Family, Farm and Migration
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 (*mŏsŭm* 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 (家 legalese)
- Househead (호주, 주인) and family members (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

146 Energy Flow and the Allocation of Household Labor

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 君為臣綱, 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
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
- Ḥunhye is the kind of grace or favor that comes from someone much higher than you (parents, ruler)

The concept of “grace” or “favor” (/settingsdialog) 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” 背恩忘徳 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”)
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
Family cycle

The concept recognizes that as people are born, married, and die the shape of the family changes.

In corporate families:

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  - House head dies and is replaced by his eldest son
Stem Family Cycle

1. Nuclear big house

   ![Diagram of nuclear big house]

   big house

2. Stem big house

   ![Diagram of stem big house]

   big house

   in-laws' house A

3. ![Diagram of stem big house with additional household]

   big house

   little house

   in-laws' house A

   in-laws' house B

*Figure 4.3
Korean Patrilineal Stem Family Cycle*
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
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
Structure of Minimal Lineage
**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 (sŏng) 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.
  - Teknonyms—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), Kyosanım (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* (oeharabŏji, oehalmŏni)
  - Uncle: fundamentally you father’s brothers (k’ŭn aboji/chagŭn abŏji)
  - 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/oesonnyŏ)
- 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?
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 新房
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 chŏnse, 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 myŏnŭri)
- Uxorilocal marriage (teril sawi)
- Concubinage (chagŭn manura, ch’ŏp ŭl tuda)
  - First “legitimate” wife is chŏkpu, the concubine is sŏmo
  - Children by concubines (sŏja, sŏnyŏ) are technically legitimate, but they don’t inherit their father’s status, or much property (they are nothoï)
  - 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 sŏja
- 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
- 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
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)
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
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 Maǔl 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 maǔl kǔm’go, community credit cooperatives)
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?
Corporate families don’t suddenly become “uncorporate” 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

South Korea
North Korea
Degree of Urbanization

- **South Korea**
- **North Korea**

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Kim Yŏng-mo’s Class Analysis

- Capitalists
- Old Middle Class
- New Middle Class
- Working Class
Sŏ Kwan-mo’s Class Analysis

- Capitalists
- New Middle Class
- Non-agricultural Self-employed
- Farmers and Fishermen
- Workers
- Marginal Proletarians
Marxist Expectation of Class Change in Industrialization

- Before
- Start
- Middle
- After

- Capitalists
- Middle Class
- Workers
- Peasants
Revisionist Expectations of Class Change in Industrialization

- Capitalists
- New middle class
- Old middle class
- Workers
- Peasants

(before, start, middle, after)
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

![Bar chart showing the distribution of workers by sex from 1960 to 1990. The chart compares male and female workers across the years.](chart.png)
Male Employment by Sector

- Tertiary
- Secondary
- Primary
Employment by Gender in the Masan FEZ
Distribution of Factory Workers by Size of Factory

- >500 workers
- 100-499 workers
- 20-99 workers
- 5-19 workers