

Chapter Five

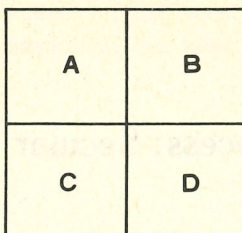
The Sharing Process: Secular and Religious

The question arises as to how the Hasami community, as community, achieves cohesion beyond family and kinship. Here it is necessary to delineate the social interaction among people who, although unrelated, occupy a face-to-face proximity both within and outside of the community. The present author has proposed 'reciprocity' as a working hypothesis for ethnographic description on the one hand and chooses to regard such reciprocity as a model for assuming a theoretical position on the other. The empirical data at hand permit some categorization. The behavior to be considered lies in gift-giving, visiting, and in the many and varied ritual processes associated with them. Included are such secular aspects as labor exchange, sharing, general cooperation, all of which can be regarded as separate contextual areas. From each of these reciprocal principles of social organization a pattern emerges that supports the given hypothesis.

This chapter describes a general basis of reciprocal interaction at various levels in the community and thus permits a discussion of internal integration.

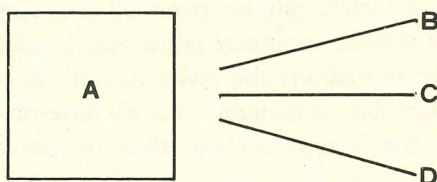
P'umasi : Labor Exchange

As already noted, there are three typological patterns connected with labor in Hasamian ethnography: *p'umasi* and *p'ump'ari* in the agricultural sector, *chitnanugi* in the fishing sector, and labor exchange in such ceremonial contexts as marriage, funeral services, and the

Diagram 13. *P'umasi* Model

ullyök.

A hypothetical model shows the *p'umasi* system. The diagram (see Diagram 13) designates a balanced figure: each person of A, B, C, and D has an exactly equal amount of land to cultivate and these persons have equalized labor among themselves. At the time of weeding, the four persons work together in each portion of the field at the same time. First, they work A's land moving next to B's land and so on to C's and D's. This model reflects a balanced reciprocity through labor exchange among four persons. The four persons thus share their total labor and work out their total land holdings. Each person owes the others, and in this context four persons have a partnership in their work. In a hypothetical case of *p'ump'ari*, the picture is different from an equalized *p'umasi*.

Diagram 14. *P'ump'ari* Model

In the above diagram (see Diagram 14) is a hypothetical model of *p'ump'ari* in an agricultural context where ownership is not equalized. Here the owner, A, hires the labor of the other three and pays an amount of cash or offers such materials as food or grain to the hired

labor. The Korean term *p'um* refers specifically to labor while *p'ari* means selling. A difference thus applies between *p'umasi*, exchange labor, and *p'ump'ari*,¹⁾ the sale of labor system in terms of equal or unequal distribution of individual property, this being chiefly in land.

As the above two diagrams show, there is an implication of hierarchy and status difference. A psychological aspect is involved in the selling of labor. Land cultivators, excepting those who either lack land or have little of their own, do not "sell" their labor because they have no time to do so and they are not willing to face the stigma of being called 'hired hands.' In the traditional sector, Korea had until recently the custom of *mösüm*, i.e., a permanent hired hand. Because this worker was generally a subordinate to anyone who hires him or her, the contrast between *p'umasi* and *p'ump'ari*, which focuses on the distinction between equal or egalitarian and unequal or hierarchical relationships, is understandable.

By the *p'umasi* system, each person has the right to own surplus land. However, in the case of *p'ump'ari*, the land owner has the exclusive right to monopolize the surplus against others. Villagers generally exchange labor without any payment and may transfer to a credit or delayed payment. The right to receive a credit (*oesang*) may apply to yet another situation. For example, if A hires B and B next hires C, B can transfer his debt from C to A. Accordingly, A owes C. Traditionally, *p'umasi* is major source of labor in a village both conceptually and practically. The term *p'umasi* is widely used in the context of exchange: not so much for cases of direct exchange but rather where there is a continuing turn by turn interaction and a consequent exchange of labor itself.

Ullyök: Communal Work for Roofing

Mention is made above of *sökp'a*, meaning the process and result of village destruction. When villagers need to roof a house, they often cooperate. For example, Ki-man, a resident of *Sinp'yöngri* (a district of Hasami), has a brother in Hasami who owns a piece of highland used for barley cultivation. Ki-man asked the brother to allow him to build a new house on that land. An older sister living in the village supported this idea, and he finally obtained his brother's permission to build such a new house at *Komchinnae*. First, he took most of the

wood for building the new house from his old one at *Sinp'yōngri*. Before the *sangryangsik*, a ceremony (*sik*) for raising a main beam, he hired a professional carpenter. Ki-man's brother also assisted in building the new house. A beam raising ceremony occurs when the basic structure of the building is complete, and it includes ritual for a new house guardian (*sōngju*) and ancestors. At this time, six villagers helped raise the beam, congratulated Ki-man and his family, and wished them good fortune.

Chong-pal, the village head, went to the beam raising ceremony and heard that there was going to be an *ullyōk* on the following day. In terms of community activity and labor recruitment, this is the biggest ceremony in the building of a new house. At the *ullyōk*, villagers get together as many residents as they can and make a ceiling and roof. After hearing of the *ullyōk*, Chong-pal bought three plastic bottles of *makkōlli* for the ceremony. Chong-pal's mother reprimanded her daughter-in-law because she thought her son had bought inappropriate gifts. She argued that Chong-pal's gift-giving did not quite fit into the ceremonial context in terms of appropriate timing. This was because no one knew of her son's gift for the *ullyōk*. According to Chong-pal's mother, the gift should have been presented on the day of the *ullyōk* in front of many villagers.

There is a sizable community-wide recruitment of labor for the *ullyōk*. Villagers say, "This is an emergency. This is not only a matter for an individual family but for this whole village." Most adults in the village participate in this work, bringing *makkōlli* or *soju*, rice, minimally, pumpkins, or straw for the roof, whether they offer their labor or not. Ki-man's wife works along with various women to prepare food for the workers and guests. Ki-man's wife's brother's wife (he calls her *ajim* and refers to her as *ch'ōnamtaek*) comes from another village with one *mal* (about five gallons) of rice. She works with her sister-in-law, cooking, serving, and dish washing. Other villagers express to Ki-man's *ch'ōnamtaek* their gratitude, saying "You come from far away. We really appreciate your help." From the situation, it can be seen that kinship behavior and community behavior function together in a specific situation. Such behavior in kinship and community relations crisscrosses and complements each in the context of the *ullyōk* (see Appendix 1).

From a case of the *ullyōk* activity, the voluntary system of labor

recruitment at the level of the whole community appears. This includes kinsmen, neighbors, and friends, or whatever kinds of interpersonal relationships may apply. Gift-giving is also involved in the work pattern and, most importantly, is related to how such work is done within a ceremonial and ritual context. In the sequence, a host prepares food for the group at large from his guests' gifts. The amount of such gifts in worth noting: 26 *toe* of *makkölli* (one *toe* = 1/2 gallon), 3.2 *toe* of *soju*, six *toe* of barley, a pumpkin, two bunches of *maram* (rice straw), and one big jar of *kimch'i* from 31 households in this village. The host's *ch'önamtaek* living in another subcounty has brought one *mal* of *makkölli* and one *mal* of rice. Because the host family serves its guests by using these gifts, the gifts are quickly redistributed and may be used for the *ullyök* as well. In a long term cycle, this host must repay another person's *ullyök* by compensating him for his labor with gifts. Because the *ullyök* activity is relatively rare in a village, a person does not have many opportunities to repay for the labor with gifts in another *ullyök* situation. A person who has had the benefit of labor through the *ullyök* system owes something not only to individual villagers and kinsmen but also to the community itself.

The individual contribution of labor in the context of the *ullyök* in a long term cycle must be seen as yet another type of exchange labor which includes two variables, an idea of balanced reciprocity and one of credit or delayed payment. Such patterns of labor recruitment are thus fundamentally based on the principle of reciprocity in the community.

If one compares this situation of the *ullyök* with another ceremonial gift-giving in terms of keeping records regarding gifts, one does not record the kind of gift received. No one in Hasami keeps a *mulmok-kye* for an *ullyök* even though he receives a fairly large number of gifts. The *ullyök* is a community-oriented action, and individuals feel obligation to the community rather than to the individual. But this does not mean that in this community-oriented activity and mutual cooperation a debt to an individual is lacking. Community solidarity can be developed consistently through such community-oriented activities as the *ullyök* while village ceremonies like *kōrije* and *ch'ungje* and funeral and marriage ceremonies for the individual family are kinship focused. In other words, the sense of community is built from two ways of recognizing obligations to individuals: obligations of indi-

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Chitnanugi : Sharing Produce

Fishermen develop a system of sharing based on communal labor called *chit-nanugi* (*chit*= share ; *nanugi*= dividing)(Han, Sang. 1977 : 44). Sometimes a fisherman works alone at sea. At other times, two or more fishermen go to sea together. In this case, members come to build a partnership through communal effort. Dividing the outcome of the communal work is totally based on partnerships which can include as components human labor, capital and tools.

Chong-min and Sang-dok decide to fish together at night. They borrow a small fishing boat from Chin-ch'il, and each one brings rice for cooking and *kimch'i* for two meals. Also they buy matches, kerosene, and *soju*. Sang-dok brings his own fishing net for both of them. Next evening they return with a catch which is to be divided. First they pay the *oesang* (credit) for the matches, kerosene, and *soju* to the shopkeeper by giving some fish from their catch. They then divide the remaining fish into three equal amounts. Each partner has one package of fish, called *han-chit*. The remaining package is again divided into two equal parts. They designate one part for the boat owner as *pan-chit* (a half share). The division of the catch can be explained by reference to the amount of investment for the production in terms of materials expended or the capital and labor involved.

The basic requisite for dividing the catch can be calculated as follows. Total expenses (rice, wood, matches, kerosene, alcohol, etc.) are deducted from total catch value. The net catch value is divided according to the numbers of participants and their contribution of gear, such as the boat and nets. At this time, the human labor is also calculated as one full share, and the gear (boat and nets) is considered as a half share. Several ethnographic studies have dealt with similar considerations in various areas in the world.²⁾

Originally the share system (*chitnanugi*) in regard to the division of the catch was exclusively developed for fishing, but it has subsequently been applied to a work team for seaweed collection. Here there is a concept of partnership operative among the crew. This partnership is not necessarily based on kinship or neighborhood or even on age. This is a different human relationship from kinship, friendship, or

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neighborhood, and concerns the sharing of communal produce. The partnership may be thought as a form of the social relations of production not only in the village of Hasami but in societies which generally possess a share system like *chitnanugi*. In Hasami, there is no direct answer as to how the participants begin to build the partnership. Most villagers know each other's skill in fishing and in working at sea. Here is a face-to-face society, meaning that all know or, at least, all can easily recognize what others are doing or what is going on in the general pattern of work activities. Sometimes a fisherman organizes a team of four others for fishing. Or a fisherman may simply ask someone to go to sea with him. Once the partnership has begun, it continues a long time. Partners usually build a strong friendship beyond the demands of work. Or conversely, the partnership occasionally terminates with the division of each share.

The *chitnanugi* among partners has an essentially egalitarian basis represented by the idea of equal shares among partners. This equal share of the catch for each participant can be viewed as yet another version of the balanced reciprocity in terms of labor contribution for each portion of the shares because it includes the participants' labor, and a participant takes a share from his partners' (or partner's) labor.

The Processes of Gift-Giving and Visiting

The gift may be seen as an element in two varying dimensions of everyday life in the village in question. The one is a gift in regard to the visiting pattern, and the other relates conceptually to the ritual processes.

There are two major types of visiting patterns in the community: "*masil-kagi*" and "*türyöda-bogi*." The first refers to an informal visiting pattern among neighbors. The second may be defined as a formalized visiting pattern on the basis of ceremonial activities or in association with special events, such as sickness, accident, or death.

In order to present a clearer picture of visiting patterns related to the gift-giving process, the focus may be placed on the internal integration and solidarity of the community through some examples of social interaction. This may be called a form of secularized behavior in relation to ritualistic or religious aspects. Offerings for delivery spirits, mourning ceremonies, and ancestral observances are those chosen for

discussion.

A unique reciprocal interaction is held to exist between villagers and spirits in religious behavior, something which also serves to develop internal community integration and allows members of the given community to maintain a continuous flow of social reciprocity. Communal village ceremonies and shamanistic seances may be analyzed as adequate examples of this point. Introduced also is the supernatural, involving as it does spiritual connections and the conceptual visiting by spirits during ritual and ceremonies. This is seen by the villagers themselves as an integral part of the visiting pattern.

1. Formal Visiting Behavior

In comparison with the *masil-kagi*, the *tŭryŏda-bogi* is relatively more formalized. It always includes carrying a more formal gift. The term "*tŭryŏda-bogi*" literally means "to enter into and to see," i.e., some person or situation. The range of the *tŭryŏda-bogi* visiting behavior relates to seeing a sick person or participating in a ceremony in a ritual context. In these instances of visiting behavior, gifts are mandatory.

When people are ill, their friends, kinsmen, and neighbors may visit and bring fruit, fish, or rice to console them. It is usually said, "We can't visit somebody in such cases with *pinson* ("empty hands")." The receiver is customarily obliged to remember who comes when and what kind of gift he brings. When the donors, in turn, are confronted with a similar situation or a subsequent special event, they expect to receive gifts in direct proportion to what they had previously given. If the receiver fails to effect such a return at an appropriate time, it is said that "They have no face to save" or "They have no sense of honor." Such a situation gives rise to gossip.

1) *Offering to the Delivery Spirit*

A fisherman, for example, may visit a family with a new-born baby and give some kelp, rice, or fish to the mother and her family. In this instance, kelp is viewed as a necessary gift because villagers (Koreans in general) hold that such seaweed is beneficial to new mothers. The fisherman's *tŭryŏda-bogi* involves two dimensions of exchange. His gifts are placed on a small ceremonial table (*chiangsang*) inside the room where the new-born baby and its mother rest. The *chiangsang* (*chiang*= female spirit who takes care of the baby; *sang*= table) is

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reserved for the delivery spirit and is set with rice, seaweed, and clean fresh water. There is no special ceremony for the delivery spirit but its presence is symbolized by the table, this being enough to show the needed observance. On the one hand, the gift by fishermen and their families makes a connection between the donor and the receiver. The recipient is to recall the gift and seeks to repay with a return gift to the previous giver. A kind of snowball effect of social ties and solidarity through these recurring activities of gift-giving is apparent. On the other hand, because the receiver offers the gift from the fisherman to the spirit, the fisherman in turn hopes for success in fishing. There is an indirect gift-giving relationship between the fisherman and the spirit, supposedly mediated by the situation of delivery and a gift related to the new-born baby. Therefore, the *turyōda-bogi* behavior functions in several directions in various contexts and represents a multi-dimensional facet of exchange behavior.

2) Completion of the Mourning Ceremony

The system of the *turyōda-bogi* may also be examined in more formal situations, such as the marriage ceremony and ancestor worship. In these instances, the receivers record who brings what kinds of gifts. A recipient of a gift consults his *mulmokkye*, the listing of gifts given, repays a gift to a former giver when the latter in turn has a special event, such as an ancestral ceremony or a son's marriage. In theory, the donors again bring gifts to the same amount as that previously received. The gift-giving behavior in ceremonial contexts is called *pujo*, which literally means "reciprocal help," (as indicated by a Chinese written character, read *sang-pu-sang-jo* [相扶相助]).

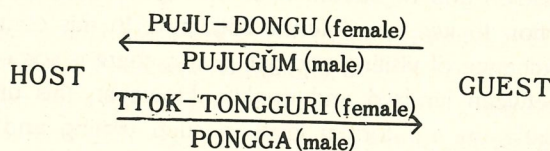


Diagram 15. The Hasamian *Pujo* System

An example of the completion of the mourning ceremony illustrates the practical and conceptual adequacy of the above diagram.

A *t'alsang* (completion of the mourning ceremony) took place at Yi's

house on May 25, 1976. From the 23rd of the month, the host family was busy preparing for the ceremony with neighbors, kinsmen, and members of a rotating credit association working for the family. After finishing the ceremony, Yi sat down and calculated the total cost for the ceremony on the 26th of May. According to his reckoning and his written *mulmokkye*, he had spent 59,800 *wŏn* for rice-cakes, on pig at 30,000 *wŏn*, fish at 13,000 *wŏn*, *yulch'o* (ceremonial candy, fruits, incentives for the visiting spirit) at 2,700 *wŏn*, fruit at 1,000 *wŏn*, *makkŏlli* at 17,600 *wŏn* (about 100 gallons), *soju* at 9,000 *wŏn* (about 9 gallons), and miscellaneous items at 1,500 *wŏn*. The total came to 134,600 *wŏn* (about \$ 270). He, in turn, received gifts of 67,500 *wŏn* in cash, about four *kamani* (1 *kamani*=47.7 gallons) of rice, and four *kamani* of barley. The cash value of the grains amounts to approximately 60,000 *wŏn*. It follows that he had roughly a 7,000 *wŏn* (about \$ 14) loss from the ceremony.

From this simple calculation, one can provide the model of gift exchange showing the situation operative between *pujudongu* and *ttŏktongguri* by women and yet another context of exchange between *pujungŭm* and *pongga* by men. This exchange is repeated in other instances and times and keeps moving from family to family.

A receiver is not forever a receiver, and a giver is not forever a giver. From situation to situation, the former receiver is going to be a giver and vice versa. In other words, everyone in this community is a receiver of gifts and a giver of gifts. Members of the community interact with each other through the patterns of visiting and continue to exchange gifts. It seems to be that the nature of homogeneity and tradition of the community can possibly be built up and continue through repetition and regeneration of driving forces such as a reciprocal interaction to keep an internal solidarity. In this context of the reciprocal exchange of visiting and gift-giving, there is some degree of difference between kindred and nonkin. However, this difference is not appreciable on the formal level in such visiting and exchange behavior.

2. Ancestral Observances

The situation of ancestral worship offers an excellent example of general exchange. The ideological and doctrinal nature of ancestor worship may be defined as the ritualization of filial piety (Fortes 1959 :

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