization as are deemed desirable in the contexts of moral judgement.  

According to Goulet, development covers changes by which a social system moves away from a condition of life perceived as unsatisfactory toward some condition regarded as "humanly better." Inayatullah also defined development as change directed toward patterns of society that allow better realization of human values, that allow a society greater control
over its environment and over its own political destiny, and that enables its individuals to gain increased control over themselves. According to this line of thinking, people who speak of development seem mostly to be engaged in the business of ethics.

(4) Development = Means + Ends

Can development be sought through coercive means? For Goulet, the answer is absolutely "No." For him, regardless of the question of the effectiveness of the means to being about the intended end, the question of moral justification of the means should be given the first priority. To adopt morally unacceptable means is for him to negate what presumably is being sought in the name of development. According to Goulet, where the happy consonance of means and desirable ends occurs there also lies genuine development. Development is, in a sense, a particular constellation of means for obtaining a better life.

Goulet argues that if the means for development are ethically unacceptable, it would be ridiculous to call the result development. The basic philosophy of his argument is that no matter how good as well as desirable the ends, it does not justify unfair and intolerable means employed to reach the ends. For him, ends never justify the means.

Goulet stresses that if some basic elements of the good life such as (1) life-sustenance, (2) self-esteem, and (3) freedom are diminished instead of enhanced in the name of development, it is no more than pseudo-development which does not assure the "good life" for the people. According to this line of thinking, "development" should involve, both for those who propose it as for those to whom it is proposed, central value choices about the meaning of "good life."
choice of means for development as well as goals of development should be made in accordance with the people's value orientation to whom development is proposed. It must be a value-guided human choice. Stauffer argues that if any development is to be a genuine one, it should be based upon the value-guided human choice of its recipients.10

The crucial question in this formulation is the moral consonance of means with ends. Expectations were that all the elements of good life could be pursued simultaneously and that they constituted a cluster of development at the same point in time. The question is: Are the means always morally compatible with the ends? Can all good things go together? My answer is: It may or may not, depending on situations and cases.

(5) Development As Process

Throughout this study, the concept development refers to the successive approximations of an allegedly desirable terminal condition. That is, development simultaneously presupposes two realities: a terminal condition and a process condition. Since the terminal condition is the goal which we can never reach, the term development implies an endless progress toward an allegedly desirable end-state. It is seen as flowing through time without beginning or end. It is a continuous and unfolding process consisting of stages in which characteristic factors not only appear in greater or smaller degree, but also in a certain order of occurrence.

(6) "Development" As Used in This Study

The term development is used in this study with special reference
to community development. It is conceived in economic terms: the elimination of poverty, rising standard of income and living, and growing prosperity and productivity. It is regarded as the output of a system performance coordinated by a set of leadership functions. Understood thusly, the concept of development seems to be quite closely related to the concept of social activeness as conceived by Jacob and his associates who saw community activeness as an output of two types of social and political behavior combined together: resource mobilization for and popular involvement in collective performance which leads to improvement of living conditions in the community.¹¹

Due to the similarity of the meanings, the concepts community development, systemic achievement, and social activeness will sometimes be used interchangeably in this study.

In this study, the concept of development (community development) is primarily measured by quantitative improvements achieved by means of community development programs completed in the community during a certain period of time and consequent overall improvement of living conditions perceived by the villagers.

I am aware of the risks involved in attempting to operationalize the term development (community development) in terms of the above elements. What is most deficient about the notion of development measured by quantitative betterment or perception of improvement of material living conditions is that it reflects little about justice and equality which can also be conceived as indications of positive development or good living.

But notwithstanding its weakness, the measure of development operationalized in this study is regarded as an appropriate, if not
satisfactory, measure. The basic philosophy of this argument is that
(1) certain quantitative growth such as in food, real income, and modern
facilities can serve as an essential indication of good life in rural
villages which have long suffered from extreme poverty and (2) when some
basic elements such as food, income, and modern facilities are
increased, it helps individuals improve the quality of life to which the
ideal of development ultimately refers.

In this study, quantitative betterment is regarded as the short­
term goal of development, while qualitative betterment serves as the
long-term goal of development. It is assumed that when quantitative
betterment is achieved, then qualitative betterment, which assures
increased quality of the good life and good society, follows, at least
in the long run. By the same token, it is also assumed that without
"having" quantitative growth, the enjoyment of the good life and good
society would not follow. Even a developmental ethicist, Goulet,
emphasized that certain quantitative improvements are clearly necessary
to improve the quality of life.12 Therefore, I believe that production
of more goods (the short-term goal of development) must take precedence
over qualitative betterment of life (the long-term goal of development).
All good things cannot go together; they, especially the elements of the
good life, can only go one after another.

2. Leadership

(1) Meaning of Leadership

Ralph M. Stogdill's (1974), Glenn D. Paige's (1977), and Edwin P.
Hollander's (1978) massive reviews of leadership theories show that
there have been a great variety of definitions of leadership. It seems
that there are almost as many definitions of leadership as there are leadership scholars.

In this study, the concept of leadership is understood to involve some kind of outstanding initiative in organizing and coordinating collective activities of a group or social system. It is conceived as a chief initiating and coordinating structure of a social system or group. The initiation and coordination will certainly be followed by communication and interpersonal influence or power directed toward the attainment of group goals. Stated somewhat more formally, leadership is defined as "interpersonal influence" or power, "exercised in situation and directed through the communication process, toward the attainment of [organizational] goals."13

The concept of influence is used in this study more or less synonymously with the concept of power. That is, the concept of leadership offered for the purposes of this study subsumes the concept of power.

Not surprisingly, many scholars defined leadership in terms of the concept of power. Fiedler writes,

Leadership, essentially, means power over other people, and power over others enables a man to do things, to get things, to accomplish feats that, by himself, are unattainable.14

For Janda, all leader-follower relationships are basically power-wielder vs. power-recipient relationships, although Janda's conception of leadership is restricted to legitimate forms of power.15

For Friedrich, leadership can be conceived either in terms of coercive or consensual power. In Friedrich's view, leaders are "power-holders," "power-spenders," and "power-makers."16

Burns also discusses leadership in terms of power. For Burns, leadership is those processes and effects of political power in which a
number of actors appeal to and respond to the needs and other motives of would-be followers with acts for reciprocal betterment or the achievement of real change in the direction of "higher" values. 17

Finally, it should also be noted that the concept of leadership as conceived in this study includes all categories of power: legitimate power and illegitimate power, let alone reward power, coercive power, referent power, and expert power described by French and Raven. 18

(2) Resources of Leadership

The concept of leadership was defined in this study with special reference to positional leaders. That is, the authority of a leader is assumed to be derived by and large from a position which is held by the leader.

In general, in order to exert influence, a leader must have resources upon which he can draw. The most obvious resources are possessions, such as goods, money, or knowledge. Resources can also take the form of occupancy of vital organizational roles and positions, grant of legitimacy to the actor by others, communicative and persuasive skills, and special qualities of the actor that others find. As a matter of fact, resources provide a person or organization with a basis for generating leadership. However, if the use of these resources is prevented, the actor cannot realistically be said to exert any influence or power in this situation.

(3) Identification of Leader(s) and Unit of Analysis

In this study, the term "leader" or "political leader" simply refers to a central actor of a group or society and who occupies a local
position which relates to various counter positions in a particular role set. Therefore, the term leadership presupposes a position; the location of an actor or actors in a group which is characterized by a certain type of authority to guide the collective performance of the group or organization in the direction of achieving the desired goal.

Usually, three principal community leader identification methods have been employed either separately or in combination. They are (1) position, (2) reputation, and (3) participation approaches, depending upon whether the person holds a salient formal office, is reputed to be influential in community affairs, or is found by case methods to be effectively involved in making community decisions. In this study the positional approach is employed. Leaders are taken to be persons in positions of formal political salience. Followers are taken to be all other members of society who interact either directly or indirectly with leaders as identified above.

As was previously suggested and will be discussed in the following chapter, the primary developmental leadership position in contemporary Korean villages is the position of the Saemaul Undong leader.

(4) Ways of Approaching Leadership

There are three basically different approaches to leadership studies. They are (1) trait approach, (2) situational approach, and (3) the interactional approach.

(a) Trait Approach

The idea of trait approach is characterized by the assumption that the emergence, maintenance, patterns, and effectiveness of leadership is
It is the so-called "great man" theory of leadership. According to this theory, events are explained by referring to the unique qualities of prominent persons. In its most extreme form, this view is captured in the assertion that "all factors in history, save great men, are inconsequential."22

(b) Situational Approach

The underlying assumption of this approach is that the emergence and effectiveness of leadership basically depends upon situational attributes. It is an opposite view of the "great man" theory. This view emphasizes events as factors that lay the groundwork for some people to take on the role of leader and exert influence in line with the force of these events. It attributes all variance of leadership effectiveness to fortuitous demands of the environment, denying the influence of individual differences.23

(c) Interactional Approach

Most recent theories maintain that leader characteristics and situational demands interact to determine the extent to which a given leader will prove successful in a group. Their basic assumption is that the best traits cannot be functional without interaction with situations.24 The same leader who is highly effective in one situation may be relatively ineffective in another. As a result of a cross-cultural community leadership survey, Jacob and his associates remarked that to the extent that leadership and development are related, different kinds of persons are effective as developmental leaders in different kinds of
circumstances. He concluded that there is no ideal developmental man. 25

(5) The Researcher's Way of Approaching Leadership

In the light of the above discussions, it seems that an adequate way of approaching leadership studies is to involve not only a study of leader's traits but also a study of situational variables, including followers' attributes. Therefore the broad framework of this study will be based upon the idea of the contextual approach. The contextual approach implies that an adequate understanding of leadership should be approached in the given situational context. It involves at least three basic interrelated elements: the "leader," the "followers," and the "situation." The idea of contextual approach and its major components are shown in Figure 1 on the following page which delineates a paradigm of this leadership approach. 26
Figure 1. Locus of Leadership (Borrowed from Edwin P. Hollander, 1978: 8)
NOTES TO CHAPTER II


CHAPTER III
THE NEW VILLAGE MOVEMENT: A NEW POLITICAL FORMULA FOR DEVELOPMENT

Development is no abstraction, but a historical reality situated in time and place. Consequently, before analyzing its goals and its nature as a change process, one must identify the context or matrix within which change occurs. 1

1. Initiation of the Movement

Rural reforms in Korea can be dated back to 1947 when the expulsion of the Japanese after World War II made possible a program of land reform under American auspices that resulted in a substantial reduction in tenancy. Another thoroughgoing reform was subsequently made in 1950 when the government implemented the second round of land reform. However, those reforms were not followed by consecutive, sustaining governmental efforts which could push rural people toward self-sustaining developmental actions.

It was not until 1970 that the government adopted, to a considerable extent, a developmental strategy designed to promote self-sustaining developmental movement in rural villages. In a sense, during the last two decades (1950-1970), the agricultural sector in Korea suffered a kind of benign neglect. There were of course some previous community development efforts, but none equal to the scale and intensity of the top leadership commitment after April 22, 1970.

On April 22, 1970, the neglect ended when President Park announced
the idea of the New Village Movement:

If villagers work hard in accordance with the principle of self-help and self-reliance, all the rural villages will turn out in the near future to be much more livable.²

On the basis of this Presidential idea, the government has designed a new framework for rural development strategy. The government quickly rearranged its administrative, especially local administrative, channels, formulated the movement ideology, and trained and posted the movement leaders in places. Distinctively, each rural village was assigned a Saemaul Undong leader position which was expected to be filled by an indigenous village leader.³

Consequently, the existence of, and demands for devotion to, the New Village Movement and the imposition of the Saemaul Undong leaders in each village became central features of developmental politics and administration in contemporary Korea. The movement has provided some essential functions that facilitate village development and, in turn, facilitate rural development. It quickly provided a normative framework for change; created social foundations for change; suggested general guidelines and programs for change, and supplied, to some extent, financial and material support for change.

The movement has not been confined to rural sectors, but has been spreading into every corner of society: into the urban areas, industrial factories, public bureaucracies, and even political parties. In fact, all the people--farmers, public officials, politicians, and intellectuals--have been encouraged to participate in the movement.⁴ However, it should be noted that the primary units of the movement are rural villages and villagers. That is, villages and villagers are the principal targets of the movement.
2. Administrative Channel for the Movement

Since the New Village Movement was originally initiated by the President and thus has operated in a highly centralized, bureaucratic, top-down context, administrators, especially local administrators, have increasingly been forced to commit themselves to the operation of the Movement. Usually, general guidelines for the Movement are formulated by the Ministry of Interior Affairs with the approval or direction of the office of President and then implemented through administrative channels.

The administrative channel of the Movement can be schematically diagrammed as follows: 5

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Figure 2. Administrative Channel in New Village Movement
Outwardly, it seems to have dual systems, but, in reality, it is based upon monism, because the non-governmental system is also composed of or headed by governmental officials or Saemaul leaders. The Central Consultative Council is composed of the ministries concerned, and is headed by the Minister of Home Affairs. The Provincial Consultative Council in each province is composed of high-ranking provincial officials, professors, and prominent social figures, and is headed by the governor. The County Consultative Council in each county is composed of county officials concerned, socially influential people, and Saemaul leaders, and is headed by the county chief. The Town Committee for action is organized in the same way as the County Consultative Council. Finally, the Village Development Committee is composed of influential villagers and several village leaders such as Li Chief, 4-H club leader, Women's Club leader, and the Mutual Help Club leader. It is headed by the Saemaul leader. That is, in the village the Saemaul leader is responsible for administering the movement.

The diagram suggests that the central bureaucracy exerts intense pressure on the local bureaucracy which, in turn, exerts pressure on village leaders to ensure the effective conduct of the Movement in the village level social system. Vincent S. R. Brandt reports that because of President Park's personal commitment and continuing interest in the Movement, what has actually happened is that the intense pressures from Seoul for quick, concrete results at the village level have jolted the local bureaucracy out of its lethargy. Officials of all government agencies have been mobilized to a sustained activist intervention on behalf of rural development goals. Consequently, village-level Movement leaders will certainly be under strong pressure for change.
3. **Objectives of the Movement**

The central objectives of the Movement, which are apparently designed to change rural conditions in contemporary Korea, can be broken down as follows:⁷

1. **Transformation of Consciousness**: To inspire the ethos of hard-work, self-help, and cooperation in the minds of the people and to overcome old ways of doing and thinking (Creation of New Men).
2. **Establishment of an autonomous cooperative work system in the community** (Encouragement of Collective Performance).
3. **Consolidation of National Integration and Consensus**: To narrow the gap between the Government and people, the urban and the rural society, and between classes.
4. **Improvement of Living Conditions in the Villages**: To enable villagers to live in modern ways (Rise of Living Standard).
5. **Innovation of Agricultural Practices**: To increase rural productivity.
6. **Productive Use of Rural Manpower**: To mobilize rural people toward developmental activities.
7. **Productive Use of Potential Resources**: To mobilize rural community resources for the sake of community development (Resource Mobilization).

The objectives of the Movement seem to highlight the values of cooperation, hard work, self-reliance and self-help, technological innovation, material advancement and productivity. Of them, hard work, self-help and self-reliance, and cooperation are major instrumental values.
frequently appearing in the rhetoric of the Movement. That is, the primary concern of the Movement seems to be mental revolution (motivational and spiritual transformation) among people which is expected to function as a psychological basis for developmental behavior by the people. The revolution in consciousness was most pronounced in promoting the spirits of hard-work, self-help, and cooperation. Collectivism (collective actions) and concern for the common welfare (creation of collective goods) have been elevated over individualism. Modern practices and ways of doing things have been recommended instead of old ways and customs such as, for instance, traditional rituals for wedding and funeral ceremonies.

The government has consistently emphasized the values mentioned above as prime instruments for a better life, demanding that people sacrifice in the name of development. The justification is that today's sacrifice is a small price for the rewards that shall breed legend among future descendents. The words, in fact, have long since assumed great ideological significance.

Technological innovation (agricultural innovation), material advancement, and increased productivity, on the other hand, can be considered as terminal values. The Movement does not seem to be seriously addressing itself to the ideal of what might be called distributive justice and egalitarianism. Otherwise put, the strategy of the Movement seems to be basically justified in terms of a liberal capitalist ideology. No serious attempt has been made to change the economic structure in the village level social system in the name of the New Village Movement. The underlying conditions for the operation of the Movement have been the principles of a free market and capitalist
ideology. For the Movement, concern with structural factors and thus structural reform seem to be secondary.

4. The Extent and Criteria of Government Support for Village Development

The government does not subsidize every village on an equal base. The general rule is: the more self-help oriented the village, the more likely it will get governmental aid for village development projects. The criteria evaluating the level of self-help orientation are as follows:10

(1) Some sort of communal project completed by villagers themselves (e.g., village road expansion).

(2) Accumulation of a village development fund (at least $2,500).

(3) A good leader willing to dedicate himself to community development works.

(4) An increasing record in agricultural production (for example, acceptance of high yielding rice varieties).

(5) Some completed development plans or ideas.

(6) Capability for autonomy.

On the basis of the above criteria, all the villages are classified each year into three categories: (1) basic villages (relatively low in achievement), (2) self-help villages (moderate in achievement), and (3) self-sustaining villages (relatively high in achievement).11

In most cases, government aid is given to those villages which have shown a record of relatively high-level self-reliant achievement, by means of the villagers' own hard work and cooperation. This policy serves to further stimulate competitiveness among villages and the self-reliance or self-help spirit in the minds of people, especially
those in the stagnant villages.

Under this rule, if any village wants to get government aid, the villagers have to help themselves under the guidance of a village leader. Therefore, it can be said that obtaining government aid depends in large part on the village leader's abilities.

5. The Saemaul Undong (New Village Movement) Leader

(1) Importance of Leadership

To reiterate, a major characteristic of the Movement is that at the village level, it relies on the Saemaul Undong leader as a requisite for community development. Earlier President Park said that,

If the New Village Movement is to succeed, first, leader training must precede all else. The rapid spread of this Movement depends upon the penetration of all levels of society by the new wave caused by leaders.

In quick response to the President's idea, the government sought, among other things, to change the villages' traditional leadership structure to a modern structure by institutionalizing a new positional leader which is called the Saemaul Undong leader. General guidelines and programs for change are routed through national administrative channels and mass media to the Saemaul leaders in the villages. They are no doubt called upon to make a strong commitment to innovative change programs.

The regime calls for active role-taking by the Saemaul leaders in the building of "new villages." It urges hard work (persistence and sacrifice), self-help, and cooperation in the pursuit of community development, calling on them to eschew passive fatalism and to rely on strength of will in the face of obstacles. The Saemaul leader, as a
developmental and political instrument, is primarily responsible for setting developmental goals (agenda setting), mobilizing resources, and promoting popular participation in collective actions. He is realistically expected to behave as a development vanguard in his social system as well as a conformist to the regime.

Of course, in addition to the Saemaul Undong leader, there are several other positional leaders in contemporary Korean villages, such as Li chief, the women's club leader, and the 4-H leader. Of them, the most influential positional leader is the Saemaul Undong leader and the second most influential is the Li chief. The former specializes in village development task functions, and the latter engages in routine village administrative functions.

All these leaders, including some village influentials, constitute the village development committee, which, in turn, is headed by the Saemaul leader. The number of committee members differs from village to village. On the average, there are approximately 10-15 in each village.

(2) Locus, Power, and Incentives of the Saemaul Leader

The Saemaul leader is elected by the people (villagers), but his election should be approved by the government post facto. Therefore, it is believed that the positional authority of the leader stems from two sources: (1) the villagers' consent and support, and (2) the governmental support, especially that of the local government. The Saemaul leader may remain in his post indefinitely as long as his performance is satisfactory to both villagers and the government.

According to Fiedler, the positional power of a leader is an important explanatory variable for leadership effectiveness. Then,
the question is: What kinds of power can the Saemaul leader exercise and to what extent?

Obviously, for a Saemaul leader, being elected by villagers and approved by the government is one way in which the leader derives power. That is, the obvious way in which a Saemaul leader obtains power is through the framework of the New Village Movement, which is closely linked with the national administrative system. The framework gives the leader the right to perform the leadership functions described earlier (Chapter II). This type of power is usually called legitimate power. In case a villager does not follow the Saemaul leader's legitimate orders, the Movement framework administers disciplinary actions through the leader. In this case the leader can exercise a kind of coercive power to some extent. In short, the ideology of the Movement upholds the leader's right to command and to discipline the deviants.

Of course, the leader can also exert expert power, referent power, and reward power over villagers. It is assumed that each Saemaul leader has approximately the same amount of positional power (legitimate and coercive power), while expert, referent, and reward powers are different.

Saemaul leaders, selected by certain criteria, are awarded and conferred decorations on several political occasions. One representative occasion is the Monthly Economic Review Conference which the President and all cabinet members and Government Party leaders attend. At the Conference a few Saemaul leaders are presented awards and the Presidential mark of honor. They are also allowed to present their experiences with regard to village development and other related topics. At the end of the Conference, they join the President for lunch and talk
further on personal and community development affairs. Once they are through this procedure, the Saemaul leaders become heroes or heroines in their local community.

Another similar mechanism is the Annual Saemaul Leaders Convention which Saemaul leaders from all over the nation, high-ranking governmental officials, and political leaders, including the President, attend. A dozen distinguished leaders are selected and awarded by the President and other political leaders. It follows from this that the morale of the Saemaul leader is enhanced and his authority is reconsolidated.

There are no material rewards for Saemaul leaders such as monthly payment. Even though regular monthly payment is absent, there are several types of incentives: (1) easy access to governmental subsidy--if a leader is recognized as distinguished in his activities as leader, he is given a high priority in obtaining governmental subsidy for his own business--and (2) potential for upward social mobility--when a leader receives recognition for his distinguished achievements in community development, a special opportunity is given to him to move upward to even higher positions, such as the position of a local official. A Saemaul leader, if he is really dedicated and has demonstrated ability, may be nominated by the President to run for membership in the National Assembly. Recently President Park made a suggestion to nominate a successful Saemaul leader as a congressional candidate of the Government party.

(3) Education of Leaders

The Saemaul leadership training program started in 1972. There are
now several leadership training institutes in various places, both at local and central levels. Of them, the Suwon Saemaul Leader Training Institute is representative.20 Once a person is elected as Saemaul leader, he is required to be trained in any one of several leadership training institutes.

The training period varies from 7 to 15 days. Since the training program began in 1972, it is assumed that most active village leaders have undergone the training program by now. The training method is highly disciplined and spartan. Jin H. Park, who has long been one of the leadership training lecturers, writes as follows about the training program.

In January 1972, 150 village leaders, one from each county recommended by the local administration office, arrived as the first trainees. The training program was for two weeks and followed a spartan and rigorous course aimed at inculcating mental and physical discipline and individual and social responsibility. The 150 trainees were divided into 10 subgroups with 15 persons each. Each group shared a dormitory during the training period. Uniforms were distributed to the trainees. Each day began at 6 o'clock by saluting the national flag and singing the national anthem followed by a program of physical exercise. After breakfast, at 8 o'clock the trainees gathered in the auditorium for more singing, this time of Saemaul songs. After that came the presentation of case stories of individual farmer's success. These case stories of successful farmers formed the most important part of the training curriculum. No textbooks are used in the Institutes.21

Characteristically the training seems to rely heavily upon successful stories and spartan regulations. The atmosphere of the institute seems to be quite similar to that of a military academy.

The central objective of the leadership training is, no doubt, creation of new men who become much more responsive to the ideals of the New Village Movement as well as more developmental-minded than before.

In addition to Saemaul leaders, several other categories of leaders
such as cabinet members, government party leaders, congressmen, intellectuals, religious leaders, professors (scholars), business leaders, and even student leaders are trained in the institutes regularly. The Government may expect all the elites, national as well as local elites, to be trained by the institutes.

6. Summary

The conclusion I have drawn from the above discussion is that the regime has a high propensity to mobilize the population in support of national programs of economic as well as community (rural village) development and to intervene in the value orientations of their people. The regime creates the physical and social foundations for rural development, makes overall plans, promotes developmental integration at the local as well as national level, and provides, to some extent, the requisite goods and services for rural village development to proceed. In short, the framework for village development seems in general to be state sponsored, controlled, or guided. Therefore, it is believed that the potent source of rural change in contemporary Korea is the governmental influence. Accordingly the regime can be characterized as an authoritarian mobilizing system.

From the village-specific standpoint, the existence of a component Saemaul leader and his successful activities seem essential to the pace of village development, even though they can affect the course of village development only within the context of the regime orientation (framework of the New Village Movement), because the regime uses them as key instruments for the promotion of developmental change at the village level social system. Wha-Joon Rho (1977) and Il-Chul Kim (1977) also
recognized the importance of the Saemaul village leader's functions and activities connected with the process of community development.

With these contextual backgrounds, the Saemaul leader will be regarded in this study as one of the most important factors accounting for the variance in the level of systemic achievement in the village level social system in contemporary Korea. The guiding assumption is: the more competent the Saemaul leader, the more developmentally progressive will be the village system, other things being approximately equal. Given this assumption, the researcher is interested in identifying a set of developmental leadership qualities characteristic of successful Saemaul leaders at the village level social system in contemporary Korea, though they might not be generalizable across diverse situations.
NOTES TO CHAPTER III


10. 74 Saemaul Undong Chonghap Chich'im, p. 36.


14. Li means village. Often transliterated as Ri in the Korean studies literature.

15. Fred E. Fiedler, Leadership, 1971, p. 11.


18. 74 Saemaul Undong Guideline, p. 258.


CHAPTER IV
DEVELOPMENTAL LEADERSHIP QUALITIES: A REVIEW

Leaders are usually initiators of action. However, their initiatives can be accepted or not by followers. Much depends upon the qualities of the leader, including the power of office, personal appeal to followers, and the meshing of the leader's ideas and programs with group and organization needs.  

In this chapter, I will discuss (1) regime-desired village leader (Saemaül leader) qualities, (2) salient characteristics of the leader roles and tasks viewed in connection with the context of village settings and the framework of the New Village Movement, and (3) some relevant leadership theories. The discussion is designed to derive a set of primary components of developmental leadership qualities, that is, the essential elements of quality requirements for leadership effectiveness among the Saemaül leaders in contemporary Korea.

1. The Regime-Desired Leadership Qualities

Evidence for regime-desired leadership qualities can be found from two sources: one is the village leader training curriculum and another is the government-set village leader recruitment criteria.

The Saemaül leader training curriculum focuses on the following factors:

(1) Major national policies and patriotism (Allegiance to the Regime).

(2) Developmental values such as a sense of efficacy, thrift,
cooperation, and hard work.

(3) Anti-communism.

(4) Technology and information about agricultural innovation and family planning.

(5) Planning (agenda setting) and implementation of community development projects.

(6) General leadership skill.

Meanwhile, the government-set village leader recruitment criteria are as follows:³ (1) credibility, (2) persuasiveness, (3) burning desire for developmental achievement, (4) creativity, (5) a certain amount of economic ability, and (6) action propensity.

Of these factors, the government places a special emphasis on credibility which the saemaul leader gains from villagers. The governmental standpoint is appropriate in a sense because according to the theory of idiosyncrasy credit, if only a leader can gain a certain amount of credibility (credits) from his followers, then he can become a successful leader.⁴

In summary, according to the village leader training program and recruitment criteria reviewed thus far, the government seems to value, among other things, the following qualities: (1) developmental mentality which is open to innovations and new experiences; efficacious rather than fatalistic; willing to work for the collective interest in cooperation with others; harbors the values of hard work and self-help; is patient with present sacrifices and willing to defer gratifications for future life, (2) persuasiveness, (3) technical expertise, and (4) ideological reliability.
2. Functional Prerequisites of the Village Leader: Roles and Tasks

Categorization of leadership functions can be used as a general conceptual guideline from which an anticipated set of leadership qualities can be logically derived. The functions of leadership have usually been discussed within the broad boundaries of the instrumental and expressive modes of leadership. Using these categories, distinctions were made between functions that are primarily oriented toward organizational effectiveness and others that are socially integrative. Downton conceives that instrumental functions primarily comprise (1) a goal setting function, (2) a communication function, and (3) a mobilization function while expressive functions primarily subsume (1) an ego-support function (gratifying the group members' compulsive need to be loved and to feel important) and (2) an inspirational function (providing meaning to life and imparting purpose to action and suffering).5

Hollander has proposed a similar set of leadership functions. He writes,

The various functions of leadership include organizing, directing, and coordinating efforts. There are also such functions as maintaining the group, defining the situation, and setting goals. Leadership also involves internal and external relationships, including conflicts. This means negotiating and settling disputes with other social units, in organization, and with other agencies and nations in the government and world arenas.6

As a result of a massive leadership literature survey, Stogdill provides a rather well-balanced picture of leadership functions as follows:7

(1) Defining objectives and maintaining goal direction
(2) Providing means for goal attainment
(3) Providing and maintaining group structure
(4) Facilitating group action and interaction
(5) Maintaining group cohesiveness and member satisfaction
(6) Facilitating group task performance

Categories of functions provided here are general enough to apply to the possible context of village leadership, even though in some selected instances some functions may not be performed adequately or may be insignificant due to variations in environmental pressure and personal temperament.

In a more simplified form, village leadership functions can be clustered into three categories, which can be labeled (1) the task-achievement function (setting goals, allocating labor, and acquiring resources), (2) the system-maintenance function (maintaining the integration of various parts of the system with each other), and (3) the system-linkage function (maintaining the integration of the village system with the external world).

As a positional leader who is primarily responsible for village development, the Saemaul leader is expected to fulfill, at least, the above set of functions. As suggested, one of the important functions of the village leadership is a system-linkage function, which means maintaining the essential link between the village and the outside world and incorporating the village system into the nation state. Regarding this function, the leader represents the village system to its external world, and, in turn, the external world, especially, the national political system, to the village system.

As discussed above, functional prerequisites focus attention on the problems that must be solved. Therefore, in the light of the objectives of the New Village Movement, the primary function of the Saemaul Undong
leaders would be community development projects achievement function. Therefore, it is assumed that no matter how good the leader is in performing system-maintenance and system linkage functions, if he is poor in performing task-achievement functions, he cannot be regarded as a good village leader. The setting and attaining goals, and mobilizing and allocating resources are considered to be the fundamental functions of developmental leaders working and for modernizing society. This functional imperative of developmental leadership implies the importance of task-related motives, values, and abilities such as change orientation, planning ability, and the extractive capacity of the leader.

Emphasizing the importance of task-functions does not mean de-emphasizing the importance of system-maintenance and system-linkage functions. Needless to say, these three sets of functions are integrally related; they run together.

The pursuit of task achievement (fulfillment of task functions) necessarily requires improved relations among villagers, between the leader and villagers, between the leader and external influentials. Therefore, in addition to task functions, the social function of internal system-maintenance and external-linkage is needed. The idea can be expressed as shown in Figure 3 on the following page.

In order to become an effective Saemaul leader, the leader must perform the above-discussed set of leadership functions. In connection with this leadership imperative, my interest focuses on the following question: What kinds of leadership characteristics are primarily required for a leader to have in order to successfully fulfill his functional prerequisites? One relevant answer to this question can be obtained by reviewing a set of related leadership theories.
Figure 3. Village Leader's Major Functions

3. Related Leadership Theories

The following set of leadership theories will help illuminate an anticipated set of leadership qualities of Saemaul Undong leaders as they relate to leadership effectiveness.

(1) The Theory of Charisma: The Weberian View

According to Weber, the transition of a society from traditional to modern requires the presence of some form of charismatically qualified leaders. He conceives that charisma is a kind of spiritual energy and creativity which is capable of struggling against the entrenched
conditions of the traditional order. It supplies the measure of faith and energy requisite to breaking out from the confines of the everyday world and to imparting a new direction to its otherwise sluggish flow. Charismatic leaders break precedents and create new ones. From them come the impulses and initiatives that decide the fate and nature of a civilization.8

(2) Glenn D. Paige's Conception

Fairly recently Paige conceptualized a leadership approach in terms of multivariate and multidimensional perspectives. The essence of his idea is that "patterns of political leadership behavior are viewed as the product of a set of interacting variables, which in turn are regarded as being related to the diverse dimensions of a system of political behavior."9 Primarily his conceptualization focused upon six key variables which are conceived to be in close interaction. They are the leader's personality, role, organization, task, values, and setting. With these variables, he formulated the following equation:

$$PLBi-k = f(P,R,O,T,V,S) + e$$

Where PLB refers to political leadership behavior, i-k indicates the range of identifiable patterns, P, R, O, T, V, S refer to the six variables chosen above, and e is an error term, a surrogate variable for those determinants of political leadership behavior that are not captured in this formulation.10

(3) Gerth and Mills' Idea

Earlier, Gerth and Mills proposed a somewhat similar idea. They
wrote,

To understand leadership, we must pay attention to (1) the traits and motives of the leader as a man; (2) the images that selected public hold of him, and their motives for following him; (3) the roles he plays as a leader, their salient characteristics, and how the leader reacts to them; and (4) the structural context in which his roles, as well as those of the led, are involved.¹¹

Surprisingly Gerth and Mills did not pay any attention to such variables as organizations, tasks, and values of leaders by which any leader's leadership performance, and thus his leadership effectiveness, are expected to be influenced in good part.

(4) View of I. Robert Sinai

According to I. Robert Sinai, the following type of personality is expected to become an essential element of a successful developmental leader: he is a person who finds real pleasure in and has a genuine aptitude for creating and getting things done; he re-orientates the will so as to impose himself in novel ways upon his environment; he has the cool ability to steer a safe course where no one has yet been; he acquires the readiness to confront, and even seek out, difficulties; he delights in the ability to exercise his energy and ingenuity; and he is driven by the will to conquer, the impulse to fight, to prove himself superior to others, to succeed for the sake not so much of the fruits of success but of success itself.¹² In a single term, the above personal qualities can be boiled down to an entrepreneurial or innovative personality who accepts high levels of coercion.

(5) The Theory of Need for Achievement: David C. McClelland

According to McClelland, an essential element of developmental
leadership is achievement motivation, the so-called need for achievement (in a simplified form, n Ach.). For him, a developmental leader is a high-need achiever because a leader's primary motivational propensity is to be effective in achieving group goals. McClelland argues that the high-need achiever possesses precisely those traits required to successfully carry out the entrepreneurial role. He lists the traits as follows:\textsuperscript{13}

1. Action Propensity: A willingness to take moderate risks
2. Innovativeness: A tendency to do something new
3. Sense of Responsibility: A willingness to take responsibility for the success or failure of the organizational venture
4. Concern with Achievement: More interest in success itself than in rewards
5. Planning for Future: Shaping of future image in one's mind and transforming it into existence
6. Organizational Ability: An ability to coordinate and direct the activities of others

6. Kautskian View

According to John H. Kautsky, a developmental leader needs, among other things, a strong will-power. For him, a man of strong will-power is a desirable developmental leader. Kautsky believes that strong determination can transcend all difficulties and that such determination is superior to expertise as a characteristic of change-oriented leaders. All revolutionary modernizers must have a strong faith in the power of a strong will to overcome obstacles for change and development, for without it they could hardly be successful as modernizing leaders and they
could not hope to turn their backward countries or societies into advanced ones in the course of a generation. 14

(7) A Theory of Value Determinism: The International Studies of Values in Politics (Jacob et al., 1971)

The International Studies of Values in Politics hypothesized that the following nine leader values are closely related with community activeness: (1) commitment to innovation (change-orientation), (2) action propensity, (3) concern for economic development, (4) concern for equality (economic equality), (5) concern for citizen participation in the decision-making process, (6) concern for conflict, (7) national commitment, (8) selflessness, and (9) honesty. 15

After analyzing data, the study assumed that "an active community, vibrantly responsive to varied pressures for social change, can be the work of human leadership motivated by a particular set of values. This is one strand of a complex web of findings from the International Studies of Values in Politics." What is suggested by this conclusion is that leaders' values are important explanatory variables for leadership effectiveness and development.

(8) Taketsugu Tsurutani's Conceptual Scheme 17

In the book, The Politics of National Development, Taketsugu Tsurutani presented leadership requirements for successful modernizing leaders with a special reference to national-level leaders in developing countries. These requirements are: (1) commitment to the modernizing ideals, (2) intelligence and skill, and (3) dominance. Commitment may involve an overriding desire to promote a rise of productivity and living standard, which are synonymous with some of the modernization
ideals specified by Myrdal. Intelligence and skill involve creativity, foresight, and the manipulative capability of the leader. The third requirement, dominance, involves power procured by the leader. On the basis of the three leadership requirements, Tsurutani constructed the following formula for developmental leadership analysis:

\[ M = \frac{(C \times 2I \times D)}{S^2} \]

Where, C is commitment, I is leadership skill and intelligence, D is dominance, S is situational assets, and M is modernization.

(9) Ralph M. Stogdill's Summary of Leadership Traits

After reviewing factorial studies on leadership characteristics, Stogdill reports that the following twenty-six factors appeared in more than three experimental studies of leadership:

(1) social and interpersonal skills, (2) technical skills, (3) administrative skills, (4) leadership effectiveness and achievement, (5) social nearness and friendliness, (6) intellectual skills, (7) maintaining cohesive work group, (8) maintaining coordination and team work, (9) task motivation and application, (10) general impression-halo, (11) group task supportiveness, (12) maintaining standards of performance, (13) willingness to assume responsibility, (14) emotional balance and control, (15) informal group control, (16) nurturant behavior, (17) ethical conduct, personal integrity, (18) communication, verbality, (19) ascendance, dominance, decisiveness, (20) physical energy, (21) experience and activity, (22) nature, cultured, (23) courage, daring, (24) aloof, distant, (25) creative, independent, (26) conforming.

Among the above characteristics, Stogdill paid special attention to such skills and capabilities as interpersonal, technical, administrative, and intellectual skills which enable the leader to be of value to his group or organization, since these skills allow the leader to maintain
satisfactory levels of group cohesiveness, drive, and productivity. With the same accent, he also emphasized the importance of a high degree of task motivation, personal integrity, communicative ability, and the like. In short, he suggested that if a leader possesses a high degree of task motivation, personal integrity, communicative ability, and the like, together with interpersonal, technical, administrative, and intellectual skills, he will be effective in his execution of leader functions. 20

The view of Stogdill seems to provide a rather well-balanced picture of leadership qualities generally applicable to any leadership role-set or settings.

4. Summary

A conclusion that I have drawn from the above literature survey (review of the regime-desired leadership qualities and the related leadership theories) is that, although there has been great diversity in conceptualizing developmental leadership studies, there are two common strands flowing through the complex web of conceptual models. The first and the most salient strand is the leader himself. That is, the leader is considered as a focal factor of development and is thus considered as a focal element of the conceptual framework. The second strand is that meaningful analysis of any developmental leadership qualities or functions can be achieved only if the leader and the role he plays be understood in connection with the political and social environment in which he operates. Therefore, I believe that the intellectual task of modeling a developmental village leadership profile must include, first of all, the clarification of the leader's own attributes
(motives, values, and other personality variables), while also taking into account the village settings, organizational relations, tasks, roles, and broader political settings.
NOTES TO CHAPTER IV


3. Ibid., p. 8.


10. Ibid., p. 105.


16. Ibid., p. 313.


20. Ibid., p. 96.
CHAPTER V
DEVELOPMENTAL LEADERSHIP QUALITIES: A MODEL

The political leadership of a developing nation, then, is the initiator of a new order. As such, it must be creative, skillful, resolute, and farsighted. It must manipulate forces and resources in society so as to mobilize and utilize them for modernization. It must mediate between impulses toward modernity and persistent tendencies toward tradition. It must render conflicting forces and values in society symbiotic, instead of leaving them mutually antagonistic. Political leadership must, in short, possess an "ability to turn situational incompatibilities into assets."

1. An Anticipated Set of Leadership Qualities

It follows from the previous chapters' discussions that the success or failure of the Saemaul leader depends primarily upon these factors: (1) change-orientation (enthusiasm for change); (2) sense of sacrifice (selflessness); (3) drive for task-achievement; (4) planning ability; (5) communication skill (articulateness); (6) organizational ability; (7) responsiveness to the ideal of the New Village Movement (conformity and loyalty to the regime); (8) out-system orientation; and (9) human relational skill. It is assumed that a developmental village leader's leadership effectiveness is in good part conditional upon the above set of qualities under circumstances where all the important situational factors are held constant.

All these items suggest that a successful leader is an individual characterized by high motivation, skill and ability, leadership ethics, and political reliability. These attributes are expected to be
exhibited by the leader's behavior in the course of carrying out his leadership role.

In selecting these nine variables, the researcher followed the advice of Lijphart. He writes:

Comparative analysis must avoid the danger of being overwhelmed by large numbers of variables and, as a result, losing the possibility of discovering controlled relationships, and it must therefore judiciously restrict itself to the really key variables, omitting those of only marginal importance.²

It is assumed in this study that the above attributes can be found as core elements of developmental village leadership qualities in contemporary Korea. A village leader distinctive in the above set of characteristics may become an effective leader as a village-level developmental agent. That is, the more distinctive he is in the above characteristics, the more effective he is as a developmental leader.

2. The Logic of the Causal Chain

Leadership effectiveness connected with developmental enterprises of the community (village) will inevitably lead to an increased developmental capacity of the village system as a whole. As a result of an increased developmental capacity of the system, there will be a consequent increase in the systemic achievement of the village system. Therefore, it is assumed that a village guided by a leader characterized by the above attributes will be more progressive than other villages which are guided by other types of leaders.

In a simplified form, the following diagram captures the logical structure of the conceptual framework of the present study. The figure implies that leadership effectiveness is a function of both of properties of the situation with which he is confronted and of leadership
attributes. In this model, leadership attributes and situational attributes become the independent variables and leadership effectiveness becomes the major dependent variable. The increased developmental capacity of the system and systemic achievement is simply logically conceived of leadership effectiveness.

This study will focus on the identification of the hypothesized nine elements of developmental leadership characteristics, but it also
endeavors to look forward along the causal chain toward the impact of characteristics on social dynamics of the village-level social system.

3. **Rationale of the Model: Why Nine Variables?**

   (1) **Change Orientation (Innovativeness)?**

   In a village level social system which is under strong pressure for change, a basic function of the leader is to help create needed change, or to detect and cope with barriers to change.

   The very fact that the leader seeks to induce change into the village system implies that the leader himself should first be motivated to pursue change, committed to modern ways of doing and thinking, and open to new experiences. Enthusiasm for change, then, is considered to be the first requirement of developmental leadership in any developing society. Jacob and his associates also conceived the concept change-orientation as a key element of developmental leadership qualities.³

   The concept of enthusiasm for change (change orientation) conceptualized in this study is directly opposed to the desire for maintenance of the status quo and it also conflicts with the general disposition of the people, who stick to the traditional peasant culture and the persisting equilibrium.

   An individual's change orientation can be reflected in his behavioral tendency to seek newer ways of doing things and to adopt innovations such as new seeds, ideas, technologies, or practices. It can also be reflected in the actor's behavioral reaction style to the demands for change made by the government or by the people he leads. It is assumed that the more change-oriented leaders will react more positively to the demands than the less change-oriented leaders.
Enthusiasm-for-change conceived in this study presumes (subsumes) two functionally interrelated subcomponents. They are a sense of efficacy and action propensity (risk-taking). Enthusiasm-for-change premises an actor's desire to replace the existing conditions of life or the social system with more desirable ones. Therefore, the primary condition is for the leader to feel a subjective sense of confidence or competence in his ability to produce changes in his environment. The man who is in active pursuit of innovative change must have a strong sense of efficacy. According to Inkeles and Smith, a sense of efficacy is reflected in a man's belief that

Either alone or in concert with others, he may take actions which can affect the course of his life and that of his community; in his active efforts to improve his own condition and that of his family; and in his rejection of passivity, resignation, and fatalism toward the course of life's events. 4

When change orientation is measured in terms of the leader's behavioral tendency to improve his own condition, that of his family, and the condition of the community, the concept must subsume a sense of efficacy. On the other hand, any action for change presumes a willingness to take some risks. People enthusiastic about change will prefer to take actions for change even under conditions of uncertainty. According to Jacob and his associates, action propensity is an individual's personal disposition to act despite risks or uncertainties. 5

In summary, commitment to change implies doing something new; such a person's behavior is not a repetition of the old tried-and-true methods. All the innovative tasks are accompanied by a considerable amount of uncertainty with regard to their result. When willingness to take risks remains low and sense of efficacy is weak, commitment to change becomes a rare mental commodity for a developmental leader.
(2) **Sense of Sacrifice (Selflessness)**

A sense of sacrifice and selflessness refers to an actor's willingness to sacrifice himself in the interest of a higher cause. The higher cause, in this case, is the creation of collective goods for the society. Defined in this way, the concept of selflessness is regarded by Jacob and his associates as one of the major elements for developmental leadership qualities. This concept of sense of sacrifice and selflessness is opposed to the concepts of self-interest.

A leader, if he is really determined to improve the living conditions in his community, should be willing to subordinate his own interest, to some extent, to the interests of the community. The acceptance of the leadership position signifies the acceptance of painful sacrifice of personal interest, to some extent, for the common good of the given society. In this sense, sense of selflessness and/or regard for the public interest must be conceived as another prime requirement of developmental leadership qualities in any society.

From the "idiosyncracy credit" point of view, the degree to which a village leader displays a sense of sacrifice and selflessness could be a major factor by which idiosyncracy credit is accorded to him by the people. If the leader does not sacrifice some of his personal interests, he can never hope to gain idiosyncracy credit.

On this ground, it is assumed that the first problem for a village leader in this society is to show his emotional attachment to the interests of the people, convincing people he is doing things not for his benefit but rather for theirs, making overt affirmations of sincerity. Even coercive power, when used by selfless leaders toward the
accomplishment of change objectives, will sometimes be tolerated by the people, but when used by selfish leaders will no doubt meet with strong denunciation.

A sense of sacrifice and selflessness can be reflected in the actor's behavioral tendency shown over a long period of time with regard to his conduct of personal as well as communal affairs. It can, therefore, accurately be measured by the community's perception of the actor's behavior.

The sense of sacrifice conceived in this study subsumes a sense of responsibility and sense of mission. A selfless leader must feel that he is responsible for the success or failure of developmental ventures initiated by himself or in cooperation with other villagers. He must also feel that while others will be involved, the final outcome will be dependent upon his actions.

A sense of sacrifice and a sense of responsibility seem to be quite similar concepts.

(3) Drive for Task Achievement

Drive for task achievement here relates to the leader's motivation to achieve developmental tasks together with his fellow villagers in service to the community as a whole. This drive is reflected in the leader's behavior as manifested in setting community development goals, overcoming obstacles, and attaining the goals.

The drive for task achievement is measured in this study by actions and qualities ascribed to the leader by villagers. The leader who tends to stress the achievement of the developmental goals of the community (village) or the completion of task programs can be considered to
possess a high drive for task achievement.

The psychological motive underlying this type of behavioral tendency will certainly be his need for achievement, as conceived by David C. McClelland. According to McClelland, people high in need achievement tend to work harder at certain tasks.\(^7\)

The leader is a person who occupies a position of responsibility for getting things done. He is someone who must work hard toward goal attainment. Therefore, a village leader who is working toward accomplishment of development projects must be a high-need achiever. He has to have a strong desire to achieve goals and unyielding willpower to overcome obstacles. According to Stogdill, a number of approaches to evaluate leadership traits produce positive results which indicate that a successful leader is characterized by a high need for achievement. That is, it is viewed that a leader is an individual characterized by high task motivation, drive, and persistence.\(^8\) A village leader, if he is to be a successful modernizer of the society, must have a strong drive for task achievement, for without it he could hardly overcome obstacles and achieve the goals. He should be achievement-oriented and equipped with taskability.

(4) Planning Ability

Planning is an activity that concerns itself with proposals for the future, with the evaluation of alternative proposals, and with the methods by which these proposals may be achieved.\(^9\)

The chief component of leadership activity is making and carrying out plans. Therefore, it is quite reasonable that planning ability is conceived as one of the primary leadership requirements and, thus,
leadership qualities.

In this study, planning process is synonymous with decision process. According to Herbert Simon (1976), there are three stages in the decision process:

First is the intelligence activity, in which the manager finds occasions calling for a decision. Second is the design activity, in which possible courses of action are invented, developed, and analyzed. Third is the choice activity, in which a particular course of action is selected from among those available.10

Any planning activity must go through the above mentioned stages. In this sense, the concept planning ability implies decision-making ability.

A planner should look ahead, keenly understand the characteristics of situations surrounding him, and feel confident in his ability to control the future course of events which are objects of the planning. These are prerequisites for good planning.

Galtung assumes planning presupposes future-projection ability and cognitive capacity. According to him, a planner should be future-time oriented and cognitively accurate.11 For him, planning will be an action which is guided into, and ordered by, the image of the future shaped in an actor's mind. Harold F. Gortner supports this view, saying that planning is doing something by which an actor brings the future into existence.12

It has also been suggested that man can plan the future when he believes the future depends on him.13

On the basis of the above discussions, it is assumed that planning ability comprises an actor's future projection ability, cognitive capacity, creativity, including information processing ability, and sense of efficacy.
(5) **Communication Skill (Articulateness)**

Communication is defined in this study as transmission of messages, ideas, and feeling between individuals. Communication can be made either verbally or nonverbally. Tannenbaum emphasizes the importance of communication skill in leadership process when he defines leadership as interpersonal influence exercised through the communication process toward goal attainment. He implies that leadership effectiveness depends upon communication skill. In his book, *Rules for Radicals*, Saul Alinsky notes the importance of communication for community organizers by pointing out that

One can lack any of the qualities of an organizer--with one exception--and still be effective and successful. That exception is the art of communication.

Communication provides a leader with a vehicle by which one can exchange his ideas with followers and motivate them to do something which otherwise they might not do. It is assumed here that the communication skills possessed by leaders determines the degree of achievement motivation that can be generated among others for desired organizational behavior. It also takes on significance in relation to conflict resolution. To resolve conflict within the organization or group, the leader must be able to effectively communicate with those involved in the conflict. In short, communication skills are essential for clarifying the group goals and encouraging efficient performance of roles. Leaders, therefore, must possess high quality communication skills.

In this study, articulateness is considered an essential element of communication skill. Articulateness refers to a clear verbal expression of one's ideas and opinions in the presence of other persons. It is an
ability as well as a disposition to express opinions clearly on a large number of issues in the course of leadership processes.

For a village leader, the success or failure of his leadership activities will, in good part, depend upon the quality of communication with villagers and with the outside world, especially with governmental officials. His real ability will be shown in arousing the villagers' interest in his ideas with regard to development. It is also shown in acquiring governmental support for village development projects. In this sense, one of the desired village leadership qualities must be a technique of persuasion which basically depends upon its articulateness. According to Stogdill, verbal fluency is consistently associated with positions of leadership. Logically it follows that if the village leaders are articulate in expressing their ideas and opinions, their leadership effectiveness will be greatly enhanced, and thus the process of village development will be faster than if they are not articulate.

(6) Organizational Ability

According to Hollander, the organizing ability of a leader refers to a leader's ability to define or structure the work of group members, including his own work, or the relationship among members in the performance of their work. Similarly, it is defined in this study as a leader's ability to assign people to an appropriate task or role. When used in this sense, the concept of organizational ability mostly refers to such leader behavior as initiating structure which in turn refers to organizing and defining the relations between himself and his fellow village members, and the relations among fellow members.

Organizing and directing the activities of group members is a
commonly used definition of the leader role. In order to achieve group goals with the least friction and the greatest cooperation, the leader needs to define or structure the work of group members or the relationship among members. Therefore, it is expected that organizational ability has much to do with village leadership effectiveness. A successful village leader may differ significantly from an unsuccessful leader in his organizational skill. According to the Ohio State Leadership Studies, initiation of structure must be conceived as an important element of a leader's behavioral requirement.18

(7) Human Relations Skill

The whole leadership process can be seen as composed of human relations. Although leadership exists as authority over others, a leader's initiatives can be accepted or not by his followers. Much depends upon leadership skills. It is believed that human relations skills are a primary element of leadership skills.

Fiedler reminds us that the effective leader has a good interpersonal relationship with his group members.19 An essence of leadership lies in an actor's ability to influence other persons without resorting to threats. This ability can mostly be derived from the actor's human relations skills.

For village leaders, human relations skill can be conceived in terms of two primary dimensions: relations with villagers and relations with the external world. A village leader needs to exhibit some degree of social and interpersonal skills so that he can maintain friendly relations with villagers and with external influentials, such as local officials, and thus he can manipulate them toward assisting the
achievement of the community's development goals. The leader's friendly relations with villagers may facilitate villagers to be held together by a leader around a common purpose. The leader's friendly relations with external influentials may facilitate them to be supportive of his leadership performance. Therefore, it is assumed that a village leader's human relations skill has much to do with community leadership effectiveness and, thus, developmental capacity of the system.

The concept of human relations skill as defined and measured in this study subsumes, in part, an actor's sociability and consideration. The exhibition of consideration and sociability (social awareness) was also ascertained as an important element of leader's behavioral requirement by the Ohio State Leadership Studies.20

When used in such a sense, the concept human relational skill is not a mere measure of the leader's people orientation or conflict toleration measured by and large by self-administered attitudinal scales. Human relations skill is more than attitudinal or behavioral orientation. It is an ability or skill.

The concept of human relations skill is defined as an actor's ability or skill to get along with others. It is measured in this study by villagers' ratings based upon their perception of the leader's ability to keep friendly relations with villagers and external influentials, such as local officials.

(8) Responsiveness to the Ideal of the New Village Movement

This element is the most nation-specific variable for developmental village leadership profile in contemporary Korea. As already reviewed, rural change is taking place in contemporary Korea within the context of
the New Village Movement under the direct sponsorship of President Park. Therefore, no leader can occupy the position of village leader unless he is seriously committed to the ideal of the New Village Movement. With regard to this criterion, Putnam emphasizes that loyalty and political reliability are crucial credentials in all political systems, but that they are particularly critical in revolutionary and authoritarian contexts.21

Of course, in the abstract, one can be a good leader independent of whether or not one is, in fact, politically loyal to one's government. This can be clearly demonstrated by the many people who have been effective and successful leaders of revolutionary movements. But I contend that in contemporary Korea, a New Village Movement village leader will find it very difficult to operate within the political framework of the NVM and establish successful relations with supervising government officials if he is personally antagonistic to the regime and its political platform or if he is conceived by the regime and its representatives as being politically "unreliable." In the particular context of the Korean developmental movement, one good index of political reliability is enthusiastic support for and participation in the government-initiated developmental movement which is called the Saemaul Undong (New Village Movement).

In this sense, responsiveness to the political ideals of the New Village Movement can be considered as one crucial credential demanded of aspirants for, as well as incumbents of, village leadership positions in contemporary rural Korea.

In addition to political reliability, commitment to the ideal of the Movement may also indicate the actor's change propensity because one
of the essential elements of the Movement's ideals is, as discussed earlier, an introduction of innovative change in the ways of doing things (e.g., agricultural practices) and in living styles (abandonment of traditional customs).

From another point of view, the concept of responsiveness to the ideals of the NVM also implies people's conformity to the regime-made modernizing or mobilizing ideologies, regardless of their core elements.

(9) Out-System Orientation

Rural villages are parts of larger social systems. They do not exist independently of the surrounding world. In addition, many of the problems which are confronted on the community level simply are not solvable on that level at all. In order to complete some village development projects, the village has to absorb information, energy, and other resources from the outside world. The village leader must be able to manipulate social and political environments to the advantage of his village system. All this can be done through the village leader's expanded outside relations and contacts. Paradoxically, when external sources or resources are not important as capital for village development, there is no need for village leaders to contact the outside world.

Out-system disposition simply refers to a village leader's crossing of social boundaries. There are many types of social boundary crossings, and they are not necessarily spatial. In this study, however, it is measured in spatial terms; in terms of whether or not one goes beyond one's local area often to the outside world. In this study, it is measured by the village leader's behavioral tendency to cross the
village boundary in order to raise funds or collect information in support of community development programs.

A leader who goes to the city and visits local or central administrative centers probably would gather more resources, including information. In addition, the frequent boundary crossing would facilitate the influx of technologies into the village system. In this sense, the village leader's out-system orientation may obviously have direct bearing on the pace of community development. It may also have a direct bearing on the accumulation of idiosyncracy credit of the leader himself. By manipulating the external world to the benefit of the village system, the leader will certainly improve the perception of his leadership competence in the eyes of the villagers.

The importance of the village leader's out-system orientation has been well recognized by a scholar. According to Everett M. Rogers, an individual's trips to urban centers are correlated positively and significantly with political knowledgeable, achievement motivation, sense of efficacy, innovativeness, modern role empathy, and opinion leadership. For the purposes of this study, all of these factors are considered prerequisites for developmental leadership qualities.

4. Summary

The leadership characteristics listed above seem to encompass the salient features of a competent village leader (Saemaul leader) profile in contemporary Korea. They are a set of hypothesized and desirable leadership qualities for those who are to become effective modernizing village leaders in contemporary Korea and who work as the developmental vanguard in accordance with the ideal of the New Village Movement.
Stated formally, it is hypothesized that an effective village leader (developmental leader) in contemporary Korea will distinguish himself from ineffective leaders by stronger task orientation, sense of sacrifice (selflessness), a strong commitment to the ideal of the New Village Movement (developmental movement initiated by the government), change orientation, out-system orientation, articulateness (communication skill), human relational skill, organizational ability, and planning ability.
NOTES TO CHAPTER V


Theories are complex systems of statements intended to explain some empirical domain. Some of the statements in a theory have no direct empirical significance in that they perform a wholly syntactic function—i.e., they connect one statement logically with another. Some statements, however, have semantic significance in that they connect theoretical entities with observations. To the extent that the theory is grounded (observations or evidence conditions are stipulated for components in at least parts of the theory), we regard it as empirical and evaluate evidence conditions to see if the theory has explanatory value.

1. The Logic of the Field Work Design: The Most Different Systems Design

Stated briefly, the logic of the research design is: similar in a large number of important situational factors which I want to treat as constant, but dissimilar as far as those variables (village development and leadership characteristics) are concerned which I want to relate to each other.

Reiterating, a fundamental question addressed in this study is why one village develops faster than another. The basic assumption is: One key factor determining the transformational capacity of a social system, and thus determining the level of systemic achievement of the society, is, other things being approximately equal, the degree to which the system's leader is effective in performing his leadership requirements.

As suggested in the above assumption, the basic idea of this field work design was borrowed from the theory of interactional approach to leadership analysis, specifically leadership effectiveness analysis.
The theory says that leader attributes and situational demands interact to determine the extent to which a leader will prove successful in a group or society.

It goes without saying that leadership effectiveness connected with systemic achievement of the village level social system is conditioned by the system's situational assets, such as geographic, social, economic, and demographic factors.

Given this assumption, suppose that all the situational factors are held constant at the initial stage of the developmental process, then what factors would be salient predictor variables for leadership effectiveness and thus for social change at Time 2? Certainly, a leader's personal characteristics, which comprise leadership competence, will loom large. Under this circumstance, situational factors have almost nothing to do with the pace of village development. On the basis of this logic, the research will be designed.

The basic strategy for this design is quite similar to the idea of the "Most Different Systems Design" proposed by Przeworski and Teune. In the "Most Different Systems Design," within system variations are explained in terms of systemic factors, while common systemic characteristics are conceived of as controlled for. Inter-systemic differences are viewed as explanatory variables. A characteristic of the design is that the number of common characteristics sought is maximal and the number of unshared characteristics sought, minimal.\(^2\)

For the purposes of this study, two villages must differ as much as possible in the level and rate of systemic achievement in social change and development, but be as similar as possible in other systemic factors (e.g., the level of institutional development, geographic
setting, mass media penetration, villagers' characteristics--educational and urban residence background--economic conditions of the village), which are considered to be important in explaining leadership effectiveness and systemic achievement when they are not controlled. Of course, not all situational factors can be matched or controlled in this type of research design; only those factors which are considered to be important will be matched.

The central objective to which the design refers is ascertaining the proposed set of assumptions and hypotheses, especially the ascertainment of hypothesized developmental leadership quality model. They will be confirmed by comparing an effective village leader, who is the leader of a rapidly developing community, and an ineffective leader, who is the leader of a stagnant village.

Research design suggests that if the leaders from different villages do differ with regard to their leadership qualities, then it is assumed that a substantial amount of variance in village development is accounted by the differences in leadership qualities.

2. Components of Situational Assets

Situational assets are defined here as the totality of physical, cultural, social, and political factors which are assumed to affect the village leader's leadership effectiveness and thus the pace of community development in significant ways. A crucial problem is to identify situational factors which are expected to mediate the influence of leadership or prove to be independent determinants of change.

Edwin P. Hollander has argued that in a group, task nature, group structure, nature of resources or inputs available to handle the task,
group history, group's feeling or sentiments, the outlook of the group members, group members' states of expectation, hope, or despair, group size and several other factors need to be taken into account in any inventory of the situation. Hollander's suggestion refers to task group situations but is too broad and seems to be an "all-inclusive" inventory of situation. The inventory suggested by Jacob seems to be more relevant for the purposes of this study: (1) demography (size, density, urban-rural character); (2) local resources (income and development level); (3) social structure (cleavages and conflicts among social groups); and (4) political autonomy (formal and perceived powers of local government to cope with community problems).

Another possible classification of situational assets is that of internal vs. external factors. The importance of the internal factors is self-evident in the light of the above discussions. While the importance of the external factors can be justified simply by saying that the role of leader in generating development in the local community is conditioned by dominant socio-political attributes of the national environment in which development is being nurtured. Needless to say, rural villages do not have absolute autonomy within modern political systems. In a modern society, the local community is economically, socially, and politically interwoven into the more complex setting of the broader systems, and the local political system (village system) constitutes one of the levels of the political organization of the state.

Considering the nature of the development movement being undertaken by the government, the most essential external factor which sets the prime conditions for village leader's actions and their leadership effectiveness is the framework, norms, and ideology of the New Village
Movement, which has already been discussed. By the very nature of the study, the influence of the New Village Movement and national political attributes are held constant from the beginning in the research design. Given that the New Village Movement and national political attributes are constant, these elements are considered—an important set of situational inventory to be controlled possibly at the stage of selecting research sites. That is, they are considered as criteria for selecting sample villages.

(1) Economic Conditions in the Base Year

(a) Size of Aggregate Arable Land at the Village Level
(b) Number of Households
(c) Land Distribution Pattern

The amount of land available can have an important impact on village development because land is a primary source of resources in village level society. The number of households indicates the size of available manpower and the ratio of land to household. The land distribution pattern is very significant with respect to the level of cooperation, because conflict among villagers is, by and large, likely to grow out of it. As a matter of fact, an extreme inequality in land distribution in an agrarian society can sometimes become political dynamite under certain conditions, particularly when disparities between the rich and poor are perceived as great.

(2) The Level of Institutional Development (Schools, post office, police office, etc.)

The level of institutional development is regarded as a major
potential source that might cause fundamental changes in the pattern of human interactions with the outside world and thus in the rate of innovation diffusion. Consequently, the system's productivity will be greatly affected by the presence of the institutions.

(3) Geographic Conditions

(a) Location, Size, and Features of Terrain of the Village

(b) Distance from Urban Center and Transportation System (Presence of Bus Road and Bus Station)

Geography can have great impact on village development in a variety of ways. High mountain ranges, wide rivers, and impenetrable forests may isolate the village from the outside world almost completely, and such separation may continue to constitute a major obstacle to communication and other forms of transactions and cultural contact with the external world. A hostile climate, combined with terrain features which together produce scarcities, may have cultural and economic consequences.

(4) Qualities of Villagers

(a) Educational Background

(b) Length of Urban Residence

(c) Exposure to Mass Media

The amount of education, urban residence, and mass media exposure is generally recognized as major determinants of individual modernity and quality of peasant culture. They are assumed to serve the emergence of modern attitudes and behavior, and cultures which in turn serve the emergence of an innovative society. Inkeles and Smith report that formal education, mass media exposure, and the years of urban residence
are strongly correlated to modern attitudes and behavior.\(^6\)

In conclusion, if all the relevant potential sources of community development are known and matched, then the explanatory power of leadership variables for village development would become stronger. Yet it is impossible to specify all of the factors. The complete control of third variables in this type of field study is, indeed, an ideal. In this sense, the design is incomplete rather than complete. Accordingly, it is unlikely that the settings of a sample village will be totally identical with those of another sample village.

3. **Indices of Systemic Achievement (Development)**

In this study, the quality of community development projects (measured in terms of expenditures spent on the projects) completed over a certain period of time is considered as an index of community development. Another index is a perceived level of improvement in living standard.

Two villages must constitute contrast by those indices. These indices will be matched at Time 1 but not matched at Time 2. The sample villages must constitute sharp contrast between these indices at Time 2. The quality and quantity of situational assets which indicate developmental task achievement of the village should be identical at the base year. In this study, the base year is set by the year of 1971 because that year intensive efforts to change rural society were introduced by the government into the rural villages through the "New Village Movement" program.

In this study, the village whose pace of development is rapid will be labeled the "faster-developing village," while the other village
whose pace of development is slow will be labeled the "slower-developing village." It is simply termed in a relative sense. The contrasting trend of the two sample villages in the pace of development is hypothesized in this figure:

V1: The Faster-Developing Village
V2: The Slower-Developing Village

Figure 5. Hypothetical Village Development Trend
NOTES TO CHAPTER VI


A theory in its pure form is an abstract calculus requiring rules of correspondence and instantiating premises before it is relevant to any stipulated subject matter. If a theory is to be normative in emphasis, i.e., if it is to provide rules for conduct or dictate that such rules be followed, it must be grounded in experience, i.e., it must be empirical.1

I have discussed the leadership profile only as a rather abstract concept. Now the time has come to present empirical evidence to support the hypothesized leadership quality model and the logical structure of the conceptual framework designed to explain the pace of community development.

To collect data, the researcher conducted field research in two Korean villages. The field observation lasted approximately five months, from March 15, 1977 through July 1, 1977. Field study included participant observation, the study of official documents, and personal interviews with villagers and village leaders in two separate villages.

1. Selection of Research Sites

In the initial stage of selecting the field work sites, the researcher relied upon information provided by the Korean Government. That is, the researcher visited the Saemaul Movement Section of the Ministry of Domestic Affairs, the governmental agency responsible for evaluating the progress of village development. The researcher explained his research purposes and design to the officials, and asked
them to recommend five prospective developmental villages which had made substantial progress since 1971 under the unusual leader's leadership performance.

The primary criteria used to select these developmental villages were:

1. Typicality: the villages must be located in the countryside and be agricultural.
3. Leadership continuity: have had the same Saemaul leader since about 1971.
4. Widely known leadership reputation: the leader of each village must be reputed for his unusual leadership performance.

Prior to final selection, the researcher visited both villages and made a preliminary assessment in order to determine which village was most relevant for the purposes of this study.

As a result of the preliminary assessment, the researcher selected one developmental village as a final research site. The address of the village is: Manjong 2-li, Hojŏ-myŏn, Wŏnsŏng-gun, Kangwŏn-do, Korea. I will call this village, Village A, for the remainder of the study.

After selecting a successful developmental village, the researcher attempted to select its antithesis: a village whose efforts to develop have proved unsuccessful. Needless to say, the successful developmental village and the unsuccessful developmental village must contrast in the pace of development but be similar in other conditions, the so-called situational assets.

On the basis of the preliminary information provided by the local
government, the researcher selected five best-possible antitheses and visited each of them. It was not easy to find an ideal type of match-village for the developmental village. The most difficult problem was that in most inactive villages, the leader of the village did not stay in the leadership position for a sufficient period of time. It goes without saying that the village leader must have held the Saemaul leadership position since 1971.

After spending two weeks investigating the five prospective villages, the researcher finally selected a village which was judged to be the best counterpart of the developmental village. It was Chusan 2-li, located in Hojoyeong-myeon, Wonsong-gun, Kangwon-do, Korea. I will call this village, Village B.

The two villages selected (Village A and Village B) were considered to constitute "comparable" cases which offer good opportunities for the application of the comparative method and experimental design described in Chapter VI.

2. Conduct of Observation and Interviewing

The researcher stayed approximately one month in each village. During the first two weeks in each village, the researcher simply observed what occurred in the village and freely discussed village affairs with villagers and the village leader. Throughout this period of free conversation with villagers, the researcher collected many interesting bits of information about village affairs, especially about the process of village development and the Saemaul leader's leadership characteristics.

During the last two weeks in the village, the researcher approached
villagers with a formal questionnaire designed to identify the Saemaul leader's leadership characteristics and collect other information.

Village leaders (positional leaders), most heads of household except absentees and patients, and some village elders and women were interviewed by the researcher. They were asked to answer the questions orally and the researcher filled out the questionnaire. Each interview was usually accompanied by lengthy free conversation and chatter.

For convenience of analysis, the same number of persons were interviewed in each village. The number of interviewees in each village was 80. Components of respondents in each village can be broken down into the following categories:

TABLE 1
COMPONENTS OF RESPONDENTS IN EACH VILLAGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Village A</th>
<th>Village B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Heads of Households</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.D.C. Members</td>
<td>4(7)</td>
<td>0(8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-H Members</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's Club Members</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village Elders</td>
<td>9(1)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>80</strong></td>
<td><strong>80</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

V.D.C.: Village Development Committee

Numbers in ( ): Respondents Included in Heads of Households
3. **Features of Sample Villages: Situational Comparison**

The sample villages chosen for the purposes of this study form a good match.

(1) **Geographic Setting**

Both villages are located in the middle eastern part of South Korea. Like many other Korean villages, both were composed of small, independent farmers who live on their own land. Villagers resided in individual households snuggled tightly between rice paddies and the slopes at the base of the mountains. The same small river ran through both villages. Neither village was served by railway, but bus routes passed by the villages. There were no factories or mines in either village. Both villages were electrified by the Government in 1975.

Accessibility to the villages from the outside world was relatively convenient and the two villages were approximately equidistant from the nearby city of Wŏnju: Village A is 8 km from the city, while Village B is 6 km from the city. The distance from Village A to Village B is approximately 12 km.

(2) **Demographic Setting**

Of the total number of 52 households in Village A, seven households were non-farm households, while in Village B only three out of a total of 48 households were non-farm households.

The total population of Village A was 249, while in Village B it was 241, as of June 25, 1977. Table 2 on the following page shows in brief the demographic conditions of each village.
TABLE 2
DEMOGRAPHIC CONDITIONS OF THE TWO VILLAGES
(As of June 1977)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Farm</th>
<th>Non-Farm</th>
<th>Total$^1$</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total$^2$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Village A</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village B</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Farm: Number of Farm Households
Total$^1$: Total Number of Households
Male: Number of Males in the Village
Total$^2$: Total Number of Population

(3) Economic Setting

In both villages, the primary source of income is agriculture. The amount of arable land and its distribution pattern was very similar in both villages as shown in the following table:

TABLE 3
THE AMOUNT OF ARABLE LAND AND DISTRIBUTION PATTERN
(As of June 1977)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Per Family</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Village A</td>
<td>62 ha</td>
<td>1.2 ha</td>
<td>1.63 ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village B</td>
<td>68 ha</td>
<td>1.4 ha</td>
<td>1.72 ha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: Total Size of Arable Land of the Village
Source: Sub-County Record
(4) Mass Media Penetration

The level of mass media penetration, as can be seen in Table 4, was also similar in both villages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>TV</th>
<th>Radio</th>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Weekly Magazines</th>
<th>Monthly Magazines</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unit: Number of Households Owns or Subscribes To

Source: Survey Data

Similarity in the level of mass media penetration, seen in Table 4, indicates that the extent to which villagers are exposed to it is also quite similar in both villages. Because of similarity in the total size of population, number of households, occupation, and way of living, the assumption seems to be plausible.

(5) Institutional Development

Neither village had a post office, school, office, nor an agricultural cooperative branch. This fact is evidence that the level of administrative penetration and institutional development is quite similar.

As for villagers' educational levels, they are compared in the
following table:

**TABLE 5**

VILLAGERS' EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND LEVEL  
(As of June 1977)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Illiterate</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>College</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Village A</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village B</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Primary: Graduates or Dropouts from Primary School  
Unit: Number of Persons  
Coverage: All Villagers Over 25 Years Old

(6) **Villagers' Urban Residence Experience**

The level of villagers' residence in urban areas also proved to be similar between the two sample villages. Table 5 shows the similarity in the level of urban residency of the villagers.

**TABLE 6**

THE EXTENT OF VILLAGERS' URBAN RESIDENCE  
(As of July 1977)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>1-3</th>
<th>4-7</th>
<th>More Than 7 Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Village A</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village B</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Coverage: All Villagers Over 25 Years Old  
Unit: Number of Persons
(7) Clan Structure

In the village level social system, clan (extended family) structure is an important element of the social setting. Both villages were multi-clan villages. Village A was composed of 21 clans while Village B was composed of 18 clans. In the past, both villages were under Yangban (the nobility) domination. Today they are not. The fact that the Saemaul leaders of both villages were not Yangban descendents is evidence that both are not under Yangban domination.

(8) Social Conflict

Even though there are several different clans in the two villages, the researcher could not see any serious conflict among people. Perhaps, overlapping and crosscutting clan relations mitigates most serious sources of conflict. In each village, most villagers were related to each other in such a way as son-in-law or daughter-in-law. In short, both villages are relatively homogenous, consensual, integrated societies within which only minor conflicts erupt over what and how such issues as developmental agenda setting or resource management shall be handled.

With regard to the effect of conflicts on the leadership effectiveness, it can be, in general, expected that conflict or cleavages may have adverse effects on leadership effectiveness. That is, any significant conflict among the people or serious cleavages dividing them may inhibit the village leader from bringing them together for cooperative action. However, it is assumed that minor conflicts which only erupt over developmental issues may not have an adverse effect on leadership
effectiveness. It is also assumed that conflicts can not only be resolved by themselves but can also have constructive functions, especially when the participants are satisfied with the outcomes and feel that they have gained as a result of the conflict.²

Keeping the above assumptions in mind, the researcher tried to detect the level of perceived conflict within each village in order to determine whether there was any significant difference between the two. Villagers were asked to answer the following question:

Question: People in this village are generally critical of others.

[ ] True
[ ] DK
[ ] Untrue

The response pattern to the question is described by Figure 6 on the following page.

As shown in the figure, no significant difference in the response pattern was found. The similarity in the response patterns no doubt suggests that the two sample villages do not differentiate each other in their degree of social conflicts or cleavages.

(9) A Historical Factor: Gambling

Village A was once (approximately a decade ago) well known for its gambling problem while Village B was relatively less infected by the problem. In the village level social system, gambling fever is necessarily accompanied by drinking and both gambling and drinking are directly opposed to the value of the work ethic and thus apparently have a negative impact on individual, as well as community, development. This is one reason why Village A was so poor a decade ago. It was one
Figure 6. Level of Village Conflict Perceived by Villagers
of the poorest villages in the district.

(10) Summary

In addition to the above discussed factors many other situational factors should be taken into account and conceived of as potential determinants of community development and leadership effectiveness of the village leader. No researcher, however, can identify all the unknown factors, especially in this type of total-society approach.

The situational analysis made in this chapter thus far implies that the two sample villages have had quite similar situational assets and conditions. Such situational similarity may make the results of this study meaningful. That is, under the conditions of situational similarity, differences in leadership characteristics may account to a great extent for the differences in the pace of community development made under the given leadership characteristics.

4. Comparison of Systemic Achievement

This section describes and compares the level of systemic achievement of each of the two sample villages achieved during the seven years since 1971.

(1) Similarity in the Initial Stage of Development: 1971

As a point of departure for comparison, it should be noted that Village A and Village B shared, as reviewed in the above section, similar situational assets.

Secondly, it also should be noted, among other things, that before the beginning of the New Village Movement both villages were in a
stagnant state due mainly to lack of stimulae or pressure for change (collective performance) made by the external world (Government) upon the village system. The leaders of both villages, Mr. Choi and Mr. Noh, agreed on this point. According to them, there was no collective performance directed to systemic achievement in both villages prior to the initiation of the Movement.

Meantime, local officials reported that the level of community development of both villages was about the same in the pre-New Village Movement era. The researcher asked 18 local officials who had been frequently visiting both villages to answer the following question:

Question: Would you please compare Village A and Village B in terms of the level of community development 7 years ago?

The response patterns were as in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response Category</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Village A and B Were About Same</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village A Was Higher</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village B Was Higher</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in Table 7, most officials reported that the level of community development of both villages before the New Village Movement was about the same. Interestingly, two of them reported that Village B was
higher in the community development level than Village A.

As a matter of fact, Village A was once in much more adverse conditions than Village B. It was, as has been mentioned, once overrun by gambling fever and was, thereby, severely poverty-stricken.

(2) Dissimilarity in the Process and Achievement

Under Mr. Noh's leadership since 1971, Village A completed a number of projects ranging from small projects such as kitchen improvement to big projects such as an irrigation project, an herb plantation project, a fish hatchery project, and a water supply project. In addition, village roads were expanded, and the sewage system was completely rebuilt. The village hall and village warehouse are newly constructed. Chestnut saplings (about 500,000) were planted in the nearby mountains and lots of greenhouses have been installed by the villagers.

In contrast, when I looked around Village B, it seemed at a glance to be inactive. Village roads were incompletely expanded, there were no particular profit-making communal projects, and there were few distinguishable village facilities constructed via vollective performance.

Of course, there were some projects completed under Mr. Choi's leadership, the village hall, a dyke, and a village sewage system, for example. The overall level of systemic achievement, however, seemed to be much lower than that of Village A.

In a summarized form, the level of developmental achievement of each village made during the past seven years can be compared in Table 8 on the following page which shows the annual expenditure of each village on projects completed in the various years. As the table shows, in Village A the absolute value of expenditures on projects and the growth
rate of the expenditures are higher than those of Village B. Therefore, it is believed that the pace and the level of community development in Village A is steadier and speedier than in Village B. On the other hand, the cumulative frequency of the number of projects completed each year is shown in Figure 7 on the following page.

**TABLE 8**

**COMPARISON OF EXPENDITURES ON VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS: 1971-1977**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Village A</th>
<th>Village B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>$720</td>
<td>$420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>$1200</td>
<td>$610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>$1750</td>
<td>$440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>$2410</td>
<td>$650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>$2900</td>
<td>$210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>$3100</td>
<td>$250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977*</td>
<td>$2200</td>
<td>$3050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$14280</td>
<td>$435</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Village A Mean</th>
<th>Village B Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>(1.67)</td>
<td>(1.12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>(1.46)</td>
<td>(1.30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>(1.37)</td>
<td>(0.72)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>(1.20)</td>
<td>(1.48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>(1.07)</td>
<td>(0.32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>(0.71)</td>
<td>(1.19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>(7.48)</td>
<td>(6.13)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Survey Data (Village Leaders' Report)
Unit: Value of Projects Completed Each Year
* As of June 30
Numbers in ( ): Growth Rate

In the meantime, villagers were asked to rate the improvement of overall conditions compared to those of seven years ago:

**Question:** Compared to 7 years ago, how do you feel about the living conditions of your village today?

- ______ 1 Worse
- ______ 2 About the Same
- ______ 3 Somewhat Improved
- ______ 4 Very Much Improved
As shown in Figure 8 on the following page, a greater number of villagers in Village A than in Village B reported that much progress was made in improving the living conditions. In Village A 37 persons reported that Very Much Improvement had been made in the living conditions of their village since 1971, while in Village B 23 persons reported so.
Figure 8. Perceived Level of Village Development (by Villagers)
5. Summary

As suggested by the strategy of research design employed in this study, I controlled some situational variables which might influence the village leader's leadership effectiveness and thus the pace of community development. As was shown in the above set of analyses, the level and rate of village development turned out significantly different. Now that I have found the sharp contrast in the level and rate of village development under conditions where all other important situational variables, except unknown variables, are controlled, I feel confident that the contrast in leadership characteristics will also loom large. If so, then we can conclude that the differences in the level and rate of village development is, in good part, the function of the leadership characteristics. With this assumption in mind, it is interesting to compare the profile of the two sample village leaders on the basis of the proposed conceptual scheme in order to know whether the model is empirically serviceable or not: that is, whether the two leaders are sharply contrasted in terms of the proposed leadership characteristics. This is the task I will now turn to.
NOTES TO CHAPTER VII


A questionnaire is not just a list of questions or a form to be filled out. It is essentially a scientific instrument for measurement and for the collection of particular kinds of data. Like all such instruments, it has to be specially designed according to particular specifications and with specific aims in mind, and the data it yields subject to error. 1

1. Measurement

(1) The Logic of Scale Construction

A crucial task of the present study is to measure leadership qualities. One approach toward the accomplishment of this task is to operationalize the concept. When a concept is defined in terms of empirical referents, it is said that the concept is operationalized. A well-operationalized concept minimizes semantic variance and increases scientific validity and reliability.

Most concepts selected to characterize village leadership qualities refer to phenomena that are not susceptible to direct measurement. Therefore, it is not easy to specify the empirical referents of the concepts precisely. An alternative way is to use indirect indicators. Indirect indicators are those that indicate the presence of the concept but do not constitute its empirical referents per se.

In order to measure leadership qualities, the researcher constructed a rating scale and asked villagers to assess their leader's leadership qualities on the basis of the given rating scale and from
their own viewpoint.

The Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire, which originated in the Ohio State University Leadership Studies and the Community Leaders' Value Measurement questionnaire which originated in the International Studies of Values in politics, served as the basis for my efforts in constructing the rating scale.

As I constructed the scale, the following instructions were kept in mind:

1. Divide the continuum to be measured into an optimal number of scale divisions (approximately 5-7).
2. The continuum should have no breaks.
3. The positive and negative poles should be alternated.
4. Introduce each trait with a question to which the rater can give an answer.
5. Use descriptive adjectives or phrases to define different points on the continuum.
6. Decide beforehand upon the probable extremes of the trait to be found in the group in which the scale is to be used.
7. Only universally understood descriptive terms should be used.
8. The end phrases should not be so extreme in meaning as to be avoided by the raters.
9. Descriptive phrases need not be evenly spaced.
10. Pre-test. Ask respondents to raise any questions about the rating and the different points on the continuum if they are unclear.
11. To score, use numerical values as assigned.
Reiterating, the comparison of two village leaders' leadership characteristics is a primary objective of this study. The comparison will be made in terms of an anticipated set of developmental leadership qualities which were theoretically derived. They are: (1) change-orientation (enthusiasm for change), (2) sense of sacrifice (selflessness), (3) drive for task-achievement, (4) planning ability, (5) communication skill (articulateness), (6) organizational ability, (7) responsiveness to the ideal of the New Village Movement (conformity and loyalty to the regime), (8) out-system orientation, and (9) human relational skill.

Each concept listed above was operationalized in the form of rating questions and measured by means of other-rating methods (rating by others).

**Questions**

The question content representing each concept is as follows:

To what extent do you feel that your village leader (Saemaul leader)

(1) Has displayed a tendency to act in accordance with the spirit of the New Village Movement? (Commitment to the Ideal of the Movement)

(2) Has displayed a tendency to subordinate his own interests to the interests of the community as a whole? (Selflessness)

(3) Has displayed a tendency to seek new ways of doing things such
as new agricultural practices and new community development programs? (Enthusiasm for Change)

(4) Has displayed a desire to excel over other villages in the race for community development? Or has emphasized getting things (community development projects) done? (Achievement Drive)

(5) Has displayed an ability to make plans with regard to community development projects? (e.g., what project shall be done and how it shall be done) (Planning Ability)

(6) Has displayed an ability to assign people to appropriate tasks or roles so that people can work effectively and in cooperation with each other? (Organizational Ability)

(7) Has displayed an ability to express clearly his ideas and opinions vis-à-vis other people such as villagers and local officials? (Articulateness)

(8) Has displayed a skill to establish and maintain friendly relations with such people as villagers and local officials? (Human Relations Skill)

(9) Has displayed a tendency to visit the outside world in order to obtain information or muster resources in support of community development? (Out-System Orientation)

**Rating Scale**

A graphic scale supplemented by brief description was preferred to a verbal scale. In constructing a rating scale, one must, among other things, decide how many scale positions or categories are to be used. There is no simple rule for determining the optimal number of positions.
A basic consideration, of course, is the degree of differentiation wanted in the measurement. I decided on a four-point scale. Numerical value was attached to each point (category). The format of the scale is as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very Little</th>
<th>Some</th>
<th>Quite A Bit</th>
<th>A Very Great Deal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prescription of a four-point scale means that the scale has the characteristic of providing a forced distribution. The forced distribution does, however, have the advantage of obtaining fine distinctions of rating results. By examining the results of ratings (graphic analysis), which will be shown, we will note that the scores obtained by the leaders make fine distinctions by which we can easily notice the rated leadership quality differences of the two village leaders.

(3) **Pre-Test**

The question content was revised several times through pre-tests. Pre-tests were conducted in other villages. The preliminary tests of the rating questionnaire enabled me to discover ambiguities in the questionnaire. In the pre-test the researcher tried to determine whether respondents understood the concepts and interpreted them as the researcher did. It was assumed that the more clearly stated the rating questions, the more reliable the ratings are likely to be.
(4) **Ratings by Others**

Villagers were asked to place the person being rated (village leader) at some point along a continuum (in one of an ordered series of categories). Theoretically it was assumed, that what villagers perceived of a leader would reflect what the leader did, and what the leader did would reflect a set of his dispositional qualities, motives, values, outlooks, abilities, skills, capabilities, sense of confidence, and personality. One must recognize that self-reporting or self-rating methods are entirely subjective, the assessment of his behavior or predispositions being left to the respondent. In this case the respondent may not be able to assess himself objectively (if he is afraid of revealing his behavior or predispositions to others or if he is aware of the benefits accompanied by revealing them).

This fact made me reluctant to rely on self-rating methods, and I decided to rely on other-rating methods. Especially when comparing two leaders a self-rating procedure is of little value. Other-rating was considered as a preferred available method to reduce measurement error.

2. **Analysis**

(1) **Graphic Analysis: Frequency Polygon**

In order to analyze the result of the villagers' ratings of the village leader's leadership performance which in turn denotes the leader's leadership characteristics, I employed a graphic technique so as to assure vivid comparison. By graphic technique is meant a frequency polygon: a graph consisting of straight lines connecting obtained score points (number of respondents) located above the
categorical point of the scale continuum. That is, the leader's scale position on the rating continuum placed by the villagers (raters) will be compared in terms of a frequency polygon. The technique turns on the original rating scale format which consists of an unbroken continuum line which contains a set of rating categories. The following set of figures shows the result of graphic analysis of each question variable respectively.

In the figure, the numerical numbers placed along the frequency polygon denote the degree and the intensity of individual differences with respect to the given variable (leadership characteristics). The number corresponding to each category equals the number of respondents who responded to the category, which in turn suggests the scores each leader obtained from the ratings in accordance with the category. In addition, the numbers attached to the scale continuum are equivalents of the following descriptions.

1  Very Little
2  Some
3  Quite A Bit
4  A Very Great Deal

Interpretation of Graphic Analysis

According to my eyeball judgement of each frequency polygon, villagers' rating of village leaders' leadership characteristics seems to be sharply contrasting between Village A and Village B.
Figure 9. The extent to which the leader has displayed a tendency to act in accordance with the spirit of the New Village Movement (Commitment to the Ideal of the Movement)
Figure 10. The extent to which the leader has displayed a tendency to subordinate his own interests to the interests of the community as a whole (Selflessness)
Figure 11. The extent to which the leader has displayed a tendency to seek new ways of doing things such as new agricultural practices and new community development programs (Change Orientation)
Figure 12. The extent to which the leader has displayed a desire to excel over other villages in the race for community development or has emphasized getting things (development projects) done (Achievement Drive)
Figure 13. The extent to which the leader has displayed an ability to make plans with regard to community development projects; what project shall be done and how it shall be done (Planning Ability)
Figure 14. The extent to which the leader has displayed an ability to assign people to appropriate tasks or roles so that people can work effectively and in cooperation with each other (Organizational Ability)
Figure 15. The extent to which the leader has displayed an ability to express clearly his ideas and opinions vis-à-vis other people such as villagers and local officials (Articulateness)
Figure 16. The extent to which the leader has displayed a skill to establish and maintain friendly relations with such people as villagers and local officials (Human Relations Skill)
Figure 17. The extent to which the leader has displayed a tendency to visit the outside world in order to obtain information or muster resources in support of community development (Out-System Orientation)
The villagers' ratings of the village leadership characteristics are compared in a graphic form by the mode point (the most frequently chosen scale point) of the rating scale continuum, as is seen in the following figure:

(1) Commitment to the Ideal of the New Village Movement

(2) Selflessness

(3) Change Orientation

(4) Achievement Drive

(5) Planning Ability

(6) Organizational Ability

(7) Articulateness

(8) Human Relation Skill

(9) Out-System Orientation (Scale)

--- Developmental Leader (Village A)
--- Less Developmental Leader (Village B)

Figure 18. Comparison of Leader Characteristics by the Mode Point of Rating Scales
According to the graphic comparison, the sample developmental leader's leadership characteristics are most distinctively differentiated from those of the sample less-developmental leader in terms of "achievement drive" and "out-system orientation." The least distinctive characteristics are "commitment to the ideal of the New Village Movement," "selflessness," and "human relations skill."

In order of the extent of the differentiation of each leadership characteristics between the two leaders, we can list the characteristics as follows:

**TABLE 9**

THE EXTENT OF DIFFERENTIATION OF LEADERSHIP CHARACTERISTICS BASED UPON THE MOST FREQUENTLY CHOSEN SCALE-POINT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Extent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Achievement Drive</td>
<td>+++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Out-System Orientation</td>
<td>+++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Change Orientation</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Planning Orientation</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Articulateness</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Commitment to the Ideal of N.V.M.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Selflessness (Public Regard)</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Organizational Ability</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Human Relations Skill</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+: One-point scale interval between each leader's mode point was given one +.
On the other hand, the total and mean rating scores of each variable obtained by each village leader can be compared in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Leader A</th>
<th>Leader B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) Commitment to the Movement Ideal</td>
<td>251 (3.1375)</td>
<td>223 (2.7875)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Selflessness</td>
<td>222 (2.7750)</td>
<td>184 (2.3000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Change Orientation</td>
<td>261 (3.2625)</td>
<td>193 (2.4125)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) Achievement Drive</td>
<td>257 (3.2125)</td>
<td>164 (2.0500)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) Planning Ability</td>
<td>243 (3.0375)</td>
<td>182 (2.2750)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) Organizational Ability</td>
<td>218 (2.7250)</td>
<td>181 (2.2625)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7) Articulateness</td>
<td>239 (2.9875)</td>
<td>186 (2.3250)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8) Human Relations Skill</td>
<td>222 (2.7750)</td>
<td>199 (2.4875)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9) Out-System Orientation</td>
<td>252 (3.1500)</td>
<td>185 (2.3125)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>2165 (3.00069)</strong></td>
<td><strong>1697 (2.35694)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number in ( ): Mean Scores

*a Each description of the four-category rating scale has been given the following scores respectively: for Very Little, 1 point; for Some, 2; for Quite A Bit, 3; and for A Very Great Deal, 4 was given.*
Specifically, the extent of the mean score difference between the two leaders within each leadership characteristic can be tabled as follows in the order of extent.

### TABLE 11
MEAN SCORE DIFFERENCE OF EACH LEADERSHIP CHARACTERISTIC BETWEEN THE TWO LEADERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leadership Characteristics</th>
<th>Extent of Mean Score Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Achievement Drive</td>
<td>1.1625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Change Orientation</td>
<td>0.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Out-System Orientation</td>
<td>0.8375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Planning Ability</td>
<td>0.7625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Articulateness</td>
<td>0.6625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Selflessness</td>
<td>0.475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Organization Ability</td>
<td>0.4625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Commitment to the Ideal of N.V.M.</td>
<td>0.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Human Relations Skill</td>
<td>0.2875</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table shows that the pattern of mean score difference is quite similar to the pattern of mode-point differentiation. However, it should be noticed that the extent of mean difference in "change orientation" is larger than "out-system orientation" even though the margin is negligible.

In conclusion, on the basis of the extent of mean score
differences, we can say that the sample developmental leader is most distinctively differentiated from the sample less-developmental leader in "achievement drive," while they are least distinctively differentiated in "human relational skill."

(2) Propositions Drawn from Rating Analysis

As seen in the series of analyses presented above, the leader of the developmental village was perceived and rated as being superior in each leadership characteristic to the leader of the stagnant village. Leader A was perceived and rated as exhibiting more change orientation, selflessness, responsiveness to the ideal of the New Village Movement, achievement drive, planning ability, organizational ability, human relational skill, out-system orientation, and articulateness. He differentiated himself sharply from the leader of Village B by virtue of the above set of characteristics.

Accordingly, it is also assumed that these characteristics are primary determinants of community development in contemporary Korea since some situational assets of the two sample villages, which are assumed to affect developmental activeness of the social system, are matched in a significant way. Otherwise put, it is assumed that villages tend to become more developmentally progressive if the leader of a certain village is superior to other village leaders in the set of qualities and characteristics listed above. It is hypothesized that differences in the extent of the above leadership characteristics of village leaders will be positively associated with differences in the extent of village development, other things being approximately equal.

According to the given data set and its graphic analysis, we can
expect that there is some positive correlation among the hypothesized leadership characteristics; between each variable or in any combination. However, the researcher is very cautious in presenting this finding mainly because the measurement of leadership characteristics might be influenced by the "halo effect." Unfortunately I do not know how much halo effect biased the leader's leadership traits measurement. One way in which the halo effect was reduced was that raters were warned of the possibility of such bias when they were interviewed.

In conclusion, taking all the evidence into account, the empirical relevancy of the hypothesized leadership model seems to be empirically confirmed.

However, at this moment, the statements must still remain hypothetical because the data collected and the research procedures by which the data were collected are not sophisticated enough to prove the proposed leadership model and other related assumptions and hypotheses.

3. Reliability and Validity

(1) Reliability

As was previously mentioned, measurement of village leadership characteristics relied on villagers' own ratings. Villagers were asked to indicate their depth of feeling or opinion about their leader's behavior. Are their responses reliable? My answer is "Yes." When a community which is under investigation is relatively small, it can be said that everybody knows everybody else in the community. That is, in a face-to-face society like a small village, psychological and behavioral tendencies of a leader can be located with relative accuracy and ease by means of other villagers' perception. Therefore, villagers' ratings
employed as a technique to measure village leader characteristics promise a fair degree of reliability for the identification of the characteristics.

Some steps taken to increase reliability (reduce the likelihood of measurement error) were the attention paid to the construction of the rating scales and question content (questionnaires were constructed through several preliminary testings) and the interviewing procedure. Villagers were interviewed in as much privacy as possible or under conditions which, though there might have been some onlookers, did not interfere in a way which might cause response error. That is, I interviewed in those cases where the respondent's family members were present, but not when his friends were present. The researcher memorized all the questionnaire items so that he could interview villagers in the manner of natural conversations. Finally, the interviewer tried to become as natural a medium as possible through which questions and answers are transmitted without inducing any bias. On this ground, it is assumed that, though the researcher does not know the actual degree of reliability (statistically measured), the research results are basically reliable.

(2) Measurement of a Biasing Effect

One possible way of detecting the biasing effect of question content and interview-response error is to compare response rates of each question scale: comparison of the number of respondents between upper half and lower half of the question scale continuum. As a result of this comparison, if the number of respondents who were receptive to the upper half of the scale are far larger than that of respondents who
were receptive to the lower half of the scale, then we can say that the rating is positively biased or skewed and vice versa. Ideally, if the respondents are evenly dispersed into both directions starting from the mid-point of the scale, then we can say that there seems to be no bias symptoms.

In this study, the number of respondents is 160. So the number 80 exists for telling us how the response pattern is skewed or biased. That is, one simple eyeball measure is the difference between the number 80 (50%) and the actual number of respondents. The more the criterion number 80 and the actual number of respondents differ, the more skewed the response pattern in the given question item (rating scale). But it should be noted that there is no rule for how much deviation is tolerable. In this study, if more than 120 (75%) persons responded to the upper or lower part of the given scale, then it is assumed that the rating is unreasonably skewed in that direction.

Table 12 on the following page shows the simplified response pattern of each question item by which we can make an eyeball assessment of biasing effect of the scale.

As seen in the table, the response pattern is somewhat balanced. Although, all the items display a tendency to skew toward the positive direction except one item (item 6, organizational measurement scale), no item is incredibly skewed (more than 75% of respondents) either negatively or positively. On this ground, I believe the measurement of leadership characteristics based upon villagers' ratings is basically reliable.
TABLE 12
COMPARISON OF SIMPLIFIED RESPONSE PATTERN OF EACH SCALE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question Item</th>
<th>Lower-Half (Negative Direction)</th>
<th>Upper-Half (Positive Direction)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 (Commitment to the N.V.M.)</td>
<td>46 (28.75%)</td>
<td>114 (71.25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 (Selflessness)</td>
<td>76 (47.50%)</td>
<td>84 (52.50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 (Change Orientation)</td>
<td>58 (36.25%)</td>
<td>102 (63.75%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 (Achievement Drive)</td>
<td>69 (43.13%)</td>
<td>91 (56.87%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 (Planning Ability)</td>
<td>72 (45.00%)</td>
<td>88 (55.00%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 (Organizational Ability)</td>
<td>82 (51.25%)</td>
<td>78 (48.75%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 (Articulateness)</td>
<td>69 (43.13%)</td>
<td>91 (56.87%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 (Human Relations Skill)</td>
<td>70 (43.75%)</td>
<td>90 (56.25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 (Out-System Orientation)</td>
<td>62 (38.75%)</td>
<td>98 (61.25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MEAN</strong></td>
<td><strong>604 (41.94%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>836 (58.06%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) **Validity**

Validity has to do with whether an indicator actually reflects the property that it purports to reflect. The question of validity asks, "Is a given measure or indicator an accurate measure of the concepts?" When we use indirect indicators rather than direct measures, the question of validity becomes very important.⁷

As for validity, the researcher is convinced that the question items coordinate with respective leadership characteristics quite well.
Of course the researcher understands that the question items designed to measure the leadership profile can only be treated as a partial or imperfect operationalization. The language and styles of the question, and the overall semantics of the question may not perfectly represent the meaning of the concept to which they refer. In addition, all the variables were operationalized in terms of a single item. Therefore the researcher fully understands the weakness of the operationalization and the consequent weakness in validity. The researcher also understands that perfect relationship between theoretical concepts and their empirical referents, and thus complete measurement of the concepts, is our goal in any empirical research. It might be argued that in order to increase the reliability and validity the concepts should be measured in a multi-dimensional way. The researcher agrees with the argument.

In summary, the researcher does not believe that the scale is likely to be highly valid. The results can only be regarded as rough approximations in the abstract measurement of the concepts. At this moment, what I can hypothesize is that the measures of each concept will roughly be congruent with those measures which may be obtained by much more elegant scales. This belief is derived from face-validity of the question items.
NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII


6. Ibid., p. 408. The Halo Effect is likely to occur if more than one characteristic of a person is to be judged. In this case, raters frequently carry over a generalized impression of the person from one rating to the next, or they try to make their ratings consistent. "Thus, if a rater considers a person to be shy, and if that same rater believes shy people to be poorly adjusted, he or she is likely to rate the person poorly adjusted as well as shy." It is apparent that the Halo Effect reduces the validity of the ratings and introduces a spurious degree of positive correlation among the traits that are rated.

CHAPTER IX

SOURCES AND DYNAMICS OF LEADERSHIP

The most fruitful studies, from the point of view of understanding leadership, have been those in which leadership behavior was described and analyzed on the basis of direct observation or analysis of biographical and case history data.1

I have so far compared two village leaders in terms of perceived leadership behavior as rated by the villagers each leader leads. Since the ratings are based upon leadership qualities as perceived by villagers, they can only provide us with a more or less abstract image of the leader. A more satisfactory understanding of the village leadership profile demands an analysis of each leader's background variables, by which leadership qualities are assumed to be shaped, and an analysis of the leader's actual leadership performance connected with the process of community development. I believe such understanding is an important complement to the rating scale analysis.

1. Anticipated Sources of Leadership Qualities

What kind of antecedent variables enable an actor to emerge and function as a developmental leader in rural villages in contemporary Korea? There can be several possible antecedent variables, but given the characteristics of the village-level social system, particular interest attaches to evidence concerning whether the leader had ever lived outside the village--to study, to hold an ordinary job, to serve
in the military--and whether he had ever worked in modern institutions, such as factories and military organizations. All these variables can be subsumed under a single term: modern influence.

For rural peasants, modern influence is typically symbolized by modern exposure which can be achieved directly (physical contact such as urban residence) or vicariously (mass media contact). Of several possible elements, the following two are considered to be core elements of antecedent variables.

(1) **Amount of Formal Education**

It is generally recognized that formal education, as an essential element of social learning, helps develop some leadership qualities.\(^2\) The International Studies of Values in Politics ascertained that the amount of education evidently had much to do with shaping community leadership qualities in some countries.

At least, the evidence from India and Yugoslavia demonstrates that communities whose leaders have had more advanced education are more active in the ways that would appear in line with the usual notions of modernization.\(^3\)

(2) **Length of Urban Residence**

For rural peasants, urban residence, and especially employment in modern complex institutions, as a form of modern learning and experience, may provide an opportunity to confront a variety of situations which, in turn, provide awareness of effective and ineffective styles of responsiveness and then strengthen cognitive skills and information processing capacity. According to Rogers, urban experience can facilitate the emergence of modern attitudes and behaviors which are
likely to be characterized by the following elements: (1) increased knowledgeability, (2) increased empathy, (3) increased motivation and innovativeness, and (4) reduction in fatalism. All of these seem to be the required and desired leadership qualities of competent leaders and would help the leaders play their roles more effectively.

An actor's urban experience also provides an external vantage point from which to judge one's own society. For the man who returns from the outside world, the tension between his external experiences and the realities of his home village can prove a modernizing force. He may be motivated to undertake actions for change.

On the other hand, it is unlikely that peasants exposed only to village society will be able to empathize with modernizing roles. The typical peasant plays few roles in life, all of which are restricted to his life in the village, and can seldom empathize beyond the usual village roles.

It is assumed that individuals raised in restricted environments, such as isolated peasant villages, will have low empathy with modernizing roles because they are not exposed to a wide variety of roles and consequently never learn how to take the roles of others that are different from their own experience. Therefore, the peasant who lacks modern learning experiences is unlikely to be an effective leader.

On the basis of the above rationale, it is assumed that the basic differences in the amount of modern influence indicated by the length of urban residence, the years of formal education, the amount of mass media exposure, and the nature of former occupations including military service, are linked with a variety of other differences in developmental leadership qualities.
2. **Comparison of Two Leaders' Antecedent Variables**

(1) **Similarity**

My sample developmental leader and less-developmental leader were born and raised in their villages (rural origin). Their current primary occupation is farming. Their parents were also farmers who had no formal education.

Both attended local schools and the length of education is exactly the same, nine years. Both have been in the village leadership position since 1971 (the beginning year of the New Village Movement). Both underwent the New Village Movement leadership training course in Suwon for two weeks.

Both are heads of households. Mr. Noh's family was larger than that of Mr. Choi. Mr. Noh's family numbered seven, while Mr. Choi's family numbered five.

Their main income source is agricultural production. Neither man has any particular extra income. Their economic status was relatively high in their villages: both perceived themselves as belonging basically to the high status level. As evidence for the similarity in economic status, the amount of land owned by each man is quite similar (2.7 ha for Mr. Noh, and 2.9 ha for Mr. Choi). But it is interesting to note that Mr. Noh puts more emphasis on growing cash crops, such as vegetables, than on food crops, while Mr. Choi places more emphasis on food crops, such as rice, than on cash crops. These contrasting agricultural practices indicate that Mr. Noh is more innovative than Mr. Choi.
(2) 

Dissimilarity

Mr. Noh: was born in 1922 (52 years old as of 1977). He was raised and educated in his local district until the age of sixteen. In his sixteenth year he left his village and joined the Japanese army (at that time Korea was under Japanese rule). At twenty, he was discharged from the army and entered the local middle school. When Korea was liberated from Japanese rule, Mr. Noh entered the Korean National Army and was commissioned a lieutenant at the age of twenty-three. He served in the army about 10 years and in 1956 he was discharged from the army with the rank of major. During military service, he spent more than five years in large cities. After discharge, he returned to his home village to engage in agriculture. This background history implies that Mr. Noh had been exposed to the modern world and, thus, modern influence. In addition, as a military officer he had leadership experience. What is more, as an officer, it was in a sense an obligation for him to read newspapers, listen to the radio, and watch TV. He has, as he stated, long been exposed to mass media.

In summary, in Mr. Noh's case, the total amount of learning seems to be very high for a peasant even though his formal education is relatively low.

Mr. Choi: was born in 1935 (42 years old as of 1977). He also was raised and educated in his local district. He joined the army at twenty-one, but he served on three years. When he was discharged from the army he returned straight home to engage in agricultural cultivation. As a rank-and-file, Mr. Choi had not had leadership experience in the army, let alone mass media exposure. Even after discharge, as he
stated, he has had very little exposure to mass media. Although he has long been listening to radio (approximately 5 years), he began to watch TV only a couple of months previous to the survey. Although he has been subscribing to a newspaper and some magazines, the subscriptions were an obligation as a Saemaul leader.

(3) Analysis of the Background History

According to the sketches, the two leaders differ significantly in the amount of modern influence. All in all, Mr. Noh has had much more exposure to the modern world and, thus, much more modern learning (experience). Accordingly, Mr. Noh and Mr. Choi impressed me as being markedly different in their leadership qualities. Mr. Noh's leadership qualities seemed to be basically something he had acquired through his modern experience and role as an army officer.

It is reasonable to expect that because of his long-term modern experiences, Mr. Noh might have learned how to play a modernizing leadership role. Having long been exposed to mass media, he might have learned how to process complex sets of information. Having been in a leadership position in the military, he must have had appropriate role models which make it easier for him to display suitable behavior when the occasion arises. That is, Mr. Noh might have on hand a better set of leadership strategies to act in a way that is appropriate as a leader. In the process of working with his soldiers, for instance, he might have learned how to relate to various types of people and how to initiate and coordinate collective actions. Consequently, he might feel confident that he can in fact fulfill the required leadership roles of the Saemaul leader. He must have believed that he has the required
abilities or competence to carry out the role successfully. As an indication of this confidence, Mr. Noh volunteered to undertake the leadership role, while Mr. Choi did not. Without a sense of confidence, a leader is unlikely to become an effective leader. Hollander writes,

A general capacity of social intelligence, perhaps based on more experience, perceptiveness, and corresponding self-confidence, may give some individuals a head start as leaders. When an individual enters a situation and feels secure in "reading" the dynamics there, he or she may exude a sense of command.6

From another point of view, a person such as Mr. Noh tends to become culturally marginal because of his long exposure to the modern world. One characteristic of cultural marginality is change orientation, without which a leader can not become an effective change agent in the society. Social scientists have often noted that culturally marginal individuals frequently take the lead in social and economic innovation.7

In contrast, it is unlikely that Mr. Choi would have developed leadership qualities since he had had only relatively brief exposure to modern and progressive society. He had lived all along in his home village, leaving only temporarily for military service. As a person raised in a restricted environment isolated from the modern world he might not have had sufficient opportunity to be exposed to a wide variety of modern roles (leadership roles), and so never learned how to take on the role of a progressive leader. Even though he underwent the Saemaul leadership training course for two weeks, it is not expected that he acquired the necessary leadership abilities or competence satisfactorily in such a short time.

In summary, the background analysis presented in this chapter
implies that for a peasant modern influence is among the important predictors of leadership competence connected with developmental leadership role requirements of a key positional leader in a village level social system.

3. Dynamics of Leadership Performance: Change Strategy

By change strategy, following the definition offered by Ronald L. Warren, is meant a major mode of action that characterizes the nature of leadership behavior directed to purposive social change. An examination of change strategies employed by each leader will give us very useful supplementary data to understand why the leader of Village A has been more effective than the leader of Village B. It will also substantiate and, thus, validate the results of leadership ratings.

(1) A Review of Conceptual Guidelines

There may be numerous conceptual guidelines which are useful in adequately understanding village leaders' leadership dynamics. For the purposes of this work I have chosen as appropriate (1) George M. Beal's conception of change strategies, (2) Edwin P. Hollander's theory of idiosyncracy credit, and (3) Gerth and Mills' leader typology.

(a) George M. Beal's Conception of Change Strategies

Several scholars typologized change strategies several different ways. In this study, the researcher will mostly refer to George M. Beal's typology. Of course, Beal's typology is not conceptually independent of other scholars' conceptions. It is fairly close to other typologies.
According to Beal, change strategies to be employed by change agents in a community level social system can be classified into five categories:  

1. Empirical-Rational strategy,
2. Normative-re-educative strategy,
3. The influence-manipulative strategy,
4. The power-coercive strategy,
5. The conflict strategy.

**Empirical-Rational Strategy:** This strategy is based on the assumption that all people know exactly what to do and how to do it, have the capacity for creativity in solving problems, are receptive to change, can provide his or her own direction, will be more highly motivated and will accomplish more if freed from the constraint of others.

Using this strategy, the leader tends to explore ends and means for change through a participative and consensual approach, and the personal worth and importance of the people are taken in account. The leader tries to keep friendly relations with people, avoid conflict, and pay attention to what people say. Social harmony and consensus are more or less equally important to the leader as is the actual achievement of change objectives. The leader does not believe that ends can justify the means. Characteristically this type of approach can be labeled as a non-initiating-responsive approach. The leader who employs this approach is considered in this study to be a non-initiating-responsive leader.

**Normative-Re-educative Strategy:** This strategy is based upon the assumption that barriers to change lie in values, attitudes, and norms. Therefore, changes of values, attitudes, and norms are of pivotal concern. It assumes that leaders can shape, alter, and elevate the motives, values, and goals of followers utilizing the vital teaching
role of leadership which Burns conceives as a core element of transforming leadership.\textsuperscript{12} In this strategy the role of leader is just like the role of an active educator.

**Influence-Manipulative Strategy:** A characteristic of this approach is a predetermined definition of the problem, solutions, and alternatives and a predetermined assumption of existing values, attitudes, and norms. That is, the strategy refers to guiding or directing relevant actors toward predetermined goals. In this approach, the role of the leader is that of a skillful manipulator.

**Power-Coercive Approach:** This strategy is heavily dependent on coercive tactics to influence the behavior of others. It emphasizes sanctions that can be delivered if change objectives are not accepted. In this approach, the role of leader is similar to the role of commander who tends to say, "Do it because you will be punished if you don't."

This strategy is essentially based upon the assumption that leaders are always right and must be obeyed.

**Conflict Strategy:** In this approach, an aggressive behavior such as violence is an accepted mode of operation. Thus, the role of leader is expected to be like the role of a radical movement leader. The leader believes that violence is sometimes the best means, as Frantz Fanon did, for bringing about the desired goal of change.\textsuperscript{12} For him change is an undeterrable terminal value and violence is the desired or inevitable instrumental value.

The common characteristic of the above four strategies (normative-re-educative, influence-manipulative, power-coercive, and conflict strategies) can be labeled as an initiating-directive approach in which the leader tends to determine means and ends for change in advance by
himself and then to sell to (or even impose them on) the people, and tends to neglect the personal worth and importance people simply because other values such as change, productivity, and efficiency are given higher priority.

The underlying assumptions are that most people are resistant to change; they have little capacity for creativity in solving problems; they lack innovativeness; and they are basically not participation oriented. Therefore, it is believed that without the active and manipulative intervention of leadership no developmental goals are achieved. People, according to this assumption, must be persuaded, motivated, directed, controlled, manipulated, rewarded, and, perhaps, coerced.

In this approach, the leader's primary concern is end-values (maximization of achievement and getting things done) rather than modal values. He tends to tolerate conflict and to seek compliance through employment of foxian tactics or even coercion. He believes that ends can sometimes justify the means. The leader who employs the above described approach is considered in this study as an initiating-directive leader.

(b) Hollander's Theory of Idiosyncracy Credit

According to Hollander, any leader who attempts to bring about change must gain the confidence of his group or followers. Hollander calls this store of confidence "idiosyncracy credits." Once the leader has gained credits, then he can become effective in bringing about change without being rejected by the people. Hollander's basic idea is that the more credits the leader earns, the more acceptable the leader's assertions of influence become.
The question is: How can the leader earn the credits? Usually credits are gained by signs of a contribution to the group's primary task and loyalty to the group norms. As summary terms, these two factors are referred to as competence and conformity. Hollander postulates that with sufficient demonstration of competence and conformity, the leader gains credits.¹³

(c) **Gerth and Mills' Leader Typology**¹⁴

Gerth and Mills paid special attention to whether or not the leader creates the role he plays. That is, whether he modifies existing roles as virtually to reconstitute them, or merely assumes an already existing role and enacts it within the generally expected limits; and whether the individual finds an available institutional context for his role, or is limited in his playing of it to small informal groups mainly among a public. Combining these two aspects, Gerth and Mills created three possible types of leaders: (a) the routineer, (b) the innovator, and (c) the precursor.

**The routineer:** The routine leader creates neither his role nor its institutional context, but merely steps into a pre-existing setup containing the leadership role which he plays. He fulfills his role exactly as required and prescribed. This type of leader can be called a role-determined leader.

**The innovator:** The innovating leader, within an existing institutional context, creates a new role and then plays it. The leader may expand his role by creating new features of it, or by merging two or more existing roles. He may split an existing role into two and only play one of them, delegating or giving up the other. He enacts the new
role set in a highly personal style within the given role boundary exceeding what is expected and making the most of his opportunities. He may be figuring out new ways to satisfy expectations or sensed wants of the group in context, or he may create a new role and by so doing create new wants at the same time as their means of realization. For this type of leader any number of mechanisms for role creation are possible, and any number of reasons for their creation. But he must be able to enlist or transfer the loyalties of the led to the new role which he has created. In its very nature, the innovating leader can be called the role-determining leader.

The precursor: The leader as precursor creates a role, but there is no institutional opportunity for him to play it. Such leaders are usually self-appointed and their performance of their roles as decision-makers is imaginary. In this study this type of leader is judged as a non-leader. Therefore, this type is excluded from the researcher's concerns. The researcher is much more interested in the former two types because they provide a conceptual scheme by which the researcher can evaluate the village leadership dynamics. I assume that the innovative type of village leader, conceived by Gerth and Mills, will be more effective than the routine type of village leader in bringing about change in his social system, simply because the Saemaul leader must deal with more innovative, than routine problems.

(2) Observation: The Two Leaders' Leadership Strategies

In comparing my sample leaders' change strategies, I will concentrate on the distinctive characteristic of their change strategies as revealed by each in the process of dealing with critical incidents
encountered in the process of leadership performance.

(a) Characteristics of Mr. Noh's Leadership Performance

In 1971, there was an excessive supply of cement in Korea, and the Government made a decision to subsidize the surplus for rural villages in order to stimulate the emergence of the self-help spirit. It was a kind of "pump-priming water." About 335 bags of cement were distributed to almost every village in the nation (33,267 villages out of 34,665 villages)\(^{15}\) and recommendations were made to use them for community construction projects.

My two sample villages also received the cement. The interesting thing is that the output from this same amount of external aid was different.

When Village A received the cement, the leader of the village, Mr. Noh, decided to build a village warehouse. The village had long needed a big warehouse to store crops and other foodstuff. In addition, Mr. Noh heard from local officials that if a village had a warehouse the local government would store government rice (purchased from farmers) in the warehouse for a certain period of time and the village would be paid for the rental space.

In order to make the decision to build a village warehouse Mr. Noh approached village influentials first. That is, prior to the village-wide decision meeting, he gathered a dozen village influentials at his house and explained his idea about the warehouse and successfully obtained their agreement with his original idea. In the village-wide decision meeting, Mr. Noh could also sell his idea successfully to the villagers with the support of the village influentials who had already
accepted his idea. How could he get their support so easily? One factor was that he willingly donated the construction site with the condition that after the warehouse had earned a profit, the current land price must be paid to him from the surplus rental earnings. It was a good gesture of selflessness and concern for community development.

But a crucial problem was that the amount of cement was inadequate to build the planned warehouse, so the leader asked the villagers to donate the difference. Only a few of them agreed with his proposal, while many people were opposed to his request. At this stage, he might have attempted to coerce people to donate money in the name of the New Village Movement, but he did not employ that strategy. After careful consideration, Noh decided to raise funds from villagers' relatives or urban emigrants who were living in big cities and were relatively well-to-do.

He visited them personally and explained the warehouse project. Most of them were moved by his enthusiasm, and he raised about $300.00. When the villagers heard this news, they were also moved by his enthusiasm and sense of sacrifice. They became unexpectedly cooperative toward him. The final result was they built a large warehouse by which the village can earn at least $200.00 a year through rentals.

The success of the warehouse project probably served to convince the governmental officials as well as villagers that Mr. Noh was a competent leader and highly motivated to dedicate himself to the interests of the whole village. That is, the success helped him gain idiosyncratic credits which are required for a leader to become a successful innovator.

By demonstrating his leadership competence and by showing his
selfless enthusiasm for task achievement, Mr. Noh must have earned a sufficient amount of idiosyncracy credit. His approach to earning the credits was basically transactional. Mr. Noh gave his villagers lots of benefit by mobilizing resources from the external world and, thus, completing the profit-making project. Then he got something (credits, esteem, and personal potential for greater influence) in return. It is transactional in the sense that it refers to a social exchange in which the leader and followers give and receive benefit.\footnote{16}

It goes without saying that once credits are gained it is relatively easy for a leader to gain support for his leadership performance from the followers. On the other hand, it also becomes relatively easy for him to gain governmental subsidy because of the policies of the Government's New Village Movement Program (see Chapter III).

The success of the warehouse project also might have served to make the leader feel confidence in his leadership abilities and to enhance his motivations to work for further community development programs. As a matter of fact, Mr. Noh, the leader of Village A, has continued to devote himself to improving the developmental achievement level of his village system. In order to collect resources and information, he has visited the local administration center nearly every day and Seoul once every month. He also sometimes visits advanced villages in order to obtain ideas and learn new technologies for village development.

As a consequence, among other things, he introduced greenhouse techniques into his village in advance of other nearby villages. On the other hand, as a leader he seemed to be a skillful manipulator. The following episode evidences his manipulative skill.
In the village, according to Mr. Noh's report, there were "four rascals" who had always opposed him and made trouble. But now they are very supportive to him. How did he bring this about?

One day Mr. Noh invited the "four rascals" to his house and treated them to well-prepared food and drinks. At that time he proposed that the "four rascals" become sworn brother to each other, including himself. Mr. Noh said, "Since they have become my sworn brothers, they have become very much more polite and obedient to me than before, because I am elder brother."

This episode is a good indication of Mr. Noh's intelligence and interpersonal and conflict resolution skill.

On the other hand, Mr. Noh was a very considerate person. He reported that every New Year's day he gave some rice to poor neighbors without any conditions. If there were a medical patient in the village, he did his best to help him (her) by providing transportation service using his motor scooter or by helping him (her) undergo free or special treatment. He believed that "true leadership arises from kindheartedness, together with competence and selflessness." He added, "Without winning the hearts of people, nobody can become a good leader. The best way to win the hearts of the people is to show your warmth and sympathy to them."

What the above discussion indicates is that Mr. Noh behaved in a way that is task-oriented (instrumental) at times and social-emotional (expressive) on other occasions. Therefore, it is assumed that a single leader may shift behavior between the two modes of leadership: task-oriented style of leadership and person-oriented style of leadership.
In order to fulfill his leadership responsibility more effectively, he also chose a "social populist" (Mr. Lee) who enjoyed great esteem, respect, and trust among the people, as assistant leader. He expected that Mr. Lee could serve as a social harmonizer, which he did. Mr. Noh said,

> Because of Mr. Lee I could become less concerned with people and more concerned with the basic tasks of community development. 16

Theoretically, it is assumed that a task leader like Mr. Noh inevitably tends to create tensions and destroy harmony as he promotes change, no matter how skillful he is in interpersonal relations. That is, under conditions of developmental change, the level of conflict and cleavage can be expected to increase. 17 Therefore, a social leader who can carry out the second key leadership function, social leadership, is needed in order to diffuse a potentially explosive situation by reducing tensions among villagers and head off incipient personality clashes before they hamper collective actions.

Mr. Noh was shrewd enough to understand this necessity and flexible enough to assign Mr. Lee to the role of social leader as a means to manipulate villagers to act in accordance with his leadership initiative. Villagers intermediated by Mr. Lee were expected to be held together more tightly around the common purposes which are mostly initiated by Mr. Noh. This episode is a good indication of his organizational and role-creating ability. As an expressive (socio-emotional) leader, Mr. Lee might make significant contributions to organizational (village as a whole) task-performance, since the creation of strong social ties can enhance the overall performance of an organization. 18

As a consequence, Village A was soon recognized as one of the most
progressive villages in the district and Mr. Noh as the best qualified leader. He was conferred a presidential award and decoration by President Park. Meantime, his village was designated as a "model village." Mr. Noh was also appointed to serve as a field lecturer of the Saemaul leadership training program. A dozen village leaders regularly visit Mr. Noh's village in order to receive field education from Mr. Noh.

In Summary, as a leader, Mr. Noh was alert to recognize the importance of transactional approach and idiosyncracy credits. He devised ways to enlighten and manipulate people to do what he was sure was best for the village. He has in general taken creative steps toward change which can be called creative incremental measures. To borrow Kotter and Lawrence's phrase, Mr. Noh was an extremely pro-active person. He literally was the type of man who stands on the bow of the ship and points the way. He had a tendency to always establish missions and goals. He tried to lead others toward his vision of the future. 19

Speaking in terms of change-strategy, he was an initiating directive developmentalist in the sense that he has primarily relied upon the influence-manipulative approach as a change strategy. He was highly enthusiastic in responding to the possibility of developmental change opened up for his society by modern technologies and by the framework of the New Village Movement. As reviewed above, he tried to create a new role set in the context of the given situations. To borrow Gerth and Mills terminology, he was a role-determining leader rather than a role-determined leader. From some value perspectives, this type of leadership behavior may possibly be criticized and rejected even if its consequences ultimately turned out to be good for the people.
If Mr. Noh is to be blameless as a leader, he has to adjust, among other things, his purposes in advance to the motive bases of villagers. He must set goals in connection with the wants and needs, aspirations and expectations, and values and goals of people without threatening rights of privacy and self-expression.

(b) Characteristics of Mr. Choi's Leadership Performance

When Village B received the government-allotted cement (same amount as Village A), the leader of Village B was not ready to propose a specific idea about what to do with the cement. Therefore, Mr. Choi relied very much upon villagers' ideas and suggestions. Accordingly, villagers had engaged in long discussion in order to reach consensus about agenda-setting. Mr. Choi recalled,

It was not until 10 days later that we reached consensus to build a small village bridge with the given cement.

It seems that Mr. Choi attempted to solve the problem on the basis of consensual and participatory principle. He must have paid much attention to what the people said rather than selling or imposing his idea on them. Mr. Choi did not try to raise extra funds for the project. According to his report, he scarcely visited the nearby city and never visited central government agencies (low out-system orientation). In general, Mr. Choi seems not to actively take leadership initiative on his own. From another point of view, the principle of his leadership (or change) approach was not transactional and, thus, he could not gain a sufficient amount of credit by which he could claim the villagers' support for his leadership performance or change initiative. What is more, he was more concerned with his own business than with
community affairs. That is, he was basically, to use Wilson and Banfield's phrase, a self-regarding person rather than public-regarding. 20

Mr. Choi himself betrayed his private-regardingness as follows: "Since I have been tied up with my own family business, I have not been able to devote much time to work for community development." It is not surprising that the village has been relatively inactive and Mr. Choi's leadership performance turned out to be relatively ineffective. It is no wonder that systemic achievement was not remarkable and the village did not gain governmental attention.

Some villagers blamed Mr. Choi for his incompetence and inability to manipulate local officials to the benefit of the village. Shocked by the villagers' criticism he became much more concerned with village development affairs and more active in fulfilling his leadership missions. In order to recover his damaged prestige and esteem and to overcome the leadership crisis, he did receive some subsidies from the Government for a dyke project in 1974. The dyke project was relatively successful compared with the previous projects. Because of this project, Mr. Choi received a small local award which aims at encouraging the leader to work harder. By virtue of the award and the relative success of the project, Mr. Choi has had some success in demonstrating his leadership competence and earned a certain amount of credits from the villagers. However, compared with Mr. Noh's reputation, that of Mr. Choi was still insignificant.

In summary, Mr. Choi was rather unwilling and unable to respond to the possibilities for developmental change that were opened up for his social system by the framework of the New Village Movement. As a
leader, he did not seem to recognize the importance of idiosyncracy credits. As described earlier, he was not eager to manipulate the external world to benefit the interests of the villagers. He also was not skillful in manipulating villagers to behave in accordance with his leadership initiative. In addition, he was a relatively non-considerate self(private)-regarding type of person. When he was asked to relate any episode which indicated his warmth or sympathy for the villagers, he was at a loss. To borrow Kotter and Lawrence's phrase, Mr. Choi was somewhat reactive. He tended to take things as they came at him. He was not the type of person one could describe as being "up front." He tended not to establish a mission or create goals.

He did not positively try to create new lead-roles in the context of the New Village Movement. He sat back and took his role easy. To borrow Gerth and Mills' terminology, he was a role-determined leader rather than a role-determining leader. He has rarely taken the initiatives in his leadership performance. He may accordingly be called a responder instead of an initiator. Speaking in terms of change strategy, he can be called non-initiating responsive leader in the sense that he has primarily relied upon the empirical-rational strategy of change.

In summary, there seems to be a significant difference between my sample less-developmental leader and the more developmental leader when they are compared in terms of leadership competence, skills, qualities, motivations, and achievements. This conclusion is highly congruent with the result of the rating analysis.

4. Propositions Drawn

Propositions that have been drawn from the above observations are:
(1) The more experienced the leader in the ways of the modern world, the more likely he will be a capable village leader: Or the more experienced he is in a leadership role in a modern institution (e.g. the army), the more likely he will become an effective village leader under conditions in which development movement is conceived and pursued by the government in an authoritarian-mobilizing manner; (2) The initiating-directive type of leadership behavior seems to be a more effective means for promoting developmental change in the village-level social system of contemporary Korea than a non-initiating-responsive type of leadership behavior; (3) Demonstration of the ability to manipulate the external world to the benefit of the village system and the demonstration of concern for the public and selflessness seem to be the best ways to gain the idiosyncracy credit on which leadership success turns; (4) Consideration which refers to the extent to which the leader shows concern, understanding, warmth, and sympathy for the followers' needs and welfare, seems to be an essential element for leadership effectiveness.
NOTES TO CHAPTER IX


9. Ibid., ch. 5.


CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION:
AN OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH PROCEDURE AND MAJOR FINDINGS

Empirical research without theory is blind, just as theory without empirical is empty. We must also be modest and realistic in our aspirations. It is only by slowly building and testing theories of the middle range—"theories intermediate to the minor working hypotheses evolved in abundance during the day-by-day routines of research and the all-inclusive speculations comprising a master conceptual scheme from which it is hoped to derive a very large number of empirically observed uniformities of social behavior" (Merton, 1949: 5)—that we can add to the cumulative tradition of scientific inquiry. As our more modest theories are tested and their consequences examined, we can expect—as progress in the physical sciences teaches us—that we will discover more comprehensive theoretical schemes within which theories of the middle range can be integrated. 1

1. An Overview of Research Procedure

As a general research guideline, it was assumed in this study that even though the major source of community development in the village-level social system in contemporary Korea is the external pressure (regime influence) exerted in the name of the New Village Movement, the pace of development (village) varies with the village leader's (Saemaŭl leader) leadership effectiveness which in turn varies, to a large extent, with the leader's leadership qualities.

Presuming the above assumption is empirically serviceable, the researcher built a conceptual model of village leadership characteristics connected with leadership effectiveness and, thus, the pace of
community development. In order to confirm the empirical relevancy of the model, the researcher conducted field observations.

For field study, two sample Korean villages and two sample leaders were selected purposively. Selection of sample villages was made on the logic of what Przeworski and Teune call the Most Different Systems design. In each village 80 villagers were interviewed and asked to rate their village leader's leadership characteristics on the basis of the given rating scales.

2. **An Overview of Major Findings**

**Finding I:** The first finding of the present study is confirmation of the guiding assumption of the study. The assumption derived and ascertained in this study is: One key factor determining the transformational capacity of a social system, and thus determining the level of systemic achievement of the society, is, other things being approximately equal, the degree to which the system's leader is effective in performing his leadership requirements. In support of this assumption, Wha-Joon Rho, as a result of empirical research, reports that in contemporary Korea Saemaul leadership has the largest direct effect upon developmental change of the village level social system.

**Finding II:** The comparison of the two village leaders' leadership characteristics is a primary objective of this study. The comparison was made in terms of the following set of variables which were theoretically derived from developmental leadership theories and the regime criteria for rural village leader recruitment and education adopted by the Korean government. The variables are: (1) change-orientation (enthusiasm for change), (2) planning ability, (3) drive for task
achievement, (4) human relations skill, (5) out-system orientation, (6) sense of sacrifice (selflessness), (7) responsiveness to the ideal of the developmental movement (New Village Movement), (8) organizational ability, and (9) communication skill.

This finding is partially congruent with the findings of other scholars. According to Jacob and his research associates, change orientation (innovativeness) and selflessness, which are major components of developmental leadership qualities hypothesized and confirmed in this study, are positively related to community activeness in some countries. Similarly, according to Il-Chul Kim, sense of efficacy, which is also one of the principal components of the hypothesized leadership model, is positively related to the pace of village development taking place within the framework of the New Village Movement in contemporary Korea.

Consequently, it is hypothesized that if there is a considerable similarity in the major element of situational assets of the village level social system, then developmental change of the system occurring under the purview of the New Village Movement since 1971 can be accounted for, in good part, by referring to a specific set of leadership characteristics, identified in this study, with the village leader (Saemaul leader).

On the analogy of these characteristics, it is also assumed that a developmental leader would be open minded, cognitively flexible, having a marked sense of personal efficacy and high need for achievement, being open to new experience, being confident as a modernizing leader, being public-regarding rather than private-regarding, and being creative and intelligent. All are essentially similar to and underlying
characteristics of the principal nine variables. They are assumed to be functionally interrelated to each other.

Finding III: It was noticed that my sample developmental leader has had more exposure to modern influence and more prior leadership experience as a military officer. That is, his leadership qualities seem to be governed, at least in part, by modern influences resulting from his diverse personal experiences, especially employment in a modern institution like the military. What is noted here is that modern influence is likely to be positively and substantially related to developmental leadership competence.

The proposition that I have drawn from the present study is, in broad terms, that the more experienced the leader in the ways of the modern world, the more likely he will become a capable village leader. Or the more experienced he is at a leadership role in a modern institution (e.g., an army), the more likely he will become an effective village leader under conditions in which developmental movement is conceived and pursued by the government in an authoritarian-mobilizing manner. But, unfortunately, the researcher did not produce any evidence as to which components of the developmental leader's personal experience is the most or second most powerful variable in explaining developmental leadership qualities.

Finding IV: The profile of the developmental leader as defined, and as empirically ascertained in this study is similar to that of modern man, while the profile of less developmental leader is closer to that of traditional man.

According to Inkeles and Smith, the essence of modern man as they defined, and as emerged from their empirical studies lies in his
openness to new experiences and his readiness for change which are also confirmed in this study as the core elements of developmental village leadership qualities. Inkeles and Smith write,

The modern man's character, as it emerges from our study, may be summed up under four major headings. He is an informed participant citizen; he has a marked sense of personal efficacy; he is highly independent and autonomous in his relations to traditional sources of influence, especially when he is making basic decisions about how to conduct his personal affairs; and he is ready for new experiences and ideas, that is, he is relatively open-minded and cognitively flexible.

On the other hand, Inkeles and Smith identified the following qualities as characteristic of the so-called traditional man: passive acceptance of fate and a general lack of efficacy; fear of innovation and distrust of new; isolation from the outside world and lack of interest in what goes on in it; dependence on traditional authority and the received wisdom of elders and religious and customary leaders; preoccupation with personal and especially family affairs to the exclusion of community concerns; exclusive identification with purely local and parachial primary groups, coupled to feelings of isolation from and fear of larger regional and national entities; the shaping and damping of ambition to fit narrow goals, and the cultivation of humble sentiments of gratitude for what little one has; rigid, hierarchical relations with subordinates and other of low social status; and underevaluating of education, learning, research, and other concerns not obviously related to the practical business of earning one's daily bread.

Of course, not all these qualities are seen in the qualities of my sample less developmental village leader. Only some of them such as a general lack of efficacy, fear of innovation, isolation from the outside world, and preoccupation with family affairs seem to be more prevalent
in the manifest characteristics of less developmental leader than in those developmental leader.

Consequently, on the basis of the above findings, it is hypothesized that the more modern the leader, the more likely he will become an effective village leader under a developmental movement regime, like Korea's. In other words, individual modernity appears to be a primary underlying element required of developmental leadership, even though there is an argument that the modern mentality tends to clash with mobilizing ideologies used by the government to promote the mobilization of the population in support of national programs of economic development. 9

Finding V: Of great interest was the finding that the amount of idiosyncracy credit each leader earns seems to best explain the differences in the two village leaders' leadership effectiveness in community development. As reviewed, according to the theory of idiosyncracy credits (see Chapter IX), the leader's success in bringing about change in his social system or group depends upon the amount of credits the leader earns from the villagers. 10 The question is how can the leader earn credits.

The observation of these two cases suggests that an initial successful innovation can be an important source of credit under circumstances where followers share high need for rapid change or amelioration of living conditions. According to Hollander, idiosyncracy credits, which could as easily be considered units of trust, are won by the leader only after an earlier period of conformity to group norms. 11 However, under the circumstances where a fundamental task confronting a group is innovation, the credits can be earned by the leader through successful
innovative action, which allows him to make further departures from group norms. As described earlier, the Saemaul leadership role carries the obligation to take innovative action in coping with external demands for change made by the government in the name of the New Village Movement. However, under even these circumstances, when a leader exhibits nonconformity to group norms from the very outset, negative follower response (censure or rejection) may result. Anyhow, it is interesting to note the fact that the task confronting a group appears to affect the leader's credit earning process; something which was not noted by Hollander.

Another related finding is that the success of an initial innovation largely depends on the leader's capability to manipulate the external world to the benefits of the village system. As previously stated, my sample developmental village leader showed himself to perform differently from the less developmental village leader. He made an active effort to muster village development funds. In order to acquire information and funds in support of community development projects, he frequently went outside village boundaries. In these and a host of other ways, the leader of Village A, Mr. Noh, won for the villagers a number of benefits and received their support in return. In short, Mr. Noh successfully earned idiosyncracy credits by performing his leadership missions primarily on the basis of a transactional approach (mutual exchange of benefits between leader and followers).

On the contrary, my sample less-developmental leader had not gained enough credits to consolidate his leadership authority and attain villagers' support for his leadership performance mainly due to his passive-negative mode of leader role performance. As reviewed in
Chapter IX, he was not eager to manipulate the external world to benefit the interests of the villagers. He was rather unwilling and unable to respond to the possibilities of developmental change opened up for his village. He sat back and took his role easy. He even once faced a leadership crisis which nearly forced him to resign from the leadership position. If he were able to manipulate the outside world to the interest of his villager, it might have enhanced his hold over the villagers' attitudinal dispositions and role performances related to the achievement of common goals.

In sum, it can be argued that the successful leadership performance of the New Village Movement leader in contemporary Korean villages depends in large part on the availability of idiosyncracy credits, which can be earned by the leader from successfully initiated and completed innovation action that in turn depends upon the leader's capability to manipulate the external world to the benefits of the villagers.

Finding VI: As was reviewed in Chapter IX, my sample developmental leader (the leader of rapidly changing society) behaved as if he knew what was best for people, and therefore he had to enlighten them or in some way manipulate them to do what he was so sure was best for the people. My sample less-developmental leader (the leader of a stagnant society) behaved as if he believed that change was more likely to be brought about if it were sought through the villagers' initiative and their voluntary participation rather than initiated or manipulated by the leader.

In short, my sample developmental leader's leadership style can be labeled as "initiating-directive," while that of less developmental leader as "non-initiating-responsive." This contrasting mode of leadership
leadership is more likely to become effective in bringing about a developmental change in the group (or society) which he leads under conditions in which developmental movement is conceived and pursued by the government in an authoritarian-mobilizing manner. Remember, my sample developmental leader, Mr. Noh, received a presidential award and he is still in his leadership position. What is more, according to my personal observation, he seemed to be even enshrined by his social milieu and loved by the people.

Finding VII: It seems possible for a leader to be highly task motivated as well as be capable of keeping popularity if the group is under pressure for change and the leader continues to demonstrate competence and loyalty to the group and, thus, continues to accumulate idiosyncracy credits.

Logically both dimensions of taskability and sociability seem to clash. In other words, the need for the one seems to clash with the need for the other. Earlier, Cecil A. Gibb explained, "leaders find their instrumental leadership incompatible with popularity, while followers find themselves needing the leader but hating him because of this." This statement, however, according to my own study, can be modified in the following statement:

Leaders may find their instrumental leadership compatible with their popularity if they continue to demonstrate competence and loyalty (selfless enthusiasm for task achievement and manipulability of external world to the interests of the group) to the group. Followers, by the same token, may find themselves needing the leader and being attracted by him.

This finding does not contradict the mainstream theory of
leadership. According to Hollander, consideration (sociability) and initiating structure (taskability) are not conceptually opposite.\textsuperscript{14} In support of this point, Downton wrote,

It is quite clear--that a single leader may behave in a way that is task-oriented at times (instrumental) and social-emotional on other occasions (expressive). A single leader may shift behavior between the two modes of leadership, acting in an instrumental capacity in relation to one set of followers, while he maintains the loyalty of others through expressive behavior, for example, emotional speeches, providing security, and so on.\textsuperscript{15}

Consequently, it is argued that an effective leader is the one who can behave in a way that is task-oriented (instrumental) on some occasions and social-emotional (expressive) on others.

**Summary**

In conclusion, the contrasting profile of the sample developmental and less developmental leader can best be summarized in Table 13 and Table 14 on the following two pages.

3. **Implications for Further Research**

   (1) **From a Methodological Point of View**

   There are numerous respects in which the analysis in this study is flawed and must be correspondingly qualified.

   In the first place, the scientific status of this study is somewhat ambiguous because two villages can constitute neither the basis for a valid generalization nor the ground for disproving an established generalization. Even though the sample villages and leaders were chosen with a special attention to controlling for situational assets, the absolute elimination of adventitious elements was not really attained.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Less Developmental Leader</th>
<th>Developmental Leader</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>(1) Change Orientation (Innovativeness)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>(2) Achievement Drive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>(3) Selflessness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>(4) Planning Ability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>(5) Articulateness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>(6) Organizational Ability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>(7) Human Relational Skill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>(8) Out-System Orientation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>(9) Responsiveness to the Ideal of the N.V.M.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+: High

-: Low
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Less Developmental Leader</th>
<th>Developmental Leader</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>(1) Consideration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>(2) Modern Influence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>(3) Leadership Confidence</td>
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<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>(4) Cognitive Flexibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>(5) Sense of Efficacy</td>
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<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>(6) Creativity</td>
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<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>(7) Openness to New Experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>(8) Risk-Taking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Initiating Responsive</td>
<td>(9) Role Performance Style</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Initiating-Directive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ : High
- : Low
Therefore, the inferences made in this study cannot be treated as having sound scientific ground.

Secondly, the reliability and validity of the leadership characteristics measurement scale and the actual measurement of the characteristics (villagers' rating) are dubious even though the research results are by and large consistent with theoretical speculations (hypotheses) and, thus, the mainstream body of leadership theories (previous research results).

Consequently, it seems more appropriate to stress the importance of seeking further studies so that more meaningful explanations of developmental leadership characteristics can be achieved.

Of course, future research should be more than mere replication of the present research design and method. The primary task of the future research must be (1) elaboration of better research instruments, (2) revision of overall research design so as to produce more generally applicable research results, and (3) a more rigorous multivariate statistical analysis must be used even though it cannot control for all other variables, but merely for the other key variables that are known or suspected to exert influence.

(2) From a Substantive Point of View

From a substantive standpoint, the researcher expects that while there are no universal leadership traits or characteristics connected with socio-economic development, certain quality requirements for Saemaul leadership effectiveness can be applicable across diverse village settings in Korea, since Saemaul leader's roles and tasks are quite similar.
(a) The identification of those requirements must be the first objective of future studies. It refers to testing the universal applicability across diverse village settings of the original leadership quality model conceived in this study but also the modification of the model.

The leadership qualities conceived as the principal elements of a developmental leader characteristic by no means exhaust the list of developmental qualities desired of a village leader. A host of other qualities requisite to running a changing society may be identified through further research.

(b) The second major theme of future studies is to address this question: Do leaders who are superior in a quality tend to be also superior in certain other qualities? That is, are the qualities desired of a developmental village leader functionally interrelated to each other? These two themes are fundamental research questions derived from the present research endeavor and worthy of additional exploration.

(c) Finally, there is another crucial question to be answered in the near future. It is whether quantitative betterment is followed by qualitative betterment satisfying higher levels of human needs and desires for the universal values of freedom, equality, welfare, democracy, and justice. It is assumed that in anticipating and preparing for the second round of the development movement, the transformation of developmental strategies and objectives will hopefully be precipitated by the quantitative outcome of the first round of developmental action. That is, the quantitative betterment brought about by the first round of developmental action may open the floodgates to an outpouring of higher levels of need satisfaction. In the second round of a development
movement, leaders may respond, to borrow Burn's phrase, to "the fundamental wants and needs, aspirations and expectation, values and goals of their existing and potential followers." The crucial question in Burn's formulation is the relationship between the products of system performance coordinated by developmental leadership functions and the needs they are presumed to be meeting. It is, in other words, the question of moral consonance of means for and ends of development.

According to my assumption conceived in the beginning of this study, at the second round of developmental actions, the choice of means for and ends of development must reach moral consonance.

Whether the outcome of the first round of developmental action will lead to a significant change in the second round in both terms of means and ends, and thus their happy consonance, remains to be seen. Burns suggests that only if a society has morally purposive, transforming leadership, is it likely that change and means-ends consonance will take place. In my view, the change and consonance can take place only when the leaders and followers realize that (1) the failure to balance respect for human dignity (rights and freedom) and respect for material wealth allows untold human suffering to continue, (2) that the process of overcoming the sufferings of underdevelopment exclusively through speeding up development of material growth will most likely generate some new sufferings, (3) that in this type of approach, the faster the old human costs are overcome the more severe the new costs will be, (4) that the policies focused upon economic growth and enforced mobilization inevitably will lead to increasing popular discontent and political instability, and (5) that man does not live by material wealth alone, a truism which has echoed through the long period of human history. Most
importantly, a high proportion of the population of the society must be able to make rational-empirical choices which can make their leaders "less-initiating" but "more responsive." Otherwise, they are drawn into the situation where an initiating-directive leadership behavior dominates and where the erosion of human dignity and esteem is enormous.
NOTES TO CHAPTER X


7. Ibid., p. 290.

8. Ibid., p. 315.


11. Ibid., p. 41.


CHAPTER XI
A METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTION: VALUE PREMISE

According to Shapiro and Neubauer, the theory building enterprise in social sciences involves both scientific and pragmatic (value- or interest-based criteria. They assert that the primary questions to ask in the initiation of an inquiry are normative, not scientific ones.\(^1\) According to this viewpoint, one cannot approach the theory building enterprise without referring to valuational or extrinsic criteria (non-scientific criteria).

As a matter of fact, the ideal of a value-free social science has revealed itself as unattainable. There has been near unanimous agreement that values not only affect the selection of a research problem, but they also pervade every aspect of research and analysis. In other words, the subject we select, the variables we choose, the concepts we formulate, the data we collect, the interpretations we make, and the theory we build are affected by the kinds of value premises to which we subscribe (see Searing, 1970 or Greene, 1970). For instance, Almond and Powell recognize that their earlier analysis of *Comparative Politics* (1966) has been criticized, not inappropriately perhaps, for its tendency to emphasize values of stability and order. They write,

> Our interest in conflict and stability, their causes and consequences, often led us to look at problems from a perspective in which the maintenance of the existing system loomed large. At the same time, our interest in citizen participation and autonomy often led to criticism that we valued democratic processes at the expense of other goods.\(^2\)
Paige also recognizes that his earlier work, *The Korean Decision* (1968), was originally written from a pro-violence value position and thus the work was inevitably tainted with factual and interpretative biases. He writes,

Review of the two background chapters from a nonviolent value perspective creates awareness that the reconstruction of pre-decisional "givens" contained therein is biased in at least two ways: proviolent propensities are inadequately stressed, and nonviolent potentials are almost completely ignored.3

What the above-quoted two cases suggest is that the authors' value preferences causes biases in their scientific works. Therefore, it is advised that social scientists make explicit their value premises which underlie their works.

It is assumed that the objectivity of science can become possible if the researcher makes explicit his own value premises. This line of thought was made clear by Myrdal.

According to Myrdal, the objectivity of science does not demand its being value-free, but does demand explicit valuations. He believes that in searching for truth, social scientists are doomed to be influenced by (1) the tradition and heritage of earlier studies in their field of inquiry, (2) the cultural and political setting of their environment, and (3) by their own personal characteristics.4

In the light of the above viewpoint, he argues that to state values is to avoid bias and to maintain objectivity. He says,

The logical means available for protecting ourselves from bias are broadly these: to raise the valuations actually determining our theoretical as well as our practical research to full awareness, to scrutinize them from the point of view of relevance, significance, and feasibility in the society under study, to transform them into specific value premises for research, and to determine approach and define concepts in terms of a set of value premises which have been explicitly stated.5
For Myrdal, the attempt to eradicate biases in social sciences by trying to keep out the valuations themselves is a hopeless and misdirected venture. The only advice for handling biases is to face the valuations and to introduce them as explicitly stated premises.

Although descriptions and analysis in developmental leadership characteristics presented in this study did not contain such terms as "good" and "bad," the very focus upon one set of characteristics over another might tend to involve implicit value choices. Therefore, following the idea of Myrdal, I wish to reveal as honestly as I can my value premises related to the present inquiry so that the reader may read the research results taking account of such value premises.

Many people, who believe that the ends cannot justify the means, might be against coercive leadership styles because they believe that regardless of the effectiveness of the means or end-products of the styles, they are morally wrong. Contrarily, for some others, who believe that the ends can justify the means under a particular circumstance, those means which are more effective in bringing about desirable ends are presumably superior to those less effective means regardless of their morality.

In this study, the modes of leadership behavior have been clustered into two general categories, which have been labeled as the "non-initiating-responsive" and "initiating-directive" types. If only the non-initiative-responsive leadership is effective in bringing about developmental change, happy consonance of means and ends occurs. In this case, the means (leadership) through which the developmental change (end) is to occur is, in a sense, also the end. My own empirical observation suggests that this condition very rarely occurs. It may be
almost impossible for such moral consonance to occur in such a developmental movement context as the New Village Movement which is conceived and pursued in a semi-military manner.

Insofar as the moral consonance of means and ends may be impossible to attain, the means morally incompatible with the end should be employed as the second best alternative means for bringing about the desirable ends. In this study, the initiating-directive leadership is, of course, conceived as the second best alternative means for development (end). If the second best alternative means are adopted, does it signify a negation of what is being sought (development of a good life) by the means? If we define the concept development in terms of "quantitative betterment-first, and qualitative betterment-second" format, the means employed does not negate both ends (short-term end of quantitative betterment and qualitative betterment of long-term end). Consequently, my value position is that initiating-directive leadership is under certain conditions a necessary and desirable means for development defined in quantitative terms.

In conclusion, my interest in economic growth and quantitative betterment might have led me to look at the research problems proposed in this study from a perspective in which ends justify means and thus the initiating-directive mode of change strategy is regarded as "effective-good" and the non-initiating responsive mode as "ineffective-bad."
NOTES TO CHAPTER XI


5. Ibid., p. 5.
APPENDIX
QUESTIONNAIRE

Introductory Remarks:
The purpose of this study is to collect data necessary for an adequate understanding of leadership and village development in contemporary Korea. It is conducted solely for academic reasons. The results will be kept completely confidential. The researcher genuinely appreciates your cooperation.

Thank you
Ho-Jin Kim

(1) Leadership Characteristics Measurement

Introduction: Think of the Saemaul leader of your village. Describe him as he appears to you by indicating your answer to each question. For example, suppose the question were: "How often does the leader consult you about village affairs?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Some-</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Very</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>times</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If you think he consults you often, you would circle number 3. You would circle 1 if you feel that he consults you rarely.
Questions:

To what extent do you feel that your village leader (Saemaül)

1. Has displayed a tendency to act in accordance with the spirit of the
   New Village Movement? (Commitment to the Ideal of the Movement)

2. Has displayed a tendency to subordinate his own interests to the
   interests of the community as a whole? (Selflessness)

3. Has displayed a tendency to seek new ways of doing things such as
   new agricultural practices and new community development programs?
   (Change Orientation)

4. Has displayed a desire to excel over other villages in the race for
   community development? Or has emphasized getting things (community
   development projects) done? (Achievement Drive)

5. Has displayed an ability to make plans with regard to community
   development projects? (e.g., what project shall be done and how it
   shall be done) (Planning Ability)

6. Has displayed an ability to assign people to appropriate tasks or
   roles so that people can work effectively and in cooperation with
   each other? (Organizational Ability)

7. Has displayed an ability to express clearly his ideas and opinions
   vis-à-vis other people such as villagers and local officials?
   (Articulateness)

8. Has displayed a skill to establish and maintain friendly relations
   with such people as villagers and local officials? (Human Relations
   Skill)

9. Has displayed a tendency to visit the outside world in order to
   obtain information or muster resources in support of community
development? (Out-System Orientation)

There were four-response categories. The format is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very Little</th>
<th>Some</th>
<th>Quite A Bit</th>
<th>A Very Great Deal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Other Questions

1. People in this village are generally critical of others.
   ____ True
   ____ OK
   ____ Untrue

2. Compared to 7 years ago, how do you feel about the living conditions of your village today?
   ____ Worse
   ____ About the Same
   ____ Somewhat Improved
   ____ Very Much Improved

3. To what extent do you feel that the improvement of living conditions, if any, can be attributable to your village leader's (Saemaul leader) activities?
   ____ To A Very Small Extent
   ____ To A Small Extent
   ____ To Quite An Extent
   ____ To A Very Great Extent

4. Would you please compare Village A and Village B in terms of the level of community development 7 years ago? (local officials only)
   ____ A and B Were About Same
____ A Was Higher
____ B Was Higher

5. Have you ever lived in big cities?
   _____ Yes
   _____ No

6. If "Yes," how long?
   _____ 1-3 Years
   _____ 4-7 Years
   _____ More Than 7 Years

Names of Cities ( )
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