

# **DYNAMICS OF A RICE CULTIVATING VILLAGE IN KOREA, 1977-2015**

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Printed in Seoul, Republic of Korea  
ISBN 978-89-521-1984-1 93300

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Fax: +82-2-889-0785

This work was supported by the National Research Foundation of Korea Grant funded by the Korean Government (NRF-2013S1A6A4018503).

Second Printing: November 20, 2019

**SNUPRESS**  
Seoul National University Press

### **Family Survival Strategies and the Life-course Perspective**

Research into family survival strategies designed to create the greatest possibility for improved standards of living starts from the premise that families are liable to react sensitively to socio-economic conditions surrounding them. Families in rural areas are no exception in actively adapting to outer pressures that could lead to the enhancement in their lives (Heung-ju Kim 1995: 228). Survival strategies are connected in a complex manner with human and environmental resources and other influences mobilized by families. Thus, the economic status of each family, and sex and the birth order of individuals within the family all have an impact on maximizing survival strategies for improvement.

The concept of the family survival strategies was initially utilized to explain the family life of impoverished African Americans in the southern part of United States of America and that of the lower class in the Middle and South American societies. Some of the notable studies (Stack 1974, 1993; Hackenberg et al. 1984; Stack and Burton 2001) in this field concluded that 1) by maintaining flexible family boundaries, individual members of the matrifocal American black families frequently moved their residence to the houses of their relatives in order to overcome insecure socio-economic conditions (Stack 1974), 2) the timing of childbirth

in each household in black families of American South was strategically decided according to whether or not the maternal grandmother could bring up the grandchildren (Stack 1993), and 3) poor people in Mexico organized diverse types of households by coordinating the structure and the composition of families regardless of the socially regulated patrilineal principles, and thereby attempted to cope with disadvantageous socio-economic conditions (Hackenberg et al. 1984).

The concept of survival strategies has similarly been applied to urban Korean low-income families (Eun Jo and Ok-ra Jo 1987; Eun Jo 1990; Joo-hee Kim 1992). For example, it was noted that social relations mobilized for survival by the urban poor in Korea tended to be confined to immediate members of one's family, such as married children, while neighborhood networks exchanging substantive help were well developed (Eun Jo 1990). In other words, there was a marked gap between the ideal norm of assisting patrilineal kin and the reality of utilizing diverse relationships that would alleviate one's difficulties (Eun Jo and Ok-ra Jo 1987: 135-136). Likewise, I found that the matrifocal phenomenon often central to survival strategies among poor families in Middle and South American societies and the poor African American community in the United States was not evidenced among the poor in Seoul in the early 1990s. Instead, parents and married children chose to live nearby to collectively overcome disadvantageous economic conditions and to minimize the cost of maintaining their relationships, while sacrificing other more distant kinship relationships (Joo-hee Kim 1992: 143).

Clark W. Sorensen (1988) applied the concept of family survival strategy to farm families in Sangok-ri, Gangwon Province. According to Sorensen, changes in household organizations in Sangok-ri during the

years between 1976 and 1983, though seemingly enormous, were not the result of changes in family structure but the result of individual family's survival strategies; villagers modified their objectives and strategies in order to cope with new environments. As the basic social structure remained the same, Sorensen added, the eldest sons' change of residence to the city did not necessarily accompany the disintegration of cooperative power in the stem family. Heung-ju Kim (1994) also reported that the families of farm villages in Korea adopted the following survival strategies: educating eldest sons so they would have a chance to climb the social ladder; increasing labor parents performed in managing the farm, and restricting education for daughters.

The concept of family survival strategies often works together with that of the life-course perspective. The life-course perspective maintains that the life patterns of individuals within families change according to both macro-socio-economic and micro-familial conditions. It assumes that an individual's life should be understood via time, historical and socio-cultural contexts as well as biographical phenomena that have the potential to reshape the social position of individuals often by generation or year of birth. Individuals may reposition themselves or be socially positioned according to socially meaningful age groups or gender (Byeong-cheol An 1994). Tamara K. Hareven (1982: 6) stated that a life-course perspective views the interrelationships between individual and collective family behavior as these constantly change over people's lives and in the context of historical conditions. The life-course perspective is related to survival strategies in the ways that families deal with how and when a person acquires wealth or education, enters a new job, or starts family (Elder and Giele 2009: 14), and respond to the timing of external events and

undertake actions and engage in events and behavior to use resources available (Giele and Elder 1998: 11).

In seeking to understand the changes in the patterns of family behavior and domestic organization, it helps to distinguish among 1) changes resulting from people's successive life course positions, 2) changes based on the specific and particular experiences that people born within a generational cohort share, and 3) changes resulting from broad systemic transformations, for instance, improvements in material standards, changes in the ideas of gender and employment, enhanced understanding of children's desires, and the expansion of women's economic roles (Allan and Jones 2003). It is crucial to be perceptive to the diversity of different life courses among individuals and to the concept of cohort. Different cohorts age in different ways as they respond to ever-changing environmental contexts (Elder 1987: 190).

Studies made from the perspective of cohorts show that individual aging and historical change are strongly interconnected. The study of history then entails the life courses of individuals as they develop differently according to year of birth. Age, historical period, and cohort intersect with one another to produce different life patterns among different age groups or "generations" (Giele and Elder 1998: 15). For instance, the 15 longitudinal studies by different authors in a book edited by Hulbert and Schuster (1993) explored the interaction of sociohistorical context, gender, and education among female college graduates from the 1930s to the 1980s in the United States. It is evident from these studies that having a career became a new norm, especially among the cohorts of women whose college years occurred in the 1930s and the 1940s, the vanguard era of economic expansion, higher educational levels, political liberalism,

and family insecurity.

The diachronic emphasis of the life-course perspective encourages the examination of the process of interaction between the microscopic state of family relations and the macroscopic state of social and economic structures of the country. The analytic categories that Hareven (1982) and Elder (1987) proposed from the perspective of the life course include: individual time, family time, historical time, and social time. Individual time refers to features of individuals in a family, such as age, gender, the order of birth, and generation, while family time refers to events with regard to strategies for inheritance, education, and roles according to ages, mutual expectations, sanctions, and choices. Historical time refers to the sociocultural environments in which individuals and families are positioned. Historical events like the agricultural policies of a nation, market openings for agricultural produce, IMF bailouts, financial crises, and the revision of family laws all belong to the historical transformations surrounding individual and family life. Finally, social time references cultural context and denotes the social norms for each cohort like patriarchal consciousness. Individuals are not completely free from the influence of social norms even in contemporary times when they have a comparatively larger variety of choices; experiences of self-determination and personal responsibility tend to obscure the powerful constraining forces of existing social structures but they nonetheless exist and exert transformative forces on individuals and families (Gillies et al. 2003: 35).

The life patterns of the residents in Sanjin-ri according to historical periods are closely connected to their family survival strategies. Their family survival strategies in turn are closely related to the macro-socio-economic circumstances of the wider society throughout the decades

of my research. I take up a life-course perspective to examine the characteristics of family survival strategies in households in Sanjin-ri over the past 40 years (See Table C-1 in the Conclusion).

## Family Survival Strategies in Each Time Period

### The Strategy of Rural and Urban Dual Opportunities: 1977-1978

In general, rural families in Korea have relied on three strategies to maximize opportunities for upward mobility within the family; diversification of economic activities, minimization of consumption, and emigration (Heung-ju Kim 1996: 43). Households in Sanjin-ri are no exception. Since I addressed economic diversification in Chapter 4 and since the strategy of minimizing consumption has been a constant throughout the period of my research, I deal here with strategies closely related to patterns of outbound migration that different sectors of the village population have employed differently in each time period.

I first analyze the survival strategies of households headed by the cohort of 19 men who were at age 50 and beyond in 1977-1978. These individuals were born between 1900 and 1929. As of 1977, they break down into: 1 who was born in the 1900s; 5 in the 1910s; and 13 in the 1920s. In terms of surnames, 5 were from the L lineage, 6 from the P lineage, and 8 had other surnames. Excluding Mr. Gi-hong Park and Mr. Min-su Han, the remaining 17 men were either uneducated or elementary school graduates. Mr. Gi-hong Park received a high school education in Seoul where his father was in government service. He was financially successful in Manchuria when he was young but returned to

his hometown to start life anew right after Korea's liberation from Japanese colonial rule in 1945. As introduced in Chapter 4, Mr. Min-su Han grew up in wealthy surroundings as his father inherited a large area of land from his wife's parents. Mr. Han was educated in Seoul, worked in an industry and came back to his hometown after retirement. The other 17 men were either born in Sanjin-ri or entered the village from other regions. All of the 19 men were engaged in farming as their vocation. They had for long suffered bad crops even after the 1950 Land Reform. They had no other survival strategies except resorting to extreme thrift and saving until the construction of a dam in Asan Bay in 1973. In the late 1970s, many of them were actively planning the survival strategies like others and hoped that they, too, could rise higher in the social ladder through following others' strategies. The expression "like others" here denotes "the success of the eldest son."

During the period of unprecedented economic growth in the 1970s, job opportunities increased markedly in the urban areas and lured young people from the local villages. People from rural villages filled up blue collar job vacancies in the industrial sector. But quality jobs required a high level of education, which not only encouraged the rural people to map out new survival strategies but also gave them a strong zeal for an upward social mobility. The 19 household heads in Sanjin-ri were no exception.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, there were two former *marum*, farm manager, households in the village. Among households headed by those born between 1900-1929, they were the only affluent families before the Land Reform. The parents of one of these *marum* households had already invested in higher education for their five sons in the city even prior to

the construction of the Asan Bay dam. But the rest of the households with their marginal incomes could not afford to offer college education to their children. Giving higher education to their children was possible only when large-scale help was offered from successful relatives. The household of Mr. Gi-hong Park, mentioned above, is an example. He and his wife were ambitious about their sons' education and his well-to-do brother-in-law in the city willingly helped with the eldest son's college education. Later when the eldest son himself had become successful, he not only supported college tuition fees for his younger brother but also provided living expenses for his parents in the village. He even had a fine house built for his parents. He became a role model for other village eldest sons.

Farming surplus, thanks to a succession of bumper years combined with a two-tiered grain price system and rice procurement program of the government during the 1970s, created options for those born between 1900-1929. For the first time they could set up alternative family survival strategies. They started measuring the pros and cons of rural and urban opportunities. Many of them took up a strategy of making use of both opportunities. By adopting a strategy of role allocation, some of the family members stayed in the village, while others moved to urban areas.

One of the most certain successful strategies for the 19 households in the late 1970s was to ensure their first sons' success, a strategy that could best be realized when the sons were educated at universities in a city. But not all of them could realize this strategy as it depended upon economic and human resources. The family survival strategy of the landless households was to provide their sons with local elementary or middle school education and then send them to the cities. These sons

usually led their life as urban laborers. The daughters of these landless households, too, moved to the cities mostly to work in industrial sectors after graduating elementary schools and having helped their parents with menial work at home. They often offered financial assistance for the cost of education of their brothers. These children of the landless households easily got jobs in cities, thanks to the expansion of urban industrial sectors.

The strategy of sending children to urban areas at a young age was adopted also by many marginal farm households. Most of the sons of these households, regardless of their birth order, left for cities after finishing an elementary or middle school education, and they were normally engaged in various manual jobs there. The household of Mr. Min-sun Cha is a good example. He came to Sanjin-ri by the suggestion of his elder brother, who had settled down in the village earlier. He had two sons and three daughters. In the earlier years of his stay in the village, he worked hard and even purchased a small plot of land. But after a series of family misfortunes, he lost most of his land. The only survival strategy of this household, like that of others in similar situations, was to send all his children out to urban areas at a young age. A household from the L lineage is another example. The two sons of this household were sent to cities in their teen years to work in an industrial sector. There were two other cases of households with marginal farms that sent their sons to cities at a young age.

Except for a few small farm households that sent all their sons to urban areas at a young age, the survival strategies of small farm households headed by those born between the 1900s and 1930 were different from those of the landless and marginal farm households. As high tui-

tion for urban colleges was burdensome for these small farm households, they took the strategy of having one son remain in the village for farming. Regardless of birth order, one of the sons was chosen to become a farming successor. Mr. Su-dong Jo, an eldest son of his family, chose himself to succeed the small farm and helped with his younger brother's higher education in the city. In contrast, the life course of the daughters of these small farm households was similar to that of landless and marginal farm households in that they left for the cities at a young age after graduating the elementary school and having helped their parents with menial work at home.

Households with medium farms designed different paths of life for their children, depending upon their birth order and gender. These households could accumulate the minimum capital for the education of their sons from surplus income from farming. There were two cases of medium farm households that sent both of their two sons to colleges in cities. But other medium farm households chose the strategy of making sure that at least one son became a farming successor. The patrilineal family ideology prioritizing the eldest son was strongly reinforced by giving the privilege of receiving higher education in the city to the first-born son. It was normally the second son of medium farm households who gave up receiving a higher education and stayed in the village to become a farming successor and care-taker for the parents. Most of the second sons in these households followed the collective decision of the family, though heavily partial to the eldest son. Medium farm households with only one son without exception had him become a farming successor.

Daughters of medium farm households, as in smaller farm house-

holds, and eldest daughters in particular, were obligated to make sacrifices for the family. Instead of receiving higher education, an eldest daughter would help her parents with farm work as a child and get a job in the city later. One mother never stopped saying that her bright eldest daughter would surely have become a school teacher if she had received proper education, instead of carrying manure from a young age to assist her parents with farm work. The life courses of these eldest daughters were different from those of their younger sisters, most of whom got the benefit of higher education, thanks to improvement in the financial conditions of their families and the extensive dissemination of higher education across the country in later years.

Of the large farm households headed by those born between 1900-1929 in 1977-1978, except one in which both sons continued in the farm business, strategies for survival can be categorized into two types. One was to send all the sons to the cities for college education, making use of the opportunities offered by both the village and the city, with the parents, not the second son, managing the farmland. The other type of strategy was to send first sons to the cities for college education and let them settle there while the second sons inherited the farming role and land as was frequently done in the medium farm households. In some cases it was the wish of the second sons themselves to stay in the village by ensuring the inheritance of a bigger portion of the family farm land. For example, Mr. Min-gi Park demanded more land division from his widowed mother after finishing middle school, while his elder brother finished college education and ended up living in the city. Mr. Min-yong Park gave assurance to his parents that he would not blame them in the future for not sending him to the city for an education.

It should be noted that supporting the college education of an eldest son was not easy even for households with medium and large farms. Parents did their best to save on expenses by thrift and saving. The *ssal-gye*, rotating credit association based on the dealing of rice, was frequently utilized for the accumulation of money needed for the education of sons. Many parents often had to obtain high interest loans from other villagers to pay for the expense. The passion for college education for the first son was so strong that all the other family members were often mobilized to support it, as exemplified by the case of Mr. Jong-gi Lee's family, introduced before. While the grandmother followed her first grandson attending the most prestigious medical school to take care of him, the mother in the village never hesitated to do any kind of work to increase the family income. The second son had to be satisfied with a high school education, and the third son had to help his family's farming business after finishing elementary school.

Daughters in large farm households received discriminatory treatment with regard to education. None received a college education. Most of them had to be satisfied with middle or high school education at best. From the life-course perspective within the cohort of offspring of those household heads born between 1900 and 1929, the biographies of sons and daughters as well as first sons and younger sons manifested alternative versions of individual time.

The preceding discussion of the survival strategies of households headed by those born between 1900-1929 demonstrates that the size of family economic resources decided the paths of the life courses of each household member and that the phenomenon of class fixation had begun in this period. Although the economic opportunities expanded enor-

mously in urban areas in the nation, tools for economic advancement among rural people were still minimal in the late 1970s. The reason why the village people devoted themselves to sending their sons to college at all costs was because they were sure that it was the only road to the acquisition of a ticket to upward social mobility. Such an opportunity for climbing the social ladder, however, was not easily available to the landless, marginal, and small farm households in the late 1970s. In Sanjin-ri, the beneficiaries of the rapid economic growth in the nation were mostly the households above the level of medium farm.

#### **The Strategy of Educating All Children: 1989**

There had been in the late 1970s a total of 21 male household heads who were born in the 1930s and the 1940s. By 1989, three of these households had left the village. The remaining 18 households were composed of: 7 marginal farms, 2 small farms, 8 medium farms, and 1 large farm. Compared with the previous cohorts most of whom had no formal educational background, these 18 male household heads had graduated from Deokhyeon Elementary School located at the center of the township. During the 1980s, opportunities for jobs for men outside the village were still rare. Fortunately enough, women were making a vital economic contribution to the household economy even though their work tended to be intermittent. As was seen in Chapter 4, women grabbed the economic opportunities provided by the nearby tourist complex and the rest areas of the newly constructed national highway.

Unlike the marginal farm households of the 1970s, in 1989 two out of seven marginal farm households headed by those born in the 1930s and the 1940s had their sons receive college education in a city. For in-

stance, the marginal farmer Mr. Jong-jae Kim successfully sent both of his two sons to urban colleges. He also sent his two younger daughters to high school, and later the youngest daughter to college. Only the eldest daughter was not given such benefit. The other five marginal farm households sent their sons to local high school. Some of the sons went to the cities after graduating from high school but returned home, as seen in Chapter 6.

Among the two small farm households headed by those born in the 1930s and 1940s, one household sent both their son and their daughter to college. The household head did his best to educate them, complementing farm work with various odd jobs even after his wife had left the family. The other household let their only son inherit the farming business. After graduating from high school, the son tried to settle in the city, while working in a service job, but eventually came back to his hometown to take over the family farm left by his father.

The survival strategy of the eight medium farm households headed by those born in the 1930s and the 1940s had two characteristics. First, they no longer relied on the first son oriented education scheme. In one household, all the sons were educated at the urban colleges. In another three households, all the sons graduated from high school, some of whom left the village to seek a new life in the city, and the rest succeeded farming in the village. In another household, the first son received a high school education, while the second son completed a college education in the city. Second, daughters were no longer discriminated against in education. For example, in Mr. Hyeong-gyeon Park's household, the daughter received a college education in the city, while the first son received only a high school education. The case of Mr. Seong-ju Song's

was the same. He was currently managing a farm with his eldest son, a high school graduate. He said "I tried to send all my children to college, but my son didn't want to study, and I couldn't make him do so. But my daughter was studying hard and I couldn't stop her." In one large farm household headed by Mr. Jeong-ho Jo, all the sons and daughters were given college education in the city.

It became commonplace in 1989 for daughters to graduate from high school. If the eldest daughter in a family had sacrificed her schooling for her siblings, the youngest daughter in the same family was likely to benefit from the socio-economic changes and finish school. Later on, with a modest amount of comfort in old age, the parents would look back with regret and sorrow on the sacrifices inflicted on their first daughter who they failed to provide with sufficient education.

A few households headed by those born between 1930s and 1940s even sent their children to an urban high school so that they could enter a good university. They didn't hesitate to sell their farmland if necessary to pay for these expenses, especially for the son with academic potential, and take any job they could to cope with their own living costs. Getting up at four o'clock in the morning to tend a vegetable garden for a couple of hours before preparing breakfast and then going to work for wages outside the village until late at night became a daily routine for the mothers; the fathers got used to setting up the table and having meals by themselves. The decline in the number of children per household helped facilitate this change in the dominant family survival strategy which now focused on educating all the children. As was mentioned before, however, only two households among the marginal farm households were successful in sending their children to college. This attests to a continuing gap

between different farm sizes in planning and executing family survival strategies.

**Persistent Waning of Patrilineal Family Ideology and the Standardization of the Family Survival Strategy: the 2010s**

Since the 1990s, the economic situation in Sanjin-ri shifted once again. Economic opportunities for men diversified, while those for women shrank, as discussed in Chapter 4. Those who seized these opportunities were the male household heads born in the 1950s. Most of them were the farming successors introduced earlier. They soon became familiar with mechanized farming, thanks to their higher education, were quick to grasp the extra-community economic opportunities, and increased their household income. None of them have turned their sons into farming successors or plan to do so.

The cohort of farming successors born in the 1950s are those who have experienced most intensely the rapid socio-economic changes of Korean society and are the last farming successors in the village. They benefitted by the transformation of their parents from poor tenants to independent farmers by virtue of the 1950 Land Reform. Their experiences in their young years were radically different from those of previous cohorts. All of them entered the elementary school newly built near the village. Unlike the previous cohorts whose survival strategies were different from family to family, depending upon the size of family resources, households of the cohort born in the 1950s could plan the same survival strategies thanks to an increase in extra-community economic opportunities for men. Su-jong Yun (2001) reports that in rural communities in Korea during the 1990s medium and poor farms continued to exist, but

that the farm class hierarchy was collapsing. This holds true in Sanjin-ri in the 2010s.

The family survival strategy of the cohort born in the 1950s was to have all of their children get a college degree and find a job other than farming. For them higher education is not a privilege exclusively due to the eldest son or shared by sons as opposed to the daughters. Whether the child is a son or a daughter, whoever shows a propensity for studying is entitled to college education. It has become a norm among them that if a daughter performs better in school, it is only fair to send her to college instead of the son who is not interested in studying. It is only natural that the mother with a daughter who became a professor at college was an object of envy. The drastic decrease of discrimination against daughters in giving educational opportunities has also to do with the declining birth rate.<sup>1</sup> The average number of children among men born in the 1950s was 2.8, 15 sons and 21 daughters total. The difference in the number of sons versus daughters resulted from the strategy adopted by couples to continue bearing children until they had a son. This attests to a conservative preference for sons. But as far as education is concerned, such a preference is not usually apparent.

The historical time of Sanjin-ri in the 2010s is characterized by improved income of residents, the popularization of college education, and a declining birth rate. The households headed by those born in the 1950s actively mapped out their family options, resulting in a high level of ed-

<sup>1</sup> There is research on Japanese society that discloses that the demographic changes in the wake of the disappearance of discrimination between sons and daughters in small children families transformed the patrilineal ideology into a bilateral one (Ochiai 1997).

ucation among sons and daughters. The widespread everyday practice by Korean parents of reducing their own spending to the bare minimum for the sake of their children's education and working themselves into the ground persisted among these households. In contrast to the previous cohorts, all of them with the extra-cash income abided by a common survival strategy, regardless of the farm size. Today, looking at family time, distinctions between eldest and second sons or between sons and daughters have all but disappeared.

Rising opportunities for higher education for sons and daughters does not mean that the patrilineal family ideology is obsolete. All households possessing farmland I have interviewed expressed the principle of inheritance putting the eldest son first while daughters are excluded. Despite the promulgation of a bill on equal division among children in a new civil law enacted in 1990, households that have already gone through the inheritance process as well as those which have plans for the future prefer a patrilineal unequal division. Not one case is found in which a daughter has become an heir to her parents' assets or in which this is anticipated. It is expressed sometimes that the son with the largest portion of inheritance should take it upon himself to care for his sisters.

Another element of the family strategy used by farming households in Sanjin-ri today is the reinforcement of family farming. The practice of communal exchange of labor is not found and neither is wage labor, which has been substituted for by labor provided by grown-up children living in the city who visit to help out during the rice seedlings transplanting season. The progress in mechanization reducing the amount of labor required and the improved transportation system makes it feasible for the farming business to be sustained with the temporary help of sons

and sons-in-law from outside the village. It is also a useful way to save on the cost of labor and increase profits. Aging and shortage of farming labor, and drastic reduction of farming successors in recent rural communities are often referred to as responsible for a crisis of family farming in Korea (Gi-hwan Jeong 1993). But as far as Sanjin-ri is concerned, villagers are solving these problems with a strategy of using the help of their children living in urban areas who can drive to the village on weekends.

Today, college education is not something extraordinary in Sanjin-ri, and neither are households with a daughter in graduate school and a son with a high school diploma. The children of the village in the 2010s were presented with various personal choices in life. The family strategy preferred by households headed by those born in the 1950s is to support the children in their choices. The parents' intention to help any one of their children to continue in school, should they wish to, has made it the responsibility of the children themselves to decide what to do with their lives. It has become quite normal for parents in the village not to break the resolve of a daughter to enter another college after already having graduated with a major that did not suit her. The account of Mrs. Ja-hang Yi, a widow with two sons and two daughters shows what the prevalent thinking is like on the education of daughters in the village.

My eldest daughter did well in school but didn't go to college because of her siblings, but when the younger daughter wanted to go to college, I let her do so. I told her to go to a two-year college and find herself a husband instead of going to a four-year university, because there's our youngest son right behind her. But she said, "Are you going to live my life for me, mom?" So what else could I do? I just let her do as she wished.

The residents of Sanjin-ri regard it as ideal to have their children become doctors, lawyers, or college professors. Indeed two eldest sons of the village became a medical doctor and a lawyer. When the youngest brother of the doctor received his Ph.D with the eldest brother's financial help, this was duly followed with the hanging of a banner across the pedestrian overpass above a newly constructed highway congratulating the family on the event.

Mr. Song-hwan Lee, a farming successor born in the 1950s changed the strategy of his father, a large farmer, of having both of his sons carry on the farming business rather than go on to college. He and his wife managed to send their two sons and four daughters to college, after persistently persuading his father who held the purse strings in the family and valued his farmland over anything else. The father who had opposed his granddaughters' college education finally gave in, after coming to terms with the reality that agriculture is no longer a profitable business.

Table 7-1 shows how the occupations of the village residents were distributed by age and sex in 2015. Quite a few elderly residents, both male and female, were able to maintain their agricultural job by leasing farm machines and managing their own farm. When we move over to age groups in their 50s and under, we can see that the economic activities by both men and women become noticeably diverse. Particularly in the age brackets of those from their 20s through their 40s, with the exception of the son in the Song household who was managing the family farm with his father, we can see that everyone had a job outside the village. This is the result of the shifting dominant family survival strategy of Sanjin-ri households over the past decades, as discussed above.

Table 7-1 Occupational Status by Age and Sex in 2015

Age	80s		70s		60s		50s		40s		30s		20s		10s		Under 10		Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Gender																			105
Jobless	1	6	1	1	1	1				1		1	3						16
Farming	4		3	10	4	5		5			1								32
Own Business			1				2	3	2			1							9
Employed					1	1	1	1	3	1	3	4	5	1					21
Farming and Second Job			2		6	3	3	3											17
High School Student														2					2
Middle School Student														1	1				2
Elementary School Student														1		2	1		4
Pre-schooler																1	1		2