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# Family, Farm and Migration

# “Family Labor Farm”

- A. V. Chayanov (1925) *Peasant Farm Organization* (originally in Russian)
  - Peasant households are organized as “family labor farms”
  - Because of the lack of opportunities for paid employment, the most efficient use of family labor is on one’s own farm
  - However—other forms of labor also existed
    - Live-in farm hand (mösŭm 머슴)
    - Labor exchange (p’umasi 품앗이)
    - Wage labor (p’ump’ari 품팔이, togŭp 도급)
    - Work teams (ture 두레)

# Household Division of Labor

- Chip (집)=house, family (ka 家 legalese)
- Househead (hoju, chuin 호주, 주인) and family members (kajokwŏn 가족원)
  - Role-based identity (father, mother, daughter-in-law, son) and teknonymy
- Father is “outside master” pakkat chuin 바깥주인 responsible for “outside labor” pakkannil 바깥일
  - Own family property, field labor, construction and maintenance, represent family to outside world
- Mother is “inside master” an chuin 안주인 responsible for “inside labor” annil 안일
  - Housework, but also primary processing of food and production of textiles, maintain kitchen garden, and do a lot of the weeding (only thing never do is plow with oxen), bearing and raising children and domestic animals (chickens, dogs, silkworms)

# Household Energy Flow

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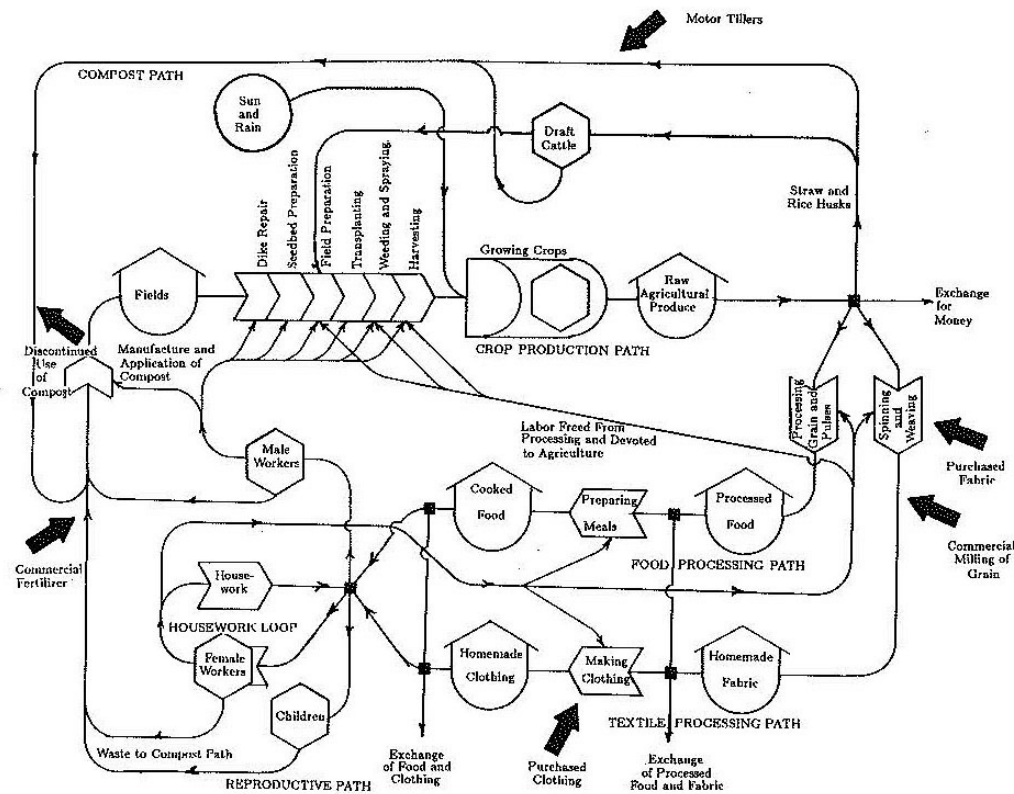


Fig. 5.3. The energy flow of a Sangongni farm household



# How much land could one man manage?

- Riceland
  - Transplantation most intensive 0.7 ha
- Barley
  - First weeding most intensive 0.9 ha
- Total 1.6 ha
- If you increase transplantation power by hiring additional labor to transplant, however, everything else for 1.6 ha of rice
  - (this is why wage labor is available during transplantation season, but not such much at other times)

# Changes

- Handheld tractors more efficient than cattle, but the real labor bottleneck was transplantation, and transplanting machines only came 15 years later
  - Today cars
- For women:
  - Purchased fabric from the 1920s, purchased clothes from the 1960s, purchased noodles from the 1950s
  - Washing machines after introduction of electricity (but didn't come right away—first TV, then refrigerator)

# Family as ethical universe

- Confucian ethics 三綱: three bonds and five relations
  - (kang= the large rope that gathers a net, hence principle or bond—from kang (ridge) with silk radical)
- Bonds: prince and subject, father and son, husband and wife 君爲臣綱, 父子, 夫婦
- Five Relations 五倫: father and son have love, prince and subject have righteousness, husband and wife have differentiation, older and younger have ordination, friend and friend have trust
  - (ryun=ethics—from “to arrange” with human radical)
- 父子有親, 君臣有義, 夫婦有別, 長幼有序, 朋友有信

# Ethics as hierarchy

- Only one of 5 relations is one of equality
- Cardinal virtues: filial piety (hyo 孝) and loyalty (ch'ung 忠)
- Subjects owe loyalty to rulers because of their beneficence 惠
- Children owe piety to parents because of their grace 恩
  - Obey them while alive
  - Take care of them in old age
  - Give them a good funeral and regular offerings after death
  - Have sons to continue the family line

# Talk about Relations

- Children “wear parental grace” 부모의 은혜를 입다
  - The “grace” or “favor” becomes a kind of moral debt that must be repaid (보은 報恩= 은혜를 갚다)—parental grace, however, cannot in principle be fully paid back
  - Ŭnhye is the kind of grace or favor that comes from someone much higher than you (parents, ruler)
- The concept of “grace” or “favor” (ŭnhye) can be generalized
  - A powerful person can “put a person under an obligation” 누구에게 은혜를 입히다 by showing them favor that requires repayment
- Among equals the term *sinse* “received help that is troublesome for the giver” is commonly used
  - You can “carry *sinse*” for having received favors from others 신세를 지다 (서로 신세를 지며 사는 것이 세상살이다 “Life is living together with everybody carrying each others’ favors(*sinse*)”)
  - You can “cause *sinse*” by receiving favors from others 신세를 끼치다
- The worst kind of person is one who “goes back on favors”
  - 배은한 사람 or worse “forgets morality and goes back on favors” 背恩忘德  
배은망덕한 사람

# Corporate family

- Four basic criteria built on, but not identical to, Confucian ethics
  - Have a house head with specific rights and duties
  - has boundaries—I belong to one and only one family and I know exactly who my family members are
  - Has (ideally) property (in Korea owned by the house head)
  - Has succession to family roles (particularly headship)
- Because a house head is succeeded by his successor when he dies, the family in principle continues forever (“the house head is dead, long live the (new) house head”)

# Family cycle

- The concept recognizes that as people are born, married, and die the shape of the family changes
- In corporate families:
  - Expansion
    - Birth of children, bringing in wives for sons
  - Fission
    - Sending daughters out in marriage
    - Partition of younger sons from household
  - Replacement
    - Househead dies and is replaced by his eldest son

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# Types of Family

- Classification by number of married couples sharing a common budget (usually under one roof)
- **Nuclear**—married couple (and their unmarried children)
- **Stem**—married couple and *one* married child (and grandchildren, eldest of whom may also be married, but *only one* married couple in any generation)
- **Joint**—two or more married siblings (or cousins) sharing a budget and house (can also include married parents or grandchildren)

# Korean family cycle

- Stem family is the most complex form normally found in Korea
- Korean sequence:
  - Nuclear: Married couple—husband is outside master, wife is inside master
  - Have children
- Stem: Marriage of children *patrilocal*
  - Eldest son brings in a daughter-in-law
  - Daughters marry out
  - (temporary joint) Younger sons may temporarily bring in a junior daughter-in-law
- Partition
  - Younger sons move out into their own house and are given their livelihood—big house 큰 집 is stem family; little house 작은 집 is nuclear family

# Development of Lineages

- After partition big house and little house are economically independent, but they are ritually dependent because upper class people had to worship five generations of ancestors
  - Parents 부모, grandparents 조부모, great grandparents 증조부모, great great grandparents 고조부모
  - Only eldest son can hold ancestor worship
  - Chagŭn chip (little houses) have to go to k'ŭn chip for ancestor worship



# Lineages

- Minimal Lineage (tangnae)
  - Everybody descended in the male line from the same great grandfather who gather for ancestor worship at the senior descendant's house (chongson 종손)
- Lineage (munjung)
  - Everybody descended in the male line from an illustrious ancestor 10-15 generations back who does graveside ancestor worship, and who is listed in the printed genealogy
- Maximal lineage (ilga)
  - Everybody with the same surname (sǒng) and clan origin (pon'gwan)
  - Until 1980s people with the same surname and clan origin could not marry (it was considered incestuous)

# Family and Social Identity

- People got identity not as self-actualizing individuals, but as people holding particular social roles in bounded groups
- In villages people were publicly known by their family roles rather than their individual names
  - Teknonymy—people known by the names of their children (Tonggi abŏji/ŏmŏni)—my name *aegi appa*
- Men often by their names by other men raised in the village, but women often known by their house and role
  - Geonymy—Pusan t'aek—the woman who married into the village from Pusan
  - The daughter-in-law of such and such a house
- Men often addressed by their title rather than their name
  - Ijangnim (village head), Kyosanim (Teacher), Sŏnsaeng (Brandt)
- Identity acquired as member of a corporate group—family

# Marriage and lineage

- Can't marry own lineage, so wife/mother always links two lineages with an *affinal* tie
  - Grandparents: fundamentally your father's parents
  - Mother's parents: *outside grandparents* (oeharabōji, oehalmōni)
  - Uncle: fundamentally you father's brothers (k'ün aboji/chagŭn abōji)
  - Mother's brother: "outside 3 inch" (oesamch'on)
  - Father's sister *komo*, mother's sister *imo*
  - Grandchildren: fundamentally your son's children
  - Daughter's children: outside grandchildren (oesonja/oesonnyō)
- Brothers-in-law often socialize together



# Marriage

- Traditionally marriages were arranged by the parents
- (1) discussions 의혼
  - Check out bride and groom material 신부/신랑감, 선을 보다
  - Get a *go-between* to negotiate things called chungmaejaengi or chungsin abi 중매쟁이, 중신아비
  - Compare horoscopes (saju) of couple to divine compatibility—kunghap meeting of the palaces 궁합
  - Choose master-of-ceremonies 주혼자
- (2) gift exchanges
  - Groom's family sends wedding box to bride's family
    - Traditionally carried by a servant, but now by friends of the groom
  - Is this a form of bride price?

# Marriage (2)

- 3. Ceremony traditionally at bride's house
  - First procession 초행 groom and his entourage head to bride's village
  - Little ceremony 소례—groom presents “geese” to parents-in-law
  - Big ceremony 대례—bride and groom exchange bows and cups of liquor
  - Banquet for guests (bride and groom serve)
  - New room 신방

# Marriage (3)

- 4. P'yebaek
  - New procession 신행—groom on horse, bride in sedan chair travel to groom's house
  - Bride and groom announce wedding to ancestors
  - Bride and groom bow to *all* of groom's relatives
  - Banquet at the groom's house for villagers and relatives

# Bride Price versus Dowry

- Bride Price
  - Goes from family of groom to family of bride (does not go to the married couple) as compensation for loss of family member
- Dowry
  - Goes from family of bride to the bride herself who brings it into her marital house—ensures good treatment of daughters, and endows grandchildren
- Indirect dowry
  - Looks initially like bride price because it comes from family of groom and goes to family of bride
  - Bride brings it back into her marital family as dowry however
  - Guarantee by groom's family that bride will be supported

# How to interpret Korean marital gift exchanges

- Gift box (ham) from groom's family
  - Most important element was fabric that the bride would use to make clothes for herself and her husband, and quilts for the new family
  - In urban Korea today, however, may include money used for the wedding and gifts for the bride's mother—sometimes even gifts for her father and brothers
- Dowry (honsu)
  - Traditionally quite modest—many brides walked to their marital house with only a box of personal effects
  - In more wealthy families dowry might include furniture for the couple
  - Today a bride's family is supposed to completely furnish the apartment or house for the new couple]
- Housing
  - Traditionally the bride moved in with the groom's family and if the family was well off they would provide a nice new(or refurbished) room for the couple
  - Today the groom's family supposed to provide housing either through purchase or chõnse, and the period of coresidence with parents is brief if done at all
- Interviews in San'gongni
  - Groom's family provides one or two dresses for bride and maybe a necklace and watch
  - Bride's family provides a suit for groom and maybe a watch
  - May be gifts for parents of bride and bride's siblings from groom's family, and gifts for brothers of groom from bride's family—generalized reciprocity that is fairly equal between the families

# Less common marriage forms

- Minor marriage (min myõnõuri)
- Uxorilocal marriage (teril sawi)
- Concubinage (chagõn manura, ch'õp õl tuda)
  - First "legitimate" wife is chõkpu, the concubine is sõmo
  - Children by concubines (sõja, sõnyõ) are technically legitimate, but they don't inherit their father's status, or much property (they are *nothoi*)
  - In villages unwed motherhood usually leads to a man acknowledging "responsibility" and her being called his concubine (this doesn't mean he actually supports her, though he somewhat of an obligation if she has children)
  - A man used to be able to recognize (inji) his out-of-wedlock children and thus add them to his family register as sõja
- Surrogate motherhood (ssibaji) much talked about but kept hush hush in real cases

# Seven Confucian reasons for divorce

- 七去之惡 (ch'ilgŏ chi ak)
  - Wife is disobedient to husband's parents
  - Wife is barren
  - Wife is unfaithful
  - Wife is too jealous
  - Wife has an incurable and serious illness
  - Wife is too quarrelsome
  - Wife commits a crime (like theft or murder)
- Three Reasons for not going 三不去 (sam pulgŏ)
  - Wife mourned with husband for parents-in-law 3 years
  - Husband was poor when she married and now he's rich
  - Wife has no place to go

# Partition

- In past eldest son could not partition—only younger sons
  - Partition is the process of creating a separate legal family from that of one's parents
- Legally partition is called pun'ga 分家, but colloquially calling "giving a livelihood" 세간을 내다
  - Gradual process beginning with marriage of younger son until he moves into his own house and is self-supporting (could take 10 years)
- Today is automatic with marriage of younger sons  
법정분가
- Eldest son is Big House 큰집 ( Big Father/Mother 큰아버지/어머니), younger son is Little House 작은집 (Little Father/Mother 작은아버지/어머니)



# Inheritance

- Traditionally women married out, and got a dowry (honsu) if they were lucky but would not inherit when their father died
  - Often just brought a few personal things with her
- In principle all sons should get some inheritance (partible inheritance), but it's not equal
  - General agreement in 1970s—eldest son should get twice what others get, but in any case no less than half
  - Father could do what he wanted in will, however, and often divided property on his deathbed
  - If father died and eldest brother succeeded before younger sons married, eldest brother became the new house head made the decisions on partition
    - He could decide to give his brothers nothing, and this sometimes happened

# primogeniture

- Korean system was **not** one of primogeniture
- Primogeniture means “the house headship and all the property pass to the eldest son *as a single unit*”
  - Because Korean inheritance was *partible* (all sons should get something) it was not primogeniture even though the eldest son got more than younger sons
- In Korean thought three things happened on death of father
  - Eldest son succeeded to the house headship
  - Eldest son succeeded to the ancestor worship responsibility
  - Property divided among all sons (typically—though a father could legally make a different decision)
    - Eldest son got more because of ancestor worship (and taking care of parents in their old age)

# Adoption

- Traditionally adoption was only for purposes of continuing the family line in cases of sonlessness
  - Strictly speaking only males of the same lineage in the proper generation could be adopted (ideal—son of a brother or agnatic cousin)
- Adoptions were often made *after* the death of the father (사후양자 死後養子)
  - Adoptees tended to move into the house as married adults to assume property and ancestor worship responsibilities rather than be fostered as children
  - Widows had right to support until their death, but did not inherit property
- Until the 1970s clan members could force an adoption on a sonless widow to keep land in the clan

# Rural Development

- During 1960s and 1970s rural living standards went up, but more slowly than for urban areas
- What created rural development?
  - Community mobilization for modernity and change?
  - State investment in rural infrastructure?
  - Agricultural price supports?
  - Agricultural extension services to improve agricultural techniques?
  - Migration of excess labor out of the village to raise wages?

# New Village Movement

- (Sae Maŭl Undong) 1961-1979
  - Mobilization of villagers for self-help improvements
  - Four-step plan
    - Select (young and dynamic) community leaders
    - Small village meetings to encourage participation and select village-desired projects
    - Self-help projects—building bridges, modernizing homes, building community facilities
    - Create village institutions (such as Sae maŭl kŭm'go, community credit cooperatives)

# How Effective was the NVM?

- Most Korean evaluations are highly positive
- However
  - Many of the changes in standard of living had other causes
  - The movement was more hierarchical in fact than in propaganda
    - E.g. bureaucrats chose projects such as replacing thatch roofs with tile or ferroconcrete (hamsŏk) that put people into debt
  - A lot of the mobilization was for political rather than economic purposes

# Other Sources of Rural Development

- Rural investment?
  - Small overall, but included rural electrification, telephone service, roads and bridges
- Agricultural price supports?
  - Very important in the late 1970s, but by the 1990s South Korea had to sacrifice agricultural price supports for access to developed country markets
- Agricultural Coop and Extension
  - Very important help in financing agricultural modernization, providing modern seed, fertilizer, pesticides and machinery—but did create rural debt
- Rural to Urban migration
  - Very important to create labor shortage and high wages to motivate mechanization, abandonment of marginal lands

# What happened as Korea urbanized

- Villages lost their young people and labor moved to town
- Former farmers and farm workers became wage workers
  - Some people call this “proletarianization”, but because many people sold land and came into town with resources I think that’s an overgeneralization



# Marxist Idea

- As capitalism develops, small farmers and small businesses are squeezed out by large farms and businesses
  - (assumption that large is inherently more efficient)
- Middle and lower classes get “proletarianized”—that is they get divested of their means of production and have no choice but to sell their labor on the market
  - Society made up only of bourgeoisie (owners of productive property) and proletarians (who own nothing)

# Revisionist Idea

- In 1890s Eduard Bernstein noticed a growing middle class of managers and professionals
  - Rather than just capitalists and proletarians, middle class becomes dominant under industrialization
- C. Wright Mills distinguished Old and New Middle Classes
  - Old Middle Class—clergy, professionals, self-employed master craftsmen, medium-sized farmers
    - Based largely on property and/or proprietary skills
  - New Middle Class—educated professionals, managers, engineers, government workers, educators
    - Based largely on education

# Old and New Middle Class in Rural Korea

- Old Middle Class (based on ownership)
  - Farmers who are owner-cultivators
  - Pension, restaurant, and shop owners in resort areas
- New Middle Class (based on education)
  - Civil servants in rural offices (clerks, extension workers, Agri. Coop workers)
- Rural proletariat
  - Tenant farmers, agricultural laborers

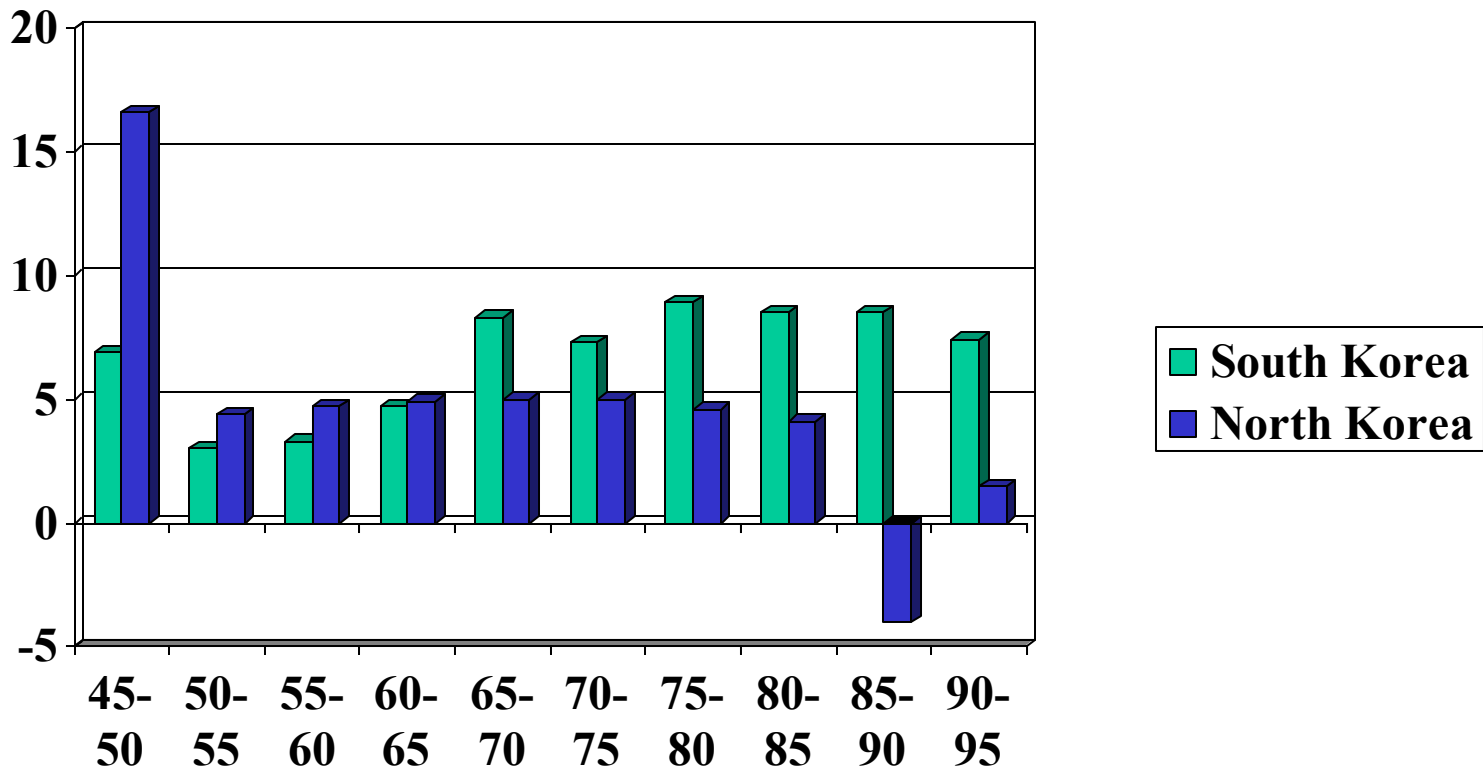
# Old and New Middle Class in Urban areas

- Old Middle Class (is not old historically)
  - Shopkeepers, small factory owners, self-employed professionals
- New Middle Class (much larger)
  - Middle management, white collar employees of large firms
  - Government employees, teachers
  - Unionized “labor aristocrats” in large-scale industry?

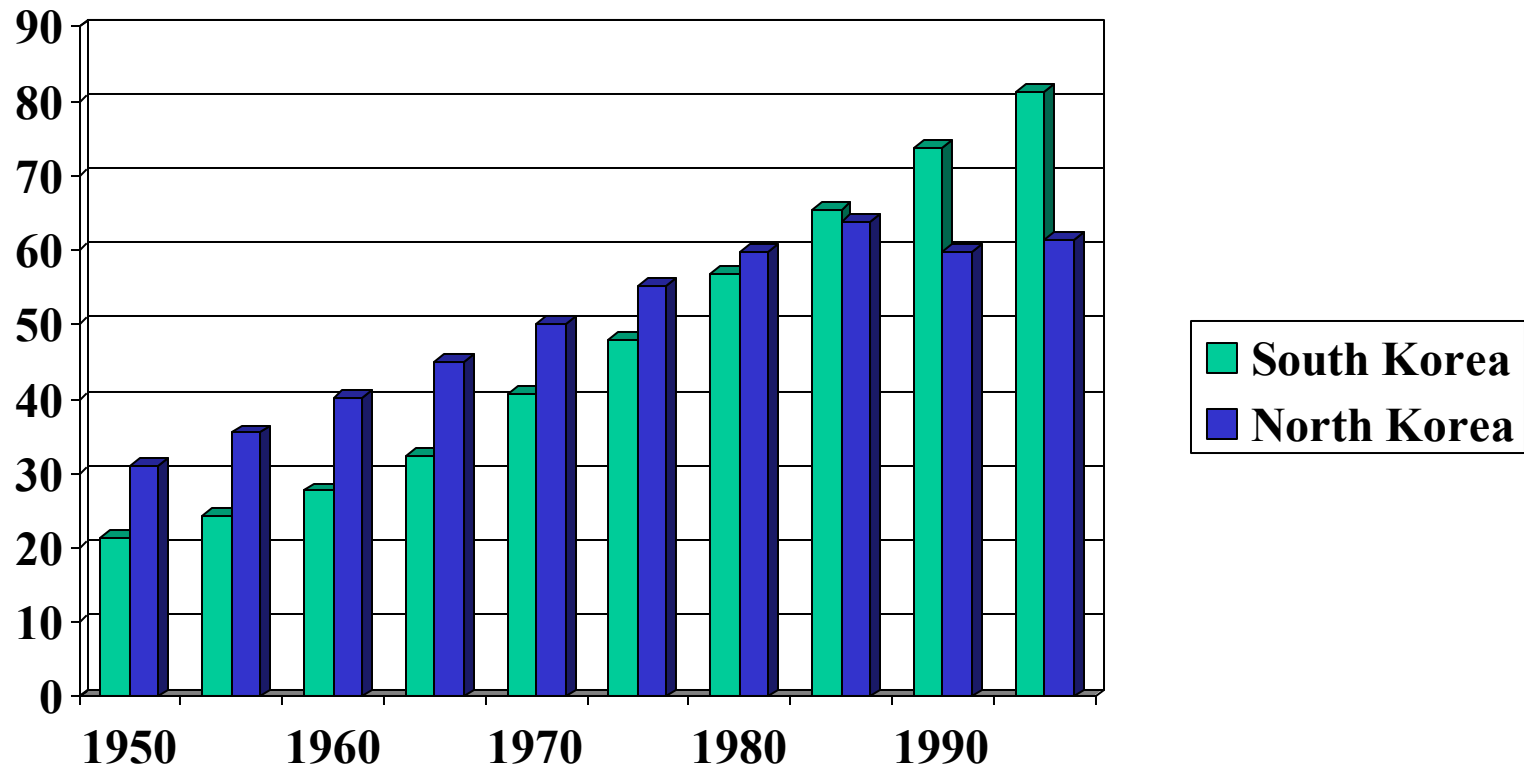
# Some Complications

- Corporate families don't suddenly become "unincorporate" because members migrate
  - Rather the same family has more than one location
  - Daughters who migrated as factory workers in the 1960s and 1970s often sent remittances back to support their parents and educate their brothers
  - Parents would often bring farm produce to town for their migrated family members
  - Migrated family members could return to the village to help out during the busy season
  - Chain migration might lead to parents moving in with urban children in their old age

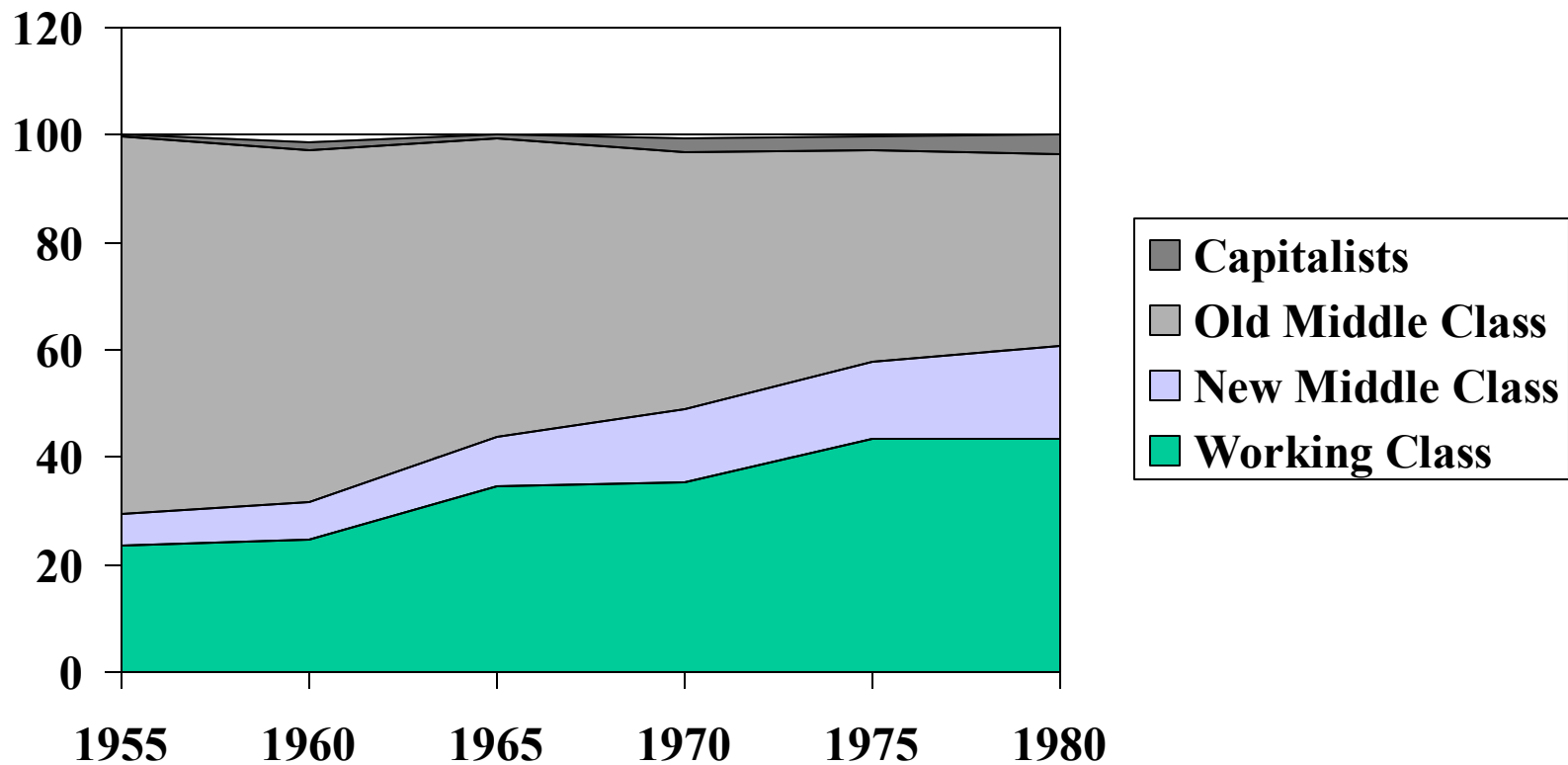
# Rates of Urbanization



# Degree of Urbanization

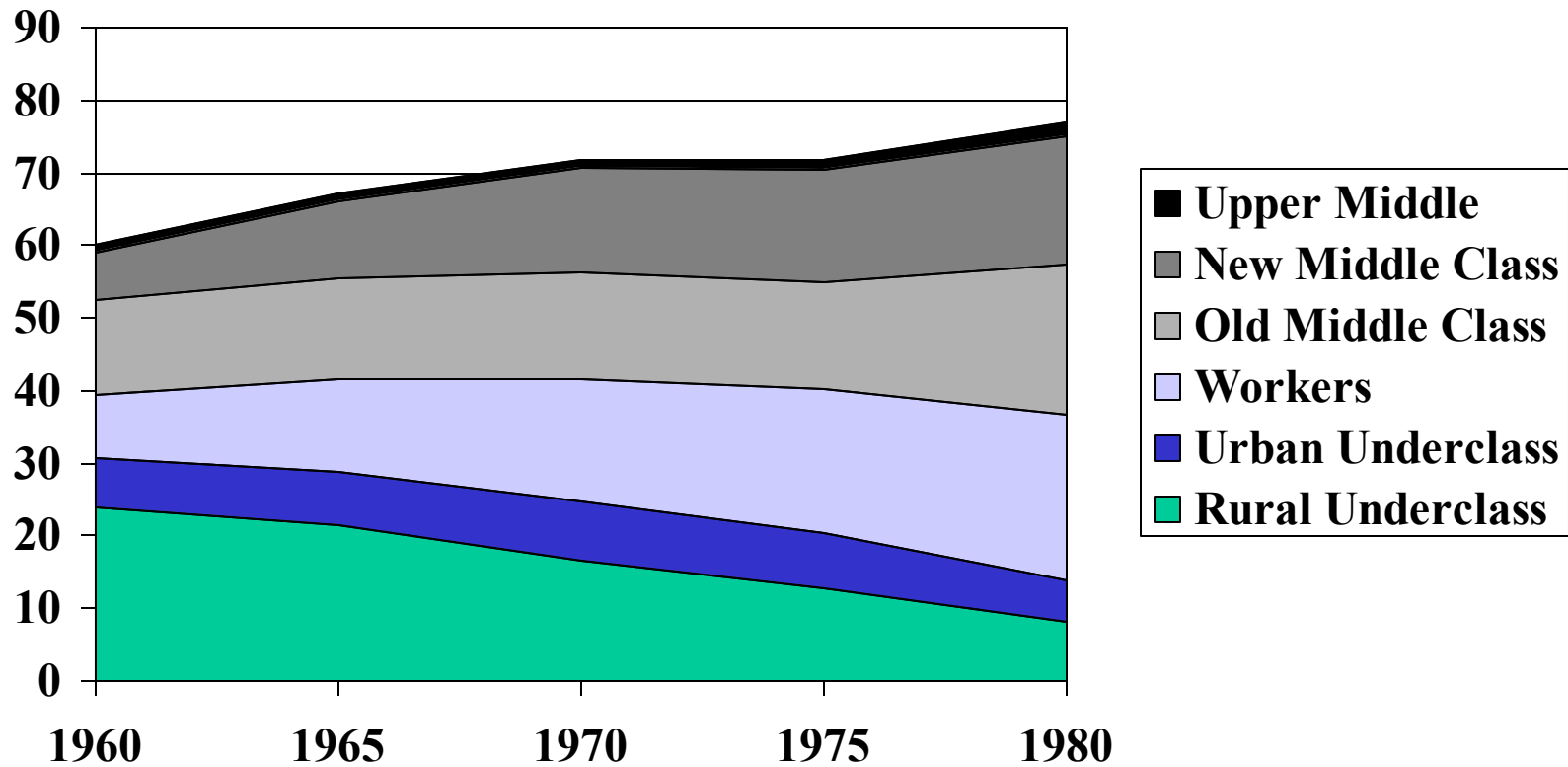


# Kim Yŏng-mo's Class Analysis

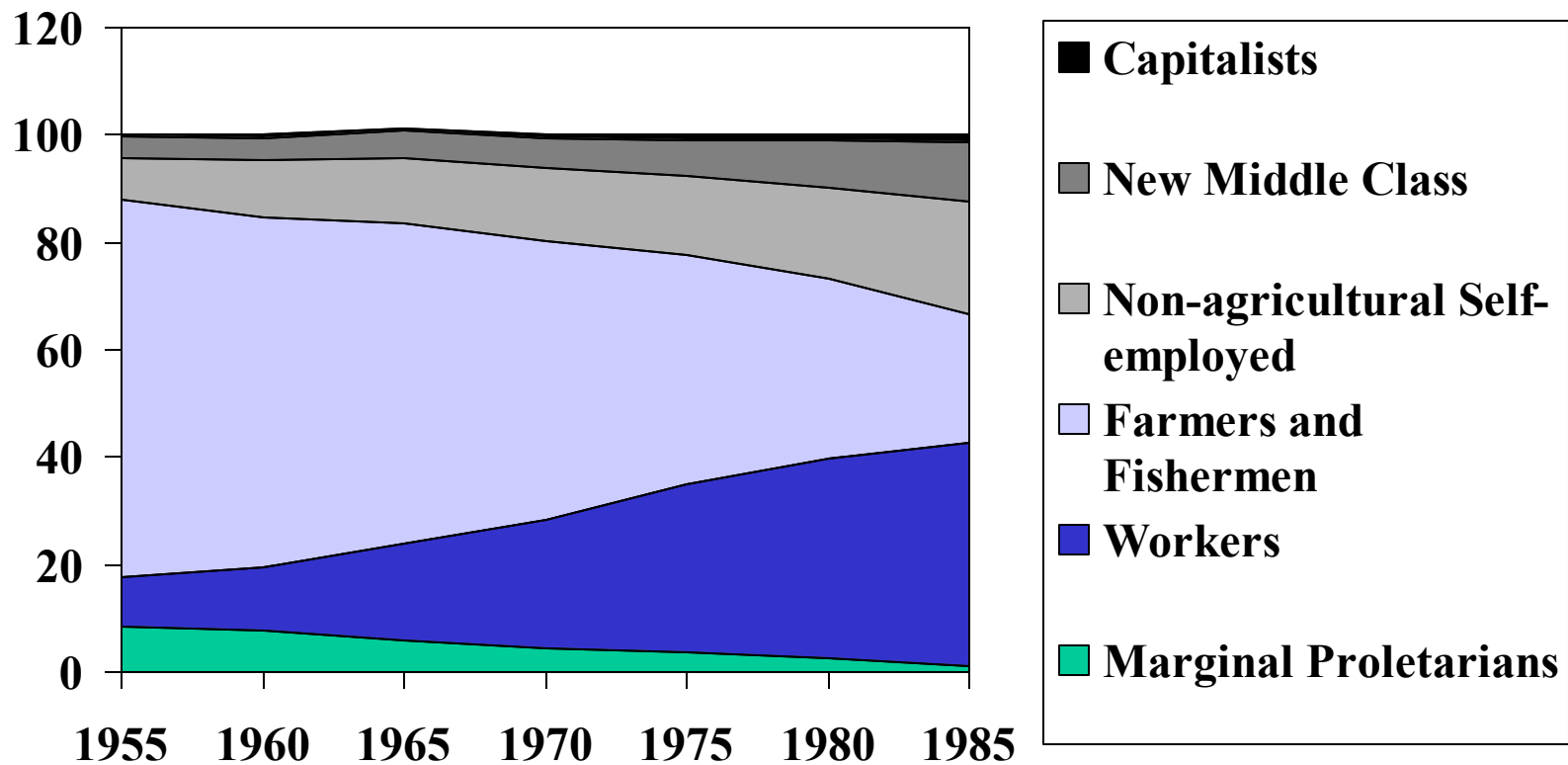




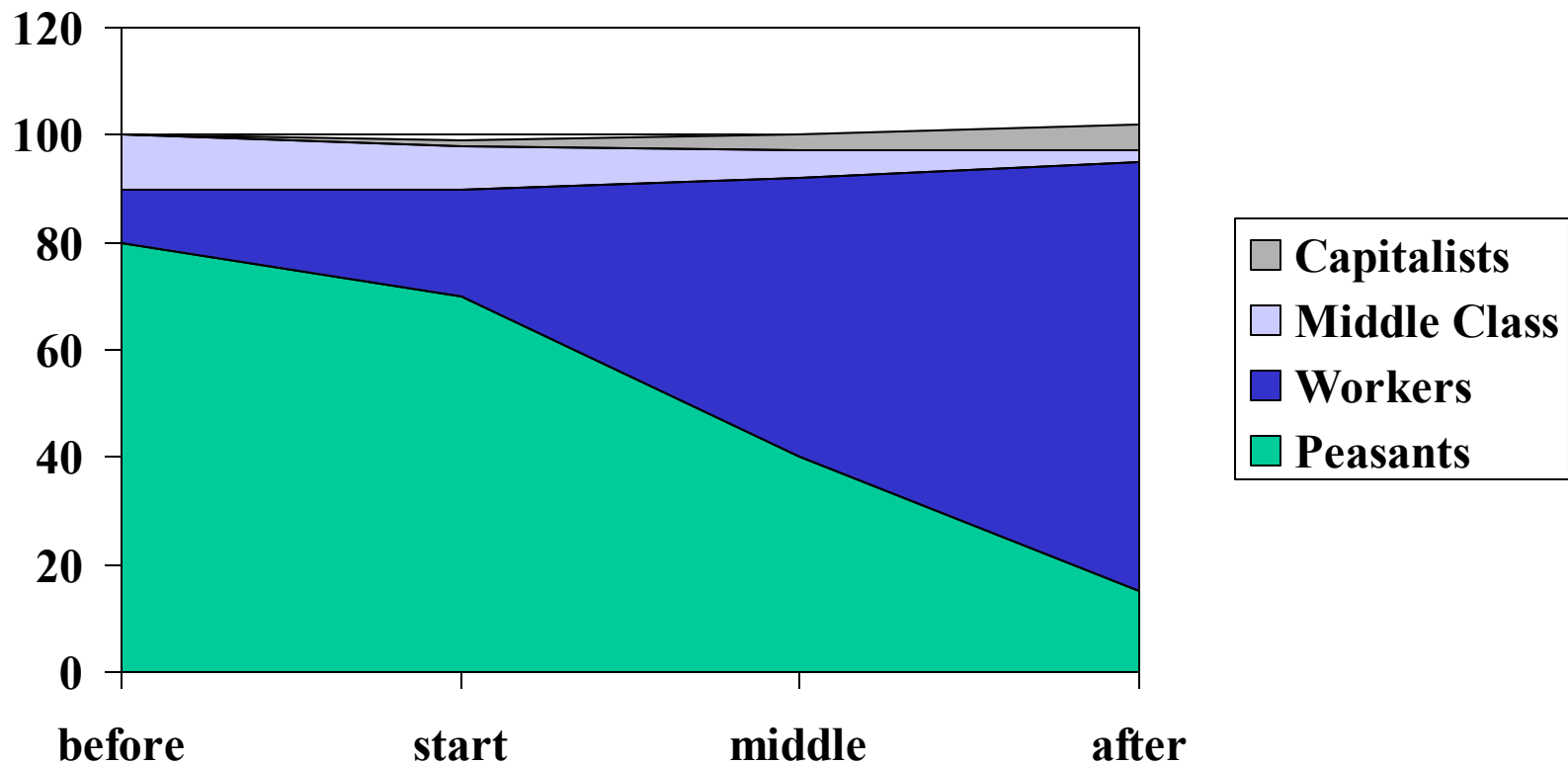
# Hong Doo Seung's Class Analysis



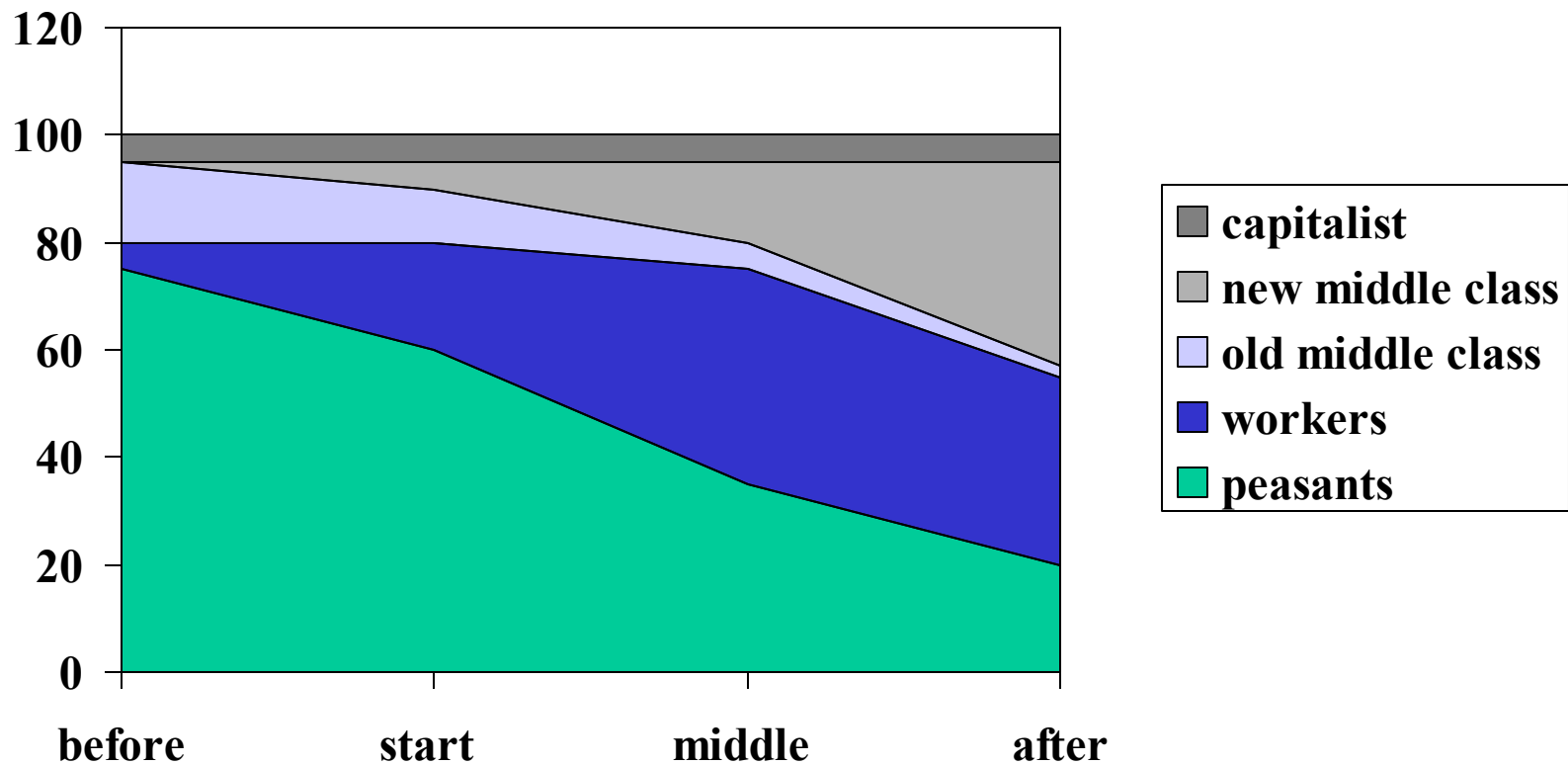
# Sō Kwan-mo's Class Analysis



# Marxist Expectation of Class Change in Industrialization



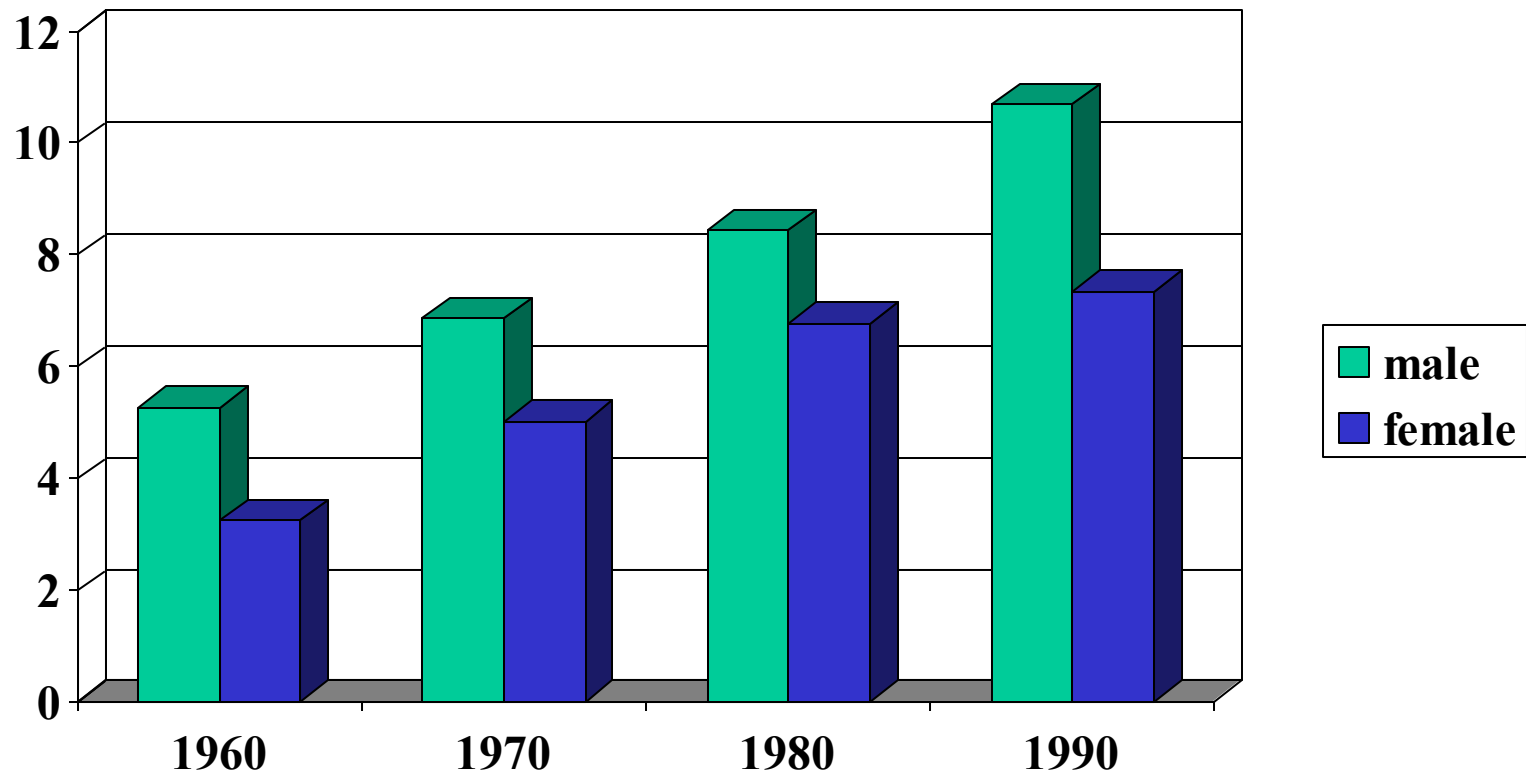
# Revisionist Expectations of Class Change in Industrialization



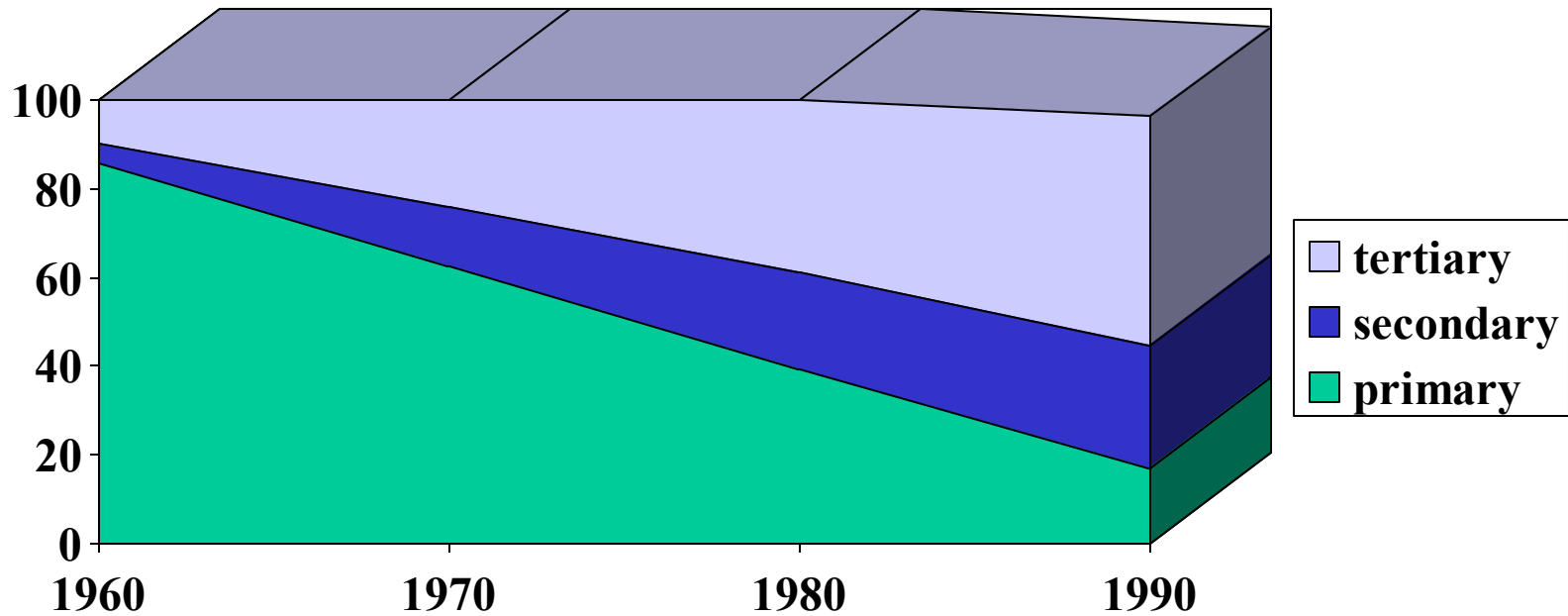
# Middle Class Consciousness in South Korea

- “inbetween class” (chunggan kyegŭp 中間階級)
  - Then most people are “middle class” in urban Korea
  - Many Koreans, however, say, “You can’t be middle class without education, and owning a house and a car.”
- “middle bourgeoisie” (chungsan kyegŭp 中產階級)
  - This concept is higher than the American conception of middle class, and corresponds more or less to “upper middle class” in the US
- Notice small urban business owners are middle class in the first sense, but not the second

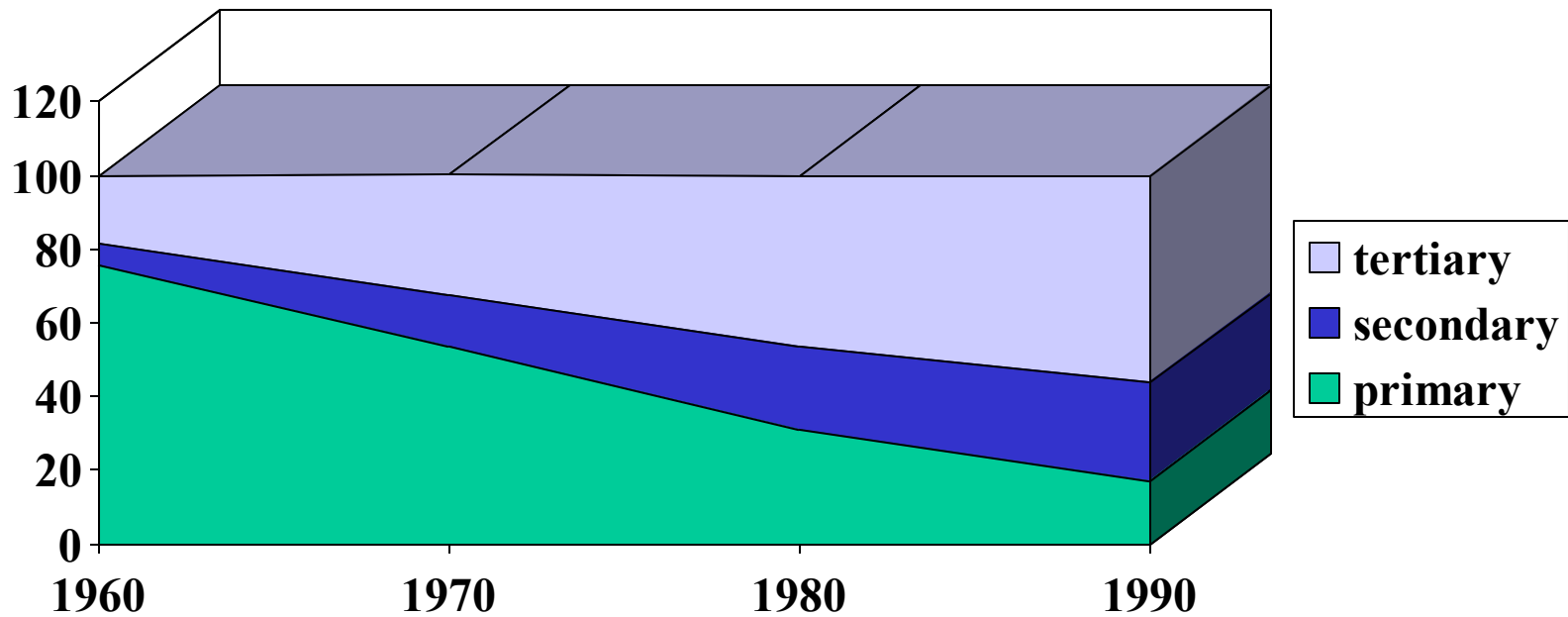
# Distribution of Workers by Sex



# Female Employment by Sector

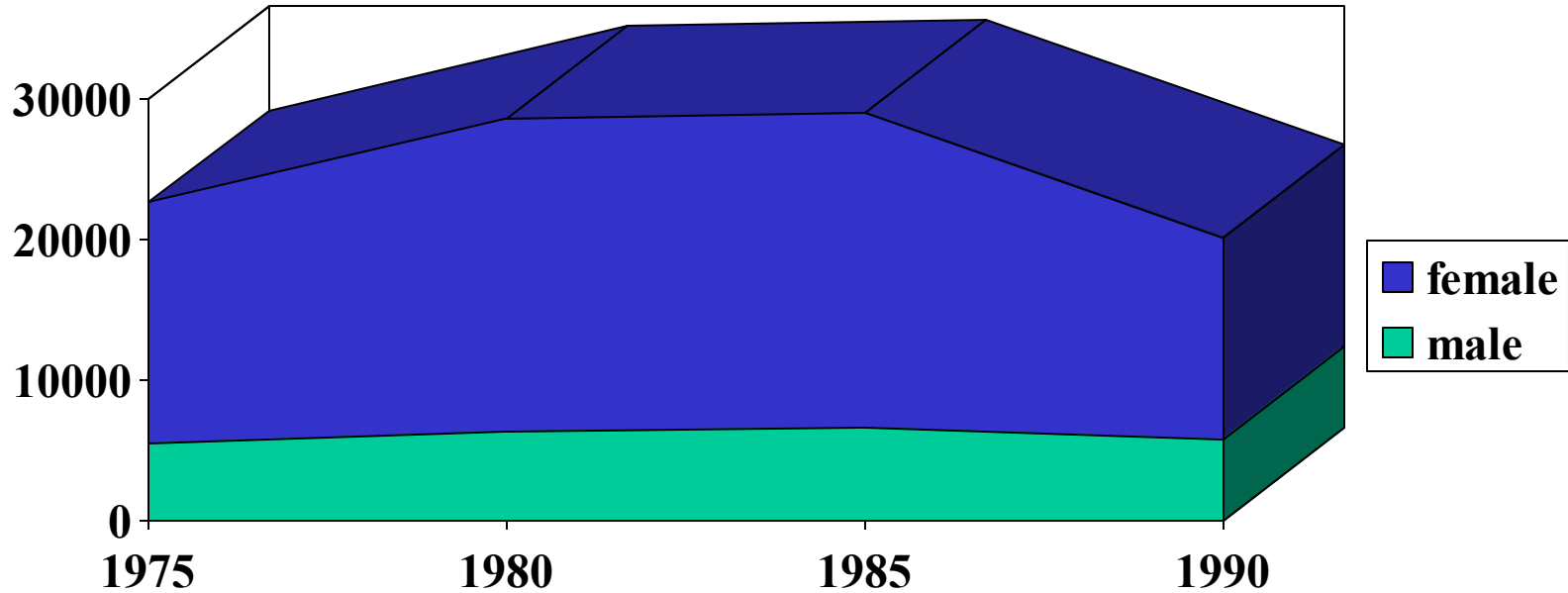


# Male Employment by Sector





# Employment by Gender in the Masan FEZ



# Distribution of Factory Workers by Size of Factory

