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KINSHIP, GENDER AND PERSONHOOD IN A KOREAN VILLAGE

By

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis, based on field research in a Korean village near Seoul, deals with continuities and change in patterns of kinship, marriage, community organization and the construction of gendered personhood. Departing from the approach to the tradition/modernity opposition in much of the Korean literature on rural society, the thesis analyzes the economic and other links between the village and the larger society which sustain, and sometimes, intensify traditions, while altering them in subtle ways. A reconstruction and interpretation of the processes in the reproduction of households and agnatic groups, prior to the rapid social and economic changes of the last few decades, provides a context for the examination of marriage and constitution of female personhood. I show that marriage was ambiguous and overlapped with other means of recruiting new female members into households. The thesis shows how an understanding of the chip, the agnatic principle of organization, can be enhanced by focusing on its temporal aspects and on the ways in which it is interwoven with the construction of selfhood.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study is based on my fieldwork in Koksan, a Korean village near Seoul, during August 1985 - October 1986. Topical interests of this study are household and kinship, marriage and gendered personhood. After the Korean War (1950-53), and especially beginning in the 1960s, when economic growth accelerated, there have been rapid changes in the political and social fabric of Korea. Rural areas have not been immune to the changes, and this is especially true of Koksan which is situated close to Seoul. Thus, the issues of cultural continuity and change make up an important dimension of my study.

In discussing recent change, I question the ways in which much of the existing Korean literature deals with present and past manifestations of tradition. Some of previous approaches by other scholars tend to assume a dichotomy between the traditional and the modern as well as the yangban Confucian elite tradition and the commoner tradition. In this study, I question the general notions underlying such studies that "tradition" is a given entity or a holdover from the past and pertains to certain social groups such as the yangban and the commoner (cf. Brandt 1971). In chapter 2, I present an overview of the socio-cultural history of Korea to demonstrate that interactions between the Confucian yangban tradition and the indigenous commoner tradition

involve complex historical processes.

In Koksan, a commoner village, where "traditional" family and kinship practices differed considerably from the Confucian elite tradition, nonetheless, people seem to have re-institutionalized and intensified the Confucian traditions in the past two or three decades (i.e., elaborate lineage ancestor worship). This suggests that "tradition" is not merely a given entity but actively reconstituted through social practices (cf. Giddens 1987: 178; Ranger and Hobsbawm 1983). This theme of invention of tradition in recent practices is one of major themes of my dissertation.

In examining the current household and kinship structure, I depart from approaches in much of Korean literature, which utilizes modernization theory exemplified by W. Goode's work World Revolution and Family Patterns (1963). In my view, modernization theory tends to be misleading because it assumes an oversimplified dichotomy between the tradition and the modern, views tradition as a relic of the past, and because it ignores the contemporaneity of Korean society with the industrialized Western societies. An alternative perspective offered by world system's theory (see Marcus and Fischer 1986: 77-110) views persistent "traditional" features of social structure in peripheral and semi-peripheral areas as stemming from the structural position of these areas in the world system. Although I am not concerned with the validity of details of world system's theory, its perspective has informed my approach to continuity and change.

Another, and equally important and related theme of my study is to advance an argument that personhood is socially constructed in the

developmental cycle of the agnatic household (chip), in which everyday life is intertwined with ritual life. With recent socio-economic development, however, there is a socio-economic process which uncouples and differentiates everyday practices from ritual practices.

Differentiation of everyday social life decenters the social identity of villagers from the reproductive cycle of the agnatic household (chip) and raises questions regarding social identity both on individual and community levels. In approaching the issues of socially constructed personhood in village Koksan, I follow a tradition in interpretive anthropology and examine how social forms, discourses, and personhood are mutually constituted. M. Rosaldo's study Knowledge and Passion (1980), especially, has provided me with useful guidelines both in terms of its theoretical perspective on the mutually constitutive aspects of forms of selfhood, social action, social structure and language, and its display technique (life cycle and domestic cycle). More specifically, I look at interactions of social form and "personhood" - especially centering around the social construction of female personhood in the context of the domestic cycle of the chip.

Chip is the Korean native category and a cultural idiom which can be extended to various kin and non-kin groupings to connote different levels of connectedness. Many scholars (Jae-seuk Choi 1965:43; Taik-kyoo Kim 1964: 286; Kwang-kyu Lee 1975: 29; Myung-ki Yoo 1977: 14; Kendall 1985; Sorenson 1981) have paid attention to the native Korean term chip. Previous attempts to explore the meaning of the chip in diverse social contexts have been mainly directed to identify chip with different levels of agnatic groupings. Rather than dealing with the

chip as different levels of agnatic groupings, I approach it as what Wittgenstein calls a "form of life" through which features of agnatic structure and yangban tradition as well as forms of social personhood are reproduced.¹ By focusing on the domestic cycle, I try to show how the understanding of the chip can be enhanced by exploring its temporal aspect and how it is interwoven with the social construction of personhood.

I devote a chapter to marriage. Marriage practices in Koksan are re-interpreted as a process embedded in the domestic cycle. I try to show how marriage was ambiguous in the recent past and how it was an aspect of female identity and connected with women's roles in the domestic cycle of chip (chapter 5). Like marriage, other moments in the domestic cycle, such as household division, retirement of old people from productive work and transition into ancestorhood were gradual processes and embedded in the developmental process of the domestic cycle. The impermanent qualities of the individual life cycle are more closely associated with female identity and often women are active in rituals dealing with the transitional period and liminality while men are active in rituals dealing with the permanent aspects of the domestic group (chapter 6).

¹ Marcus and Fischer (1986: 31) state that "E(e)ach historical period has its own assumptions and prejudices, and the process of communication is the engaging of the notions of one's own period (or culture) with those of another... A historical hermeneutics should be able to identify and clarify the nature of this difference...." Though I often use the term chip interchangeably with either household or family, I argue that there is only "family resemblance" (Wittgenstein 1958:17; see also McGough 1976; Needham 1971: 30). The meaning of chip has changed in the recent period and I try to give an interpretation of the nature of the change.

Norms, meanings and practices pertaining to the chip are drawn upon to organize the extra-kin and community relationships. While the importance of the community rituals, which are often interpreted as the indigenous commoner tradition by scholars, has declined in recent years, traditional kin activities (i.e., lineage meetings and elaborate lineage ancestor worship) seem to have been intensified. At the community level, with the decreased use of labour exchange (p'umasi) in agricultural production, the obligation to give mutual help and to engage in ritual p'umasi in ceremonies related to culturally marked life events (i.e., one year birthday celebration, wedding, sixtieth birthday celebration, and funerals, etc.) has considerably increased. All of this point to the fact that rituals connected with the Confucian tradition have been strengthened with modern socio-economic change. Nonetheless, meanings of ritual practices have shifted as they are uncoupled from the continuation of the domestic cycle and tend to become "ritualistic" (chapter 7).

Some Methodological Considerations

In this thesis, I am critical of the way the tradition-modernity opposition is used in much of the literature on Korea; it is important to clarify my own usage of the term "tradition". Throughout the thesis I focus upon the sociocultural patterns and practices before the accelerated changes beginning in the 1960's. I try to reconstruct the structure of the chip, marriage practices and construction of the gendered personhood before recent changes from various accounts of the experiences of the old people. My own interpretation is primarily based

on the accounts given by my informants, especially elderly people even though it draws upon literature and my own knowledge as a Korean when necessary.

In my presentation of chapters 5-6, I have intermingled accounts of the way things were in the earlier period with realities as they existed at the time of my fieldwork in the mid-1980s. Particularly, in chapter 6, I do attempt an interpretation of a gendered personhood in the domestic cycle which refers to realities as they existed a few decades ago.

Secondly, in my discussion of the recent accelerated change, I use the conditions existing in the decades preceding the 1960's as the baseline. In referring to the Koksan of this period either in reconstructing patterns or in drawing contrasts with contemporary changing conditions, I often use the term "tradition". In fact, it is hard to avoid the term "tradition" since it occurs so commonly in the literature. But as I have stated, I do not regard these sociocultural patterns as the original or timeless condition in rural Korea.

In chapter 2, I discuss the historical constitution of Korean "tradition," and elsewhere I discuss the contemporary invention of tradition. However, I do take the position that in features of institutional structure and cultural form, the pre 1960's period contrasts much more sharply with the society emerging in the 1980's than with other periods in Korea. I have in mind such features as institutional differentiation and rationalization of the life world (cf. Berger, Berger and Kellner 1973; Habermas 1985; Weber 1947).

Thus, my use of the term tradition is in part a matter of literary

convenience. I have attempted to remain sensitive to changes in Korean society throughout its history and, unlike modernization theory, I recognize the contemporaneity of Korea with Western societies in the sense of membership within the same world system. However, when I use the term tradition to refer to the pre 1960's period in Koksan and rural Korea I generally also assume structural features of society and culture which are currently undergoing a marked transformation.

Some Remarks on Fieldwork, Methodology, and Writing

In recent years, anthropologists have become increasingly conscious of the fact that the conditions of their field study and the nature of relationships with the people they study influence the ethnographies they produce (i.e., Briggs 1970; Dumont 1978; Rabinow 1977; Shostak 1981). Interpretive anthropology, which attempts to interpret the native's own interpretation of social life, require that the anthropologist be self-conscious regarding his/her own epistemological orientation and social background (Marcus and Fischer 1986: 7-40).

As a native anthropologist who has a different social and personal background from people in Koksan, my fieldwork produced a field situation, methodology, as well as theoretical insights, perhaps different from western anthropologists working in non-western settings. Therefore, a short account of my fieldwork may be useful.

In 1983, I went back to Korea with hopes of conducting fieldwork immediately. However due to my personal circumstance in which I had to take care of my two young children and teach part-time at several universities in Korea, I had to postpone my fieldwork. Because of need

to continue my study, I had to seek domestic help. This was how I came to meet my maid, Misuk's mother, who was able to introduce me to my fieldsite, Koksan. Misuk's mother was introduced to me in the summer of 1983 and worked for me as a housemaid for about two and half years. As we became close, she told me about her personal life history.

Misuk's mother came from the Cholla Province to Seoul in early 1970s after graduating from high school, and took a job in a factory. Then, she met her husband who was working in a barber shop. According to her, she was not interested in him. But, her husband wanted to marry her and told her aunt and other relatives that he had a deep relationship -meaning sexual relationship- with her even though she had not. Her parents were very disappointed to hear that she was involved with a barber who had had only a primary school education, but felt that they had no choice but to let her marry the man.

As they could not afford a wedding, they attended the collective wedding ceremony (habdong kyolhonsik) that the mayor of Seoul provided for poor couples. After the marriage, she had to do all kinds of things to make a living. Her husband was often unemployed and she had to be the major provider. For some time, she became a scavenger at Nanjido, a garbage site where all the garbage from Seoul area was dumped. Then, she and her family moved to Koksan where her mother-in-law had been living as a room-renter, looking for a cheap room for rent. In Koksan, her husband opened a village barbershop and she commuted to work in the factory in Seoul. When she was at home, she helped her husband, shaving customers. She also worked as an agricultural worker during the busy agricultural season (i.e., rice-transplanting season). After years of

hard work and saving, she and her husband were able to buy a house at Ilsan, a township (up) located near Koksan, in 1982. By that time, her husband was employed as a nightguard at a police station in Seoul. When she moved to Ilsan, she stayed at home for several months. However, she soon realized that she could not support her three children's education with her husband's earnings. As many of her neighbors in Ilsan, she decided to work as a maid herself and visited a private employment agency. That was how she came to work at my place.

I was quite intrigued by her life history and various issues exemplified by her life such as economic development, urban migration, proletarianization, sexuality and gender hierarchy. I further inquired about her neighborhood where many women like her commuted to Seoul to provide cheap labour to the middle-class families in Seoul. In July of 1985, I visited her neighborhood in Ilsan a couple of times to explore the possibility of conducting my fieldwork. Then, I gave up the possibility because I found it would be difficult to contact other women, whom I thought would be major informants. Many of them worked in Seoul and came back home late in the evening. Also, I did not feel that the neighborhood was very hospitable. According to Misuk's mother, the neighborhood was an "artificial" community which had been established through the government's policy of resettling squatters in Seoul outside of Seoul. As squatters were forced to resettle in the area, which did not have any industries or factories, they had to commute to Seoul to work.

As an alternative to Ilsan, I asked Misuk's mother whether she could introduce me to Koksan where she had lived before she moved. At

first, she hesitated and refused my request. She told me that she did not want villagers in Koksan to know that she was working as a maid. She had moved out of Koksan as a house-owner. How could she let anybody in the village know that she was working as a maid? But, when I asked her the second time, she agreed on condition that I would not tell anybody about our relationship. She told me that she was going to introduce me to her friends in Koksan as her distant relative.

In August of 1985, she took me to Koksan. In Koksan, she exchanged friendly greetings with most of villagers. I sensed that people in Koksan were easy going and hospitable. Misuk's mother took me to the house of the village head (ijang) in the first section of Koksan, where she had been a long-time room-renter. She introduced me to the shy young village head who was in his early thirties. I had an impression that despite Misuk's mother's careful explanation of my project, the village head was somewhat confused. At the same time, he seemed to be afraid that I might ask some difficult questions that he would not be able to answer. After some informal conversation, Misuk's mother and I visited her former friends' houses and introduced me to them. I wanted to find a house which would provide me room and board, but was unable to find it. A couple of women were interested in the arrangement, but were not sure how much they should charge for the food.

As an alternative, I decided to commute from Seoul to Koksan and conduct a house to house survey with a structured questionnaire in order to obtain detailed and basic information in regard to household composition, size of landholdings, household members in waged jobs and their contribution to the household economy, management of the household

income, family practices such as marriage, adoption, household division, as well as their kin relations, etc. My survey began in September of 1985. Jina, a graduate student in sociology department at Yonsei University helped with the survey and gave me moral support.

I combined my house to house survey with participant observation until the early Spring of 1986. On some days, I visited three or four houses. But, on other days, I visited one house and spent the whole day. When I stayed on in one house engaging in an idle talk, I felt that I was imposing myself on them. After a couple of months of daily visits to Koksan, I was generally accepted - or should I say that I was tolerated? - by villagers. Often, I self-invited myself to family occasions such as weddings, birthday celebrations and ancestor worship and the vinyl house where old people were making straw mats and chatting during the winter. When I attended special occasions, I carried gifts such as a bottle of distilled wine, a box of detergent soap, and a cash gift as other villagers did. During these periods, the Park lineage heir, Bong-ch'on Park, and his wife were very generous and kind to me and welcomed me to participate in household and lineage ancestor worship. If I visited them during the meal time, they always invited me to eat with them.

By the Spring of 1986, I had a detailed information in regard to who was related to whom. Still, I felt that I was limited in my contacts with people as I had to commute to the village during the day time and decided to live in the village. I rented a room from an old couple's who did not have any surviving children. I took my two boys, who were three and half and two years old with me. When villagers knew

that I rented a room in Koksan, they told me that I had become a "real" villager. Some people welcomed me. To some other people, I became even more strange. No matter what I told them of my background, they tried to figure out who I was without too much success. Some old women in Koksan joked with me that my husband might find other young woman if I were not with him.

My 73 years old landlady became one of my major informants while I was living in Koksan. As she was retired from productive work, she had time to talk with me for many hours. Moreover, she had a very detailed memory of past events in the village. My contacts with villagers, of course, could not be even. As I stayed in that section of the village (see chapter 3), I had a closer relationship with villagers in the first section. I got along better with old people than young people - both men and women. Old people were more generous with information in regard to their life experiences and often extended me invitations to various ritual occasions. As a matter of fact, I felt that some women of my age resented my presence and my seemingly "lazy" life. I also felt limited in my contact with young and middle-aged men because of my sexual identity. Nonetheless, some young and middle-aged women such as Kit'ae's mother, Hyon-yong's mother and Myong-son's mother were very kind. The village head of the first section also provided me with much information in regard to work exchange and joint purchase of the agricultural machines. Kit'ae, who passed an entrance examination with honors to Hanyang University in Seoul, helped me with questionnaires in regard to life histories and young people's attitude toward their occupation. He helped me in obtaining essays written by village

children in the fifth grade at the Daekok primary school on "Our village" (uri maul) and "What I want to be in the future" (naui somang). Myong-hyon Kim in the second section, who had been a deputy manager of an absentee landowner before land reform, gave me detailed information about the absentee landowner's identity prior to land reform (1950) and his continuing ownership of the housesites in the village. I obtained the land distribution record made during land reform from the Chido county office and the history of Koyang township from the Koyang Township Cultural Institute.

During the whole fieldwork period, I experienced many anguished moments deriving from conflicts between my own attempt to present my identity to villagers and their attempts to define me in their familiar categories and images. During the initial period of my field study, and to an extent during my entire field work period, I was defined by villagers in various ways such as a travelling hairdresser, a Jehovah's witness, a government family planner, an insurance saleswoman, a student, a newspaper reporter, a communist spy from the North, and finally, a "strange woman" who was asking many weird questions that nobody else would ask.

Sometimes, I sensed that villagers were uneasy about the fact that I did not fit their categories. Many times, I felt the falsity of the naive assumptions of my major research methodology, "participant observation," that we anthropologists participate in the native's daily life and observe their social practices and cultural meanings. In a way, some of assumptions underlying "participant observation" are naive myths that Western anthropologists have when they study "others." If I

was there in Koksan and participated in their daily life as one of them, "as a young married Korean woman," I should not have been going around the village asking questions, visiting others, and even freely talking with men. Neither should I have shown up at villagers' houses early in the morning on their ancestor worship day, nor should I have followed the lineage men who were performing the seasonal ancestral rites while their own womenfolk, who carried the ritual food on their heads, were watching the performance at a distance!² By doing things that other married women of my age and marital status would not do, I was actively constructing myself as the "other" in villagers' view, which they did not fully approve of. Their discomfort quite often derived from their feeling that "as an educated woman (if I was as I claimed to be) you should know better than that!".

While villagers did not welcome my participation in their mundane daily activities and seemed to think that I was intruding into their life, they welcomed my participation in their ritual activities, especially ancestor worship. They reasoned that those things were old traditions. A young "modern" educated person like me who had been to the States, might not know those things and should be interested in observing and taking notes. As a matter of fact, as villagers assumed, I was ignorant of "traditional" practices but due to different reasons: My parents converted to Christianity even before I was born and like

² In fact, when I was following a group of men who were performing the ancestor worship on the Full Moon's day at different houses, I encountered a protest from a young woman of my age. She showed her anger toward my transgression asking me: "Why in the world can you come to somebody else's ancestor worship early in the morning? Is it right for you to do it?".

many other Protestants in Korea, they gave a memorial service on my grandparents' death day anniversary, but never performed the "traditional" ancestor worship. Thus, in Koksan, I was re-aquainted with my own tradition -or should I say my (or our) "Korean" tradition?. If I had to have a long journey and take a detour to be re-aquainted with my "Korean tradition," what about the villagers in Koksan?

If, as a native Korean, I was encountering villagers as "others," who was I? Was I encountering them as a representative of the western academic tradition as western anthropologists did with non-western others? Surely not! When I was in the United States, the primary criteria that I used in order to define myself was my Korean identity. Others in the States also tried to define me through my Korean identity. When I did not fit their image of a "traditional Korean woman," it was not due to the expression of my "authentic self," but was a matter of non-typicality: I was simply not a typical Korean woman - but something else! Then, what constituted the "something else" other than the connotation of deviance which made up the non-typicality of my identity?

My decision to come back to the United States leaving my two boys and husband in order to finish up the dissertation was strongly supported by my in-laws partially as a fulfillment of my own academic career but primarily as a collective enterprise of my husband's chip. When I came back to the United States, I was depicted as a modernized (not a modern but always on the process of being modernized) career-pursuing woman. During my period of writing the dissertation, I was stranded between my single most strongly pre-defined identity as a married Korean woman and a desire to be my own person. Perhaps, from

the modernizationist's view, I was being modernized by western education. In the traditionalist's view, however, I was tainted by corrupting western influences and had lost my own true cultural "roots". The predicament of my own identity and the awareness of the immense visible and invisible presence of others, in one way or another, in the forming and making of my self images have made me more acutely attentive to the issues such as the social construction of gender, personhood and the importance of chip as a context for my social existence and in turn, my social existence as part of the collective identity. I discerned similar, if less sharply defined, dilemmas facing the villagers in Koksan in the changing socio-economic conditions. (see chapter 7) Ultimately, I believe that either at the individual level or at the collective level, we should encounter our socially constructed reality and selfhood on their own terms rather than through a "bad faith" attachment to our "common sense" understanding of reality. This dissertation is written in that spirit.

A Note on Transcription of Korean Names and Words

Korean terms are romanized according to the McCune-Reischauer system, except where Korean scholars have established different romanizations for their names. I cite full Korean names in references.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW AND A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF KOREAN HISTORY

Changes and continuities of the family and kinship structure in modern Korea have been one of the major concerns among Korean scholars (Kyung-dong Kim 1983: 322-3). Some scholars have assumed that there was a more or less homogeneous traditional family and kinship structure which we can take for granted as a baseline for measuring modernization (i.e., Seong-hi Yim 1966). As a matter of principle, we should be very cautious about accepting assumptions regarding original homogeneous and "authentic" tradition (cf. Clifford 1988 and also Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983).¹ Moreover, a closer examination of the literature indicates considerable controversy regarding the structural principles involved in pre-modern kinship and family patterns. There are many questions regarding the historical processes which conditioned the pre-modern kinship and family structure. Scholars have resorted to comparisons with Chinese and Japanese kinship and family structure and in many cases have arrived at varying conclusions regarding similarities, contrasts, and influences among them (cf. Janelli and Janelli 1982; Kendall 1985;

¹ Clifford (1988) cautions us that searching for the "authentic tradition" has a danger of objectifying the non-western people as the eternal other. Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) suggest that traditions of Western and non-Western societies often turn out to be a recent invention and have something to do with the politics of nationalism and a search for a national identity, which itself is a recent socio-political phenomenon.

Kwang-kyu Lee 1975; Sorenson 1981).

A brief survey and critical examination of the literature dealing with those variations and processes will help pave the way for my own findings in Koksan.

Literature Review

Scholars such as Man-gap Lee (1963) and Brandt (1971) point out that despite an assumed homogeneous cultural tradition of Korean society, there are variations deriving from social, regional and ecological differences. In their comparative studies of rural communities, sociologists such as Man-gap Lee (1960), Ki-hyuk Pak and Seung-yun Lee (1963) claim that in the communities in which the traditional elite yangban class have a strong lineage organizations [see below pp.11-13 for discussion of yangban], people maintain their social prestige and clan unity and are less willing to cooperate for the development of the community. On the other hand, in the commoner communities in which strong influence of the yangban lineage is absent, people are more favorable to modern change and are cooperative in community development activities.

In his ethnographic study of a fishing and farming village, Brandt (1971) suggests that the hierarchical yangban tradition and the egalitarian commoner tradition are not mutually exclusive but are complementary and together act as the underpinnings of Korean social structure. The hierarchical kin-oriented yangban tradition needs to be regarded as co-existing with the egalitarian community-oriented commoner tradition. Brandt calls these two structural principles "sociological

dualism".

Other scholars such as Shin-pyo Kang (1974), Haejoang Cho (1986), and Kendall (1985) acknowledge that two traditions and structural principles underlie traditional Korean society. Shin-pyo Kang (1984:95) claims that two interacting social forces, which are spatially and temporarily unequal, underlie the Korean cultural grammar. According to him, conflicts between the two interacting social forces, such as the ruler and the ruled, the father and the son, and the elite yangban and the commoner are mediated through the cultural emphasis on the infinite harmony between the two.

Haejoang Cho (1986) and Kendall (1985) pay attention to the gender division of social and ritual labour. Haejoang Cho (1986) questions the existence of the indigenous commoner tradition in a "pure" form. Considering that the Confucian tradition deeply penetrated into the commoner life through the Confucian yangban's conscious efforts to inculcate the commoners with the Confucian ethic and code of conduct since the seventeenth century in the Yi dynasty, it is not likely that the commoners maintained their own tradition (Haejoang Cho 1986:89). Haejoang Cho insists that it is more likely that Korean women maintain separate life-worlds and ritual traditions to deal with their social experience. The maintenance of the shamanic tradition through women is a good example (see also Kendall 1986).

In her study of women's household ritual, Kendall notes that women are responsible not only for the household rituals but ultimately for

some community rituals (see also Chu-gun Chang 1983; Kendall 1985).²

Kendall suggests that the female appropriation of the household and community rituals may be another instance in which the egalitarian indigenous tradition has been maintained in opposition to, as well as complementary to, the hierarchical Confucian tradition.

Kendall (1985) finds that the Korean household differs both from the Chinese household chia and the Japanese household ie. According to her account, the Chinese household is based on the ideal of no household division (see also Cohen 1976). When household division occurs, however, it is divided equally among the male siblings. Unlike the Chinese practice, the division of the household property is not expected in Japan. The Japanese household ie is succeeded in each generation by a single heir, most likely, but not necessarily, the oldest son. To the Japanese, the continuation of the mainline household ie as corporate unit is more important than the observing of strict agnatic succession rules and adopted sons and sons-in-law can be designated as heirs (Beardsley 1959; Befu; 1962; Nakane 1967). An incompetent son even can be passed over for an adopted son (Beardsley 1959;239).

In Korea, the eventual division of the household among the male siblings is expected. Like the Japanese practice, the Korean household division emphasizes the unequal division of the household and favours the continuation of the mainline household. The continuation of the Korean mainline household differs from the Japanese household in that it strictly observes the succession of the mainline household by the oldest

² Chu-gun Chang (1983) points out that indigenous household and community rituals have been understudied possibly due to the Korean scholarly emphasis on the Confucian tradition.

male offspring regardless of his personal competency. Thus, Kendall concludes that the Korean chip corresponds with the agnatic family system while the Japanese ie is a household system in which the continuation of the household as a corporate unit is given a higher priority than the agnatic descent rule. (Kendall nd:22).

Considering that the term chip is not isomorphic either with the household or the family but refers to various other social units as well, Kendall's use of the chip as coterminous with the household may be oversimplifying the situation. Chip can refer to various agnatic kinship units as well as the residential places depending on the social contexts in use. Chip can mean: 1) a domestic household unit, 2) a group of kinsmen who share and worship ancestors in four ascending generations, 3) a patrilineage, 4) the social hierarchy of various agnatic units, 5) the house, and 6) the native place (Kwang-kyu Lee 1975:29). Chip is also defined as an ideological trans-historical group that connects the agnatic ancestors to the descendants (Jae-seuk Choi 1982:275).

Hoe-soo Yang (1967:227) suggests that in the pre-industrial traditional Korean society, it was likely that non-agnatic members such as long-term resident agricultural workers (mosum) in the elite yangban household could have been considered to be members of the same household chip. Myung-ki Yoo (1977:14) notes that boarders are often referred to as members of the same household chip (hanjip siggu) by the landlady.

Thus, the extensive use of the term chip suggests that the reproduction of the chip encompasses more than the reproduction of the Confucian agnatic family and kinship structure. This is a somewhat

different interpretation from Brandt's. Brandt postulates a clear-cut distinction between kinship structure and community structure whereas I am claiming that the idiom of kinship can be extended to the level of community-wide relationships.³

The approaches of several authors (i.e., Biernatzki 1967; Man-gap Lee 1963) that stress a dualistic principle such as yangban vs. commoner forms of organization tend to lack an appreciation of historical processes. Brandt's sociological dualism is similarly limited in that it does not provide historical specificity to institutional developments and the socio-economic structures of traditional Korean society. Several scholars point out (Haejoang Cho 1986; Peterson 1983; Wagner 1983) that the institutionalization of the Confucian yangban family tradition and the emergence of the strong patrilineal kin organization may not have had a long history in Korean society. According to the analysis of the genealogical records, it is only in the seventeenth century in which the hierarchical agnatic Confucian family tradition began to be consolidated in Korea.

Therefore, a short overview of the historical formation of the Confucian family and kinship system in Korean society is useful here. This will shed light on :1) the role of Confucian principles in Korean society, specifically on kinship, 2) the part played by other historical forces including Japanese colonialism in shaping family, kinship and community, and 3) the tendency to reify "traditional" Korean family and

³ We should recall that other terms designating various agnatic units can not be applied to non-kin whereas the term chip can be applied both to kin and non-kin. Also we may add that the term chip is used to express more affectionate and intimate relationship between people.

kinship that has been occurring in official and other discourses in recent times.

Brief Historical Overview of Traditional Korean Society

Korea is a peninsula which is located between latitudes 34 and 43 degrees north and between longitudes 124 and 132 degrees east. It shares its northern frontier with China. To the east, there is Japan. Due to its geo-political location, Korea became the confrontational frontier between the East and the West in recent history (Ki-baik Lee 1984: 374). The truce-line which runs through approximately 38 degree latitude and divides Korea into the North and the South can be considered as a product of the cold war between the USSR and the USA in the post-World War II period.

Although the Chinese socio-cultural influence in Korea has been strong in the earliest period of the Korean history as is evidenced in the introduction of the bronze implements from China around the ninth or eighth centuries B.C. (Ki-baik Lee 1984:9), the indigenous Korean socio-cultural tradition has been always present in opposition to as well as complementary to Chinese influence.

However, historical processes resulting in strong penetration of Confucian scholarly traditions into the fabric of Korean society began in Yi Choson dyansty (1392-1910).⁴ The development of the traditional Confucian culture in Korea entailed internal as well as external forces

⁴ Confucianism which had a strong influence in the constitution of pre-modern Korean society was first introduced into Korea as early as around the fourth century (Ki-baik Lee 1984:57-9).

deriving both from Korea and China at turn of dynastic changes in both countries.⁵ At the time of the dynastic change between the Koryo dynasty and the Choson dynasty in Korea, the founder of the Choson dynasty drew his political as well as ideological support from the local-based Neo-Confucian gentry scholars. Neo-Confucian scholars at the end of the Koryo dynasty constituted a newly rising elite class that was intellectually influenced by the Chinese scholar Chu Hsi and his new interpretation of Confucian teachings. As a newly rising elite class, the Neo-Confucian gentry scholars were critical of the Koryo aristocratic class' expansion of their "agricultural estates" (nongjang) and the monopolization of socio-political power (Ki-baik Lee 1984: 160). The aristocratic class's expansion of agricultural estates was accomplished through the outright seizure of private peasant lands as well as by the imposition of high rents and frequent corvee labour on peasants enforced by privately employed retainers. The high rents imposed by the aristocratic families often forced peasants to give up their lands to the powerful families or to the Buddhist monasteries and become their tenants and retainers. The expansion of private land by the powerful families and the Buddhist monasteries impoverished the government budget as well as the life of the peasants. Under the circumstance, the new gentry scholars who were versed in the Confucian classics on government and who attained bureaucratic positions through

⁵ While Korea had a dynastic change from Koryo dynasty to Yi dynasty (1392-1910), Ming was rising as a new military-political power and contested for the political hegemony with the Yuan dynasty in China. While the Koryo dynasty had had political relationship with the Yuan dynasty, the new Yi dynasty tried to establish a political relationship with the Ming dynasty.

scholarship were highly critical of the aristocratic families as well as the socio-economic power of the Buddhist monasteries (Ki-baik Lee 1984:159).

When General Songkye Lee returned from his abortive expedition for military aid of Yuan dynasty and pressed the King Kongyang to conduct a land reform, he received ideological and political support from a group of neo-Confucian gentry scholars. When General Songkyae Lee founded the Yi Choson dynasty with the political and ideological support of the neo-Confucian scholars in 1392, he rewarded the "merit scholars" who gave him special political support with important bureaucratic positions and grants of "merit land" (kongsinjon). With grants of "merit land," some "merit scholars" received the right to collect the rent from the land during their lifetime. Rights to collect the rent from public land were granted to officials and their families for various purposes throughout the dynasty and were often allowed to pass on to the next generation. This, in turn, promoted the privatization of public land in due time, although ironically, the privatization of land had been a principal target of neo-Confucian criticism.

The neo-Confucian gentry-scholars constituted the yangban class. The yangban were members of the "two orders" of officialdom who served as civil or military officials during the Choson dynasty. They were differentiated from the commoner class (sangmin) consisting of peasants, artisans, and merchants. Below the commoner class there were outcasts (ch'ormin) consisting of butchers, shamans, and actors, etc.

The yangban were more broadly based than the ruling classes of earlier ages (Ki-baik Lee 1984:173-4). They were different from other

elite class in that they kept up their relationships with their kinsmen at their native places. The expansion of the population of the yangban class in the face of the limited availability of bureaucratic positions led to acute competition and conflict within the yangban class. Under these circumstances, the yangban tried to check the expansion of the number of the yangbans through the application of strict agnatic rules specifying legitimate yangban family membership.

According to analyses of the genealogy books (chokbo) written both in the early Choson period and in the middle of the Choson period (Peterson 1983; Wagner 1983), there is evidence suggesting a transition in family and kinship practices from the pre-Confucian tradition to the Confucian tradition. Genealogical books made in the early Choson period indicate that rules of household succession and inheritance division had bilateral tendencies. Women were not discriminated against in favour of their male siblings. They could become the legitimate heirs to their natal households and had an equal share in their parents' properties (Peterson 1983; Wagner 1983). Women's remarriage was not socially stigmatized. The offspring of a remarried woman could be the legitimate heir to her second husband. As there was no strict rule in regard to the legitimate heir, adoption of agnatic kin by sonless men was not frequently practiced (Wagner 1983; Peterson 1983).

Towards the beginning of the seventeenth century the agnatic succession rules were more strictly observed. Strict observation of a male primogenitural succession rule favored the oldest son over his junior and female siblings. Women could not succeed their natal families. Women's remarriage was discouraged. The male offspring of

remarried women could not claim the legitimate heirship to their parents' households. In the absence of a legitimate heir to the household, adoption of agnatic kin was practiced. A series of changes in the kinship practices in the seventeenth century are interpreted as the yangban class's conscious effort to restrict the number of yangbans and consolidate their class identity in the face of the disintegration of the yangban class. This disintegration was due to increased number of the yangbans and lowering of their social status in the aftermath of the invasion of the Japanese (1592-1598) (Haejoang Cho 1986: 87; Ki-baik Lee 1984:250-1; Joon-ho Song 1980) although growing social inequality among agnatic kinsmen that could have derived from the primogenitural succession was mitigated by agnatic kin ideology and agnatic ancestor worship practices (Heo-soo Yang 1963:167; Freedman 1958:136-7).⁶

Growth of political factions among the Confucian scholars (yangban) in the central Government also contributed to the the patrilineal organization of the yangbans and to the penetration of yangban cultural principles into commoner segment of society. The gentry-scholars who had lost their political power in the central government retired to their home villages among their kinsmen, consolidated the agnatic lineage organization through various ways (e.g. publication of genealogy

⁶ In his study of the Chinese lineage organization in Southeast Asia, Freedman suggests that the primogenitural succession rule in Korea may have prevented the uneven segmentation of the lineages as has been the case in China where the uneven holding of corporate lineage property among different segments of the lineage was the significant factor promoting internal segmentation (Freedman 1958:136-7). In their examination of the validity of Freedman's hypothesis, Janelli and Janelli (1978) conclude that it was not the primogenitural succession rule but social prestige which had been more crucial in the internal segmentation of the Korean lineages.

books and commemoration of agnatic ancestors). The retired yangbans educated young people at their private Confucian school (sowon). Also, the retired yangbans tried to cultivate the Confucian ethics and code of conduct among the commoners and apparently these attempts were to some extent successful (Haejoang Cho 1986: 87). While the Confucian ethics and code of conduct were cultivated among the commoner people by the local yangbans, the social order of the Choson society was disintegrating. As mentioned, a growth in the number of the yangban class people and the concentration of agricultural land in the hands of powerful yangban officials produced great socio-economic differentiation among the big land-owning yangbans and their kinsmen. The rise of the the merchant class and a managerial-type of rich peasants (kyongyounghyong punong) toward the middle of the seventeenth century (Yong-sop Kim 1962) produced many yangbans who claimed high social status through agnatic connections but could not maintain the yangban style of life. The poor yangbans had to work in the fields like ordinary commoners and had little knowledge of the Confucian classics (Ki-baik Lee, 1984:250). Powerful and rich yangban financed the mercantile activities of the big merchants (Yong-sop Kim 1962), while their poor yangban kinsmen often farmed the agricultural land of their rich kinsmen on tenant contracts (Goldberg 1973:164; Yong-sop Kim 1962; Yung-mo Kim 1983).

Meanwhile, newly emerging rich peasants and merchants emulated the yangban class culture through the purchase of yangban genealogy books (chokbo) and by ritual practices such as ancestor worship. Yangbanization of the peasants and the merchants further disrupted the

status system of yangban society and exacerbated the contradictions inherent in Choson society (Yong-sop Kim 1962).

Contradictions in yangban society were often expressed in the various peasant revolts led by the declassified yangbans (Ki-baik Lee 1984:250-1). Toward the beginning of the nineteenth century, the number of the peasant revolts grew in number and intensity. And the term yangban came to have a dual meaning. On the one hand, yangban meant a person who was knowledgeable and well-versed in the Confucian literature and ethics. On the other hand, it also meant a person who was exploitative and snobbish.⁷ The term yangban was even used in a derisory way as a common term of address among the commoners.

Thus, the ambiguous nature of yangban in the late Choson dynasty suggests that Brandt's notion of the sociological dualism between the yangban tradition and the commoner tradition as the underlying structural rule of Korean society must be reinterpreted in the light of the specific historical processes which we have outlined. The dualism Brandt refers to is not only a contrast between yangban and commoner tradition, but is also a reflection of the ambiguity of the yangban status itself (see also Goldberg 1973; Man-gap Lee 1981: 44).⁸

Disruption of the yangban society in the nineteenth century and the annexation of Choson society by Japan in 1910 led to self-criticism of

⁷ Here I want to point out that the dual meaning of yangban suggests that Brandt's sociological dualism between the yangban tradition and the commoner tradition as two distinct traditions does not hold.

⁸ Goldberg (1973: 164) points out that in the village he has studied villagers say that they worked on tenant contracts for their rich yangban kinsmen.

the "feudalistic," "Confucian," "yangban," Choson society among Korean intellectuals. However, while the Japanese colonial government tried to justify colonial expansion in the name of its modernizing mission of backward Korea, it reinforced and perhaps even strengthened some aspects of the pre-colonial social structure. The hierarchical Confucian family and kinship patterns were codified in the family law enactment promulgated by the colonial government. The Confucian ethic was taught in ethics classes in modern public schools (Kil-song Ch'oe 1986:131-50).

The new family law enacted by the Japanese colonialists reflected the influence of the Japanese household ie structure. The law acknowledged the strong authority of the household head over the household members (Byong-ho Park 1986: 47). Various kin idioms were deployed to denote the political relationship between Korea and Japan. For instances, Japan's relationship to Korea was likened to that of the main house to the branch house. The Japanese emperor was described as the successor of the main house of all his subjects and Koreans were conceptualized as the adopted sons of the Japanese emperor (Kil-song Ch'oe 1986:143-7). The land survey project (t'oji chosa saop), which was conducted by the Japanese colonialists between 1909 and 1918 in order to usurp a large share of the public land which had been cultivated by Korean peasants, also reinforced the pre-colonial social structure by strengthening the legal right of land-ownership of the rich yangbans. Maintenance and reinforcement of the socio-economic differentiation among the Koreans apparently suited the colonial policy to "divide and rule."

Modernization and reorganization of the socio-economic infra-

structures in Korea by Japanese colonialists linked the rural subsistence economy of Korea to the world economy. A fluctuation of agricultural prices in the world market could effect the subsistence economy of the rural Koreans. Insertion of the subsistence economy in the colonial economy seemed to induce rural Koreans to reorganize the household economy. Household members were sent out to other households in various arrangements such as short-term and long-term agricultural workers (mosum) (Byeog-tai Kim 1956) and the uxori-local marriage (teril sawi) of junior sons of the very poor households (Sorensen 1983b; cf. T. Smith 1959 for Japan). Urban and overseas migration to Japan, Manchuria, Sahalin, Mexico and Hawaii, etc. was another solution (Yong-ch'on Yoon 1987).

As I have stated, the family law codified by the Japanese colonial Government strengthened legal authority of the household head. Records of the inheritance practices written in the early twentieth century suggest that the oldest son received more than two thirds of the household property. When the household property was small, it was not divided and, instead, inherited entirely by the oldest son (Jae-seuk Choi 1972; 1983).

Succession of the household property by the oldest son seemed to influence the patterns of the urban migration of the household members. Those who were sent out in various arrangements such as agricultural workers, adopted sons-in-law, as well as urban and overseas migrant workers, were the younger sons of the poor peasants (Sorenson 1983b; cf. T. Smith 1959 for Japan). Not only men, but also women were sent out through various arrangements such as domestic worker, adoption, child-

bride (mirmyonuri), and urban factory worker (Hyo-je Lee 1976; Uhn Cho 1986). In the cases of the female domestic workers and urban factory workers, the household heads often maintained their authority over their daughters and directly received their daughters' wage (Uhn Cho 1986:66).

Reorganization of the household through various arrangements during this period suggests that the status of the young males and females who were sent out to other agricultural households was often very ambiguous and raises a question as to whether there was a clear-cut line between the domestic worker, adopted son (daughter) and the adopted son-in-law (daughter-in-law). This is an issue that will be further discussed through my field data in chapter 4 in order to shed light on the nature of the transformation and continuity of the meaning of the "traditional" marriage in agricultural households.

Increasing socio-political turmoil including the Korean war (1950-1953) and the institutionalization of a series of social programs including land reform (1950) in the post-colonial period (1945-) further reorganized the structure of the Korean society. Land reform demolished the socio-economic basis of the "traditional" yangban as a powerful social class and instead produced a large number of medium and small-sized landholding farmers.⁹ Small-sized landholders (yongsenong) had to hire out some household members either to other households or to the urban areas. The massive urban migration during the 1950s and the 1960s took place in the absence of any significant urban industrial development, i.e., by the "push factor" of rural poverty not by the

⁹ By small-sized landholders, I refer to farmers holding less than 0.5 chongbo (One chongbo approximately equals 0.99 hectare.) of rice field.

"pull factor" of urban industrialization (Mason et al. 1984: 384-6).¹⁰

The urban migrants during these periods sought work mainly in the "service" sector, e.g., catering, domestic labour and other manual services (Mason et al. 1984: 386; Soon Young Yoon 1977: 164).¹¹ The urban migration of friends and relatives facilitated the urban migration of rural people through the provision of temporary accommodations and an introduction to city life and job opportunities.

A series of the export-oriented economic development plans initiated by the Government of the Third Republic of Korea (1961-1979) were subsidized by the cheap labour force of the migrants from the rural areas and their continuing ties to their rural households, as well as by the Government-controlled price of the products (Mi-Kyong Lee 1983; Hi-wang Yang 1984). The urban-rural linkages between the urban-migrants and their rural households show some parallels with the semi-proletarian household that Wallerstein (1984:16-7) describes. This will be further discussed later.

The national drive for rapid economic development and the modernization of Korean society in the 1960s helped place the status of "traditional" kinship and family into both folk and scholarly discourses. "Patriarchal," "oppressive," "hierarchical," and

¹⁰ There may have been a growth of the middle-class and urban economy due to military aid from the United States after the Korean War (see Tae-kun Lee 1984), an issue I can not pursue here.

¹¹ I may point out that the growth of the "service" sector in Korea has a different connotation from that of the West. In the West, the service sector may include various social programs such as health and social service. In Korea, various manual services such as domestic work, catering, etc., account for a large number of workers in the service sector.

"traditional" family structures along with the "clannish" and "factional" (yangban) lineages were denounced as backward-looking social institutions (see Biernatzki 1967; Ki-hyuk Pak and Gamble 1975:102).

The Government-initiated New Community Movement (saemaul undong) was carried on in the 1970s under catch-phrases such as "self-help (chajio)," "self-sufficiency (charip)," and "cooperation (hyobdong)" and produced various social discourses, denigrating "clannish," "factional," "primordial" and "backward-looking" lineages. The end result of the New Community Movement was increased surveillance by the Government Administration into the daily lives and productive activities of the rural people and the growing dependence of agricultural production on industrial products such as fertilizer, herbicides and various agricultural machines.

In contrast with the social discourses which viewed the persistence of the primordial ties of the traditional family and kinship as backward-looking pre-modern practices, traditional symbols and meanings were often deployed in new transformed social contexts. For example, various kin and regional networks became very important in the national parliamentary politics. Kin networks were actively mobilized by kinsmen bidding for seats in the National Parliament (Man-gap Lee 1981: 150).

Social practices and discourses on the extravagant spending on family rituals celebrating the life events of its members such as marriage, the sixtieth birthday and the funeral by urban as well as rural people may be viewed from a similar perspective. Lavish spending on family rituals was condemned as a heritage of the yangban tradition

in which the public display and claim to prestige were overemphasized at the expense of practical consumption. Also, extravagant family rituals by the rich people were denounced for creating a sense of disparity between the rich and the poor and thus destroying the solidarity of the Korean people as a nation. Reports by various people on the commoner ritual practices in the early nineteenth century in Korea (Moose 1911:161; Knez 1959:65), however, suggest that commoners could not afford elaborate family rituals. Most of the family rituals such as weddings, sixtieth birthday celebration and the ancestral worship were practiced in a very simplified form. In Koksan where I did my field study, those ceremonies were not held in any elaborate way prior to 1970s. All of this suggests that the elaborate ceremonies of recent years are not so much a continuation of tradition but reflect a more complex process of reinstitutionalization. The possibility that various "traditional" family and kinship practices could have been reinstitutionalized in recent years in modern Korea leaves room for the re-interpretation of the past and modern family and kinship practices.

By looking at the ways in which the traditional Confucian values and practices such as a strong emphasis on filial piety, the hierarchical relationship based on seniority and gender differences, the gender division of the social space and labour, and elaborate life crisis rituals that have been reinstitutionalized in the recent past in Korean society, I can show that the change in family and kinship practices in Korean society does not reflect a simple linear transition from the traditional to the modern. I will present a more focused discussion of the current trend toward reinstitutionalizing

"traditional" practices in Koksan in chapter 7. However, in the next chapter I will discuss the history and economy of Koksan.

CHAPTER III
THE VILLAGE AND ECONOMY

The Village Koksan

The village of Koksan belongs to Chido up (town) in Koyang kun county), Kyonggi do (province). It is located at about 20 Kms northwest of Seoul. At the time of my field study (1985-1986), the kyonguison train which commuted between Seoul's West Train Station (sobuyok) and Munsan was the major transportation.

The train stop at Koksan was established in 1967; before the this, villagers had to walk either to markets in Seoul or in Nungkok or Ilsan in Koyang county. It took about 8 to 9 hours to Sinch'on market in Seoul for a round trip on foot. Now, the train operates between Seoul and Munsan every hour between 7 Am and 10 Pm. Villagers can commute to their workplaces in Seoul and other neighboring towns. Village women go to the Nungkok market or the Sinch'on Market in Seoul to buy everyday necessities. Children attend middle and high schools in the neighboring townships such as Nungkok and Ilsan.¹

The commuter train links the village to the outside world such as the neighboring market towns and the capital city of Seoul on a direct

¹ Koksan children attend the Taegok primary school which is located in the neighboring village, Taejangri. After primary school, children attend middle school either in Ilsan or Nungkok. Ilsan is located at the first train stop north of Koksan while Nungkok is located at the first train stop south of Koksan.

and everyday basis. Thus, the railway and train can be seen as symbols of the direct connection of the village to the outside world. The train both takes the villagers to other areas easily and brings outsiders into the village. Poor migrants to Seoul from other rural areas re-migrate into the village looking for cheap boarding rooms since people can find much cheaper rooms here than in Seoul. Also female renters can find agricultural work (i.e, the tying of sesame leaves) during the summer, which helps them pay some domestic expenses, a point which I will discuss later.

Most people who get off the kyonguison train at Koksan are either village residents or relatives of villagers. Sometimes women peddlers, life-insurance salesmen, traveling hairdressers, and occasionally Jehovah's Witnesses stop there to find customers and converts. So, villagers tend to place strangers who do not seem to have any friends or relatives in the village into one of those categories and treat them with caution.

Looking eastward toward the village from the train platform, one may be impressed by the village residential pattern. Adjoining the railway, there are rice paddies and a cement-paved village road leading from the train stop to the residential area. Encircling the residential area are low mountains; villagers informed me that the village was called Koksan (literally Koksan means "the Mountain Valley") as it is located within the encircling mountains. Round graves on the mountains are part of the village landscape, as is common in many rural Korean villages. Some graves are even located next to the residential area.

Standing facing eastward toward the village from the train

platform, one sees a large tree on the left of the mountain and a church on the right. The villagers used to give the big tree (tangsan namu) the annual mountain worship on October 1st in the lunar calendar. However, they no longer perform the mountain ritual in front of the tree but at the stone table, which is placed several steps away. A Korean army unit was stationed on the mountain and encircled the tree with barbed-wire in 1975. The village church is located opposite the tree on the elevated mountain slope which demarcates Koksan into two administrative sections. Koksan had been one village until about ten years ago when it was divided into two administrative units. Before the division, Koksan had one village head. However, despite the administrative change, most of the villagers from both sections consider themselves as belonging to the same village, Koksan. Villagers from the two administrative sections still collectively participate in the annual Community Mountain ritual.² Thus, the sacred tree and the Christian church in the village seem to suggest the continuity and change in village life.

On the lower part of the mountain slope which faces the second section of the village (Twitgoji), there is a huge grave with two stone guardian sculptures on both sides of the grave, which have images of high government officials of the Choson dynasty. A huge stone monument and a ritual table are located in front of the grave. The grave is

² When necessary, I will specify whether I am talking about the first section or the second section. A short note may be necessary here in regard to the position and role of the village head. Village heads are young and have little authority. Village heads both in the first and second sections are in their thirties. Their main duty is transmitting information on government policies to villagers.

known to belong to a son-in-law of the one of the late Choson kings and is taken care of by one of the villagers.³ This grave alludes to the villager's relationship to the outside world in the Choson dynasty.

The major settlement is located about 300 to 400 meters from the train platform. Until about 15 years ago, the first house from the train was a drinking house (suljip). Old women often talk about the drinking house and the female owner (chumo) who seduced their men into spending household money on drinking. She was paralyzed and disappeared from the village and nobody knows where she went.⁴ Now, Hong-ki Chi from the Twitgoji (the second section of the village) lives there. Next to Hong-ki Chi's house is Chung-kon Kim's house. Chung-kon Kim, who is 63 years old, is not a native of the village. He came from Changdan which now belongs to the Demilitarized Zone. He is one of the biggest landowners in the village, and he lives with his wife, first son, daughter-in-law and an adopted grand-daughter. Next to him lives his widowed old sister-in-law and her second son, daughter-in-law and her grandson.

The central settlement of Angol (the first section of the

³ It was being taken care of by Ch'onbong Kim at the time of the field study. He said that he had taken the responsibility from one of his relatives who had left the village. In return for the care, he receives housesite rent (toji) from three families who had built their houses on land which belonged to the descendants of the grave. Ch'onbong Kim also has the right to cultivate the vegetable garden attached to the gravesite. He receives one bag of rice from each household. He uses one bag of rice in preparation of the ritual food for descendants of the grave who come to Koksan to perform the seasonal ancestor worhsip (sije) every year sometime in October of the lunar calendar.

⁴ Although several old women in their 60s have told me about the drinking house, they were not able to give me much information about the owner.

village), however, is occupied mostly by Parkssi (literally "Parkssi" meant people with the surname Park).⁵ Non-Parks in the village say that Angol is the Parkssi tongne (meaning "Parks' village") The village store (tongne kage) is in the central part of Angol. It has a small display section and a room attached to it. In front of the store, there is a small wooden floor and a table with several chairs. Villagers, especially men, gather there to chat and drink. Opposite the village store, there is the New Community building (saemaulhoegwan), which is closed except when there is a monthly village meeting (pansanghoe). In the building, collective property of the village, such as the funeral bier, various kitchen utensils, etc., are kept.

In contrast to Angol, Twitgoji (the second section of the village) is called kagsongbaji tongne (meaning "village of various surnames). There are Chi, Kim, Yun, Chon surname groups in Twitgoji. Located there are a village health center with a resident nurse and her family and the agricultural cooperative's storage building. In Twitgoji, there is also a village store. However, the village store is infrequently utilized as a gathering place for the people in Twitgoji.

Except for a few western-style houses, most of the houses are built in the same style. This can be attributed to the Korean War. During the Korean War, the whole village was set on fire by the United Nations' Army, and almost all the village houses were rebuilt after the War. Subsequently, the government banned the building of houses in the village since it was located in the "greenbelt". I have heard several villagers complain that this made the village backward and

⁵ I will call the local surname group a lineage.

underdeveloped.⁶ Recently, however, the government began encouraging painting and re-building of houses with a substantial amount of government aid and low-interest government loans.⁷ The Korean government expects that the North Korean delegates to Olympic games may pass through Koksan to Seoul in 1988 and wants to present an image of a prosperous rural village to the North Koreans. The roofs of all village houses have been painted red, green and blue with government financial aid. Three western-style houses were built in 1986. Including these new houses, there are about 9 western-style houses in the village, and I have heard that several more new houses were planned to be built in 1987.

The Village and the State

The present nature of the relationship of the village with the outside world is significantly different than in earlier times. Since these changes are crucial to understanding the way in which the general transformation of the larger socio-cultural system has affected specific socio-cultural characteristics of the village, I will discuss them briefly.

⁶ Villages close to Seoul like Koksan had often been the place for real estate speculation by the urban middle class people from Seoul and its outskirts. Though Koksan was close to Seoul, its land prices had not gone up as much as villagers would like. Relative physical isolation of the village from the outside could have been the major reason. Still, villagers told me that it was due to the fact that Koksan was located within the green-belt area, and construction of new houses had not been allowed.

⁷ Government gave 4 million won for the aid and 7 million won for the long-term loan. The Government's loan should be repaid in 10 years through the monthly repayment.

The name of the village Koksan does not show up in any written record made in the Choson dynasty. When the Japanese colonial administration reorganized its colonial administration in 1914, it registered the village as part of the Chido myon (township), Koyang kun (county).

There is no written record of the early settlers in the village. The Koyang county history book (Koyang kunji) states that "according to the Parks, the oldest and the biggest residential group in the village, their ancestors had settled in Koksan about 3 to 4 hundred years ago." A researcher at the Cultural Institute of Koyang county, showed me a map that he thought was made in the 19th century by the National Library of the Choson dynasty (kyujanggak). Koksan did not appear in the map, although its neighboring villages (e.g., Taejang-ri and Sanhwang-ri) were on the map. Most of the Parks with whom I spoke felt that because the living main-line descendant of the Park lineage was the eleventh generation from the lineage ancestor in Koksan, and each generation could account for about 30 years, the Park lineage should have a history of about 300 years in the village (see chapter 4 for the discussion of lineage) Park lineage people do not have any records with which to trace an accurate history; however, they have an oral tradition. According to Parks, their genealogy book was burnt during the Korean War (1950-53). A new genealogy book is in preparation by the Milyang Park Association in Seoul. I am not certain whether villagers actually possessed the previous genealogy book. Except for a few old people who had several years of training in Chinese literature at the traditional village Confucian school (sodang) about 40 years ago, most old people are not

sufficiently literate to read the genealogy book. Nonetheless, Park lineage people are interested in purchasing the new genealogy book.

Other surname groups such as Chi, Kim and Yun, who consider themselves as the natives of the village, t'obagi, trace their ancestral settlement in the village four or five generations back. People from these surname groups told me that they did not know exactly when their ancestors had come to the village.

The huge gravesite that I have described in the preceding section seems to testify to the villagers' relationship with the Choson dynasty. Although the powerful yangban families and landowners did not reside in the village and had no direct impact on the daily life of the villagers, they were related to the villagers through their extensive landownership. As the absentee landholders, they collected the tenant-rents from the villagers through their resident deputies (marum). According to Myong-hyon Kim, a 73 year old ex-marum for Hankyong Kim, an absentee landlord during the colonial period, there were two large absentee landowners in Koksan. Both of them were descendants of the powerful yangban officials of the Choson dynasty. Man-su Kim who was the biggest absentee landowner in Koksan donated a large portion of his land to the Kwangdong Buddhist temple in Yangju county and sold the rest of his land to Han-kyong Kim.

Han-kyong Kim, whose father was a ch'onsa at the King's Palace, first invested his inheritance in agricultural land and in the paper business in Chongro, the business street of Seoul at that time. He reinvested the money made from the paper business in the accumulation of agricultural land in Koksan and other neighboring areas. There were

other absentee landowners. They were recalled as Seoul residents (Seoul saram), but even the old villagers remember little about them.

Villagers' involvement with the markets in the neighboring towns and Seoul seems to have had a long history. Old people recall that except for several landowners, most of the village could not subsist on their tenant-land earnings since tenants had to pay more than half of their product to landowners.⁸ After the landowners collected the yearly rent after the harvest, there was little left for the tenants' own families.

Exacerbating the situation was the annual summer flood which often swept the rice paddies and it was only after the Han River Bank had been built by the Japanese (1926-?) that the annual summer flood was controlled. To meet their subsistence needs, villagers had to engage in various home industries such as the production of reed mats, reed brooms, earthsweepers, rush head mats, etc. Widows either worked as domestic servants in Seoul or carried small household goods for sale from village to village. Children had to be sent out through various arrangements (e.g., adoption, child-bride marriage, uxorilocal marriage, or as long-term resident agricultural workers) to "relieve an extra mouth" in the household.

Land distribution by the United States Military Government (migunjong) and the First Republic of Korea greatly transformed the patterns of landholding in Koksan. Through land reform, most of the villagers became owner-cultivators. Nevertheless, some of the old large

⁸ See Sung-je Ko (1977:361-4) for more detailed information on tenant-contract farming and high tenancy rate in Kyongki Province during the colonial and post-colonial period.

landowners had been able to retain their land by becoming owner-cultivators, and many of the Chi families have remained to be the large landowners in Twitgoji, a point I will discuss further later.

The Korean War (1950-53) greatly affected family and village life. During the War, the whole village was burnt by the UN army. Some villagers were killed in the war. Some families were broken up. The Korean War also brought some war refugees into the village. Most of the refugees, who had relatives or friends in the village had been recruited into households as agricultural workers. Several others, like the Chon brothers from Kimp'o and In-bae Kim from Ansong, purchased agricultural land in the village. Some outsiders, such as Chung-gon Kim and his deceased older brother, managed to become the largest landowners in the first section of the village during these periods. It is somewhat puzzling to me that outsiders with little capital could become the largest landholders in Koksan. From the land distribution record made during the land reform period, I found that Chung-gon Kim was a tenant of a couple of big Japanese landowners.⁹ More than 5,000 pyong of the rice paddies he rented from them was distributed to him during the land reform. I can only speculate that his background of working in a Japanese-owned factory and knowledge of Japanese language might have had something to do with his tenancy, and his eligibility to receive the land during land reform period. The industrialization of Korea has been especially important in transforming the nature of the relationship of the village to the outside world. Due to its easy access by regular

⁹ Tenants could become landowners of the farm land that they were cultivating at the time of land reform.

transportation to Seoul and other townships in the outskirts of Seoul, villagers could participate in the urban economy part time while cultivating their own agricultural land.¹⁰ This resulted in the semi-proletarian household structure, a point that I will discuss in chapter 4. Industrialization brought some transformation in the traditional sexual division of labour. A growing demand in the Seoul area for fresh vegetables increased the importance of the growing of vegetables for the market by village women.¹¹ Also, the increased employment opportunities for young girls loosened the parents' matrimonial control over the young people. As I have mentioned previously, easy access to the Seoul area brought into Koksan many outsiders who had outside jobs and looked for cheap rooms for rent (settbang).¹²

The New Community Project (saemaul saop) which was initiated to increase the income sources of agricultural households and transform the rural "life environment" in the early 1970s, changed the agricultural patterns of production as well as the patterns of consumption in the village. Utilization of advanced agricultural technology in transplanting and harvesting helped the villagers meet the labour shortage that had been caused by increased urban employment opportunities. At the same time it increased the dependence of

¹⁰ See Sung-je Ko (1977:413-6) for more information on the growth of agricultural households which also have waging members in other suburban areas of Seoul.

¹¹ See Sung-je Ko (1977: 417-22) for the production of cash vegetables in suburban areas of Seoul for Seoulites.

¹² See Sung-je Ko (1977: 400-412) on urban migration, the growth of the Seoul area, and their impact on suburban areas of Seoul (such as Koyang county).

agricultural production on industrial products, and decreased the demand and altered the timing of the demand for labour exchange between neighbors and kinsmen in the overall process of the agricultural production, an issue I will return to later. The Government initiated the New Community Movement to encourage rural people to change their "traditional life style" into a "modern life style," i.e., change their "traditional" straw-roofed houses into the western-style houses, use water faucets and utilize gas fuel for cooking, etc. This resulted in a steady increase in the purchase of industrial consumer goods such as refrigerators, rice-cookers, washing machines, etc.

The New Community Movement opened up women's participation in community matters. The Association of the Wives (puinhoe) and Mothers' Association (omonihoe) were organized. Their role in village affairs, however, has been limited to certain projects such as family planning and giving a feast to console the old people (kyongno chanch'i).

Population, Landholdings and Social Status

As of October, 1986 there were 198 households in Koksan. Only 133 households belong to villagers who claim to have their origins in Koksan. Sixty five households have been set up by the outsiders, who usually rent a room for their family. The population of the village amounts to 1054, consisting of 518 men and 536 women.

About 90 % of the native village households are reported as agricultural households in the Chido up (town) office. According to my own household to household census, however, almost half of the households which have been reported as agricultural households have

members earning wages outside of the agricultural sector. Fifty four of 117 native households about which I have been able to obtain detailed information in my survey have one or more household members who hold wage-earning jobs outside of the village, and 63 are agricultural households which do not have any household member working outside of the village. Two agricultural households are headed by widows without any immediate relatives, and they depend on their agricultural wage-labour. Nine households report that they mainly depend on wage-labour outside of the village. It is clear that semi-proletarian households are an aspect of life in Koksan: agricultural households depending on additional income sources, particularly from urban jobs.

There is some difference in the distribution of landownership between the first section of Koksan, Angol, and the second section of Koksan, Twitgoji, as indicated in Tables 1 and 2.

Although there are differences in the size of the landholdings among the villagers, the size of the landholding does not automatically guarantee higher social status in the village. Even though there were three big landowners in the village, villagers say that there were no yangbans in the past in the village. The three big landowners, Kum-san Kim, Che-won Chi, Bong-re Park are considered non-yangbans for different reasons. According to their account, Kum-san Kim was just rich and non-yangban. Che-won Chi had a "lowly" family name. Bon-gre Park was from a commoner lineage.

Table 1

Land Distribution in Angol

farm size	.5	.5+-1.0	1.0+-1.5	1.5+-2.0	2.0+-2.5	2.5+-3.0	3.0+
N./ H.H.	7	25	16	5	6	1	1
%	25.8%	41.0%	26.0%	8.2%	9.8%	1.6%	1.6%

Note: unit of farm size is chongbo (One chongbo approximately equals 0.99 hectare.); N./H.H. = number of households

Table 2

Land Distribution in Twitgoji(chungbo)

farm_size_	.5	.5+-1.0	1.0+-1.5	1.5+-2.0	2.0+-2.5	2.5+-3.0	3.0+
N./ H.H.	21	13	11	2	3	3	3
%	5.3	38.0%	23.2%	19.6%	3.7%	5.3%	5.3%

In the previous chapter I alluded to the controversies surrounding attitudes toward yangban status in Korea today. The responses of villagers in Koksan indicate the ambiguity surrounding the term yangban. If asked who were yangbans in the village, villagers often replied with a question: "where is yangban in the modern period? Everybody is the same." One woman said that those who did not have a "lowly" (sangnom)

surname such as Chi are all yangbans.¹³ Wang-ki's mother, my old landlady, said that Myong-hyon Kim and his nephew were yangbans. Pressed as to why she considered them to be yangbans, she replied that unlike the other villagers, they did not carry the funeral biers for their neighbors. This corresponds with the common response that other anthropologists have received in other areas of Korea (Man-gap Lee, 1960: 36-7; Janelli and Janelli 1982:14).

There are further indications of the ambiguities associated with the term yangban. One can practice the yangban style of life and the yangban demeanor when one's socio-economic status permits. At the same time, the pretension to yangban status can be gradually dropped when a person's fortune goes down. Thus, when asked whether he was a yangban, Myonghyon Kim was a little embarrassed and said, "How could I be a yangban? I became an orphan at the age of seven. I was sent out as an agricultural worker at the age of nine! Maybe she means that my wife did not have to work when I became better-off later."

Education and Social Mobility

While yangban status is not a measurement of one's social prestige in Koksan, good urban jobs are regarded as sign of social mobility. Higher education, which gives one a better chance of acquiring good urban jobs, becomes very important. When a young man in the village passed an entrance examination to a university in Seoul with good standing in

¹³ It is interesting to note that the largest landowners come from Chi families; yet, villagers say that those with Chi surname are "lowly people" (sangnon).

1986, villagers tried to disregard the bragging father and the prestige implication of college education. One woman said, " college graduates do not always find good jobs. Think about the other boys who did not find good jobs." However, this does not mean that villagers are really unaware of the importance of education. On other occasions, the same woman admired the boy who was admitted to the university and half cursed her own lazy high school boy.

There are some differences in the villagers' expectation of education for boys and girls. Some young parents say that they do not feel boys and girls should have unequal opportunities. As long as they perform well in their school work, both boys and girls can go on for higher education. And yet, they add, it is natural that they should expect boys to get more education than girls. Boys should support the family while girls' future depend on good husbands. Despite what the parents say, girls tend to be prepared to take clerical jobs after high school. They begin to receive typing lessons from private training institutions (kangsubso) when they are in middle school, and most of the girls go to the commercial high school which prepares them for various clerical jobs. Boys, on the other hand, go to high school in order to pass a university entrance examination.

Few of village boys pass the university entrance examination, which is very competitive. When they fail to enter the university, some of the boys stay at home helping their parents in agricultural production. Others find urban jobs and move to cities. Unlike the girls, these boys are usually not able to make a financial contribution to their parents' household in the years following their completion of

school. They are subject to two and a half years compulsory military service after high school. Moreover, those who are employed in low-paying and unstable jobs may be supported by their parents in their initial settlement period. Some of them return to the village and stay with their parents to save living expenses. Also, at times of unemployment, some of the boys decide to return to Koksan permanently and succeed their parents in agricultural work.

Agricultural Production

The tables on the distribution of landholding in Koksan provided in the preceding section show that, except for several large landholders, a majority of the farms are less than 1.02 hectare, the average landsize per household in Korea in 1982 (Hi-wang Yang 1984: 351). The division of labour by gender in agricultural production is acknowledged. Rice production is considered the major activity and man's work. According to the rough estimation of villagers, 200 pyong of rice paddies produce about 3 bags (one bag = 80 kg) of polished rice. This means that one hectare (or one chongbo) of rice paddies produce about 45 bags of polished rice. Depending on the composition of the household, household consumption can vary. Several informants told me that it would be generally correct if I estimated that a household of five consumed about 9 to 10 bags of rice a year. Those who cultivate a small-sized farm (less than 0.5 hectare) keep most of rice products for the household provisioning; those who cultivate moderate- and large-sized farms produce rice for the market.

The Government's purchasing price in 1986 was 64,160 won for a bag

of polished rice. According to the official estimate by the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, production cost for a bag of polished rice was 43,977 won, and farmers made 20,183 won net profit for production of one bag of rice. While the official estimate took into consideration the cost of agricultural labour as a cost of production, villagers themselves often did not take into account the cost of their family labour in their estimation of income from rice production.¹⁴ For instance, Bong-op Kim in Twitgoji told me that he had about 4 million won of income from his 2 chongbo holding. This means that he calculates that to produce 90 bags of polished rice (approximately 5,774,400 won), he invests about 2 million won. But the cost of family labour is not included in this calculation.

Growing of various vegetables is woman's work. Various vegetables, such as cabbage, onion, green and red peppers, etc., are grown mainly for household consumption. "Wild sesame" (dulkke) is an exception to this pattern.¹⁵ Growing wild sesame (dulkke) for market has become an important agricultural activity since the 1970s and is one of the major sources of income in Koksan. As wild sesame became a profitable cash crop, some villagers turned some of their rice paddy land into vegetable gardens and grew wild sesame. An informant who cultivated about 1,100 pyong of wild sesame told me that he made about 1 to 2 million won a

¹⁴ The Government's statistics may exaggerate the net-profit that farmers make from their rice production and underestimate the farmers' "self-exploitation" of their own and other household members' labour (see Chayanov 1966: 113; Hanguk Kidoggyo Ch'ongyonghaphoe 1984:121).

¹⁵ The term "wild sesame" should not confuse the reader. "Wild sesame" is a literal translation of the Korean term dulkke, and it is cultivated by villagers.

year, depending on the fluctuation of the market price. He also told me that he did not intend to turn his rice paddies into vegetable garden for the cultivation of wild sesame because the price of the wild sesame was not stable, and, moreover, cultivation of a large-sized vegetable garden could require an extensive use of labour by non-household members.

Wild sesame leaves are collected by two village women each day. They carry the collected wild sesame leaves by truck to Seoul where they wholesale them either at Kyongdong market or Yongsan. Also a wholesale agent from Yongsan market comes into the village with a truck either everyday or every other day, depending on the amount of production.

Growing of vegetables as a cash crop gives women an opportunity to participate in the market. It also gives women more opportunity to have money for themselves. Women can retain the cash from the sale of their vegetables. If the growing of wild sesame is undertaken as household production in which a couple of household women work together in their own field with occasional help from men, any income made from the production and sale belongs to the household account. However, if a woman ties wild sesame leaves for somebody else, she can retain the cash income which is in a way a wage for her workload.¹⁶

Organization of Agricultural Production

Due to the prolongation of the formal educational period and increased employment in non-farm wage jobs, the number of household

¹⁶ If a woman picks sesame leaves and ties them for others, she can make 5,000 to 6,000 won a day.

members who engage in agricultural production seem to be limited. Although with the increased use of agricultural agricultural machinery, such as rice-transplanters, tractors, and harvesters, rice production does not require as large a labour force as before, villagers still experience labour shortages during the busy agricultural seasons (i.e., rice-transplanting and rice-harvesting, etc.). Villagers try to manage the labour shortage during the busy agricultural season through the use of wage labour and labour exchange (p'umasi) (see below and chapter 7). Other forms of agricultural recruitment such as resident agricultural labour on long-term contract and uxorilocal marriage (teril sawi) are no longer practiced in Koksan, although those forms of recruitment agricultural labour for the household production are remembered by the old people. And there are some people living in the village who worked as resident agricultural workers in the village as well as who had undergone uxorilocal marriage (see chapter 5).

The p'umasi labour exchange is an reciprocal arrangement of labour service between two people. Villagers say that p'umasi labour exchange in rice production is not as commonly practiced as before. According my informants, up until early 1970s, p'umasi labour exchange was arranged for the same load of work among neighbors and friends. This involved the obligation to give mutual help for similar tasks, such as aid in the transplanting and harvesting, without counting work days. Since the middle of the 1970s, people began to return their help to friends and neighbors for the number of days' work they had received. For the extra days' work given, they are paid in the form of a daily wage. This suggests that villagers' measurement of work has been transformed from

workload to be done to workdays given. As a result, people tend to prefer to do the p'umasi labour with friends and neighbors who have the same quality of labour and can do the same amount of work in a given time. Similar cases are reported in other areas studied by others (Oakla Cho 1982: 207; Ch'un-dong Kim 1983: 160).

The labour exchange between kinsmen is mostly limited to "the big house" (k'un chip) and "the small house" (chagun chip); the two households created after the household division (see chapter 4 for further information). The labour exchange between "the big house" and "the small house" is distinguished from the general p'umasi labour exchange by the villagers and is often phrased as a moral obligation between siblings. Old people say that in the past members of the small house worked for the big house long after the household division.

Agricultural wage labor in Koksan is different from wage labour in urban areas. Even during the busiest agricultural season with a big labour shortage, agricultural labour in the village can not be obtained by offering a higher wage. This is because the daily agricultural has been set by a tacit community consensus (Hi-wang Yang 1984: 363). So, during the busy agricultural season one mobilizes one's social relationships based on friendship and neighbor's long-standing warm feelings (chong) toward each other to meet the labour shortage. I will return to this issue in chapter 7.

Agricultural machines are jointly purchased. Friendship, neighborhood and kin networks play important roles in the joint purchase and operation of agricultural machines. For instance, Chong-won Kim in the second section of the village had made a joint purchase of a rice

cultivator with his younger brother in the first section of the village in 1971. Kyong-an Chi, the biggest landowner in Koksan, purchased a rice cultivator with his nephew and a close neighbor. Other villagers have purchased rice planters and harvesters jointly with friends, neighbors and relatives.

The use and maintenance of jointly-owned machinery are done cooperatively. Joint owners often form a work team during the agricultural season. For instance, during the rice planting season, joint owners of the rice transplanting machines work in each other's rice field in turn. They also work in the rice fields of other villagers who do not own a rice transplanting machine. Any money earned from working for non-owners is used either for the maintenance of the machine or the repayment of the agricultural loan that they took in order to purchase the machine. As of 1986, in Koksan there were 24 cultivators, 7 rice-transplanting machines, 2 rice- harvesting and threshing machines, 2 tractors, 4 high-powered sprayers, 5 back-carrying sprayers, 2 powered water pumps, and 1 threshing machine.

Tenant farming is not as prevalent in Koksan as reported for other rural areas. As of 1986, there are 7 households which farm the agricultural land of their relatives on tenant contract.¹⁷ With the exception of one household, these tenants also own agricultural land, and they combine the cultivation of their own land with tenant-farming. According to one report, as of 1981, households which farm on tenant contract account for 46.4% of all agricultural households in Korea, and

¹⁷ According to my informant, those who farm on tenant contract pay to the landowner between 1.25 and 1.5 bags of polished rice per 200 pyong of rice paddies.

agricultural land cultivated by tenants accounts for 22.3% of all the agricultural land in Korea (Ch'ung-dong Kim 1983: 159). Some scholars suggest that both the increasing number of tenant farmers and the persistence of small and medium sized agricultural households resulted from the articulation of the household economy with the urban economy and the continuing rural-urban linkage of household members (cf. Ch'un-dong Kim 1983; Hi-wang Yang 1984). The rural-urban linkages show some parallels with the semi-proletarian household that Wallerstein (1984: 16-7) conceptualizes, and I will come back to a discussion of this issue in chapter 4.

Other Economic Activities in the Village

There are two other income sources in the village. One is the renting of rooms to outsiders. About one third of the households rent a room or two to others for 25,000 or 30,000 won per a room with 100,000 won on a deposit. The other income-generating activity carried on within the village itself is the making of straw mats (metbangsok) during the slack season, from late November through late March. After the harvest, several vinylhouses are set up. A group of old men and women, each numbering between 5 to 10 people, work in each vinylhouse. Mostly, close friends and neighbors work in the same vinylhouse. For a straw mat, they are paid about 2,500 won. A skillful person can make a mat a day. If a skillful person works everyday, he/she earns about 150,000 won a month. Buyers of the straw mats come into the vinylhouse to purchase the mats from them. Sometimes, buyers prepay the money for a number of the straw mats that they order from the villagers. Cash

generated by the making of straw mats can be an important source of private income for the old people who do not have any control over other sources of money and are dependent on their children.

Young women do not make straw mats. In a way, the vinyl house is a social place for the old people during the winter. Old people chitchat, gossip, and work at the same time. They can always stop working when there are social occasions. Usually, they share a bottle or two of distilled wine, soju, while they work.

Some young women knit sweaters during the winter. If they are really skillful and need cash, they knit sweaters for friends and neighbors on order. With a few exceptions, however, most knit sweaters for their own household members and not for sale.

Waged Jobs and Urban Linkages

As I have stated, many of the agricultural households in Koksan have members who have non-agricultural jobs. Some of them combine agricultural production with a non-agricultural occupation. Table 3 shows the household farm size and the number of households which have one or more one members holding wage jobs. I categorize households with less 1 chongbo farm "poor", households with 1-2 chongbo farm "middle", households with 2-3 chongbo "well off", and household with more than 3 chongbo farm "rich" as other scholars generally do (Mi-kyong Lee 1983:142).

Table 3 shows a higher percentage of participation in wage-earning jobs among small and medium landholding households than large landholding households except for those households which hold more than

3 chongbo of land. Their numbers are, however, not very significant. Large-landholding households tend to be three and four generation households where old parents still manage the farms with the use of agricultural machinery and wage labour while co-residing married sons are employed in stable wage paying jobs. A majority of small-landholding households, however, tend to be two generational households, and household heads in wage paying jobs tend to cultivate the household farm with the full utilization of their family labour and labour exchange with other small-landholding friends and neighbors. Participation in wage labour by members in small landholding households seems to be less stable than that by members in large landholding households, as a majority of wage earners from small land-holding households have less than a high school education and mostly work in service jobs such as building guards, boilermen, repairmen, etc.

Table 3

Distribution of Households with One or More Wage-earning Members by Size of Household Farm

Farm Size of H.H.	Number of H.H.	H.H. W/ W-W	% of H.H. W/ W-E
+ - 1.0	56	27	48.2
1.0 + - 2.0	45	19	42.2
2.0 + - 3.0	12	5	41.7
total	117	54	46.2

Notes: unit of farm size is chongbo; H.H. = households; H.H. W/ W-E = households with wage-earners

On the other hand, some male wage-earners from the medium and large land-holding households work either in white-collar jobs, even though a few in number. Also, as I will discuss further in chapter 4, at the moment, the tendency to pool income for household consumption among small and medium landholding households is stronger than among the large landholding households. Whereas for small landholders, additional income from wage labour is essential to sustain the household, for large landholders to have wage-earning members means a diversification of the collective household enterprise. However, the demand for the pooling of the income seems to be less strong in large landholding households (see chapter 4).

Table 4 shows the ways wage earners were able to find their present jobs. The majority of them report that they have found their present work through the personal introduction of friends, neighbors, and relatives.

Table 4
Employment channel

pers. intro.	exam.	visit	ad.	agency	own busi.	total
44	14	1	1	1	2	63

note: pers. intro. = personal introduction by friends and relatives; ad. = advertisement; own busi. = own business

Table 5 shows the categories of women's wage earning jobs according to marital status. The categories are divided to show some of the

cultural assumptions in regard to the femalework that have been built into the labour market. Married women are heavily concentrated in work which can be categorized as domestic, such as cleaning and cooking. On the other hand, single women work in jobs which require pleasing social manners and physical charm. They work as caddies, clerks, telephone operators, and cashiers at the department stores. In most cases, they are expected to quit their jobs when they get married.

Table 5
Occupational Categories of Women

Marital Status	Domestic	Non-Domestic
single	none	15
married	12	5

CHAPTER IV

HOUSEHOLD AND KINSHIP

Some studies of changing family structure and household composition by previous scholars in Korea have utilized Fortes' concept of the developmental cycle (Fortes 1958) and have attempted to analyze household composition from a temporal perspective (i.e., Ok-pyo Moon 1976; Chung-ch'ol Yo 1977: 25-38).¹ However, instead of discussing how the articulation between the household and outside forces such as the job market and various socio-cultural influences both reinforce and transform some aspects of the traditional household structure, they tend to identify the persistence with tradition and the transformation with modern. However, as many scholars working in other areas of world (i.e., Meillassoux 1981; Wallerstein 1984; Wolpe 1972) have demonstrated, persistence of some of the traditional features of household structure in the periphery and semi-periphery of the world system in modern conditions should be viewed as a characteristics deriving from the very articulation between the domestic group and the

¹ Scholars often make a distinction between the family and the household (Freedman 1970:28; Gallin 1966: 137; see also Yanagisako 1979: 161-205). The family is defined as a kin group related through blood, marriage, and adoption and share a corporate property (Gallin 1966: 137) whereas the household is defined as a group of kin and non-kin who share the common residence. In Koksan, household is often coterminous with family. In my study, I use the term household more commonly than, but interchangeably with, family to refer to the domestic group which share a collective property and identity.

outer socio-economic field.

Although Fortes' concept of the developmental cycle of the domestic group is useful, it does not adequately explain how the incorporation of the rural household in villages such as Koksan into the national economy directly or indirectly influences the structuring of the household. In this chapter, I will explicate the complex changes in the developmental cycle of the household and discuss what structural aspects of the household are maintained and transformed under the new social conditions.

Composition of the Household

In Koksan, mean household size at the time of my fieldwork (1985-6) was 5.32 persons. Mean household size of native villagers was 6.05 persons, and that of outsiders was 3.83 persons. The native household in Koksan is larger than the average of 5.96 for rural household size surveyed in 1959 by Hyo-je Lee (1959: 23) and also slightly larger than the mean agricultural household size of 6.04 in I-ch'on county in Kyonggi Province in 1974 surveyed by Ok-pyo Moon (1976:168). Table 6 shows the generational composition of households in Koksan. This Table is based on my survey and includes only 117 native households in Koksan.² Table 6 shows that more than half of the households are two generational households. Three and four generational households account for 41 percents, a little larger than the percentage reported for agricultural households in a suburb of Seoul in Kyonggi Province

² In my survey of the household composition, I was able to obtain information about only 117 households.

(i.e., 37.0% in I-ch'on, see Ok-pyo Moon 1976: 172). This may be explained by Koksan's closer geographical location to Seoul than I-ch'on, and the possibility of combining agricultural work with waged occupations. Viewed this way, persistence of the "traditional" three and four generational households is maintained through the village's specific articulation with the outside economy, an issue I will return to later in this chapter.

Table 6

Households by the Generational Composition

Generation	No of households	percentage
1	6	5.1
2	63	53.9
3	44	37.6
4	4	3.4
Total	117	100.0

Table 7 shows the relationship of household members to the household head. In the three-generational and four-generational households the oldest married son and/or his spouse reside with his parents (either one or both), unmarried siblings and their own unmarried children. This shows that household membership is still primarily determined through agnatic descent. Oldest sons reside with parents after marriage, especially when one of the parents has died. When the

oldest sons move out of the household at marriage, it is usually because they have secured urban employment. The oldest son who has many younger siblings feels more comfortable in setting up his own household with an anticipation that he will later move back and take residence with the parents when the other siblings are all married and set up their own households. There are about ten two generational households, which comprise only the parents and their unmarried children. In about one third of the three generational households, however, the second or third married son and/or his spouse reside with his old parents and this suggests that "traditional" rule of the oldest son residing with the parents is changing.

Table 7

Household Members and their Relationship to the Household Head

Gen.	Household Members in Relation to the Household Head					
	Y.C.	E.C.	C.+ U.C.	P.+ M.C.	P.+ M. & U.C.	Oths.
1	2	2				2
2			63			
3				33	11	
4						4

Notes: Gen. = generation; Y.C. = young couple; E.C. = elderly couple; C.+ U.C. = couple and unmarried children; P.+ M.C. = Parents (both or single) and married children and grand children; P.+ M. & U.C. = Parents(both or single); married and unmarried children and grandchildren; Oths.= others, etc.

In cases when men are remarried, they may prefer to live with the son borne of the second marriage. This is due to the idea that the step mother should be primarily taken care of by her own son (see chapter 5). Even in cases when the couples do not have offspring from the second marriage they may prefer to have a separate household. Sons by the first marriage may feel uncomfortable with the idea of taking care of the step mother. When one of the parents dies, however, the children tend to decide that it is time to live with the single parents. Thus, for instance, 75 year old Bom-young Park moved to live with his fifty five year old son when his second wife died of cancer. At that time, Bom-yong Park's 55 year old son himself was living with his third wife while his three sons borne from the previous marriages were living separately outside of the village.

In some three-generational households, the constitution of the household presents a more complex picture and reflects an articulation of the household with the outside economy. In one household, a married man is temporarily absent as an overseas construction worker while his wife and children stay with his parents. One married man is absent due to compulsory service in the Korean National Army, while his wife and his son are living with the man's widowed mother in Koksan. In three other three-generational households, the grandparents live with their married son and the grandchildren. In those cases, their daughters-in-law left the husbands and children to look for waged jobs in Seoul after big fights with their parents-in-law several years-ago and never returned. I think that these things might not have happened in the previous conditions where waged jobs for women were not as available as

in recent years. In two other households, married sons' children are staying with their paternal grandparents as both of their parents work and there is no one else to take care of them. Their residence in Koksan is considered to be temporary.

In two households, however, married daughters' families were staying with the women's parents. In one household, where the married daughter has taken matrilocal residence, the household head is a sonless widow. In another household where the married daughter has taken matrilocal residence, however, the married daughter's parents are both alive and have many younger children including a son. It is said that the married daughter is staying at her natal home because there is no one to take care of the domestic chores at her mother's house because her mother works in Seoul as a maid and her other children are in school. In one three-generational household, a widow lives with her adolescent son and a young grandson who was born out of wedlock by an unmarried working-daughter. At the time of my fieldwork, the boy's mother was not living in the village. These three households seem to represent a new trend.

Constitution of the Household in its Developmental Process

Meillassoux (1981), Wolpe (1972) and Wallerstein (1984) suggest that self-provisioning households in the semi-peripheral area of the world capitalist system are often maintained through the additional income derived from wage-earning members. Wage-earning members, in turn, are supported by the self-provisioning household at times of unemployment and sickness, etc. Wolpe characterizes this pattern of the

articulation of the domestic economy with the labour market in the capitalist economy as the process of preservation and transformation of the "traditional" household structure. And Wallerstein (1984:16-7) calls the self-provisioning household with wage-earning member semi-proletarian. Households with small holdings in Koksan seem closer to semi-proletarian households than those with large landholdings (see chapter 3, p.28). Their agricultural products are mainly kept for provisioning household members, who are both in domestic production and wage-earning jobs. At the same time, the self-provisioning household is maintained by additional income from wage-earning members. As a matter of fact, among the small-landholding households, many wage-earning household members are either household heads or their spouses.

Contributions by household members other than the household heads and their spouses take both regular and irregular forms. Daughters from the small-landholding households make an especially important contribution to the household in the form of irregular contributions through the payment for male and female younger siblings' education, even though their contribution has been decreasing in recent years. I was informed of many cases in which older sisters had helped pay for the education for their younger brothers and sisters. In turn, they received some help from their parents with wedding expenses.

Small land-holders occasionally cultivate additional rice paddy, which are purchased by household members in wage-earning jobs. For instance, a widow informed me that out of the 1.6 chongbo of rice paddy, she owned less than 0.75 chongbo. The rest of the land belonged to her son. Her son purchased the land from wages that he earned from his two-

year contract as a construction worker in Saudi Arabia. He entrusted the land to his widowed mother so that his poor mother could support other siblings. However, the land was registered under his name and could not be subject to division by other siblings.

For households with medium and large holdings, which cultivate rice primarily for the market, having wage earning members is a matter of having a variety of occupations among members. Income from wage-holding members have relatively little significance in the maintenance of the agricultural household. Daughters from the medium and large land-holding households tend to save most of their earnings for their wedding expenses and private spending on clothes and other things. Bong-op Kim, who had more than 2 chongbo of rice paddy, told me that his working daughter did not make any contribution to the household economy and that sometimes she even asked him to give her personal spending money. Several parents told me that their daughters' saving still helped them because it relieved them of the burden of paying for the wedding expenses.³ But, the semi-proletarian household concept, even among the small-landholding households, only partially applies to Koksan today as the collective identity of the household and the tendency to pool income become increasingly fragile and attenuated. The implication of this for the household structure and the character of intergenerational bond is significant. I will come back to this issue in chapter 7.

³ Unmarried daughters' earning and saving capacities are acknowledged by their parents in other ways. For instance, a widow in the second section of the village asked her daughter to quit her job and help with household and agricultural work by promising that she would pay for her wedding expenses. When her daughter was getting married, the widow spent about 5 million won for the wedding.

"Big House" (K'unchip) and "Small House" (Chagunjip)

Traditionally, in Koksan the married oldest son is expected to reside with the parents and succeed to the headship of the parental household (the "big house" (k'unchip)) unless there are some definite reasons for setting up his own residence such as an urban job (see chapter 6 for more detailed discussion on the unity and the division of the big house and the small house). As far as I know, in Koksan there is no case in which the oldest son set up his own residence in the village immediately after marriage. Junior sons, however, become the separate legal household head of the branch house (the "small house" (chagunjip)). Junior sons tend to establish a separate household either very soon after marriage, or after maintaining only a brief residence with their parents.

In the past, the authority of the big house (k'unchip) over the small house (chagunjip), both for large and small land-holding households, seems to have been much stronger than now. According to the elderly people in Koksan, it often took several years before the younger sons were allowed to move out of the "big house" (k'unchip) of their parents and establish their own "small house" (chagunjip).

If the head of the big house wanted to keep the junior sons and their spouses in the same house for various reasons, such as the demand for labour and the need to delay the division of the household property, they did not allow the junior sons to establish their own small houses (see also Sorensen 1984). Apparently, delay of the household division was rationalized as a show of filial piety by the junior son toward his parents and of unity among siblings. An eighty year old grandmother of

the second section village head in Koksan told me that she lived in the big house for about 15 years, three years after her older sister-in-law brought in a daughter-in-law. She told me that her parents-in-law and older sister-in-law did not allow them to set up their own residence because she wanted to retain access to their labour. I have heard similar stories from several other elderly women. Even in cases when they had their separate house, the property division was delayed. During the day time, they had to come to the big house and work and eat with relatives in the big house and returned to their own place in the evening "just to sleep."

As the successor to the headship of the "big house", authority of the oldest son over his younger siblings was comparable to that of his father. Authority of the oldest son's wife over younger sisters-in-law was also comparable to that of her mother-in-law. Several elderly women in Koksan told me that their older sisters-in-law were very harsh and authoritarian. A woman in her late sixties told me that she was still afraid of her older sister-in-law.⁴ The mother of the village store owner in the first section told me that her older sister-in-law was very oppressive and mistreated her until a few years ago when the latter became paralyzed and seriously ill. Her sister-in-law treated her so badly that she left home to work as a domestic servant in Seoul for about a year before finally returning to the village.

The relationship between the older and younger siblings was not entirely characterized by the authority of the big house over the small

⁴ Her older sister-in-law is 74 years old. She is still very energetic and manages the household economy.

house. Old people in Koksan often told me that the older siblings should love their younger siblings and the younger siblings should be respectful of the older siblings. Also, they praised the prosperous farmer Chung-gon Kim, who, though he was known by villagers for his shrewdness and stinginess, was, nonetheless, held up as a model of brotherly solidarity and mutual help.

In recent years, however, both the authority of the parents over their sons and that of the big house over the small house have been attenuated. There seems to be considerable ambivalence and ambiguity surrounding current attitude toward commitment to the pooling of household income. I learned that wage-earning married sons residing in their parents' households sometimes want to have economic independence and try to keep for themselves the income they receive, even though they are provisioned by their parents' household. This leads to disputes and conflicts among the parents and children, and even to shifts in residence by married sons outside of the village under various pretexts. Sometimes they try to mitigate the notion of the divided family economy in the same household by making irregular cash gifts to their parents. Parents keep the cash gifts for personal pocket money (yongdon). In households in which there seems to have been more or less a definite division of income (usually where the son is an outside wage-earner), the children provide expensive gifts of consumer durables such as T.V. sets, refrigerator, rice-cooker, etc., on special occasions (i.e., the New Year's Day (Kujong) and Full Moon's Day (Ch'usok). etc.) creating the impression for themselves and their parents that income pooling is still in place, and that the collective identity of the household

retains its force (cf. Ch'ung-dong Kim 1983: 167). However, in many such cases these sons do rely on their parents' household for provisioning when they are unemployed.

Sometimes, there is an attempt on children's part to recreate an agricultural household in the village. In that case, brothers may buy a small plot of agricultural land as a token of the the household property and collective identity. They give the land to a brother who returns to the village and takes care of the parents. Under such an arrangement, Joo-bong Park's second son, who once moved to Seoul and had his separate household there for several years, came back to Koksan. He commutes to the post office in Seoul where he works as a guard every other day and does agricultural work when he is off duty.

Large landowners who have non-agricultural enterprises tend to maintain their households as strong corporate units. The largest landholding household in Koksan is an example. Kyong-an Chi, a large landowner in his early sixties, owns more than 3 chongbo of rice paddies and 1000 pyong of vegetable field. With the utilization of agricultural machines and the daily wage labour of other people, he is in charge of rice production. His wife helps him during the busy agricultural season. When her participation in rice production is not required, she is mainly in charge of the vegetable field. His oldest son, the son's spouse and their two children live with the son's parents and a widowed grandmother. The oldest son and his wife do not engage in agricultural production. They operate a big supermarket in Nungmok. While they work in their store, their two children are taken care of by their 80 year old grandmother.

Kyong-an Chi's second son has his own separate household in the village. He has his own agricultural land which he has received from his father as his portion of inheritance (see below for the discussion of inheritance practices). Still, his wife goes to the main house almost everyday when she finishes her work in her house and takes care of the household work in the big house. Her 80 year old grandmother-in-law takes care of her two children along with her older-brother-in-law's two children.

Household Property and Inheritance Practices

Traditionally, in Koksan, the oldest son inherited the house and more than two thirds of the agricultural land. Most of villagers I interviewed said that they still thought the oldest son should receive the larger share - two thirds of the agricultural land - because they had the duty to perform ancestor worship and help younger siblings when necessary. Some other villagers, however, told me that they may want to invest in education and will bequeath land to sons who do not have good urban jobs and who stay in the village.

Young and middle-aged villagers who have young children say that they prefer to provide their children opportunities for higher education rather than to invest in agricultural land for the purpose of passing the land on to children. By providing for their children's education, they believe that their children will have some social mobility and avoid agricultural work to which they give low esteem. This attitude of villagers in Koksan corresponds with responses of farmers in other areas: "to give a higher education to children is the same as buying

land in cities (Sin-dok Ch'oe 1982:57). Members of the older generations may think in terms of their own experience of the collective enterprise in which land is the basis of collective identity. By equating land and education, they may expect that the norms will maintain their effectiveness. But the younger generation can deal with it in a more ambiguous way. Therefore there is an irony here; contrary to the original expectation of the older people, this process tends to undercut the collective household.

Emphasis on higher education and social mobility through urban jobs transforms the patterns and timing of the division of the household property. In the past, the division of the household property was made either at the death of the parents or at the household division of the junior sons. When the household property was small, the entire property was inherited by the oldest son. Under these circumstance, younger sons became agricultural workers, adopted sons-in-law, and urban migrants (see chapter 3 and also Sorensen 1983b).

Recent inheritance patterns, however, show some changes. Most of the parents in Koksan say that they still expect to bequeath two thirds of the household property to the oldest son. They feel that the oldest son should be given a larger proportion of the household property because he will take care of the parents and younger siblings when the parents become old. The oldest son will also bear most of the expenses of ancestor worship ceremonies on various ritual days. Junior sons are free of those duties. Parents think that as eventual outsiders of the household, girls are not expected to inherit the household property. Payment for wedding expenses is enough for the girls.

In Koksan, junior sons in their late twenties and early thirties seem to have received more education than older sons. This may be due to the fact that villagers have become more prosperous in recent years. Many parents (fathers) told me that they expect to bequeath the major portion of household property - at least two third to their oldest son because younger sons received higher education and found good paying jobs. Parents who did not have much household property expressed their unwillingness to divide the property even when they did not provide higher education to younger sons. In those cases, the parents paid only the deposit for a lease of a room for their married junior sons, and planned to bequeath the household property to the oldest son at home.

When the oldest sons move to the cities, they are entitled to receive help from their parents in the form of early inheritance to cover costs of settling in cities. Parents may buy their house or pay for the deposit for the rent of the house. However, when the oldest son has been given a higher education and obtains a good urban job, he may not automatically receive agricultural land from his parents. Depending on the level of education, stability of urban jobs and their intention to live with the parents and help them in agricultural production, parents can decide to divide the inheritance in different proportions (see also Ch'un-dong Kim 1983:172). All these practices point to the reality that it is not only children but also parents who can make use of the ambiguity involved in the household as a collectivity in recent years. One village man told me: "I will not bequeath the household property until I die. Nowadays, parents are neglected and even mistreated by their own son if they give the entire property to the

children too early." Another men told me: "We will see which son is nice to us and then decide. Whoever wants to stay with us (parents) should receive more."

Thus, ambiguities in household and kinship structure, the availability of several bodies of justifying discourses and sets of norms, and their deployment by members located in different structural positions, both in terms sometimes of normative commitment and sometimes of strategic interest, seem to be characteristic of the current realities of Koksan.

Other Agnatic Units: Chiban (or Tangnae) and Lineage (Munjung)

As I have stated, the term chip can refer to any of the following:

- 1) the agnatic household unit which shares coresidence and consumption;
- 2) the physical space of the house; 3) household property; 4) the wider agnatic unit or lineage which is comprised by many household units. In its most common usage, the chip is a household unit comprised of agnatic members who may or may not share coresidence but have some moral obligation to collective income pooling and a claim to collective consumption. As I have described it, the chip consisting of the big house and the small house is the basic unit which shares the strongest sense of connectedness and solidarity. The big house and the small house are expected to do labour exchange and jointly use agricultural machines (see chapter 3).

Kin solidarity and obligation extend beyond the big house and the small house of the senior and junior male siblings to other agnatic relatives. The agnatic unit which co-worship the four ascending

generational ancestors at the four-generational main-line big house is called either tangnae or chiban. Tangnae is the more formal term for the agnatic unit. Koksan people use the term chiban more frequently when they refer to a group of people who perform domestic ancestor worship for ancestors in four ascending generations (Myung-ki Yoo 1977: 14). Kinsmen within the chiban relationship maintain a sense of closeness within the lineage (Janelli and Janelli 1982:113). They tend to give help to kinsmen in the chiban relationship when there are life crisis rituals such as weddings, sixtieth birthday celebrations, funerals, and so on. Even though they tend to maintain close relationships, they do not necessarily form any exclusive labour exchange unit (see chapters 3 and 7). Nor do they own any corporate property. I have noted that despite the general rule that kinsmen who share the four ascending generational ancestors should participate in the death day rituals and festive day rituals in the main-line house, Koksan people often neglected to attend the death day ancestor rituals beyond their grandparental ancestors (see also Janelli and Janelli 1982: 115; Osgood 1951: 119-21). Some male villagers over 60 years old knew their genealogical connections of their chiban members and their ancestors' names up to the fifth ascending generations by memory. But, young people in Koksan often did not know their genealogical connections beyond their father's siblings and their children.

Chiban (or tangnae) group is incorporated into the wider agnatic unit, lineage (munjung). Biernatzki (1967) and Man-gap Lee (1970) point out that lineage organization in Korea is stronger among yangban than among commoners. According to Janelli and Janelli (1978: 284-5), Korean

lineage organization shares many similarities with that of China in its functional significance: control of the social order among lineage members, protection of lineage members from outside forces (e.g., other lineages and Government's heavy taxation), ownership of corporately owned lineage property (especially agricultural land), privileged access to cultivation rights of the lineage by the lineage members, and various forms of financial assistance including lending of money and provision of scholarships to lineage members. Korean lineages, however, seem to show differences from Chinese lineages in that corporate landholding has not been as extensive (Freedman 1958:11). Also, economic differentiation among lineage members in Korea does seem to have produced less internal segmentation into small corporate land-holding units than the Chinese case (Janelli and Janelli 1978). Janelli and Janelli suggest that relative lack of internal segmentation in Korean lineage organization can be attributed to the cultural significance of the famed lineal ancestor and strong political measures, such as the establishment of the Confucian academia (sowon) by the lineage elite and reinforcement of Confucian ethics through which socio-economic differentiation among lineage members could be dealt with without internal lineage segmentation .

In Koksan, a commoner village, lineage organization and its social functions do not seem to have been as pronounced as in yangban villages (e.g., Biernatzki 1967; Taik-kyoo Kim 1964; Man-gap Lee 1970). Some of lineage organizational functions, such as corporate ownership of lineage

ritual land (widap)⁵, annual lineage meetings, keeping of genealogy books, and annual lineage ancestor worship (sije), seem to be recently adopted practices.

According to the primogenitural lineage heir, Bong-ch'on Park, the eleventh generation from the Song "grandfather" (lineage ancestor in Koksan), Song Grandfather's lineage was segmented from Ch'ungyanggong lineage segment (p'a) in Ansung. Among his third descending generation descendants, Sung had 6 grandsons and each of them established different segments (p'a) in Koksan. The lineage coporately owns 800 pyong of land for ancestor worship (widap) and the mountain in which lineage members can be buried when they die (sonsan). The lineage ritual land and mountain are registered under the names of several lineage members in order to prevent any member from selling their property on his own.

Bong-ch'on Park told me that when his father began to perform ritual duties as the tenth main-line lineage heir, the lineage did not own any corporate ritual land. His father offered cups of ritual wine to ancestral graves without offering ritual food on the grave stone table. About thirty years ago, around the mid-1950s, Park lineage members collected six straw bags of rice and purchased 800 pyong of the rice paddy (widap) to provide for the ancestral ritual expenses and entrusted it with Bong-ch'on Park's father. After his father died, the lineage land was entrusted to Bong-ch'on Park. From the lineage land, he harvests about six straw bags of rice each year (worth about 400,000 won, which was about 500 US dollars at the time of the field work). The

⁵ Widap is agricultural land corporately owned by a lineage. It is usually entrusted to a lineage member and provides the funds necessary for the lineage ancestor worship and other lineage activities.

rice produced is used for preparing meals for relatives who gather around the end of August to cut the grass on ancestral graves as well as ritual foods to be offered to ancestors on the seasonal ancestor worship day. During the sije, the lineage heir had to provide ten tables of ritual foods. One table of ritual food costs about 30,000 won. One table of ritual food is prepared by the direct descendant of the lineage segments of the fourth son of "Song Grandfather," the founder of the Park lineage segment in Koksan. The fourth son was a drunkard and very lazy. When he died he did not have any stone monument and ritual table at his grave and the offering was always put on the ground. Later, his direct descendants felt very sorry for him. They collected some money and purchased a small parcel of ritual land (widap). They entrusted it with Hong-yong Park, the direct main-line ritual heir.

Many of the stone monuments located at the lineage ancestral gravesites were also set up in early 1980s. Park lineage members are talking about buying a new genealogy book which supposedly has been in preparation by a Milyang Park clan association in Seoul. Their practice of elaborate ancestral ceremonies, thus, appears to be a more or less recent undertaking.

Some of the lineage activities, on the other hand, seem to have received less emphasis in recent years. One Park lineage man told me that in the past Park lineage members used to have lineage meetings in the month of July (lunar calendar) every year. According to him, July was good time for lineage meetings as members were not burdened by agricultural work then. Rice planting was over, and the harvest time was far ahead. The lineage meeting was held on the village mountain.

Park lineage members who moved out of the village came to visit relatives in Koksan. The expenses for the meeting were provided by the membership fees collected for the occasion. Nowadays, the lineage meeting is no longer held to develop sociability and agnatic solidarity. Lineage meetings are held every other year only for discussing ancestor worship arrangements and the publication of a genealogy book.

While the lineage members were purchasing the lineage ritual land and establishing grave stone monuments for lineage ancestors, the lineage heir and his wife told me that they did not expect that their oldest son, the next lineage heir, would be involved in the preparation of the ritual. The first son and his wife, who are recently married and living in Seoul, may have to entrust the land and the preparation to kinsmen in the village and come back to perform the ritual. This suggests that ancestor worship, which has become more elaborate in recent years, tends to have become a "ritualistic" occasion at the same time (see chapter 7 where I discuss the growing tendency towards "ritualism" in Koksan).

Matrilateral and Affinal Relationships

Even though villagers often cite the Korean saying that "once married, daughters are outsiders" (ch'ulgaoein), married daughters maintain relationship with their natal homes in one way or another. Frequency of visits of married daughters to their natal homes is determined largely by geographical distance Koksan. For example, Chongson's mother and Sonch'ul's mother, who have their natal homes in either Cholla or Kyongsang Provinces, which are located respectively in

southwestern and Southeastern parts of Korea rarely make regular visits to their natal homes, except for funerals of their parents and siblings or weddings of their nieces and nephews.

Women whose homes are either in neighboring villages or in the same county visit more frequently, especially on special days such as National holidays and various celebration days including close relatives' birthday celebrations. Those who have their natal homes in the village (about 10 cases at the time of my fieldwork) can drop by frequently and casually.

Old villagers comment that nowadays young married women are much freer to visit their natal homes than in the past. Several old women told me that they had experience of returning to their natal homes without permission either from their husbands or from their parents-in-law because they missed their parents and sisters so much. When they returned home, their parents usually sent them back to their husbands right away, saying to them that "once married, daughters should never return to their natal homes. Married women should stay at their husbands' house until they die. Even after death, married women should become 'ghosts' of their husbands' house and never return to their natal homes." It is my impression that with increased economic contribution by working daughters to their parental household before marriage, their relationships with as well as their rights to claim a membership in their own parental homes have increased in recent years. For example, several elderly women informed me that, in the past, it was a custom for married women to give birth at their natal homes and take a postpartum three weeks' rest, especially when it was the first birth. However,

when I asked them whether they themselves practiced the "custom," most of them said "no". Therefore, it was difficult for me to figure out how often the "old custom" was practiced in the past. However, I observed three cases in which married daughters returned home to give birth to their first child and take the "customary" three weeks' postpartum rest at their natal homes during my fieldwork period.

However, it seems that even in the past, married women did not completely lose their claim to receive help from their parents and siblings. When they were divorced or had economic difficulties, they turned to their natal homes for help. Married women's parents and brothers could not entirely deny married women's ties to their natal homes. Thus, for instance, Hong-rae Park's wife stayed at her natal home when her husband was recruited to Japan as a labourer during the Japanese colonial period. Bok-san Park's wife had to turn to her brother for help in cultivating her rice paddy when her husband was working as a labourer in Japan.

In Koksan, relationships between affines generally can be characterized as formality and avoidance. Affines visit each other on formal occasions such as their mutual grandchildren's one year birthday celebrations and in-laws' sixtieth birthday celebrations. If they run into their in-laws either in markets or in other formal occasions, they exchange greetings. Sometimes, they inquire whether everybody in each other's household is well and how agricultural work is going on at this time, etc.

CHAPTER V

MARRIAGE

In this chapter, I focus on critical aspects of marriage - the recognized forms or types, and the recognized patterns of recruitment of spouses. I view the practices and meanings associated with marriage as being shaped by varying conditions and subject to change over the course of the domestic cycle. These conditions include the composition of the intermarrying households, their economic situations, etc. As I will show, there was ambiguity regarding what constituted marriage, adoption, and servant's status, etc. in the past. It seems that marriage is not simply a status that comes into being as a consequence of a ceremony, a legal action, a shift in residence, etc. I will suggest that marriage is processual and socially embedded. Marriage for women means: 1) sharing the same household, 2) having in-laws, 3) having a sexual relationship with a spouse, 4) having offspring, and, especially, 5) an attainment of adult social personhood in the course of the life cycle. To the villagers the position of women recruited into the household was (and, to a certain extent, still is) understood in terms of the unfolding of the domestic cycle. Marriage and conjugal relationship were perceived as aspects of personhood which underwent changes as men and women participated in activities of the household and chip through its cyclical development with the couple's assumption of

ancestral status as its culmination.

Recent changes have rendered some of the older practices obsolete and have introduced new practices, for example, the "love-match" and cohabitation, and new ambiguities regarding the jural and social status of spouses. However, I argue that the ambiguities which can be discerned today are not merely the results of recent dislocations in the modernizing Korean family, but inherent features of its structure and the way it is experienced by participants. As I will suggest toward the end of this chapter, the nature of marriage in Koksan can not be made completely intelligible unless it is considered in the context of the domestic cycle and without taking into account the social construction of personhood and gender, an issue which will be the major concern of chapter 6.

Lineage Exogamy and Patrilocal Residence

In Korea, marriage between people who share the same surname of the same original place (tongsongdongbon) is considered to be incest. Their marriage is legally prohibited, and the marriage of a couple who are in tongsongdongbon relationship can not be registered at the county office.

Most of the marriage arrangements reported in different areas of Korea (Brandt 1971: 121-4; Kyung-soo Chun 1984: 48-9; Taik-kyoo Kim 1964: 122; Sang-bok Han 1977: 58, for instance) show that affinal relationships were established most frequently within the county boundaries and often within neighboring villages. As a general rule, it is understood that the powerful yangban found their spouses from a more distant place than did ordinary people for socio-political alliance

purposes. However, according to Taik-kyoo Kim's study (1964:121) of Hahoe village, which was one of the best known yangban villages, even among the powerful yangban, affines were most often sought within the county.

Lineage exogamy rules often result in village exogamy because many rural communities tend to be comprised of one or only a few lineages. Even when there are a few different surnames in the village, people seemed to prefer to find their affines outside of the village to avoid the complications that might arise from daily contacts with in-laws in the village (Brandt 1971: 122). An old dictum that "affines and latrines should be found at as far a place as possible from the main house" reflects the general notion that in-law relationship can be delicate and turn sour if the in-laws have frequent contacts.

As in other areas of Korea, lineage exogamy is strictly observed in Koksan. A large number of marriages, especially among the older people, have been arranged within the county. There are several intra-village marriages in Koksan. Intra-village marriages, however, are not arranged within the same section of the village. Therefore, they may as well be called "inter-sectional" marriages. In his study of other rural community in Korea, Guillemoze (1983) reports the same kind of marriage arrangements between different sections of the same village.

Previous studies of Korean family structure have given too much emphasis to rules of patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence (Jae-seuk Choi 1966; Kwang-kyu Lee 1975, etc.). Rules of patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence are relevant to our understanding of Korean marriage, family and kinship structure. But, in my discussion of

marriage, I will view marriage as the process in which the social and jural status of the spouse as the member of the chip is negotiated in the context of shifts in household conditions, especially through the course of the domestic cycle but also due to various contingencies. My approach is different from approaches taken by previous Korean scholars. Some Korean anthropologists have reported various patterns of recruitment of household members as variant forms of marriage: uxori-local marriage, remarriage, polygamous marriage, and concubinage, etc. (Kyung-soo Chun 1984: 56-61; Sang-bok Han 1977: 61, for instance). Other scholars (Kwang-kyu Lee 1975: 77-87, for instance) categorize them as various forms of traditional marriage. My findings in Koksan suggests that categorization of various ways of recruiting household members as variant forms of marriage is a reification and does not reflect the folk categories and discourses. My research indicates that these categories are labels applied to social conditions of individuals who have become attached in varying ways to a household other than their house of origin. We find that the status of household members who have been recruited into the household in one form in the initial period can be redefined over time as the circumstances within the household or relationship between the main and branch household shifts. Thus, marriage in an emic perspective turns out to be extremely ambiguous and polysemic. Also, my findings suggest that in the past some of the "irregular patterns" of marriage probably were more common than the existing literature suggests. The existing literature seems to have overlooked the fact that the "irregular" patterns of marriage often shade off into the regular marriage patterns.

Marriage as a Process

In Koksan, various patterns of recruitment of household members are recognized, and members are labeled by various names according to the way they are recruited into the household; a child-bride (mirmyonuri), an adopted-son-law (terilsawi), a concubine (ch'op), and a junior wife (chagun manura), etc. Those who are recruited into the household through regular marriage do not have a specially marked label. For the sake of my argument, I will focus more on irregular forms of marriage.

The mirmyonuri is a girl in the pre-puberty stage who is brought to her husband's household as a daughter-in-law. As she is recruited into her husband's household when she is as young as 7 years old, she is not expected to consummate her marriage at the time of recruitment. Her hair is not put into a chignon until she comes of age and goes through the wedding ceremony (honrye)¹ and begins to have sexual relations with her husband. Mirmyonuri is similar to the Chinese sim-pua (cf. A. Wolf 1966; 1968) in terms of the early age when she is recruited into her husband's household and her lower status in her husband's household than the other married women who are recruited through the regular form of marriage (Harvey 1983: 48). Nevertheless, the Korean mirmyonuri is different from Chinese sim-pua in that the former is not regarded as an adopted-daughter-law who marries her brother. When I asked village women whether the mirmyonuri was considered as an adopted daughter, they retorted; "how could a daughter-in-law be an adopted daughter?" When she is brought to her husband's house, she is called daughter-in-law

¹ Honrye is the wedding ceremony after which the man and the woman consummate their marriage.

(see also Harvey 1983:49).

In Koksan, I have known seven women who said that they were minmyonuri. This suggests the distribution of the minmyonuri could have been much larger than has been assumed in the literature (cf. Kwang-kyu Lee 1975: 81).² The minmyonuri in the village are mostly from 65 and 80 years of age. When I had asked them their age at marriage, I often received self-contradictory answers. On one occasion, a minmyonuri woman said she married at the age of fifteen, and, on another occasion, the same woman told me that she married at the age of nine. Later, I found out that minmyonuri were not sure whether I asked them their age when they were brought to their husbands' household or the age when they consummated their marriage. As I have mentioned, the minmyonuri was brought to her husband's household at an early age and did not consummate the marriage right away. Under these circumstances, it was not clear to her whether marriage meant the time when she came to her husband's house as a daughter-in-law or the time when she consummated with her husband.

I have said that people in Koksan did not think of the minmyonuri as an adopted daughter but as a little daughter-in-law whose marriage

² Harvey (1983) has collected life histories of four women who were minmyonuri. Except for Harvey, I have not found any work which deals mainly with the minmyonuri. Korean scholars have given little attention to the minmyonuri. Kwang Kyu Lee, for instance, says that he has come across one case of the minmyonuri marriage, which was reported by a Japanese scholar (Kwang-kyu Lee 1975: 81). But, there are many cases where young girls from poor households were given to others as minmyonuri even up until the pretty recent past (Mi-kyong Lee 1983: 213). I think that the neglect of the "irregular forms" of marriage such as the minmyonuri in the existing literature reflects the scholarly orientation toward the "traditional" Confucian tradition and a legalistic approach.

was not yet consummated; nevertheless, there seems to have been no clear-cut distinction between the adopted daughter and the little daughter-in-law. One old woman told me that that she was originally taken into her husband's house as an adopted daughter and later became the daughter-in-law. The Korean saying that "one does as one pleases as one makes one's adopted daughter a daughter-in-law (suyangtt'al myonuri sandut handa)" suggests that it could have happened more frequently than the literature suggests. From my own personal communication with other people in other areas, I have been informed that it has occasionally happened in other areas in the recent past. An old woman's description of her early life as a minmyonuri with her mother-in-law suggests that her relationship with her mother-in-law made her status as the little daughter-in-law ambiguous. The old woman who had become a minmyonuri at the age of nine told me that she slept next to her mother-in-law like a little daughter. Harvey (1983: 56) also reports that in cases when minmyonuri met gentle mothers-in-law, they were treated like young daughters. Generally, however, the life of a minmyonuri was harder than that of other women who married through the "regular" arrangement.

Here, it should be pointed out that in the past in Koksan even the status of an adopted daughter was ambiguous. There is evidence in the literature (Mi-kyong Lee 1983: 213 ; Du-sung Hong 1985) that in the past poor households sent their daughters out through a series of arrangements such as a domestic servant, an adopted daughter, or a little daughter-in-law. An old woman in the village recounts that she had two very young adopted daughters (suyangttal) at different times. When these girls grew old enough to help her in her household and

agricultural work, her adopted daughters left her to become domestic servants in cities. She tried to persuade them to stay with her, promising to find spouses and put aside savings to defray their wedding expenses, but they preferred to be domestic servants in cities. From the 1950s up to the late 1960s, many young girls from rural villages were sent to other households, mostly in cities, as domestic servants. It was expected that the mistress of the household would find a spouse for the female domestic servant who had served in the household and she often paid part of the wedding expense on behalf of the girls' parents. There is other evidence that the distinction between the adopted daughter and the female domestic servants was not clear-cut until the recent past. Many of the women who were reunited with their parents, from whom they had been separated during the Korean War, told reporters on the reunion program provided by the Korean Broadcasting Service in 1984 that they had lost track of their parents and brothers and sisters after they had been sent out to others as adopted daughters.³ And they gave poverty as reasons for the adoption arrangements.

The case of three village women who are known by the old people to have been purchased brides (saon yoja or p'allyo on yoja) again testifies to the ambiguous nature of marriage. Those women are in their mid-

³ Du-sung Hong (1985) on "War, Separation and the Poverty: A sociological reflection on the separation through a study of the life histories of the reunited families " (chonjaeng, visan, pingon: chaeheogajokui saenghalsarul t'onghaesobon visandui sahoehakjok koch'al) describes some of their separation stories even though he gives little attention to female adoption (see also Donga-Ilbo Ch'ulp'anbu 1983; Hangukbangsong Saobdan 1984). I think that the fact that female adoption is hardly discussed by previous scholars while male adoption has been heavily discussed (Jae-seuk Choi 1966; Du-hon Kim 1969; Kwang-kyu Lee 1975; Peterson 1974; 1977, for instance) reflects their legal orientation toward adoption.

sixties. They are all from South Cholla Province, the southwestern area of Korea. Their marriages were mediated by travelling cotton cloth merchants (miyongbae changsa). Perhaps, the villager's labeling of them as purchased brides is a misnomer. They were not sold outright.⁴ They were given to merchants who promised their poor parents to find good husbands for their girls. For their efforts, the merchants were given a token cash gift from the husband's household.

The recruitment of a daughter-in-law through the mediation of the travelling merchant with little contact between the two intermarrying households was obviously done between the poorest households and, in some ways, was influenced by the Japanese colonial political economy (1910-1945). Old people in Koksan told me that during the Japanese period, the growing and distribution of cotton material were regulated by the colonial government (Mun-sik Kim 1971: 112). It was forbidden to trade the cotton material grown in Cholla Provinces out of the Province. Some travelling merchants bought cotton cloth from cotton growers in Cholla Provinces and sold it to consumers in Kyongki Provinces at a very high price. As they knew about the family affairs of their customers, they often acted as matchmakers. From what I gather from informants in Koksan and other old people from the region, the recruitment of young women from South Cholla Province for marriage in Kyongki Province through the mediation of travelling merchants was occasionally practiced until about the 1960s. A middle-aged woman in Koksan, who originally

⁴ Kwang-kyu Lee (1975: 78-9) mentions marriage by purchase (maemaehon). Again, he labels it a form of marriage. Women whose marriage was arranged by the travelling merchant told me that the cotton clothing merchant promised their parents to find good husbands for them in the Seoul area and took them to Koksan.

came from Cholla Province, told me that when she was young she heard her parents say that the daughter of so and so's house was to be sent as a bride to a man in the Kyongki area through arrangements made by travelling merchants.⁵

The number of remarriages and reasons given for remarriage in Koksan suggest that remarriage has been quite common among those who have failed in their first marriage for whatever reasons - death, separation, and divorce, etc. Conditions for remarriage differed depending on the age at remarriage and presence of offspring by the previous marriage. Conditions for the remarriage have a bearing not only on remarrying woman's position in the husband's household but also on the redefinition of her marital status itself over time.

A woman who became a young and sonless widow or divorcee could remarry a sonless widower and even a young, poor bachelor. I have the impression that villagers accept remarriage as regular marriage if it results in a household structure similar to that of other villagers in due time. However, women who either have offspring by previous marriages or who marry a widower with mature male offspring by the first marriage are likely to have a lower position in their husbands' household, comparable to that of a junior wife (chagun manura) or a concubine (ch'op). An old man in his mid-seventies treats his second wife badly and does not seem to rebuke his son for ill-treating his step mother. When I asked how he met his present wife, he told that he

⁵ My own parents, who are from a small village in Cholla Province, have told me that they know three women from their own village married to men in the Kyongki areas through the mediation of travelling merchants.

"collected his wife on the street (kireso chusowatta)" It would seem that the presence of adult male offspring by the first marriage secures the deceased first wife a permanent position as the ancestress of the household. Also, maturity of male offspring by the first marriage does not provide a much room for the second wife to develop any affectional tie with the step son who will be the future household head and ritual heir. The implication of this will be fully discussed in chapter 6.

The position of women who have initially been recruited into the husband's household as a concubine can shade into that of either the second or the legitimate wife depending on the nature of the conjugal relationship, intra-household dynamics, and the recognition by kinsmen and neighbors over time. There is a woman in the village who (re)married a sonless man. The union was arranged by his senior wife who preferred to have a son by a concubine rather than to adopt an agnatic kinsman. According to accepted norms, as the senior wife, she was entitled to be the legitimate mother to the son borne by the concubine. However, when the junior wife (chagun manura) gave birth to three children, she challenged the position of the senior wife by using her husband's affection and emphasizing that she was "the real mother" of children. Under the circumstance, the ill-treated senior wife finally left the household, and the junior wife -actually the concubine - became the mistress of the household and was recognized as the legitimate wife by her husband's kinsmen and neighbors. When her husband died in 1984, she and her children became the chief mourners.⁶

⁶ Mourning for the household head also seems to secure the position of the wife in the household.

Her son succeeded to the household headship and inherited the household property.

If the husband withdraws his affection from the junior wife, even when she has given him male offspring, her position in the household becomes precarious. The senior wife can assert her right not only as the legitimate wife but also as the legitimate mother of offspring borne by the concubine. When the husband withdraws his affection, the concubine eventually leaves the household. As people are aware of the precarious position of the concubine or the second wife, the woman who agrees to be a concubine or a second wife often demands to register a portion of land in her name. Registering a portion of land in the second wife's name may appear as a sign of recognition of her membership in the household. It seems to me, however, that parceling out a portion of household property is the very sign of her non-permanent membership. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the first wife does not receive any household property in her name but becomes a permanent member of the household in which her son has succeeded his father. Her membership in the household is taken for granted and never becomes a subject for discussion. An informant who married a man who had four children by his first marriage had been ill-treated by the oldest son by her husband's first wife. Informants in Koksan told me that she was not clever and did not know how to take care of herself. She was not able to register a portion of the household property in her name. They said that once my informant's husband died, she would be driven out the house by the unfilial son. On another occasion, an old man registered his house and a portion of his rice field in his third wife's name lest his

sons should mistreat her if he dies first.

I have said that recruitment of a concubine or a second wife in a sonless household is often arranged by the senior wife and that, contrary to the initial intention and hope of the senior wife to claim the right over offspring borne by the concubine, she can lose her position in the household as well as her claim over offspring. I have suggested that along with the husband's affection, reproduction of offspring is a resource with which the concubine can claim her position in the household and get recognition among kinsmen and neighbors. In other cases, however, when men have a concubine for their private pleasure, the union is more or less precarious. There is a smaller chance that the concubine's position can be renegotiated among the man's kinsmen. Her ties with him and his kinsmen are likely to be totally severed if he dies. But, if the man has been affectionate toward the concubine and kept her during his lifetime, his "filial" sons may think that it is their obligation to take care of her as the "junior mother" (chagun omoni). And if the concubine survives the senior wife, her position may be redefined as the second wife and her union with the husband as remarriage. When she dies, she can even expect to receive ancestor worship as the second wife by the husband's legitimate heir. When his step mother died in 1986, Bong-cho'n Park, who was the Park lineage mainline heir, formally mourned for her. Initially, his step mother was a concubine to his deceased father. When his mother died, his father took his concubine as the second wife. After his father died, his father's second wife lived with Bong-ch'on Park as a "(step) mother."

The legal status of marriage has not been central in defining conjugal status until recently. Conjugal status has been more or less redefined and negotiated among kinsmen. Although the legal status of conjugal relationship is still less important than dynamics among kinsmen, it has begun to play a more important role in the definition of legitimate conjugal relationships. There is a man in the village who has been married three times. He divorced the first wife and married a second time. Although his second marriage was not legally registered, it was considered to be a legitimate marriage among kinsmen and neighbors. When he became involved with another woman, the third woman insisted that the man's second union was not a legal marriage as it was not registered at the county office. She insisted that she was involved with the man long before the second wife and was supposed to be married to the man. She even accused the second wife of being a concubine and an illegal wife. As the second wife had no way of claiming her position in the household, she left. The third woman became a legitimate wife by registering her marriage at the county office. She further claimed her position as the legitimate wife by performing the kin obligation toward the man's relatives and household members. This suggests that even though she utilized the concept of legal marriage when she quarreled with the former wife, she seemed to acknowledge that she had to perform the in-law obligation to be accepted as the legitimate wife. In some ways, her dutiful performance of the in-law role can be interpreted as her attempt to further outflank any claim of the former wife. It seems that along with the increased emphasis on legal registration of marriage, the use of discourse marking marriage as a special legal

status has increased. But the old ambiguous and processual understandings of marriage still remain.

Until now, I have discussed the way in which women were recruited into the husband's household. As I mentioned in the preceding chapter, occasionally men were recruited into the wives' households as adopted sons-in-law (terilsawi). Terilsawi marriage was arranged between a sonless household and a poor household with more than one son. Junior sons of the poor household became the terilsawi. Sometimes, an attached resident agricultural worker became the terilsawi of either a sonless household or a household which needed an extra agricultural labour.

Due to the structurally reversed position in which the husband had a subordinate status in the wife's household, men did not like terilsawi marriage. The Korean saying that "if a man has three bags of unhulled barley to eat, he prefers not to be a terilsawi" suggests the strong reluctance of young men to be involved in this arrangement.

Unlike the adopted son-in-law either in China (Hsu 1967) or in Japan (Beardsley 1959; Nakane 1967; 1971), the adopted son-in-law in Korea does not become the successor to the headship to the wife's household, but establishes a new household of his own and becomes the household head. If his wife dies before him, his relationship with his wife's parents becomes tenuous. Thus, the terilsawi can redefine his position by moving out of the wife's parental household, severing his relationship with his wife's family when his wife dies. For example, a middle-aged adopted son-in-law in Koksan does not live with his 81 year old mother-in-law since his wife died, though he still helps his mother-in-law in farming. As in the case of other irregular forms of marriage,

terilsawi marriage is no longer explicitly practiced in Koksan. In two recent cases of matrilocal residence, which clearly resembled the terilsawi marriage, both men and their wives' families denied that they were terilsawi, saying that they were temporarily staying with the wives' families.

Until now, I have discussed irregular forms of marriage that were common among elderly villagers. The discussion is relevant to our exposition of current marriage practices and their bearing on the household structure because usages and meanings associated with traditional marriage are often deployed in the context of current practices.

As I have stated, scholars often use categories such as arranged marriage (chunmae kyolhon) and love marriage (yonae kyolhon) as relevant sociological categories to contrast the traditional marriage with modern marriage. Such categories are also frequently used in folk discourse when people want to inquire about how one got to meet one's spouse. However, as will be clear in my discussion, the distinction between arranged marriage and love-marriage can be misleading. Love marriage does not correspond with the Western form of love marriage even though the term may suggest so. Love marriage means that the young couple met and had a dating and courtship period without the formal intervention of the parents and relatives. To an extent, love marriage suggests that the authority of the household head and senior relatives has been attenuated. But, continuity between modern marriage and traditional marriage is remarkably strong.

In Koksan, the first love marriage took place in 1953. When the

dating and courtship (yonaehada) between the two young people became known in the village, a scandal ensued. The woman's parents were very embarrassed about their daughter's conduct. Feeling that they had lost face in the village, they tried to stop the relationship by beating up and restricting the girl to the house as much as possible. They scolded her accusing her of not knowing shame. That was why she went out to find a spouse on her own while her parents could find a spouse for her only if she waited patiently. The girl's parents were more incensed because the man was a poor veteran who had lost one of his arms during the Korean War. However, when it was known to them that the girl was pregnant, her parents felt that they had no choice but to accept their daughter's marriage with the man. A woman who has a sexual relationship was like spilt water; water which is wasted and can not be retrieved by any other man. Interestingly, when I interviewed the couple who had the first love marriage they told me that they had an arranged marriage and the man claimed that his marriage was arranged by his aunt.

After the first love marriage in Koksan, love marriages occasionally occurred. In many cases, the parents on both sides strongly objected. The men's parents questioned the women's chastity. They were often perceived as wanton and flirtatious and thereby not qualified to be a wife and a daughter-in-law. When a man from the Park lineage was going with a woman from a neighboring village, his parents strongly objected to their marriage because of her bad reputation as a flirtatious woman.

Since the 1970s, however, love marriage occurred more frequently in the village and began to be accepted. Currently love marriage is the

most common practice. During the period of my field study, eight out of ten marriages were love-marriages. In cases of love marriage, however, young people still feel that they need their parents' approval of their union, especially the approval of the girl as a daughter-in-law by the man's parents. If parents strongly disapprove of the girl, the man may drop the courtship. If the young people get married despite strong disapproval from parents, the conflict between in-laws will continue and create tension in the conjugal relationship.

With the increasing frequency of love marriage in the village, there have been gradual changes in the "arranged marriage." Since the 1960s, even in cases of "arranged marriage," young people began to have a chance to meet possible spouses in the presence of the matchmakers and representatives (usually the parents) from both sides and voice their opinion. A man who got married in the late 1960s says that when he saw his wife at the introduction meeting arranged by the matchmaker (son) he liked her right away. He thought that she was beautiful. His widowed mother and older brother thought she was too skinny to be a good wife and mother. But he wanted to marry her and persuaded his mother and older brother.

The formal introduction of the young people and their kinsmen has changed over time. In the past, the young people did not have much chance to talk to each other at the meeting where their parents inquired about the young people and their family situations with the matchmaker acting as mediator. Young people voiced their opinions, without having had much direct talk with each other after the formal introduction. Now, young people are allowed to have a short period of dating and

courtship after the formal arranged introduction before they make up their minds. The chance for the young people who meet through the formal and quasi-formal introductions of friends and kinsmen to have a dating and courtship period blurs the folk distinction between arranged marriage and love marriage. When I asked young couples who have married in recent years whether they had an arranged marriage or a love marriage, they often replied that "it was half arranged and half love marriage (chungmaeban, yonaeban).\" In Koksan, dating between a man and a woman implies that their relationship is serious and expected to be permanent. This shows that courtship practice in Koksan differs from western dating practices and shades off into arranged marriage.

When the young people's relationship is approved by the parents of both sides, women are expected to perform quasi-in-law roles toward their future in-laws, even prior to the wedding. Sometimes, a girl can be gradually accepted as the future-in-law by visiting the man's household on special occasions and by helping the man's mother. One village woman told me that her daughter-in-law began to visit her house on special family occasions and helped her with preparations. She knew that her son wanted to marry her. She felt that the girl would become a good daughter-in-law and thus, she began to accept her as a daughter-in-law. Her son and the girl began to cohabit with her at some point, but the wedding ceremony was long delayed. It took about a year after cohabitation until the wedding ceremony took place. The young couple's cohabitation was considered to be marriage even though the wedding ceremony was delayed.

In Koksan, the first cohabitation was more easily accepted than the

first love marriage in the late 1970s, and by the time I was doing my field study, cohabitation was a common form of marriage. Three wedding ceremonies out of seven wedding ceremonies that had taken place in 1986 were arranged for couples who had been cohabiting for a few years. They all had children already by their union. In one case, the couple had two children. The frequent cohabitation of young couples prior to the wedding ceremony in Koksan may not be a drastically new modern practice. Cohabitation in Koksan is different from the cohabitation in other areas of the world (i.e, the Western and Caribbean countries) because cohabitation is considered a form of marriage, with only the wedding ceremony delayed. Even though the wedding ceremony is delayed, the cohabitating couple is considered to be husband and wife. Men and women, but especially women, are expected to perform the expected role toward their in-laws. With the approval of the in-laws, cohabitation becomes a stable union, especially when the couple has male children together. Still, the couple, especially the female partner, want to have a wedding ceremony when their financial situation improves, because they will be fully established as full adults (orun) among their kinsmen and neighbors (see below). Couples who are cohabiting and have omitted the wedding ceremony for financial reasons may register their marriage at the county office. However, some couples do not pay too much attention to the legal registration of their marriage until their children go to school and need a family registration record, and the legal registration may not become an issue. It becomes an issue, however, when one spouse, usually a man, wants to break off the relationship. He may claim that it has not really been a marriage but a

temporary cohabitation; another instance indicating the ambiguous and negotiated nature of marriage. In Koksan, however, the status of marriage does not seem to have become the legal question yet.

The contemporary practices - i.e., love marriage, cohabitation, and "dating" - in Koksan in many ways may not be different from the earlier sources of ambiguity. Unlike in the West, especially among Catholics, in Koksan, cohabitation prior to a marriage ceremony or legal registration are not seen as "wrong" - even though virginity is essential. This suggests that sexuality is perceived as an aspect of marriage which, is, in turn, an aspect of the domestic cycle.

Sexuality, Affinity, Coresidence and Reproduction of the Household

My detailed description of the various form of marriage practices suggests that coresidence, sexuality, and reproduction are very much intertwined, and that the status of the person who has been recruited into the household from the outside is often ambiguous and leaves room for redefinition and negotiation.

Sexual consummation may not occur at marriage, as has been illustrated by the recruitment of the minmyonuri. A sexual relationship can be established as a temporary union as in the case of the concubine. Giving birth to male offspring can raise the status of the concubine to the position of a legitimate wife. At the same time, coresidence, sexuality and reproduction of male offspring do not necessarily legitimate the hetero-sexual union as marriage. To establish the union as permanent, one should be given recognition as ancestors of the household by the ritual heir. The "ghost marriage" (manghon), which is

arranged for the dead by the parents suggests that while coresidence, sexuality, and reproduction are important components defining marriage, even in the absense of all those components, marriage can be established. Kil-song Ch'oe (1986: 166-97) reports cases of the ghost marriage in other areas of Korea. He suggests that the "ghost marriage" is practiced to console the unmarried ghost who does not have a spouse and to provide the couple with an adopted ritual heir. In Koksan, a widowed mother of a young man who fell from a high building in Seoul while he was cleaning the building widow and died in 1984 found a young woman who died single and wed them at a Buddhist temple.⁷ She told me that she had the wedding for her dead son so that he would not be a lone ghost without a partner. In addition, she said that only a married person (either man or woman) man could be an "adult person" (orun) and thus eligible to be an ancestor and receive ancestor worship from descendants. Ghost marriage makes it possible for the unmarried dead person still become an ancestor and receive ancestor worship because after the ghost marriage, parents and kinsmen can arrange an adoption of a ritual heir for the dead (Taik-kyoo Kim 1964: 308).

The practice of ghost marriage suggests that marriage is a significant moment in the entire process of the domestic cycle household. The past of the domestic cyle connecting the ancestors with their descendants is implicated in the present while the present is

⁷ I do not know details as to how the woman found a spouse for her dead son and how the ghost marriage (manghon) was conducted. The woman was reluctant to talk about it.

looking forward to the future generations.⁸ In other words, a person's social identity and the domestic cycle are mutually implicated, and continuation of a person's social identity and the domestic cycle is not only indebted to the preceding generation but also sustained by the future generation. Marriage is a moment in the process of social personhood, anticipating all the entailments of marriage: "horizontally" the performance of in-law obligations and "vertically" expectation of descendants and reconstitution of the household through time.⁹ As I have illustrated in this chapter, in Koksán, "modern" forms of marriages are still strongly embedded in the reproduction of the domestic cycle. Even cohabitation, which appears to be the most "modern" form of marriage, is still very much a part of the developmental process of the domestic cycle even though one sees change on the horizon.

In chapter 6, I will discuss the way in which social personhood and gender are constructed in the developmental process of the domestic cycle. I will explore how villagers' discourses on the gender

⁸ McGough (1976) studied irregular forms of marriage in China and showed that in China, along with the regular marriage form, irregular forms of recruitment of the household members gave the reproductive capacity to the household. He concluded that marriage and other forms of recruitment share a family resemblance to "marriage" as sexuality, reproduction and coresidence are involved. I agree with McGough that regular and irregular marriage forms share only "family resemblance" to "marriage" as it has been understood in the West (cf Needham 1971). But, my analysis goes further than that of McGough in that we show the importance of temporal aspect and the notion of personhood which is embedded in the reconstitution of the household.

⁹ Fortes (1953) says that in West Africa, a person can be a full social person by becoming an ancestor. In Koksán, people show similar formulations of social personhood and ancestor worship to that noted in West African societies studied by Fortes. Social personhood in Koksán, thus, shows a marked difference from the western notion of the atomistic self which is located in each individual as an "authentic" self.

differences and gender-connected activities are situated in the temporality of the domestic cycle. I will emphasize the importance of ancestor worship in our understanding of the cultural meaning of the domestic cycle.

CHAPTER VI
SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER AND PERSONHOOD

This chapter deals with personhood in Koksan, with a special focus on gender aspects.¹ I advance the argument that the villagers' understanding of the self can be made intelligible by taking into account the ways in which personhood develops in the context of the developmental cycle of the domestic group.

The works of R. Rosaldo (1980) and M. Rosaldo (1980) on the Ilongots in Philippine have provided me with some useful guidelines. R. Rosaldo's study makes extensive use of the developmental cycle of the domestic group. Unlike Fortes, who saw the domestic cycle as involving "... a universal metabolic rhythm of increase and decrease," (R. Rosaldo 1980: 177) R. Rosaldo stresses that these processes are "... socially constructed and therefore should be understood, at least in the first instance, from the native point of view" (Rosaldo 1980:177). He attempts to use the developmental cycle, and the cultural typifications which accompany it, as a framework within which to render Ilongot conduct intelligible (Rosaldo 1980:20).

M. Rosaldo's work, however, is a more directly useful source of methodological and theoretical ideas for my purposes because she focuses

¹ The socio-cultural construction of personhood is one of the major interests of recent interpretive anthropologists (see Marcus and Fischer 1986:45).

on the dynamics of the construction of the self or personhood and on the bearing of the forms of personhood on the patterning of Ilongot society.² Her starting point is the "... view that social life and interaction require that people recognize, along with pattern in natural world, a sense of what they share with one another, and that knowledge of related selves must itself be in accordance with the quality of the social world in which they act" (M. Rosaldo 1980: 28). The book attempts to "... demonstrate the relevance of these indigeneous views of the experienced self for the understanding of both pattern and change in Ilongot society" (M. Rosaldo, 29).³

Moreover, M. Rosaldo's view of the "symbolic" in both ordinary world and in ritual has been helpful to my treatment of ancestor worship and household ritual. She states that

"...if one starts by recognizing the ways in which symbolic form in fact prevades the everyday - as world view, ideology, or more simply, 'culture' - then the questions one is wont to ask are not just 'how' or 'why' symbols 'work' at special times, but rather how people's feelings and understandings are organized, or actualized, both in ritual and more mundane or practical pursuits. Rather than seeing 'symbols' as the vehicles through which 'external' social forms acquire 'inner' meaning,

² Korean scholars such as Jae-seuk Choi (1965) and Shin-pyo Kang (1972) have pointed out that Koreans have a concept of relational self and situational ethic. They insist that the relational self often make a person act according to what is considered to be appropriate to the social situation and tends to result in situational ethics. Concepts such as the relational self and the situational ethic presuppose the social embeddedness of self without making it very clear. But by emphasizing how situational responses of actors tend to maintain the hierarchical social structure, it gives a functionalistic interpretation to individual motivation for social actions. This gives a teleological reason for action which maintains the social system. On the other hand, the situational ethic can imply that social actions are motivated by strategic intent.

³ Her approach resembles the theoretical position of Giddens's "structuration", which deals with the ways in which the social action of agents and society are mutually constitutive (see Giddens 1984: 1-40).

one can investigate folk views of human action - views given content through the practices of daily life and talk and organized in particular ways in rituals, but views whose coherence depends ultimately on continuities people experience among the things, they do, the organization of what Wittgenstein calls a 'form of life.'" (pp. 25-6)

Although I was not able to follow Rosaldo's rich use of local language and imagery in my investigation of personhood and social form in Koksan, I believe my investigation is informed by an approach similar to hers. In my study of Koksan, I take the view that villagers' images of the self are closely intertwined with the social fabric and are constituted by as well as constitutive of social actions and discourses in their ordinary life. The notion of socially embedded selves suggest that villagers know how to act and what they should do in certain social contexts based on their tacit knowledge of who they are as socially situated selves, although they may not be able to speak articulately about selves as decentered from the social context. For instance, they talk about themselves as mothers and fathers, seniors and juniors rather than as persons who perform the abstract role of motherhood, fatherhood, siblinghood, and so on.

Their social personhood is constructed in the context of the developmental processes of the domestic cycle and in the course of the life cycle. During the life cycle, an individual experiences different phases of life and participates in the reproduction of the chip. By participating in processes of the domestic cycle, which encompass the connection between ancestors and descendants and ancestor worship, an individual establishes his/her social personhood as a mature social person. Men and women participate in the domestic cycle in different ways and constitute different aspects of the domestic group. The

mundane as well as ritual division of activities between the sexes is connected to the way their personhood is constructed. Nonetheless, their complementary roles in the domestic cycle is acknowledged, and both men and women receive ancestor worship for their participation in the domestic cycle.

Villagers' own views of their ritual activities such as ancestor worship suggests that they do not "worship" their ancestors as transcendental beings as in the West, where Christians worship their transcendental god, but treat them as predecessors who share familiar norms and values with their descendants. They serve meals to their ancestors on the ceremonial days and pay the utmost respect to them. Genealogical distance and affectional ties between the ancestors and descendants are indexed by the character and frequency of the ancestor worship given to a particular ancestor on special occasions, the genealogical distance between descendants who participate in ancestor worship, and the place where ancestor worship is performed (i.e., the big house of two generational descendants, the big house of four generational descendants, and the grave site).⁴

Daughter-in-Law: Beginning of the Domestic Cycle

Women move to their husbands' households at marriage and become incorporated in their husbands' households. From the perspective of the husband's parents, marriage and bringing in a daughter-in-law means

⁴ Rappaport suggests that in ritual practices, ordering of sequences and counting of occurrences can carry indexical messages (Rappaport 1979: 183-4).

"horizontally" an extension of the household and "vertically" a continuation of the domestic cycle. For the newly married couple, marriage signals a beginning of another domestic cycle.

Young people are thought of as attaining social adulthood when the new bride enters her husband's household. There is a contradiction here, however, since young brides are called "new babies" (saeagi) by their parents-in-law. This suggests that as a subordinate member of the husband's household, she is given a minimum adult status. Young brides are also thought to be incapable of thinking and acting independently as social adults. Thus, young brides in Koksan are given commands from the parents-in-law as they are perceived not to know anything about the management of the household. At marriage, the bride's parents often ask her parents-in-law to teach everything to their little girl who knows nothing. The fact that the new bride is addressed as a new baby metaphorically suggests that her position in the households grows as a subordinate minimum member with the beginning of the developmental cycle of the domestic group - "like another beginning, infancy in the life cycle" (R. Rosaldo. p.178) to a full permanent membership by the time her own son brings in a daughter-in-law.

Married men and women are connected with different spheres of activities. Women are associated with the daily rhythms of domestic life and called the "inside person" (an saram) while men are associated with extra-domestic life and called the "outside person" (pakkat saram). As an inside person, the married woman has to depend on her male kinsmen for the representation of the self to the outside. Her personal name, for instance, is not used anymore among kinsmen and neighbors in her

husband's village. She is identified as so and so's wife and so and so's daughter-in-law. This means that there are no other terms of address for her until she has a baby and has a teknonym.

In the early period of marriage, a women's daily activities are confined to the domestic sphere as much as possible. During the period of my field study in Koksan, I hardly saw two young brides outside their houses. One bride told me that she was feeling lonely for friends but was afraid to go to seek a friend in the village lest people should say that she is lazy and improper in her conduct. Her statement is an indication that a newly married woman's conduct is subject to comments and gossip in the community, and that she is not an agent of her own activity. Her identity as a newly married woman is strongly shaped by people's expectations and comments. This seems to suggest that the social order is dependent on the society's ability to appropriate and shape the women's identity as part of the collectivity.

Married men, on the other hand, are not confined to their households and do not necessarily bear the burden of their collective identity. However, they are expected to identify with the collective identity of their agnatic household in a rather marked way and deny the divisiveness that their women seem to represent. Villagers' identification of women with individual interest, which can pose a potential threat to the man's household can be seen in their notion of the public avoidance of intimate interactions between the young husband and wife and their notion about male and female sexuality. In their accounts of their life experiences, many elderly women in Koksan told that they did not remember talking to their husbands when they were

young brides. They were even embarrassed to be with their own husbands when there were other people around. The expression of conjugal intimacy would suggest that the bride had private and special concerns shared with her husband alone. Young couples in Koksan, including those who had love matches, more or less follow the traditional rule of avoidance in public places.

As I have indicated in the previous chapter (chapter 5), though sexuality tends to be understood as inseparable from the context of marriage, especially for women, men's sexuality is considered to be an expression of male energy. Old people in Koksan said that frequent sexual intercourse would weaken the husband's male energy. Weakened husbands were supposed to have a short life and no sons. If a woman's sexual energy was stronger than the man's, the wife could dry up her husband's sexual energy and make him sonless. However, in Koksan, among women at least, there seems to some degree of inconsistency and ambivalence in attitude toward men's expression of sexuality. For example one of my informants, whose husband has taken up with other women at various times, told me that men have a stronger sexual urge, and it is understandable for her husband to have other women if he is not involved with women in the village and is not serious enough to spend too much money on them. Another informant told me that she did not try to interfere with her husband's affairs with other women in order to help assure him a long life. Such attitudes appear to be fairly common. On the other hand, it is quite commonly claimed that frequent intercourse within or outside of marriage, will weaken men, decrease their male energy, shorten their lives, and decrease men's

ability to have male children.⁵ In view of the marked emphasis on limiting intimacies between the young husband and wife and guarding against an emphasis on conjugal solidarity at the expense of the agnatic ties, it is tempting to view the notion of loss of male energy through frequent intercourse as a metaphoric expression of their understanding that women may pose a potential threat to agnatic solidarity.

Although men's sexual misconduct was not praised, it was not considered to be a serious matter. People expected that they would come to their senses sooner or later. However, any sexual misconduct of the wife was inexcusable and thought to bring great shame to the entire house. Again, this may sound like a good case of the use of the "double standard" for men and women as it is commonly viewed in the West. But, the more important point, it seems to me, is that the social personhood of men and women was constructed in different ways. Men, as autonomous social agents were able to be responsible for their individual conduct while women were incapable of taking up social responsibility as active social agents. A woman's personhood derived from her association with her husband's household. Her individual conduct and the collective identity of the household could not be differentiated. The face of the household could be salvaged only through the repudiation of the woman's association with the collective identity of the household through divorce. This applied even when the misconduct was not committed through the woman's voluntary action. Thus, for instance, in Koksan, an

⁵ There is another inconsistency here in that in common sense discourse women are held responsible for failure to produce male children.

old village man, who himself had been married a couple of times, divorced his wife who, villagers say, was raped in front of him during the Korean War.

Married women's membership in the husband's chip is a gradual process. In Koksan, married women become permanent members of the husband's chip at her death (see chapter 5 and see also Janelli and Janelli 1982: 42-43; Kwang-kyu Lee 1975: 62-63). The early period of marriage is the period when a young daughter-in-law begins to learn the customs of the husband's house (see Kwang-kyu Lee 1975:218). It is the most difficult time for women as they do not know what to do. If they ask their mothers-in-law for instruction, they are scolded for not knowing and troubling mothers-in-law. One informant in Koksan told me that in the early period of her marriage, she used to cry a lot because of her mother-in-law, who did not provide guidance and later stomped around the house expressing her unhappiness. If she asked her mother-in-law what she was unhappy about, her mother-in-law shouted at her: "how could she not know what should have been done."

Their husbands often took sides with their mothers when their mothers ill-treated their young wives. In some ways, in the early period of the marriage, men were strongly marked to represent the collective identity of the house while their wives were perceived as a potential threat to the collectivity. Men represented the collective identity and women's relationships with their husbands were mediated through their relationships with their in-laws. Women's fulfillment of the in-law obligations was part of their respect for their husbands. If the wife did not get along with her in-laws, the husband took it as

a direct as well as indirect offense to him. Directly and indirectly, a husband's parents and siblings told him what they were unhappy about. They told him to teach the wife well. Occasionally they even said that "one can always replace the wife with another one, but not the parents".

In other words, with marriage, his identification with the corporate identity and ability to regenerate the domestic cycle were radically marked and his dependence on his wife for the reproduction of the domestic cycle was strongly denied.

Differential dimensions of identity of men and women were reinforced by the division of social space associated with the inside/outside productive and social activities. As inside persons, married women worked in the house and the vegetable garden with other women while their men worked in the agricultural fields. Men also confirmed their social identity as outsider persons by representing their household in social gatherings with other men at the guest room (sarangbang) in the house or in the village store. Taik-kyoo Kim (1964: 311-4) and Brandt (1971: 20) report that in yangban villages, people made a distinction between the inner room (anbang), with which women's domestic activities were associated, and the outer room or the guest room (sarangbang), with which men's extra-domestic activities were associated. In Koksan, where people did not seem to make an extensive use of the distinction between the inner room and the outer room, men tended to spend more time in the village store, which, in a way, was used as the substitute for the guest room of the traditional yangban house.

From the recollections in the life histories of many old women in

the village, I have an impression that at one time or another many men neglected their role as household heads and economic contributors. Nonetheless, their authority over their wives seemed to have remained very strong. When men neglected their role as providers, mothers often made extraordinary efforts to provide for the children. Children who grew up seeing the mother's effort to provision them seemed to have felt that she had given them own life, and they developed a special compassion for her.⁶ But I do not characterize the relationship between the mother and the son as "affectionate". The term "affection" seems to denote the particular emotional quality pertaining to the mother-child relationship in modern western society. I will return to this issue later in chapter 7.

Men's authority over their wives derives from their position as the household head as well as their sexual superiority. As I have said, men in Koksan think that they carry the life-force, and they can neglect their day to day responsibilities - even including the responsibility of providing subsistence - and still assert their uncontested authority over their wives. Both men and women, who in recent years have been increasingly able to secure waged employment, try to downplay the recent economic power of women. Women who are active in agricultural work generally say that it is men who make the major contribution. When questioned about this, they reply that women can not earn as much as men. During my discussion of this issue one woman intervened saying that a woman who tries to outdo her husband would only weaken the male

⁶ No-hae Park's poem on "The Mother" expresses the son's image of the self-depleting nurturing mother.

energy (ki). In most cases, Koksan men are in better-paid jobs than their wives. Moreover, they are thought to be the major rice producer, the major source of the household income for agricultural households. Nonetheless, there are several cases in which men do not earn at all and become dependent on women. In those cases, villagers are aware of its potential for the subversion of the "traditional" gender hierarchy. At the moment, women's economic power as a potential force for changing gender hierarchy is outflanked by denying or ignoring it. In addition, a new trend in which young married women become mere "domestic" housewives seems to reinforce the gender hierarchy (see chapter 7).

A 70 year old paralyzed man, who is known to have had multiple relationships with other women both within and outside Koksan, squandered all his household property. He is dependent for care and support on his wife, whom he has mistreated very badly. His wife is very energetic and diligent and often works as an agricultural labourer in the village. My informants told me that her husband did not allow her to visit with neighbors unless in connection with her wage work. Attempts to downplay women's economic contribution as a factor determining gender hierarchy are made by young women as well as the old women that I have described. Kitae's mother who is a 36 year old energetic woman told me that she was a "career woman" working in her own field and being her own boss. However, one morning when she saw me lounging around the village, she said to me; "Why are you away from your husband? A married woman should stay home and manage the household work. Do you think that you can make as much as a man by working

outside?"⁷

There are indications that with the recent economic development and participation in the non-agricultural economy both by men and women, villagers give recognition to the importance of the men's earning power as a source of the reproductive power and a characteristic of maleness. For instance, the woman who collects sesame leaves from villagers and wholesales them in Kyungdong market in Seoul by using a truck stays in Seoul most of time with her two other sons, and comes back home to Koksan every two or three days, where her paralyzed husband, her mother-in-law and her married oldest son and his wife keep house. When she is at home, she usually ignores her husband. But in public she pays him formal respect. Moreover, by making him keep the business account book, she tries to present an impression to the outside that ultimately he manages the business. Another man in his mid-sixties, who does not have any agricultural land of his own and can not find any urban job is dependent on his wife who works in Seoul as a maid. Even though he does not earn any income, he often goes to a real estate office (pogddogbang) in Nungkok and spends his day time there.⁸ This gives an impression that he goes to work outside and, thus, male superiority as the outside person is less contested. These two cases, and I could cite others, suggest that the traditional distinction of the husband and wife as inside and outside persons is being both transformed and sustained in a

⁷ At that time, she thought that I was earning money by doing some kind of survey.

⁸ Up until very recent period, old retired men were involved in the selling and buying of houses. In recent years, with the rising interest in the real estate speculation in Korean society, young professionals are taking over the field.

new social context. The inside/outside distinction is maintained as the gender associated separate spheres of action. But, in the past, the distinction of the outside from the inside was more or less related to men's ability to represent the collective identity of the house in the extra-domestic kin and community affairs. At present, the inside/outside distinction is becoming more closely associated with the domestic sphere and the public sphere (i.e., home and work place) as they are characterized in capitalist society (Yanagisako 1987). Young married women become domestic housewives and less willing to engage in agricultural work as their mothers used to do. In cases when married women are in wage work, they tend to think that their wage work is part of their duty as provisioners. I will return to this point in chapter 7, which deals with current changes in Koksan.

Children and Parents

Birth of a child is important in the developmental cycle of the chip because it further transforms the status of the parents as well as grandparents. The man and his wife are called by a teknonyme, which is a sign that they become less associated with their childhood names and its implications.⁹

In Koksan the view is generally shared that the baby is conceived by the male semen. Women are thought to be receptacles which receive male semen and nurture it. Women themselves do not carry the

⁹ Geertz (1973: 360-411) and Watson (1986: 619-631) deal with naming and social personhood in Balinese society and Chinese society respectively.

procreative life force but can actualize the the male blood line as vehicles for reproduction. As I have discussed in chapter 5, sonless wives's attempts to obtain male offspring through a union of their husbands and other women such as concubines and second wives seem to be related to the notion that men are contributors of the agnatic life-force while women's role as nurturers is essential in forming the mother-child relationship. The first wife who could raise the son born by the second wife or the concubine, thus, could establish affectional ties with him. On the other hand, a step-mother who married a man with a mature son, found it harder to claim any affectional ties with him and permanent membership in the household to whose headship her step son eventually expected to succeed.

While men contributed the seed of life and their ancestral identity to the child, individual characteristics of the fetus are thought to be shaped by women who receive and nurture the seed in their wombs. Women's contribution to the physical shaping of individual character of the fetus is expressed in various prohibitions imposed on pregnant women (cf. Sich 1978). In Koksán, my informants say that pregnant women should be careful about what they see, eat and think. If pregnant women go to either funerals or weddings, they can abort the child. If pregnant women eat deformed fruits, they might have deformed babies. If pregnant women think evil things, they might have a baby with a bad character. The fact that women are blamed for not having produced male offspring seems to suggest that pregnant women's role in forming the physical and personal characteristic of the fetus is given such a strong emphasis that even the sex of the fetus is thought to be formed by

women.

This contradicts their discourse on male and female sexuality that a weakened male will not produce a boy (see the previous section of this chapter discussion). There seems to be a metaphoric connection between the production of sons, dominating male energy, and the male association with the permanent aspects of the chip. The attribution of responsibility for the sex of the child to the wife, probably referred to the metaphoric connection between her potential to give birth to girls and her representing the impermanent aspects of the chip, especially if she is seen as failing in her responsibility to subordinate herself to her husband and in-laws.

There is some notion of pollution attached to the birth of a baby (Sich 1981:65-69). Kendall (1985: 118) relates the pollution taboo surrounding the birth to the liminal stage of the household as the birth will eventually bring a structural change to the household. The birth of a baby in a house is known to the outside by the straw string that is hung on the housegate. It prohibits outsiders from coming into the house for the first three weeks after the birth. The straw string showed the sex of the baby. For sons, pine trees, red peppers and black charcoals are studded into the straw string; for girls, only charcoals and pine trees.

The social identity of the baby is acknowledged by naming. A Korean name usually consists of three Chinese characters: The first character is the family name and followed by the generational name and the personal name. By the generational name, one can tell whether the other person belongs to the ascending generation, same generation, or

the descending generation. This is important as generation has all kinds of social implications. In the past, the generational name seemed rarely to be given to women.

A man's personal name often carries with it the parents' aspiration for him to make a big name in extra-domestic fields. Therefore, Chinese characters representing large auspicious animals such as "tiger" (po), "dragon" (yo), and good characters such as "big" (tae), "sincerity" (shin), and "steel" (ch'ol) are given. Women's names, on the other hand, are often associated with events, physical characteristics, and feminine qualities. In Koksan, it seems that many old women's names were not even written in Chinese characters, and only men were given this privilege. Some old women in Koksan, for instances, have names like: "one who was born with a black spot" (chomdunggi), "one who was born when the thunderstorm struck" (ch'ondunggi), and "a pretty one" (yeppuni).

Naming practices in Koksan suggest that while male personal names carry both the group membership through generational names and individuality through personal names, women's names neither indicate their group membership nor their individuality. Thus it is evident that men carry their names as representatives of the household when they become mature adults while women tend to lose their personal names when they get married as they are addressed by teknonymes and identified in relation to other household members.¹⁰ Thus, when I was conducting

¹⁰ In Korea, women's names were not written in the genealogy book. At marriage, their husbands' family names were written on their parental genealogy book. In their husbands' genealogy book, women are identified by their lineage names and origin places of their lineages.

my survey, I often encountered grandchildren and even daughters-in-law who did not know their grandmothers' and mothers-in-law's personal names. Old women were often embarrassed when I asked their personal names. Many women gave their family names but not personal names. When I asked whether they did not have personal names, they became offended and asked whether I knew of anybody without personal names. Still, some of them refused to tell me their personal names. Old women's reactions to my inquiry seems to suggest that they experience themselves as members of the household and the collective group, but not as autonomous persons who carry their individual identities, though one can also discern here some rebellion against this.

It is well known that Koreans much prefer boys to girls. People in Koksan are not an exception. Boys are much preferred to girls as the future successors of the chip. As girls are expected to be given to other households, raising girls is often considered to be a wasted effort. At the same time, girls' contribution as helpers in domestic works was acknowledged. Villagers often say that girls are the foundation of the household. Both girls and boys are considered as not quite persons (saram) until they are married. According to villagers' discourse, the term person (saram) seems to carry a double meaning. When they want to question whether children are qualified, they would say: "Are children persons (saram) too?" In that case, they mean to say that children are not quite adults yet and not qualified to receive the prerogatives that adults have. In other cases, they would say: "Are children not persons (saram)?" In that case, they mean to say that children have just the same desires as adults.

Children are thought to lack knowledge and are expected to follow whatever the parents and other senior people tell them to do. Disobedience is considered to be very offensive (Janelli and Janelli 1982: 33). Demand for explanation for what older people say is also considered to be very improper (Jae-seuk Choi 1965: 100). Age, sex, social knowledge, and the right to command the younger people are all interrelated. A senior person can command a junior person because he is older and knows better.

The first born son receives special treatment as the future successor of the household headship. Parents have a special expectation that the first born son will succeed to the responsibility of taking care of younger siblings. Parents often tell the first born son to display exemplary behavior for younger siblings. If young siblings do not behave well, the oldest son occasionally is blamed for not having provided a model for his junior siblings.

Reproduction of offspring, especially male offspring, paves the way for the married woman to establish solid membership in her husband's household. Her position in her husband's house is eased and solidified with her growing affectional ties with her children. Strong affectional ties between the mother and her children are not a new finding in Koksan. Many Korean scholars have repeatedly pointed out that in the traditional family, mothers had special affective ties with their sons while the relationship between the father and the son is more or less formal (Kwang-kyu Lee 1975: 166). Haejoang Cho (1986: 95) suggests that women's anticipation of their position as mothers of the future household head might have made women not only accept their subordinate

position to men but also participate actively in the partriarchal family system, in which sexual hierarchy was crosscut by the generational hierarchy. I think that it is true that village women are well aware that women become more influential in their old age. But the focus of this interpretation on the instrumental value to the matter of affective ties with sons may reflect current issues in gender hierarchy, rather than the past when gender hierarchy was embedded in social life rather than a subject to rationalization.

Social Adulthood (Orun) and Retirement

By the time their sons grow up and are prepared to get married, parents become more active in household management and extra-household affairs. By this time, their own parents are either retired or deceased. At this stage, there is a change in the relationship between the husband and the wife. He represents the authority of the household when his father dies or has been retired for a long period, and his wife is not as afraid of her parents-in-law as she used to be. Male authority is more apparent than real. Active managers of their own house, women feel much freer in their movement and less constrained by what others say, including their husbands and parents-in-law. In cases when their mothers-in-law are deceased, they begin to participate in various village ceremonies.

Old women continued to work in the vegetable field, helped with the domestic chores and cared for the grandchildren. Old men became aloof and formal authority figures in the household. By this time, old women were free to do the kinds of things that were classified as male

activities. Old women can drink, smoke, and use the vulgar language that was not allowed when they were young wives.

Old parents who are retired from the active management of the household but retain more formal authority are considered as the orun of the household. The term orun has many meanings: 1) a married person, 2) a senior person, 3) an old person, 4) a person who has authority, and so on (see Shin-pyo Kang 1978: 7-25). Actual authority of the older people (orun of the chip) decreases and the older people are paid formal respect without having much influence in domestic and community matters as they become feeble and senile. This pattern is similar to what Janelli and Janelli (1982:42) observed in their study of Twisongdwi village in Korea. Formal and ritualistic respect ranges from serving of everyday meals with a certain form of etiquette and respectful forms of addressing them, to the elaborate and expensive celebration of their sixtieth birthday.

Janelli and Janelli (1982:82) suggest in their study of Korean ancestor worship that old living parents shade off into the ancestral position from the senior person (orun) of the household to the ancestor (chosang) of the household. They support their argument with the fact that the procedure of the sixtieth birthday celebration resemble the domestic ancestral rites. To old people in Koksan, there does not seem to be a clear distinction between the living and the dead. They talk about their future death as if they are talking about other ordinary matters. When I asked old people what was their hope for their future, they mentioned their hopes to have an easy death. They also expressed their hopes that their sons will observe the ancestor ritual for them

(chesa).

Ritual occasions such as the sixtieth birthday celebration provide the young people a chance to demonstrate their filial piety and respect for parents and elders. Daughters-in-law who often transgress the authority of their parents-in-law and quarrel with their "old folks" (noin-ne), nevertheless, in public demonstrate their respect for them. For instance, in Koksan, I have seen a daughter-in-law, who had a bitter quarrel with her mother-in-law over the management of the household in which there was even a physical exchange of blows, worrying about her mother-in-law's sixtieth birthday celebration. She told me that "she was worried because if she did not give a big celebration, people in the village might gossip that she was not filial enough".

The ritual performance can be understood as a chance for children to reaffirm the importance of filial piety regardless of their personal beliefs or occasional failure to fulfill duties required by filial piety. Under current conditions, however, presentation of expensive gifts on various festive days and elaborate celebration of birthdays are often used as sentimental moments. The sixtieth birthday celebration, for instance, is much more elaborate than before. Married sons and their spouses who do not live with the parents can think of the sixtieth birthday celebration as an occasion to show filial piety for their parents. Parents themselves think that they are neglected if their children do not give them expensive celebrations. A young daughter-in-law in one of the poorest household in the village on one occasion complained to me that her mother-in-law was very unhappy with her for not having provided a big celebration. Her mother-in-law told her that

she did not know how to take care of parents-in-law.

Another oldest daughter-in-law in Koksán also complained to me that her parents-in-law did not give enough credit for her coresidence and efforts in taking care of them in day to day life. According to her, her sisters-in-law who resided outside of Koksán came for visits to the parents in Koksán on festive days. They brought expensive gifts for the parents to demonstrate their concern and affection. The parents generally were so pleased that they tended to think that their oldest son and oldest daughter-in-law did not treat them as nicely as others. The oldest daughter-in-law in Koksán told me that she would do the same things as her sisters-in-law did if she did not have to take care of them and came only for short visits. Then, she asked "how can we afford good things for the parents-in-law who are with us all the time?"

In my view, the increasing importance of the demonstration of sentiments between parents and children through various ritual occasions and exchange of gifts indicate that the intergenerational bond is becoming less embedded in day to day life and in the developmental cycle of the household. I will discuss this point in chapter 7.

Succession and Division: Unity and Division of the Big House (k'un chip) and the Small House (chagun chip)

Male household heads do not retire from their formal household headship until they die (see also Taik-kyoo Kim 1964: 317; Janelli and Janelli 1982: 45) although they may retire from any heavy productive work and transfer the actual decision making power to their sons. In many cases, old mothers-in-law hand over their household management to

their more active daughters-in-law. Most of the people I have interviewed told me that the transition of the management of the household is a gradual process. Many women told me that "my mother became old and could not manage the household. Naturally, I had to take more responsibility".

Janelli and Janelli (1982: 47) report that while the first son acknowledges the father's formal headship of the household until the latter's death, there are some conflicts between old parents and the first son over the transference of the management rights of the household property. As in Twisongdwi village that Janelli and Janelli studied, in Koksan, transference of the right to manage the household property is not always smooth or without any open conflict and confrontation, as old people try to retain a hold on the management as long as possible while their children demand the transfer directly and indirectly. Some old informants told me that their oldest son and daughter-in-law had expressed their desire to run the household over years. But, they had ignored their children's desire because if they had to give up management rights, they would feel that they did not have any major right in the management of the cash expenditures of the household (chugwon) and, thus, no joy in their life. This suggests that old parents connect their ability to manage the household with their life phase as an active agent. Thus, old people occasionally express grievances over the loss of their right to manage the household property. An old woman told me that her daughter-in-law usurped the management right from her. Another woman told me that she regretted that she handed over the household management to her oldest daughter-

in-law. Some women are successful in holding on to management until they become very old. A 74 year old energetic woman still manages the household. Her 56 year old daughter-in-law, who has a daughter-in-law of her own, does not dare to ask her mother-in-law to transfer the management rights. Other old informants, however, told me that they were planning to transfer the management right because they expected that "young people would know things better".

Villagers' discourses on the transference of the household management rights may give the impression that it is a definite moment. However, it is a gradual process in which the oldest son and the daughter-in-law increase their participation in the household management and become the major decision-makers regarding cash expenditures and farm investments. The wife of the village head in the first section told me that she could participate in the management of the household through her management of her brother-in-law's wedding expenses along with other financial matters on which her mother-in-law did not have much information. Her experience, however, differs from that of other elderly villagers. Many elderly women told me that they became the major managers of the household as their parents-in-law became very old and could not make many decisions. This suggests that in the past, the transference of the household management rights was more gradual than nowadays when the property rights and the household division tend to be legalized and, thus, become a more definite moment.

As with the transference of the household management right, division of the household property is a gradual process. According to accounts of the old people, in the past it took several years before

younger sons were allowed to establish their own residence. Apparently, prolongation of the household division was rationalized as a show of filial piety of the junior son toward his parents and of the unity between siblings. Establishment of separate residence by junior sons does not necessarily coincide with the division of the household property. Even in cases when they had their separate house, they did not have their own fields to work in. During the day time, they had to work and eat together in the big house and returned to their own house in the evening "just to sleep". In recent years, younger sons have tended to establish separate households shortly after marriage. If their parents are deceased at the time of marriage, establishment of separate residences by the younger brothers are commonly expected. After the division, however, the relationship between the big house and the small house continues through labour exchange, the sharing of the responsibility to take care of the parents and the participation in the death day anniversary (kijesa) of their deceased parents.

As I have stated, in the past, authority of the big house over the small house was reinforced by inheritance practices, which favoured the oldest son over the junior son and the economic dependence of the younger brother on the older brother. Parents in Koksan still favour the oldest son. Nevertheless, availability of job markets and new opportunities for the young people occasionally make the younger brother more prosperous and successful. Although younger brothers do not openly display their achievements in a way that will discredit their older brothers, they are aware that this achievement can be a potential threat to the seniority relationship between brothers.

Kendall (1985: 171-2) has suggested that in Korea, conflicts between siblings are less prevalent than in China, and Korean women are not accused of being the source of sibling conflicts and household divisions. Kendall interpreted this as evidence of the higher status of women in Korea compared with China. From what I have gathered in Koksan, domination of the big house over the small house seem to have suppressed any conflicts between brothers in relation to the household division. In the recent period, conflicts between siblings seem to come to the surface in the new social contexts, and women are often accused of causing the household division, although the accusations do not seem to be very harsh. But, the fact that women are not strongly blamed for household division in the recent period does not necessarily reflect traditional Korean women's higher status in the household. With attenuation of the authority of the big house and various socio-economic forces, such as the growth of the job market and the codification of the household division in the family law, household division is not solely determined through dynamics of the household and kinship. I have already discussed the recent trends in chapter 4. I will discuss it again in chapter 7.

Unlike the junior son, the oldest son does not become the household head at marriage. Although the oldest son takes over the management of the household when his father becomes old and retires from the active participation in day to day activities, he does not formally succeed to the household headship until his father dies. As the parents normally reside with the oldest son, younger siblings come to visit the parents at the big house (k'un chip), which the oldest son inherits when his

father dies. I noticed that in several cases when the parents lived with either the second or the third son, the relationship between the oldest son and the younger sons became more complex. When the parents live with the younger brother, the oldest son should visit the parents in the younger brother's house. This confounds the sibling hierarchy and the relationship between the big house and the small house, as the presence of the parents give the small house some implication of being the big house.

If the parents die in the small house, it becomes even more ambiguous in regard to where the ancestor worship should be given. Traditionally, performance of ancestor worship was the prerogative of the oldest son. As the oldest son succeeded to the household headship and performed the ancestor worship at the same place, there seldom were any conflicts as to where the ancestor worship should be performed. Younger siblings came to the big house and participated in the ancestor worship performed by the older brother. However, in recent times when the parents not infrequently reside with a younger son for various reasons, they can not expect to die at the oldest son's house. Situations like these become a subject of discussion among children. In one case that I know, the brothers decided to perform the ancestor worship at the younger son's house, where the parents died. The younger brother prepared foods and other things necessary for ancestor worship. The oldest son, who lived in Seoul, came to Koksan to perform ancestor worship as the ritual heir. In another case, however, the oldest brother insisted that the ancestor worship should be performed at his house and asked younger siblings to participate in ancestor worship

performed in his house (see also Janelli and Janelli 1982: 100). These cases all suggest that the socio-cultural significance of the big house as a locale and social actions that were carried out in the big house were mutually implicated. It is a place where the parents have a physical presence signifying the origin and unity as well as seniority between the big house and small house. In the past when the oldest son lived with the parents, there was no discrepancy between the big house as a place of origin, where the parents resided, and as a place of continuation where the oldest son reconstituted the domestic group. However, recent shifts in living arrangements between parents and children decouple the significance of the locale from the social actions and seem to cause confusion and gives rise to a new ambiguity.

Adoption: Continuation of the Chip

Both men and women become ancestors of the agnatic household chip at death. To be ancestors, however, they need to have a male ritual heir to succeed to the headship of the household and perform the ancestor worship. When there are several sons, the oldest son becomes the ritual heir. Sonless people are considered to have no offspring because daughters and sons-in-law can not perform the ancestor worship for them. People with no male offspring try to get a male heir through various arrangements. I have discussed in chapter 5 how, in the past, various forms of "polygamous marriage" were arranged to acquire male offspring. As both men and women become ancestors of the household, women have just as much interest as men in the acquisition of a male heir. And women often arranged "polygamous marriages" for their

husbands at the risk of losing their position as a wife in certain cases (see chapter 5). Sonless people in Koksan adopted one of their agnatic relatives. The adoption of a ritual heir is different from other types of adoption (i.e., female adoption) that I have discussed in chapter 5 in that the ritual heir is recruited with the specific purpose of succeeding to the household headship and performing ritual duties of ancestor worship. According to the general principles of adoption of male heirs in Korea, one can adopt any agnatic relative who belongs to one descending generation from the adopter (Peterson 1977:29). But, in practice, the majority of adoption in Korea takes place between brothers (Taik-kyoo Kim 1964: 115; Janelli and Janelli 1982: 55; Peterson 1974: 34). If the oldest son does not have a son, he tends to adopt the first son of the second brother. Janelli and Janelli pointed out that in Twisongdwi village, in case where the socio-economic status of the big house was lower than the small house, the younger brother was less willing to give his oldest son to succeed to the headship of the big house. In that case, the younger brother gave his second son to be successor to the headship of the big house (Janelli and Janelli 1982: 102; Peterson 1974: 29). I have come across one similar case.

According to the information I have gathered in Koksan, almost all of the adoption arrangements are between brothers. Generally, when the oldest brother does not have a son, he adopts the first son of his younger brother. In one case, the oldest brother adopted the only son of the younger brother. The younger brother, thus, became heirless. My finding, then, is different from that of Janelli and Janelli. Janelli and Janelli did not find any case in which the younger brother provided

his only son to the older brother for adoption. In Koksan, I found one case in which the only son of the younger brother was adopted by the sonless older brother leaving the former heirless (see also Taik-kyoo Kim 1964:115; Peterson 1974:29). I think that this adoption case suggests that the household should be continued through the main-line house and, thus, provides the basis for the precept that the lineage never dies out. According to the adoptee's mother, her only son was given to her husband's older brother for adoption because she and her husband expected to have more sons. But, she ended up giving birth to seven girls after the first boy. I can not say definitely what could have happened if the decision was postponed until later when the younger brother saw little chance of having another son.

When the younger brother does not have a son, he adopts either the younger son of his older brother, or the first son of the third brother. In one case, the second son of the oldest brother was adopted by the third heirless brother.

The timing of the adoption of the ritual heir varied. Depending on the circumstance, the adoption could take place when the adoptee was a child or a mature man. It could take place even after the adopter was dead. An old village man has told us that he became "an adopted son for the grave" (mudom yangja) after his adopting father was dead to serve as a ritual heir (see also Taik-kyoo Kim 1964:307; Peterson 1974:30).¹¹

I have stated that adoption of a ritual son from the agnatic kinsmen other than male siblings is not easy. Poor people find it

¹¹ I have mentioned that kinsmen can adopt a son for a couple who has entered a "ghost marriage".

harder to find any lineage member for adoption as people are reluctant to give out their sons for adoption to poor kinsmen. According Taikyoo Kim (1964: 116), in Hahoe village, people try to continue the main-line "big house" of the lineage by all possible means. This may be due to the strong corporate interest in continuing the lineage through the big house which represents the ancestral origin. In Koksan, in the case of the main-line big house (chongga) of the Park lineage, the ritual heir had to be adopted for the last two consecutive generations to continue the main-line house. It seems that continuation of the main-line house is crucial in keeping alive the reality of the lineage even though the lineage has few corporate functions except for the seasonal lineage ancestor worship.

Ancestor Worship: Domestic and Lineage Rituals

As ancestors of the house, both men and women receive ancestor worship. They are transformed from their position as the household ancestor into the position of the lineage ancestors as the domestic cycle continues and they reach the position of the fourth ascending generation from the household head. In other words, they move from the more individualized domestic ancestors into the position of corporate lineage ancestors over time. The gradual movement of domestic ancestors into the general categories of lineage ancestors is reflected in the character and frequency of ancestor worship.

The death day anniversary (kijesa) and festive day ancestor worship on the lunar New Years' Day (Kujong) and the Full Moon's day (Ch'usok) are observed at the fourth generational main-line big house for the

ancestors in the fourth ascending generations (sadaebongsa).

Descendants who share the fourth ascending generational ancestors participate in ancestor worship at the the main-line big house. The death day anniversary is observed around midnight of the eve of the death day anniversary.

Festive day ancestral rituals are, however, observed in the morning of the Festive day at the fourth generational main-line house. Members of the agnatic unit who shares the fourth ascending generational ancestors (tangnae) gather in the morning of festive days at the fourth generational main-line house and worship the fourth main-line generational ancestors. After that, they move to the third generational main-line house and worship the direct main-line generational ancestors of the branch house. Next, they move to the second generational main-line house and worship the direct main-line generational ancestors of the branch house. And so on. The four generations who perform the festive day ancestor worship jointly consider them to belong to the same chip or chipan and regard themselves as sharing a closer relationship among lineage members.

Ancestors who are beyond the fourth ascending generation belong to the general category of lineage ancestors and are not given ancestor worship on festive days. Lineage ancestor worship is performed annually at their grave sites and participated in by all the lineage members.

Women's ritual roles in ancestor worship have been constantly underreported or omitted in previous discussions of ancestor worship by scholars who have approached Korean ancestor worship as a male Confucian ritual (see for instances, Kendall 1985: 144; Janelli and Janelli:

1982). What I have observed in Koksan leads me to present a different interpretation. I do not think that women's roles in these rituals have not been observed by other scholars. (see for instance Kendall 1985: 146) The problem seems to be that they have neglected women due to their preconceived orientation to ancestor worship as a ritual, which can be understood without going beyond the ritual itself. But, as M. Rosaldo points out, the rituals make sense because they employ the categories, themes and images from ordinary life. M. Rosaldo says that "... rituals are at best but moments in a 'sentimental education,' rich but never wholly unfamiliar lessons in how, or what it means,...." (M. Rosaldo 1980:25)

The place and frequency of ancestral rites for the deceased depend on the descendant's genealogical and affectional distance from the ancestor. When the deceased is taken out of the house, an ancestral shrine is set up on the corner of the wooden floor next to the inner room. The spirit of the deceased is served two meals and three glasses of wine a day by women as he/she would have been when he/she was alive. Depending on the family, the shrine of the dead is supposed to be kept one to three years. In a recent case that I have observed, the family kept the shrine one year.

After the mourning period, the shrine is dismantled. At this time, women should wail at the departure of the soul from the house while male mourners are silently humming the mortuary song. The soul of the dead who has been sitting on the ancestral table is asked to go out of the house as he has become entirely a spirit (honbaek). They are asked to come and visit only on special days such as the death day ritual

(kijesa) and festive day ancestor worship (myongil chesa). Ancestors up to fourth ascending generations are invited and worshipped on the annual death day ritual and festive day rituals at the fourth generational main-line house. Ancestors who are at a further genealogical distance are worshiped at their gravesites on the occasion of seasonal agnatic ancestral worship (sije). Ancestors who are worshipped in the house are served regular meals, but not ancestors who are worshiped at gravesites. Thus, the deceased gradually transforms from the household ancestral position to the general category of lineage ancestors.

During the mourning period, women participate in the ancestor worship through serving meals. At the end of the mourning period, women have a role as ritual wailers and express the affectional and emotive ties with the deceased. The gender division of ritual as mourners and wailers can not be understood by considering only the emotional proclivities of men and women. I observed an ancestor worship which was performed on a festive day for the deceased who had been dead less than a year and whose ritual shrine was still maintained. When male mourners were ready to perform the ritual, they asked the wife and the daughter-in-law of the deceased to do the ritual wailing. Major male mourners staged their ritual role in a more formal way but leaned on ritual sticks as if they were seriously impaired by the death. The wife and daughter-in-law started to wail with tears and words as if the death just occurred. The wife even lamented with the words: "Oh, my husband, how can you leave me like this? How can I go on living?" And so on. Then male mourners tried to console her and asked her to forget the deceased. After the ritual, the wife and the daughter-in-law, who

wailed loudly, returned to ordinary life and served foods to relatives who participated in the ritual. The ritual division by male and female as the mourner and the wailer seems to be associated with their categorial distinction in ordinary life and the qualities with which each sex is identified. When parents die, women do the wailing while men do the mourning. When wives and daughters-in-law wail, they do not simply express their grief and sadness but express the affectional relationship while men express the formal relationship between the deceased and the descendants. When the shrine is dismantled, however, women's role in ancestor worship lessens. While women prepare ritual foods for ancestor worship, they do not participate in serving the ritual food to the ancestors at the ancestor worship ritual on the death day anniversary (kijesa) and the festive day ancestor rituals (myongil chesa).

Women's participation in rituals as nurturers of the deceased and wailers during the mourning period when the memory and the affectional ties between the descendants and the deceased are still strong seem to suggest that women are connected to the perishable "flesh" element of the deceased while men are connected to the permanent "bone" element of the agnatic household.

Gender, Person and the Domestic Cycle

Until now, I have described some of crucial life events in the context of the domestic cycle. This leads me to a discussion of gender and personhood. A person needs to have an agnatic identity as a member of the social unit as well as in the individual life cycle in which men and women go through a different course of life phases. Men as a

category represent the permanent "bone" element of the agnatic unit chip and women as a category represents the perishable "flesh" element of individual persons. Villagers themselves say that "we receive our bone from our father and flesh from our mother."¹²

Individuals must participate in the reproduction of the domestic household to be permanently established as social adults and ultimately as ancestors. Marriage opens a new cycle of the domestic group in which both men and women move from their childhood dependent identity to social adults who are capable of social actions. However, the woman, as a new bride, is in fact not granted fully adult personhood as I have stated. Women are incorporated into the men's household and agnatic group in the process of marriage. In terms of the everyday activities of the household, they are strangers and are expected to show deference to the members, respond to their commands, and learn to master the routines of their new group. As I have stated, the new wife is referred to as a "new baby" (saeagi). But unlike a child born into the group, as a person coming from the outside, she bears a quality of otherness, and as both a member and stranger, there is some sense of liminality in her presence in the household. It might seem paradoxical that it is the new wife rather than the original male members, who through misconduct is capable of bringing great shame to her husband and to the entire household. In her capacity to bring great shame to the household, the

¹² In Korean tradition, cremation of the dead seemed to be little practiced. This may be related to the fact that the bone element was used as an icon of the permanent agnation. It will be interesting to study the relation between the second burial practice in Korea (Sang-Bok Han and Kyung-soo Chun 1969: 74-86), geomancy and the cultural meaning of agnation.

wife is made to represent the collective identity of the group. In some measure, this perhaps reflects the way that chip members experience and compensate for the liminality of the new member and the dependence of the putatively permanent, timeless agnatic group on the cyclical incorporation of outsiders.

The association of the new wife with the collective identity of the group anticipates the stage of the life cycle and domestic cycle at which she becomes an ancestress and when her flesh-like qualities are overridden by being merged with the bone of the male ancestors. But as a young wife, the collective aspects of the group corresponds with an emphasis on her deficits in the qualities of autonomous, mature personhood. As an "inside person", the woman's conduct is not understood as separate from the collective identity of the household, which she "represents" in a passive manner. She cannot be shamed by her husband's misconduct as he and other members of the household can be by hers. Male, "outside persons" have a "public" face which is constituted by their identification with their chip and their active representation of the group to the outside. It would seem that the more autonomous, mature personhood attributed to man is connected with both the lack of ambiguity regarding their chip membership and their active participation in affairs beyond the group and which link their group to the outside. Thus, as we have seen male misconduct such as womanizing and negligence in provisioning duties, while certainly neither condoned nor regarded as bringing credit to the household, can be tolerated if it is not disastrous. It seems as if the more autonomous personhood accorded to the male and the sense of him being an agent of social action carries

with it some leeway for personal failure or success in some small measure uncoupled from his identification with his agnatic group. This is also evident in their naming practices in which men carry both generational and personal names denoting their group membership and individuality throughout their life cycle while women lose their personal names and become no name persons. The fact that they are identified in relation to other members in their husband's household also suggests their personhood is less complete or autonomous than men (see Watson 1986; for Chinese naming practices and the construction of gender and person).

Of course, the identity of both men and women is tightly interwoven with the domestic group. This is most clearly seen in the roles of men as first givers and then receivers of filial piety and ancestor worship. But it is the women whose personhood is most emphatically bound up with the cycle of the domestic group: At the beginning of the cycle they are made into a "child." When after years of nurturing their family, they become mothers-in-law, they attain a degree of de facto autonomy and maturity. But only after death, as ancestress, with the merging of maleness and femaleness, do they attain full social personhood.

As "inside persons", women's activities are associated with the nurturance of household members and maintenance of their well-being. Among women's provisioning and nurturing activities, cooking and preparing "rice" are very significant. They transform the raw rice, which symbolizes the life force, into cooked rice, which provide the life's substance to household members. As cooked rice symbolizes the life's substance, sharing of cooked rice from the same pot signifies

the establishment of strong solidarity and moral obligation among people who share it. It seems that sharing of cooked rice was more significant when the domestic mode of production was organized for provisioning of household members.¹³

While the sharing of agnatic identity through descent gives permanent membership, relationships mediated only by cooked rice can not be permanent. This explains why adopted daughters and sons-in-law who had uxorilocal marriages could not be permanent members in the agnatic household.¹⁴ I have mentioned an old man in Koksan, who has worked about ten years for shelter and food for a widow in the village and still works in the house with a tacit understanding that he will be taken care of by the landlady if he becomes too old to work. The widow, however, is already worried about the future of the old man. She tries to remind neighbors that he is not a kinsman of any sort. Villagers say that if the old man gets sick, the landlady will not feed him and he will die of hunger. This suggests that while agnatic descent is most significant in defining the house membership, denial of the membership is the denial of cooked rice, the life's substance. Thus, while agnatic descent determines the permanency of the membership, the membership in the household is confirmed through serving of cooked rice, as I have described in my discussion of ancestor worship.

¹³ But now "sharing of cooked rice" is used as a metaphor for sharing the life subsistence. A resistance poet, Jiha Kim, for instance, wrote a poem on "The cooked rice" (pap), in which he called for the just distribution of the wealth which had been generated by the recent economic development of Korea.

¹⁴ Also this may explain why many scholars are concerned mainly with the male adoption but pay little attention to female adoption.

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As the overseers of the well-being of household members, senior women in the household perform the household rituals, in which they supplicate the household gods for the well-being of household members. [see chapter 7 and also Kendall 1985] Household gods are not permanent agnatic members but outsiders who have been domesticated by the senior women in the house. They are served distilled rice wine and rice cakes, but not cooked rice on the meal table. Household rituals in Koksan are performed after the annual community mountain ritual on October 1st in lunar calendar. While senior women perform the household ritual for the day to day well-being of household members, men perform ancestor worship.

Although women as a category represent the transient and individual aspect of the person and become the subordinate sex, women's personhood is not defined by their female sexual identity per se. In the process of participating in the cycle of the domestic group, women acquire the formal and permanent quality of the agnatic household. In their old age, women are no longer considered to a threat to the structural order of the household. Women's freer social conduct does not shame the household.¹⁵

¹⁵ This also may be related to the notion when old people become like children and are not really responsible for their actions. In other words, in old age, they are no longer considered as active social agents.

CHAPTER VII

COMMUNITY AND BEYOND

In this chapter, my focus shifts from the household to the community level. I will discuss the way in which norms and meanings pertaining to the chip, the domestic cycle, intergenerational relationships, and the gender hierarchy are changing in the context of alterations in socio-economic conditions. Especially important are changes in farming operations, conditions of labour recruitment, employment outside of the village, consumption patterns, juridification of social relations and the villagers' interactions with outsiders such as renters, wholesalers, and various governmental officials. As I will point out, in the recent period, there has been an tendency toward a shift from the chip and household to extra kin groups and to the community itself as focus of identity. At the same time, extra-kin relationships seem to be growing increasingly ambiguous. Some ties among household members, such as between the mother and the child, have been intensified but they are taking on new meanings and patterns. The nature of community solidarity is undergoing change, especially in terms of its expression in rituals. An increased emphasis on the large-scale lineage is discernable, connected with Confucianization; However, there is reason to characterize this as "superficial" since ceremonial life is becoming increasingly "ritualized".

With the decreased use of "labour exchange" (p'umasi) in agricultural production, in some ways, traditional kin and neighborhood relationships become more important in organizing the labour force during the busy agricultural season. The kin and neighborhood relationships are also important in finding wage jobs. As labour exchange is less utilized, "traditional" ritual occasions such as one hundred day birthday celebrations, one year birthday celebrations, weddings, sixtieth birthday celebration, and ancestor worship have become more important in maintaining reciprocity among neighbors and friends in recent years. Increased ritual practices should be understood, to a large extent, as a response to modern change rather than as a holdover from the past. This is evident in the fact that while kinship hierarchy has been attenuated, lineage activities, especially centering around ritual (i.e., seasonal ancestor worship), have been intensified. In some ways, villagers' relationship to the community has been restructured according to the contrasting relationship between the native place and the outside world. The traditional construction of gender hierarchy has been reinforced in the labour market and discourages married women from working in wage jobs, which are perceived to be in the "outside" sphere. Involvement with the labour market, however, tends to bring about an uncoupling of the formation of personhood and gender from its embeddedness in the domestic cycle.

Villagers' frequent contacts with outsiders such as renters, wholesalers, and vendors through the cash nexus have an impact on community relationships. In the past, a couple who did not have a place

to stay could live in a room in a friend's house with no charge. As Koksan has been incorporated as part of the suburbs of Seoul, and more and more migrants have been renting rooms for monthly payments since the early 1970s, free provision of rooms to neighbors is no longer practiced. There are some attempts by both villagers and renters to define their relationship with familiar idioms such as chip and do use of the "traditional" notion of reciprocity. And yet, they are also aware that these social relationships are based on different assumptions.

Through government initiated projects, the formal education system, labour market, and cultural engineering through the mass media (e.g., TV, newspapers, and popular magazines), the outside world directly and indirectly shapes the mode of living and formation of self identity of villagers. School is a very important institution in which children learn about their "tradition" as well as "modern" themes of individual achievement. Children express their future hopes and plans. Parents encourage their children with the "traditional" image of scholarship which will bring high social status and wealth to the household. Nonetheless, there is some awareness among both children and parents that their future goals are very much limited by their socio-economic position in Korean society. In any event, to most of villagers, either old or young, the future of the younger generation lies outside Koksan.

Reciprocity: Exchange of Food, Gifts and Labour

Reciprocity and sharing of food between neighbors and friends are the most crucial means of establishing and maintaining social

relationships in Koksan. Villagers in Koksan generally share the Korean saying that "one can not eat with a hungry person around while one can eat with feces around." If anybody in the village comes for a visit while one is having lunch or dinner, he/she is asked to join. Anyone who does not know how to share and develop interpersonal relationships is considered to be "a tasteless person" (matshi opda).

Ceremonies associated with the life cycle - such as the one hundred day birthday, weddings, sixtieth birthday, and so on - become special occasions to share ceremonial foods among households. In food sharing, neighborhood networks are just as important as kinship networks. During my field study, I often saw villagers inviting neighbors and friends to birthday celebrations. When a person builds a new house, he performs the household ritual (kosa) wishing good luck to the household members in the new house and invites neighbors for a celebration. When the village head in the first section built a new house, he extended invitations for lunch to every household to celebrate the building of the new house. Even the ritual food prepared for ancestor worship is shared among non-kin neighbors and friends. In 1986, after the seasonal lineage ancestor worship, for instance, the ritual heir of the Park lineage divided the food into small portions (i.e., several pieces of rice cakes, a half of one pear and a half of one apple) after ancestor worship and distributed them to most of the households including non-lineage households in the first section of the village. According to the Park lineage heir, Bong-ch'on Park, in the past (1960s), he distributed a bowl of hot meat and rice soup (kugbap) to every household in the village after the seasonal lineage ancestor worship. As people

in Koksan became better-off and less appreciative of the meat and rice soup in 1970s, he stopped sending it out to them.

Formal invitations and attendance at ceremonies are social occasions for sharing of food and reciprocity among households. Attendance at ceremonies is expressed as "going to eat the feast." When they attend ceremonial occasions, villagers usually attend the celebration as representatives of their households and bring some kind of gift. On most occasions, gift items are more or less standardized. For instance, when old people attend friends' birthday parties, they bring either one keun of noodles or two small bottles of soju (distilled rice wine) which have the equivalent value of 1,500 won. For a wedding, they ususally bring a cash gift of 5,000 won.

For ceremonial occasions, women in their thirties and early forties help with the preparation of the food; older people "go to eat the feast" as representatives of their househouseholds. When villagers attend ceremonies in the village, they say that they go as a p'umasi. As I have discussed in chapter 3, p'umasi is usually understood as an exchange of labour between neighbors and kinsmen. In recent years villagers do less of labour p'umasi, and they now refer to the exchange of visits and gifts also as p'umasi. They say, "If I do not go to other people's feasts, they would not come to my feast when I have to have one." Those who do not attend others' celebration feel awkward about inviting others when they have some ritual occasion. A widow who could not participate in others' weddings due to her job, for intance, did not send out invitation letters to villagers when her daughter had a wedding ceremony. Many kinsmen and villagers still came to this wedding, partly

because they had known her family for a long time and partly because the widow's mother-in-law participated in others' life crisis rituals.

Those who are outside of the circle of the p'umasi ritual exchange are considered to be "outsiders". Most room renters do not stay long enough to develop any p'umasi ritual exchange relationship, and villagers do not expect room renters to develop any extensive p'umasi relationship beyond that between them and their landladies. However, some people who moved into Koksan and became more or less permanent residents in Koksan tended to join the p'umasi networks and came to be considered as "villagers". If a long-term resident in the village does not participate in the p'umasi network, native villagers do not feel comfortable about the person's presence in the village. An old lady who has been living in the village more than 10 years is not in the p'umasi circle and is perceived as an uneasy member in the village. When a series of unfortunes occurred in one household in 1986, a shaman was called in to diagnose the cause. The shaman told household members that the old lady was causing the problem and advised them to drive her out of the village. Villagers could not drive her out of the village, but it was obvious that they felt unhappy about her presence.

P'umasi is an ego-centered reciprocal network (Sang-bok Han 1977: 15-6). One person can establish multiple p'umasi relationships with many people and each person can have a different p'umasi network. In the past, the labour p'umasi relationship seemed to have a multiple function of collective work and recreation (Oakla Cho 1982: 207). With little utilization of agricultural machines, agricultural work processes (i.e., rice transplanting and harvesting) involved a great deal of coordination

among people in the field and generated work songs and talk. Thus, it can be said that in the past, work and recreation were not as sharply differentiated as they are now. In recent years, in Koksan, with the increasing utilization of agricultural machines such as rice-transplanter and harvester as well as the use of wage labour in agricultural production, the importance of labour exchange has decreased. Kyung-soo Chun (1984: 87) points out in his study of Hasami village there has been a decrease in the recreational aspects of agricultural work and a gradual loss of work-songs. In Koksan, I found that the male work process included little coordination and not a particularly sociable environment. When men work in the field with friends or neighbors, they do not talk or sing work songs. With agricultural machinery, work has become a more solitary activity.

Women, on the other hand, often sing popular love songs together when they work with several other women in the green house. Women's vegetable production produces its own p'umasi and social networks. Production of wild sesame leaves demands extra hands for thinning of young plants in the early Spring and picking and tying of the leaves between the late Spring and the late Summer. During the thinning period, the big vegetable garden owners organize a group of work teams based on their personal networks. If those who come to work have their own greenhouse crops which require thinning, their work will be returned with p'umasi labour. If not, they will be paid by a daily wage.

Precise working hours are not set. Women who are supposed to work in a neighbor's fields go there as soon as they finish their breakfast. Still, they tend to show up around the same time. The thinning of young

wild sesame plants in the greenhouse is not an easy task. One has to squat for long hours. After a while, the workers' legs get numb. Nonetheless, it is a good time for women to gossip and talk about their family problems. I often heard village women recounting their personal histories, including hardships with their in-laws. Other women listen to the stories and empathize, as they may share more or less similar stories. Women sometimes have tears in their eyes as they talk.¹

If one woman begins to sing a popular love song, other women join in the singing. The songs do not directly reflect the concerns of their lives or themes of their work, but are sentimental love themes. This points up the increasing influence of mass culture through the radio and television in their day to day lives. When a woman works by herself in her greenhouse, she turns the radio on and makes it her work companion.

At present, exchange of labour in rice production is not as frequent as in the past, and, instead of p'umasi labour, wage labour is more commonly utilized. Oakla Cho (1982:207) argues that in the past p'umasi labour organized and solidified social relationships in the village. However, according to Okla Cho, in recent years the nature of p'umasi has changed, and people in p'umasi relationship do not give much importance to its social meaning, taking more interest in the quality of labour that each households can exchange. In Koksan, I find that with the decreased use of the p'umasi labour exchange and the increased use of the wage labour, there is a shift toward the ritual p'umasi, which, in turn, becomes the basis for the establishment and maintenance of

¹ As far as I know, in Koksan, mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law seldom work in the same work team. This may be due to the deliberate avoidance of an awkward situation.

social relationships.

As I have stated in chapter 3, labour exchange between kinsmen is mostly limited, as in the past, to the big house and the small house. In the past, the strong authority of the big house seems to have forced younger siblings and their wives to work for the big house for several years after marriage. According to villagers in their mid-fifties and sixties, it was expected for younger brothers to work for the big house. Especially when the household land was not divided and the small house was dependent on the main house for its subsistence, labour obligation was more or less mandatory. But, the labour obligation was not put in terms of economic dependency of the small house on the big house. It was phrased as the moral obligation of siblings to give mutual help and care for each other as members of the same household. And the older brother could claim the labour service of the younger brother based on his seniority in birth order and on his role as successor to the big household headship. With the increased socio-economic autonomy of younger brother in recent years, there is no strong mechanism to force the labour service of the small house for the big house. In other words, the labour service of the small house for the big house is no longer euphemized as a moral obligation as in the past. The big house now can only appeal to the moral obligation of the small house. However, in case when the big house has a large amount of property and the small house has to depend on it from time to time, the labour obligation of the small house for the big house seems to be maintained. As I described in chapter 4, the largest landowner in Koksan, Kyong-an Chi's case exemplifies the strong ties between the big house and the

small house based on the corporate household property.

Labour provided for the return of the same number of days' work between friends and neighbors is not considered to be p'umasi labour but a kind of wage labour. Therefore, when a person works one more day in his friend's agricultural field than his friend does in his field, he will be paid for one day wage labour by his friend. Because of this possibility of translating the labour provided by kinsmen and neighbors into wage labour, some villagers say that there is no p'umasi labour any more.

Use of agricultural machinery does not necessarily sever the social ties between kinsmen and friends. During the busy agricultural season, villagers have to depend on kinship and friendship networks even to mobilize the wage labour. When every household needs extra hands at the same time, they can not employ wage labour through a wage increase. Any attempt to mobilize the labour by offering higher wage in the village is considered to be very bad practice. Instead, to mobilize necessary workers, they should appeal to the warm feelings (chong) between friends and neighbors. Thus, it is clear that new forms of sociality such as social drinking [see below] and various social and ritual p'umasi which are related to life crises pave the way for recruitment of labour.²

Joint purchases of agricultural machines also reinforce the traditional kinship and friendship networks. For instance, in 1970

² Hi-wang Yang (1984: 360-63) argues that labour recruitment based on friendship and neighborhood network rather than the higher agricultural wage labour may operate as an internal mechanism inhibiting the further socio-economic differentiation between agricultural entrepreneurs and agricultural workers in agricultural sector in Korea.

Chong-won Kim, who lives in the second section of the village, Twitgoji, purchased a rice cultivator with his younger brother, Chong-woon Kim, who lives in the first section of the village. They purchased the rice cultivator with a loan from the county agricultural cooperative on conditions of repayment in five years with a one year grace period term. In 1971, Kyung-an Jee purchased a rice cultivator on the same terms with his nephew, Soon-kee Jee, and his close neighbor Youngan Kim. Other villagers have purchased rice cultivators jointly with close friends, neighbors and relatives with agricultural loans from the agricultural cooperative.

Although women, especially middle-aged and old women, participate in agricultural production, the exclusive use of agricultural machines by men suggests that agricultural work, which has been defined as a domain in which males are dominant, is undergoing a subtle shift. I have not seen any woman use agricultural machines in Koksan. Even simple machines, such as the pesticide sprayer, are operated only by men. This indicates that rice production in some ways has become more dependent on male labour (see also Soon Young Yoon 1977: 159) and that a woman's labour can not be reciprocated for a man's labour as was the case in the past.

In chapter 3, I have stated that in Koksan, farming on tenant-contract is not as frequent as in other areas (see Ch'un-dong Kim 1983:159). Ch'un-dong Kim points out in his study of a village in the North Cholla Province that urban migrants do not sell the agricultural land that they inherit from their parents and, instead, entrust the land to their relatives and friends to cultivate on tenant-contracts. In

Koksan, similar patterns seem to have emerged. When people can not cultivate their farm due to either aging or urban migration, they rent their farm on tenant-contract to their close relatives or friends - more frequently relatives. For instance, an old couple who have no offspring gave their rice paddies and vegetable fields on tenant-contract to their nephew in the village. In another case, a man is cultivating his widowed older brother's wife's 4,000 pyong of rice paddy because the widow's own three sons work and live outside of the village. Sometimes, a relative living in a city may purchase land in Koksan and entrust the land to a relative in Koksan on tenant-contact arrangement. For instance, one woman is cultivating her oldest son's land (2,600 pyong of rice paddy) that he purchased with money that he had earned as a migrant construction worker in Saudi Arabia.

To sum up, "traditional" kin and social networks have become more important in changed farming conditions, such as the increasing use of agricultural machinery and wage labour as well as an increase in tenant-contract farming between relatives and friends. As labour exchange p'umasi has become less frequently practiced and less important for organization of social relationships, social and ritual p'umasi seems to have become intensified and help provide the basis for the labour recruitment.

Social Significance of Drinking and the Gender Hierarchy

In his study of village Sokp'o, Brandt points out that Koreans follow two opposite interactional patterns; a very reserved formality and a spontaneous informality. Brandt argues that the reserved

formality is associated with the hierarchical kinship principle, and the spontaneous informality is associated with egalitarian communal principles. In Koksan, villagers are conscious of the formality required of kinsmen according to seniority and avoid drinking opportunities with senior kinsmen.

Social drinking is more frequent among peers, and it provides a chance to lessen formality and allows neighbors and friends to open their "hearts" (maumul yolda). Drinking is a mechanism to establish a relationship, and people are supposed to pour the wine into each others' glasses. If a person does not pour wine into a friend's empty glass, it is considered to be very impolite and even offensive. One should never leave a friend's glass empty. Neither should one refuse a glass, even when one is drunk and can not drink anymore.

Social drinking has a varied range of significance, and the patterns of drinking signify social distance and closeness. In Koksan, drinking and offering a glass of distilled wine (soju) is part of everyday social life. Sharing a bottle of soju between friends and neighbors makes the everyday interaction smooth and friendly. Men often go to the village store and join their neighbors and friends who are drinking and talking. Old men and women share a bottle of soju while they work and chat together. Social drinking is a gender-linked activity and related to gender hierarchy. While drinking is a semi-institutionalized social activity through which men can establish extra-domestic relationship with men from other households, women, especially young women, do not practice social drinking. Old women who have acquired adult status, however, can participate in social drinking

without raising anybody's eyebrows.

It seems that in the past, drinking among men occasionally led to gambling and women in the drinking house and, thus, was considered the male prerogative as the superior sex. Currently, with a recognition of a close conjugal relationship and legal sanctions on gambling, the function of social drinking among men as a way of establishing and maintaining male solidarity and friendship seems to have become more significant.³ Although social drinking works as a mechanism to maintain male superiority and exclusive relationships among men, village women recognize the importance of maintenance of social drinking among men. Those who participate in informal drinking networks maintain close relationship and tend to give mutual help in life crisis rituals as well as in agricultural production.

Rotating Credit Associations (Kye)

Kye is an informal rotating credit association. It has been widely utilized by Koreans as a device to deal with financially contingent situations (Kyung-soo Chun 1984:127; Kennedy 1977). The kwanhonsangje kye, for instance, has been most widely organized rotating credit association. Its goal is to meet the expenses associated with life events such as weddings, funerals and ancestor worship. It seems that in Koksan, the kye has been more frequently organized among friends and

³ I think that social drinking may have become increasingly important in establishing male friendship in the modern period. One of reasons for men's reluctance to have female colleagues in the university in Korea is said to be that female professors can not be good drinking partners.

neighbors of the same age group for the purpose of developing friendships and mutual help. Many of the friendship kye members are urban migrants, who keep up their relationships with friends in Koksan through the kye. This suggests an increasing importance of friendship in the developmental process of the life cycle and the domestic cycle.

The oldest kye in the village is the 40 year old funeral kye (sangkye). At that time, the scale of kye was very small. Each household put two tu of rice when each member household had some sort of life event. Each member household can ask for their share only once. As of 1985, there were still three member households which still had not received their shares. There is one village kye organized among old people for weddings and funerals (honsang kye). According to Son-chong Kim, who organized the kye, in 1983 he passed notes around the village indicating that he was planning to organize a honsang kye and inviting any household which anticipated weddings and funerals in the near future to join. Each member household was supposed to put in two bags of rice. Those who could not bring two bags of rice should contribute a money equivalent to the price of two bags of rice at the time when the fee should be paid. About 40 households, both from the first section and the second section of Koksan, became members of this kye. When each member household receives its share, it should give a small feast to the kye members. Thus, the kye has the social function of developing and maintaining social relationship in the village.

There are several rotating credit associations which have been organized among men of a similar age group with the specific purpose of developing friendship and mutual help. They call this kind of

association the friendship credit association (ch'inmok kye).

Friendship credit associations are commonly organized among peers or the same age group. They put the monthly membership fee. In addition to the purpose of promoting friendship, these associations are used for helping with the educational fees of members' children. Those who migrated to other areas are associated with friends in the village through the friendship credit association.

The village head in the first sections informed me that the first friendship rotating credit association (ch'inmok kye) was organized among school friends who returned to the village for the celebration of the Full Moon's day on August 15th of the lunar calendar. According to him, when migrants returned home and got together with friends in the village, they had many drinking parties at different friends' houses and, sometimes, at the village store. Then, they got drunk and had a tendency to fight. At some point, some people suggested that they should organize a reunion meeting with various recreation and sport game programs at the Daekok primary school. In subsequent years, young men in the same age group men followed the lead of their seniors. There are about seven age-group credit rotating associations, and each has its own names such as: old people's association (changnyon hoe), restoration association (yushin hoe), pine tree association (solnip hoe), agricultural cattle association (nongwu hoe), country club association (hyangt'o hoe), and student association (haksaeng hoe).

Women have many short-term friendship rotating credit associations. With the money that they often take seasonal bus tours in the early spring and the late fall when the agricultural work demand are not very

heavy. Sometimes, they organize an association to purchase a special item. When I was in the village, for instance, the village store owner was organizing the gold ring kye (panji kye). Each member was supposed to put a certain sum of money to buy a gold ring of one ton (about 3.75 grams).

In Koksan, the kye is little utilized as a means of saving as other scholars report on various saving kye (i.e., rice kye) (see Kyung-soo Chun 1984: 127; Ch'un-dong Kim 1983: 365; Kennedy 1977), but more as a means of prompting friendship. Along with social drinking, seasonal bus tours by kye members to various tourist places promote a multi-stranded relationship with friends and becomes a basis for mutual help in production and life crisis rituals.⁴ As I have stated, a friendship kye was first organized to develop and maintain migrants' ties with old friends in the village and still plays an important role in maintaining migrants' rural linkages to the village.

Taegok Primary School

Village children attend the Taegok primary school which was established in 1970. Children from four other neighboring villages attend the same primary school. In addition to the headmaster and the vice headmaster, there are six teachers, one in charge of each grade.

⁴ Sometimes, the wives of members of a male friendship kye accompany their husbands on a bus tour. I may point out here that while bus tours by rural people are often portrayed as a negative phenomenon (i.e., contamination of the rural culture by the urban consumer or entertainment culture) in the newspapers and other mass media, they seem to have become one of the bases for the establishment of multi-stranded friendships.

At the school, children are taught writing, reading and mathematics as well as traditional norms and values. For instance, the school claims its foremost educational goal to be the inculcation of patriotism. The word patriotism is expressed by the Chinese character "loyalty" (ch'ung), which in the past meant people's loyalty to kings. Thus, the term loyalty seems to be used with an intention of inducing the same kind of emotional response toward the nation-state. The school also has a project for the development of four social practices (sahaeng undong) by children: 1) patriotism (aeguk), 2) filial piety (hyodo), 3) reciprocity to teachers (saun), 4) respect for elders (kyungno).

Taegok primary school is an important institution through which some inter-village activities and relationships are organized. Most of all, children who attend the school in some cases become life-time friends. Also, various meetings and social occasions are organized through the school. The school holds an annual athletic competition, and annual spring and fall school picnics, in which students and the majority of their parents participate. During the annual athletic meeting, parents and grandparents participate in special programs organized for them. The Mothers' Association of Daekok primary school occasionally organizes feasts for the older people (kyongno chanch'i) and invites older people.

The school also indirectly brings about change in inter-generational relationships. Elderly people often say that unlike when they were young, nowadays children know a great many things about the outside world. Elderly people told me that when they were young they simply followed the ways of their own parents and obeyed their seniors. They

comment that children know about many things which even the old people do not know. The old people in Koksan emphasize that, indeed, times have changed, and that children should not live like them, in ignorance.

Unlike their parental generation, both girls and boys in Koksan express their hopes to have various urban occupations. Boys say that they want to be scientists, spaceship pilots, army generals and so on. Girls want to be beauticians, nurses, and kindergarden teachers, marathon runners, and so on. It seems that expressed occupational aspirations of boys and girls reflect the traditional image of the inside/outside distinction. They have been familiarized with their goals through various sources such as children's magazines, cartoon books, and, especially, through TV. The following are a couple of excerpts from written essays by fifth grade students in Koksan that I obtained. They clearly demonstrate that their future projects are largely shaped by mass media:

" My future goal is to be an athlete. My parents do not like me to be an athlete. But, I was very impressed by watching the marathon runner, Lim Ch'unae, on TV, who won 4 gold medals during the Asian Games...."⁵

-from a composition on "What I want to be in the future" by a girl in fifth grade -

"I want to be so many things when I grow up. I want to be a kindergarden teacher, a beautician and a nurse. If I become a kindergarden teacher, I will take good care of children. If I become a beautician, I will be able to make many women look pretty. But, I want to be a nurse, too, to give warm care to sick people. I know that I can not be so many things at the same time. Maybe, I will give up hopes to be a nurse because I think I will find it difficult to give a shot to other people...."

- from a composition on "What I want to be in the future" by a girl

⁵ Lim Ch'unae won 4 gold medals as a runner in the Asian Games that were held in Seoul in 1984.

in fifth grade -

"I like flying things such as a helicopter and an airplane. My dream is to be a pilot and fly an airplane. I saw spaceship pilots fighting other spaceships in TV catoons such as "T'aekwon V" and "MacKander V". Once I told my father that I wanted be be a pilot. My father said that if I wanted to be a pilot, I should be an airforce commander. Whenever I buy toys, I choose either helicopters or airplanes because I want to be a pilot.... I want to make a space spaceship similar to "Apollo No. 1" and fly it into space."

-from a composition on "What I want to be in the future" by a boy in fifth grade-

Parents encourage their children to pursue their occupational aspirations. While the parents encourage the occupational aspirations of children, they do not seem to be consciously aware that the children's future projects will bring new dynamics into the household structure. Rather, they think of it as an achievement that will bring high social status and wealth to the parental household (chip). This is paradoxical because children's involvement in urban jobs may disrupt the traditional intergenerational reciprocity (see chapter 4). Also, parents' discourses on higher education and occupational success are mixed with the new idea that one can be whatever one decides to be (or wants to be). This new theme seems to mask the children's structural position and their relatively limited opportunities and, thus, may facilitate their acceptance of the capitalist form of life. This does not mean that they are not aware of their socio-economic position in the national political economy. They often express their concern about their limited capacity to have a university education. Their awareness, however, does not stop them from participating in discourses on the unlimited hopes and aspirations for their children's future.

Gender, Labour Market, and the Household

One of the real shifts that has occurred in the recent past is the emergence of adolescence. As I have mentioned, in the past, villagers did not experience any marked adolescent period between their childhood and married adult status. Nowadays, the prolonged formal educational period, the requirement for men's compulsory military service in the National Army, and late marriage age differentiate a transitional period of youth between childhood and adulthood.⁶ This transitional period for young people, especially for men, is full of uncertainty and anxiety. Those who do not find jobs after finishing military service may stay home and help their parents with farming. Generally, young men who work on their parents' farm do not like this option. One strong complaint that they have in staying home and helping their parents is that their labour contribution is considered to be part of the household production. Young people who often need money for various reasons have to ask for money from their parents and often quarrel with their parents over the amount of their pocket money. Young people's complaint over their labour contribution and lack of economic independence can be seen as a threat to the collective identity of the household, which can lead to the breakdown in pooling.

Job opportunities are also directly related to marriage opportunities as girls prefer to marry men in non-agricultural occupations. Men's "ability" is often discussed in terms of their

⁶ According to my investigation, people in their late sixties and seventies married in their teens - around fifteen for women and around seventeen or eighteen for men. See also T'ae-whan Kwon (1975).

ability to make a decent living. This economic ability is also connected to male domination. In the past, men's domination over women was not threatened because men's superiority was unquestioned. Women's economic contributions, even those involving cash income, tend to be viewed as part of their domestic responsibility and not outside work. The ability to command a high income may become associated with male reproductive energy. The opposition of the genders may thus become increasingly uncoupled from its embeddedness in the domestic cycle and reformulated in terms of men's participation in the labour market and women's domestic role.

As in other agricultural areas in the country, girls' preference for men with urban jobs puts the village men in a disadvantageous position in finding spouses. As of 1986, there were about 17 men in their late twenties and early thirties who were called "old bachelors" (noch'onngak) in the village.⁷ This suggests that in the current situation, the macro economy, specifically, the labour market strongly influences the household structure. In Koksan, parents of young marriageable men who do not have urban employment often worry about their sons' unfavourable prospects of finding good spouses and sometimes encourage their sons to find even temporary urban employment to make themselves presentable to marriage partners.

Selection of a spouse by young people is suggestive of the attenuation of parental and kin authority, and has a bearing upon the

⁷ In Korea, young men in the agricultural sector have found it increasingly difficult in recent years. Occasionally, it is been reported that young farmers commit suicide because of their gloomy prospects in finding spouses.

structural change of the household. In the past, most marriages were arranged by neighbors, friends and kinsmen of the household head. Often, one who was married into another village mediated subsequent marriages; thus one marriage led to another like "a series of knots in a string" (yonjul kyolhon). Nowadays, kinsmen and neighbors have less control over the marriage "road" (cf. Bourdieu 1976: 21). Under these circumstances, it seems to me that the recent practice of the elaborate and expensive wedding ceremony in Koksan has a compensatory function for the decreased role of the parents and kinsmen in selection of the spouse. Other factors such as relative prosperity in Koksan in recent years and the working opportunities for young girls, etc. also contribute to the expensive wedding ceremony (Kendall 1984).

As I have stated, parents do not seem to be explicitly aware that urban jobs will transform the central importance of the continuation of the household. To them, outside jobs for boys are a replacement for their traditional role as "outside persons". Although the parents know that job opportunities are open for girls, and that girls can make a substantial contribution to the household economy, they still maintain their traditional notion that it is best for girls to meet nice husbands and good parents-in-law who will be fond of them. Girls express their hopes to work after marriage but feel it not possible because most jobs that they will have require them to quit after marriage.⁸ Girls think that their work opportunities are dependent on the opinion of their

⁸ This suggests that tradition and socialization are not adequate explanations for women's retreat into the domestic role after marriage in Koksan. Institutionalization of the domestic female role and the structure of labour market are inextricably intertwined.

future husbands and parents-in-law. Parents-in-law and husbands tend to object to young married women working in the "outside" except for the case of a few clerical jobs. They are afraid that women may be polluted by outside forces. This notion of pollution seems to be linked both to the liminal and incomplete personhood of women, whose identity can be acquired only in association with a collective entity such as the household. As with the notion of shame, women's possible economic independence and social autonomy as a potential threat to the collective identity of the household, thus, seem to be conceptualized in terms of the danger of pollution (cf. Douglas 1966).

While their mothers have been active in productive work such as agricultural farming and vegetable gardening as well as production of handicrafts, young girls in Koksan are prepared to be domestic housewives. The "retreat" of the more modernized younger women into a more purely domestic role than that of the older generation raises a question about one of the assumptions in modernization theory, which assumes that with economic development, women's participation in extra domestic work will increase. Also, here I see the emergence of a "private" sphere in a form that did not exist before.

Except for unmarried young people, most villagers in Koksan do not plan to move to other places. Many people told me that because they were living close to Seoul anyway, they did not feel that they should move. There are a few people, however, who said that they wanted to move to Seoul some time in the future because educational opportunities for their children were not good in Koksan. They feel that their children can not compete with children in the Seoul area and, thus, have

less chance of passing the college entrance examination. Reasons for migration to urban areas for educational purposes of children seem to imply that there is a shift of emphasis from the intergenerational reciprocity between the old parents and the mature children to the importance of the younger generation's future. The household is being restructured for children's future plans.

Future Plans and the Intergenerational Bond

I have mentioned that in the past, a mother's affection for her children was little differentiated from her general concern for provisioning and nurturing of household members. The mother's affectional sentiments for her son are still less marked off from her general concern for the children's well-being in Koksan than either in cities or in western society. For instance, the idea of parents' babysitting and playing with children during the daytime is still not familiar to them. One day when I walked around the village with my two boys, I heard a village woman of my age talking to herself: "Wouldn't it be nice for a woman to have no work to do?"

There is some recognition of the importance of childhood among young people. Young mothers who have to entrust the care of their children to their mothers-in-law show a sense of uneasiness about the way their mothers-in-law take care of their children. When young mothers have mothers-in-law living with them, they expect that they will help taking care of the baby. At the same time, they worry that their mothers-in-law may not take care of the baby in the "right way". Mothers-in-law, in turn, complain that their daughters-in-law give them

the burden of taking care of the grandchildren but do not appreciate their help.

As affectional ties between the parents and children become more important, young parents who have only girls no longer plan to adopt a son from their relatives. Even among old people and their mature daughters, a long-standing adoption may become subject to discussion or dispute. An elderly woman in the first section of the village, for example, has seven girls and no son, and she adopted the second son of her husband's younger brother's second son. When her husband died, the adopted son came to perform his ritual role at the funeral. After the funeral, the adopted heir and the old woman's seventh daughter had a quarrel over the possible residence of the adopted son with the elderly woman and the division of the household property. After the quarrel, the adopted son returned to his home in the second section. Sometime after the incident, the seventh daughter, who was married and living in another place, came back to the village bringing her husband and two boys. Currently, the elderly woman is living with her youngest daughter's family. What the heir's relationship to the woman's household will be was unclear at the time of my fieldwork.

Old people who have adopted sons as their future ritual heirs may have ambivalent feelings toward their adopted sons. Those who have some property to bequeath to adopted sons have some suspicions in regard to the motivation of their ritual heirs, even though the adoption practice depends on the customary rule rather than a voluntary contract. An old couple, for instance, who have adopted the first son of the old man's younger brother, often told me that they had not wanted to adopt him.

The adopted son imposed himself on the couple, registering himself as the couple's ritual heir. The adopted son's family live in Seoul and comes down to see the couple only a few times a year. According to the account of the old woman, her adopted son does not want to take her and her husband to Seoul. Her adopted son promises her that if one of the parents dies, he will take care of the one who is left.

In the past, the relationship between the adopter and adoptee was defined in terms of social rights and obligations. In recent years, it has become a legal relationship. This shift in the nature of the relationship between the adopter and adoptee strands the old people between traditional expectations and modern legal practice. For instance, in the past, the adopted son who was given to the big house was not expected to sever his obligation to his own parents. If he was the oldest son of his own parents, he had to take care of both his adopting parents and his own parents. With legal registration and the more clearly defined relationship between the parents and the legal heir, some benefits which are provided to the "legal" parents are not available to the heir's real parents. A woman told me that she could not benefit from the health insurance of her oldest son because the benefit went to the son's legal father.

As the oldest son's traditional responsibility to take care of his parents becomes a subject of discussion, the adopted son's responsibility to take care of the adopting parents become more tenuous. As in the case of the old couple described earlier, the adopted son can be very reluctant to take care of the adopting parents. The old couple's nephew in the village complains about the adoption arrangement

between the old couple and his cousin in Seoul. As his cousin lives in Seoul and does not come to see and take care of his uncle and aunt, he himself take greater responsibility for the couple. And, yet, he does not expect to inherit anything from them. Some villagers advise the old couple to switch the ritual heirship to the nephew in the village. The old couple say that it is not possible because the nephew in the village is the oldest son of the older brother. But, finally, the old couple decided to will their property to the nephew in the village with the condition that he will take care of them and give them ancestor worship after he gives it to his own parents.

All of this points up the fact that mobility and legal codification of the relationship between the father and his heir are not entirely compatible with various expecatations in regard to intergenerational reciprocity which were formerly embedded in the domestic cycle.

Outsiders: Renters, Retailers and Wholesalers

Female house owners and female room-renters tend to establish some kind of special relationship as occupants of the same compound. Occasionally, they share meals and give a hand to each other when there is a need. When there is a shortage of female labour to tie the sesame leaves during the summer, female renters tie the sesame leaves for the landladies. Although renters receive a wage for the work, having renters to tie the sesame leaves during the summer is one way of securing stable wage labour for the landladies who have large vegetable gardens. Some landladies become very close with female renters and interact with them as quasi-kin. For instance, when I visited Minjun's

grandmother in the initial period of my field study, I mistakenly assumed that a female renter was her own daughter because Minjun's grandmother seemed to be closer to the female renter. The relationship between landladies and female renters, however, can be tenuous. Several months after I saw Minjun's grandmother and her female renter in this apparently close relationship, I heard that the female renter had run away without paying several months' rent. Renters are expected to put 100,000 won as a deposit to rent a room and pay a monthly rent of 25,000 won . When the landlady and the renter become acquainted with each other after several months of co-residence, it becomes difficult for a landlady to demand that the renter pay the rent on the exact day, and she tends to wait for a couple of months before pressing for payment. Because of incidents like that, villagers, especially the landladies, tend to be somewhat suspicious and uneasy about renters' identity.

Renters sometimes present a false story of their background to their landladies. For instance, the woman in Minjun's grandmother's house told neighbors -she told me so too when I interviewed her- that her husband was working in Saudi Arabia as a construction worker. It turned out that her husband was in prison. She disappeared from the village the day before her husband finished his prison term. He came to the village looking for his wife and told the landlady his story.

My landlady was always uneasy about my absence from the village because of her unhappy experience with a former renter. One of her previous room-renters left his own possessions in the room and did not come back for several months. According to my landlady, he introduced himself as a retired middle school principal and was very cordial to

her. One day my landlady asked me to read the name card that she found in his room. On the name card, there was a long list of his occupations as a owner of many buildings and companies. I told her that he must have been a fraud. In a paradoxical way, it made my identity more unbelievable. As with him, I did not have many valuables with me, except for some cooking utensils, blankets, books and my two boys, which did not match my unbelievably impressive stories about who I was. To her it smacked of fraud as in stories of some other renters.

Despite uneasy feelings, villagers tend to end up establishing a close relationship with renters. Minjun's grandmother who had a bitter experience with the woman that I described developed a similarly close relationship with the next room-renter. This time, she rented a room to a young woman who had her husband and two boys with her. When I went to visit Minjun's grandmother, I often found the female renter's two children sleeping in Minzoon's Grandmother's room as if they were her own grandchildren. The female renter was often talking to her as if she were a daughter.

I think that the relationship between the landlady and the room-renter can be characterized as a contradiction consisting of a tension between the distance between houseowner and outsider and the closeness between residents of the same house. There is a possibility that interaction between houseowners and renters can be reduced to the single-stranded relationship as contractors, which seemed to be more characteristic in the city. However, there is constant attempt, conscious or unconscious, both by the outsiders and villagers to mitigate the cash nexus through the utilization of reciprocity.

At the store in the second section of the village, which is operated by a young couple who came from the outside, young people gather during the winter time and spend most of their day and evening, talking, drinking and sometimes gambling. They buy snacks and drinks. Sometimes, they buy instant noodles and ask the female owner to boil them. The female owner, who is often called "sister-in-law", cooks the noodles and also provides the youths with snacks such as kimch'i. Providing a room for the young people is part of the business. However, neither the owner nor the young people who spend most of their idle time there want to put their relationship in terms of store owner and customer. The young people understand that they can not demand that she cook the noodles simply because they buy things there. Rather, they can ask her because she is like a sister-in-law and is close enough to cook the noodles for brothers who are hungry. But, she can not serve the noodles without kimch'i. If she does, she will look like a person without any "human heart" (injong).

As I have mentioned in chapter 3, there are two village stores, one in each section of the village. The store building in the first section is cooperatively owned by the villagers in the first section. The store owner rents it from the village through making the highest bid every two years. If the store produces high profits, other villagers will try to bid for the rent at a higher price next time. Therefore, villagers in the first section feel that they have to buy things from the village store. In 1984, another villager opened a store in the first section but was not successful because villagers, unless they were close kinsmen, did not purchase from the other store. The store was closed in

1986.

Easy accessibility to outside markets through the commuter train, however, complicates the reciprocal relationship between the village store owner and other villagers. The village store owner feels that because he pays high rent to the village, villagers should purchase daily necessities from his store. Villagers, however, feel that the store owner sells things at high prices. Villagers seem to think that they should buy things wherever they can find good quality at lower prices. Nonetheless, they show embarrassment if they encounter the village store owner on their way back home from the market.

Retailers of daily necessities come once or twice a week in trucks and sell them to villagers at lower prices than the village store. This creates some tension between the village store owner and the visiting retailer. Sometimes, the village store owner tries to drive them out of the village, harassing them by saying that they ruin his business. He feels justified to do so because he pays a high rent to the village with an expectation that villagers will purchase things from the village store. The village store owner can harass the visiting retailer and try to claim his right to do business in the village. But, he can not stop visiting retailers from coming into the village and frequent visits of retailing trucks to the village seem to have increasingly become a more routine scene in the village.

In an effort to offset the penetration of the visiting retailers, the village owner offers various extra services and gifts. The village store owner and his wife volunteer to purchase certain items for their neighbors who can not go to the market for various reasons. They also

send gifts to their neighbors and friends in the village on special holidays such as the Full Moon's day (Ch'usok), one of the most celebrated national holidays in Korea. When they send gifts to neighbors and friends whom they consider to be important customers, there is always a chance for some other people in the village will feel alienated because they did not receive gifts. Then, they reason that they have no cause to feel obligated to buy things at the village store at such high prices. Gift-giving and establishing a kind of patron-client relationship in the village become more complicated as the outside retailers often give small gifts to their close customers in the village and establish multi-stranded relationships.

Many outsiders, such as travelling female venders, hairdressers, and wholesalers of various sorts, visit Koksan at various times and establish certain kinds of long-term relationships. Venders come to the village during special periods, i.e., the Full Moon's season, and sell special food items that will be used for the festive occasions. Usually, they claim that they have brought special food items from their famous places of origin and want to sell them at a special price because they need to go back home before the holiday. Villagers compare the price offered by the venders with the market price and buy things from venders. Occasionally, venders ask if they can have some food if there are left-overs. Venders seem to get their meals this way as they travel from village to village.

Unlike the relationship between the vender and villager, the relationship between wholesalers from the outside and villagers seems to be based on a long-term relationship. Wholersalers come into the

village to buy straw mats and sesame leaves. Those who want to buy the straw mats often prepay as a way of ensuring their purchase. Competing wholesalers try to get villagers to sell them their sesame leaves by offering a better price. Sometimes, villagers give their sesame leaves to the outside wholesalers because the latter offer better prices than the village wholesaler. But, they do not give their entire product to the outsider.

The Church and the Village Health Center

While other outsiders in the village try to establish some kind of informal networks in the traditional social form, the village church minister and the resident nurse in the village health center, whose husband is also a minister in the neighboring village, try to establish relationships on their own terms. I hardly ever saw them participating in village rituals. While sharing food and drinks with friends and neighbors in daily as well as ritual interactions are one of the most common and important ways of establishing and maintaining interpersonal ties, their Christian background and beliefs about ritual food and drink seem to make the church minister and the resident nurse uncomfortable and reluctant to participate in sharing them. They say that belief in ancestral spirits is not only superstitious but also demonic. As devout Christians they think that ancestor worship is a belief in ancestral ghosts, and they can not share food and drinks that have been offered to the ancestral ghosts. They also think that villagers are superstitious and benighted hostages of past traditions.

Until recently, they have not been very successful in their

missionizing attempts. Most of their associates are room-renters. Out of about twenty people who attend the Sunday service, only about four families are from the native villagers' households in Koksan. Although there are some uneasy feelings between villagers and the resident nurse in the village health center, because villagers do not observe regular working hours and tend to visit the health center at any time when they are free of other work, the resident nurse can have more frequent contacts with villagers who sometimes need emergency help from her. Also, the nurse keeps in touch with village women by providing a family planning educational program and necessary facilities. The resident nurse seems to utilize these contacts as an opportunity to convert young women to Christianity. However, her attempts are not very successful as old people in the village still have a rather firm control over the ritual life in Koksan. Old people, especially old women, think that becoming a Christian convert is comparable to changing one's household guardian gods who will then be angered and bring misfortunes to the household. One female informant in her early sixties told me that once she went to the church. Afterwards, goblins (tokkaebi) with burning fire came down to her house ground and danced the whole night until dawn. Her mother-in-law became extremely worried and scared and told her not to go to the church anymore. However, I was interested to observe that my informant's unmarried daughter attends the church, and she did not seem to mind. This seems to be based on the knowledge that the daughter will eventually become an outsider and will not bring a disaster to the old woman's household as her daughter-in-law might.

Some young daughters-in-law, the future mistresses of the

households, told me that they had been Christians before they were married. After marriage, they were not allowed to attend the church by parents-in-law. However, they intended to attend the church after their parents-in-law died. One woman in her mid-thirties told me that her mother-in-law had told her that she could not go to church as long as her mother-in-law was alive. According to her mother-in-law, one should not change the household gods.

It seems that there is possibility that ancestor worship and Christianity can be compatible. For instance, I saw an elderly man praying in front of the grave at the seasonal ancestor worship while other kinsmen were giving deep kowtows to lineage ancestors. He explained to me that he was praying to God for his ancestor. Another man who came from Seoul for the lineage ancestor worship told me that ancestor worship was a show of respect and love for ancestors, not a belief. Also, young women who are planning to attend the church after their mothers-in-law die do not express any objection to ancestor worship. Mostly, they complained about various household gods that their mothers-in-law supplicate. This suggests that there is a possibility that male Confucian ritual can be incorporated and even upheld as "a laudable custom and good tradition" (mip'ungyangsok) while the indigenous community ritual and the female household ritual will be further devalued as a "superstition" (misin).

The Annual Communal Mountain Ritual (Sanch'isong) and Household Ritual (Kosa)

Unlike ancestor worship, the annual village mountain ritual is considered to be a collective community affair. The village ritual always has been jointly held by the two administrative sections of Koksan. The funds necessary for the mountain ritual are collected from each household in the village by the two village heads of the first and second sections of Koksan as part of the village tax (risse). Some room renters in the village, however, do not want to participate in the village mountain ritual and consequently complain about the collection as part of the village tax.

In general, traditional ritual forms and procedure are followed unless there are contingent circumstances. As I have stated, until 1976, the mountain ritual (sanch'isong) was performed in front of the sacred tree (tangsan namu) on the village mountain top. With the establishment of a military base on the mountain top, the tree became located within the military compound, and the ritual had to be performed at a place which was located some distance away. Pollution taboos associated with the ritual are generally observed. If there is any pollution (such as birth or death) in the village, the ritual should be postponed until the first day of the following month, which is the November 1st in lunar calendar. If there is any pollution in the village even in the following month, it has to be postponed until the first day of the following January. It can not be performed in December because December is thought to be a "rotten month" (ssogundal). In 1986, the ritual had to be postponed until November 1st as there was a

death in the village in October. The house where the ritual food is prepared (tangju) has to be ritually clean and quiet. I asked the first section village head what he meant by a "clean" house. He replied that a house which did not have young women and children was considered clean. Women who prepare the ritual food must be free of blood pollution (p'ibujong) and they are likely to be old women who had passed menopause. As I have said, some changes in the ritual procedure seem to derive from the changed living situations. For instance, in the past when there was a village well (umul) those who took part in the preparation of the ritual had to take a bath with the water from the village well, and ritual foods had to be prepared with the water from the village well. During the ritual period, other villagers were temporarily banned from the waterhole by a straw string (imjul). The village well was replaced by water pumps during the New Community Project, and later by water faucets. Currently, every household has its own water faucet. The fact that villagers do not now have a collective village well and that villagers use the water faucet for the preparation of the ritual food raises a question about how this may have affected the meaning of the community ritual.

In the past, those who performed the mountain ritual were selected from among well-respected old people in the village. The village head, who was one of performers, seemed to be older and had more authority and influence in the village than the current young village heads. With modernization and New Community projects, the village head came to exercise less and less autonomous influence and became like a local functionary passing out the government policies to the villagers and

doing errands for the villagers (see also Biernatzki 1967: 109). The fact that they perform the village ritual seem to indicate the decreasing importance of the ritual. Susan Park, an old man who knows how to perform the ritual and chants the Chinese ritual words at the sacred tree, informed me that women could not participate. In 1986, Susan Park, the village heads from the first and second sections of Koksan, and two young men left for the sacred mountain around midnight carrying the ritual foods to the stone table which was placed several steps down from the tree. According to Susan Park, the ritual consisted of offering of the food and the distilled rice wine, and burning of the ritual paper (soji) on which a household head name was written. In 1986, 112 soji were prepared for 112 households and burnt for each household by the two village heads. This meant that soji were prepared mainly for native villagers.

The meaning of the annual mountain ritual seems to have changed. People give different accounts as to what they think of the mountain ritual. If the annual mountain ritual is delayed due to the pollution in the village, old people, especially old women, worry that there some disasters might occur. When the mountain ritual had to be postponed to the following month in 1986 due to two deaths, I heard old women talking to each other about the malsungyangi coming down from the mountain in the night and roaming around the village crying for the food until before dawn. Old female informants told me that malsungyangi was some mysterious animal, which was similar to a "fire fox" (pulyowu).⁹ When I

⁹ In Korean oral tradition, the fire fox is often portrayed as a mysterious animal which transforms itself into various forms and tricks and harms people.

asked village men, they contested what the women had told me. They said that old women's talk about the malsungyangi was silly and superstitious. One man told me that malsungyangi was an animal but had nothing to do with the mountain ritual and misfortunes in the village. According to several male informants, the mountain worship was offered to the male grandfather spirit (sansilryong), who was the master of the mountain.

In the past, if the community ritual had to be omitted due to series of pollution occurring in the village, a shamanistic ritual (todang kut) was occasionally performed in the village. Through the invocation of the female shaman, the mountain spirit descended from the sacred tree to a shaking branch that the shamaness was holding. The shaking branch was brought into the village where the shaman performed a ritual (todang kut), which was supposed to restore the disrupted order in the village. The village ritual by a shaman has not been performed for several years. Still, elderly women in the village talk about the shaman's village ritual that they sponsored when the mountain ritual had to be omitted due to a series of polluting events in the village. I overheard elderly women talking about a man who died soon after he had brought back the shaking sacred branch from the mountain into the village after the female shaman invoked the spirit of the sacred tree to descend on the branch. When I further inquired of elderly women about the man, they dropped the topic and remained silent. After that incident, I asked village men about the shamanistic ritual and they told me that in the past they had to sponsor the shamanic ritual because the "ignorant" and "superstitious" old women in the village strongly insisted

on it. According to Chu-gun Chang (1983), there are indications suggesting that community rituals belong to the indigenous tradition predating the Confucian ritual and often involve worship of female community guardians, and have taken up the male Confucian ritual elements. In Koksan, it seems that the community mountain ritual has been devalued and "confucianized" to a large extent even in recent years. This trend contrasts with the recent reinstitutionalization of the Confucian tradition of ancestor worship in Koksan and suggests that, with modernization, their "traditional" cultural identity has been more "confucianized". Village heads and other male informants told me that they performed the ritual for the mountain spirit (sansilryong) who had a grandfather image. The village legend which was told to children at the Daekok primary school, however, suggested that the spirit residing in the tree was perceived to be the grandmother spirit:

"Our village has an old legend. It is about the big pine tree on the village mountain. The mountain spirit had been living in the pine tree. The mountain spirit was an old woman (grandmother). Every night, mountain spirit grandmother visited the shaman grandmother, dosa halmoni, in her dream, who was living under the pine tree and told her what was going to happen to the villagers on the following day. One day, the mountain spirit grandmother came to the shaman grandmother and warned her that an army station would be built where the mountain spirit had been living. The mountain spirit grandmother asked the shaman grandmother to have the villagers oppose the building of the army station where the sacred pine tree was. So told the shaman grandmother to the villagers the next day. When the villagers learned the Government's plan to build an army base on the mountain, they strongly opposed it. Despite the strong opposition from the villagers, a Korean army station was built where the pine tree was. Since then, the mountain spirit grandmother has not come down to the shaman grandmother.

I wonder whether it is true that there was the mountain spirit in the past."

- from a composition on "Our Village" by a fifth grade student in Koksan-

Along with the decreasing importance of the community ritual in Koksan, women's annual household ritual seems to become less important and less practiced in recent years. Annual household rituals (kosa) are performed by senior women in each households. Villagers can have the annual house ritual only after the annual village mountain ritual. The date of the house ritual can be decided by each household. The ritual itself is not very elaborate and does not need much preparation. The senior woman in the house prepares rice cakes (kosa ttok) and distilled rice wine (soju) and offers them to the various household gods.

At the annual household ritual (kosa), the senior woman supplicates the governing house god (sungju) and various other house gods such as the gate-guarding general (sumun taejang), the seven star gods (ch'ilsongdang), and the Bodhisattva (posal), and the birth grandmother (samsin halmoni) residing at various places in the house for the prosperity and the long life of the household members. At the house gate, she offers steamed rice cakes and distilled rice wine to "wandering ghosts and beggar ghosts" (paekowi yongsan) and asks them to enjoy her offering and go far away from the house.

The community ritual and the household ritual acknowledge that the communal order and the household order are interrelated. They recognize that any transition in the household structure can be a potential source of disruption of the order and solidarity of the community. Offering of the steamed rice cake and the distilled rice wine to wandering ghosts and beggar ghosts indicates that outsiders are perceived to be a potential threat to the well-being of collective members of the household and the community. The decreasing importance of the community

and household rituals contrasts with the more elaborate practices of ancestor worship and suggests that industrialization does not lead simply to the replacement of "traditional" ideas and practices by new ideas and practices but presents a more complex picture. This leads me to consider the formation of identity in the contexts of villagers' relationship with the outside world.

Migration, National Holidays and Ancestors

In the early 1960s, when the economic development and "modernization" of Korean society were put as the prime goal on the national agenda by the government, some scholars criticized the lineage for forming factional interest refusing to cooperate with other community members (i.e., Biernatzki 1967; Man-gap Lee 1960; 1970). Others reported that lineage elders "lived a backward-looking looking life, under the shadow of their ancestors, proud only of the glory of their ancestors and their accomplishment" (Ki-hyuk Pak and Gamble 1975:102). My research indicates that Koksan, a commoner village, which experienced recent social change and prosperity, there has been an impetus to emphasize the lineage organization and various lineage events. For instance, most of the grave stone monuments placed by the Park lineage were placed in early 1980s, and the corporate lineage ritual land was purchased in the recent past. While the majority of the old people are not able to read the genealogy books written in Chinese characters, old Park lineage people in Koksan are talking about buying a new genealogy which is in preparation by a clan association in Seoul.

Setting up of the stone monument at the ancestral graves and

performance of the more elaborate ancestor worship, however, should not be interpreted as "a backward-looking life " or an attempt to live "under the shadow of their ancestors, proud only of the glory of their ancestors and their accomplishments" (Ki-hyuk Pak and Gamble 1975:102). Rather, their interest in their ancestral past and connectedness should be understood as a response to the recent social change and a contemporary attempt to reconstruct their identity. Kil-song Ch'oe says that the recent mass movement from urban areas to the native place in rural areas on special holidays (i.e., New Year's Day, Full Moon's Day, ect.) can be viewed as the continuation of Koreans' respect for ancestors in his Ancestor Worship in Korea (Hangukui chosangsungbae).

To quote Kil-song Ch'oe

"Some traditional rituals seems to either disappear or become simplified but events and rituals associated with ancestor worship do not follow the trend. On the contrary, holidays, celebrations and rituals associated with ancestor worship become more elaborated and pronounced. Massive population movement [to their native places] during holidays such as Full Moon's Day (Ch'usok) suggest their attachment to their native places as well as the importance of ancestors" (Kil-song Ch'oe 1986:11). [my translation]

The relationship between urban migrants and ancestors in the native place should be viewed as a specific historical construction in the modern period in which both villagers in Koksan and migrants employ the traditional practices and meanings to maintain their ties through their mutual sharing of ancestral roots. This has a precedent in the traditional yangban practice. As I have discussed in chapter 2, traditionally yangban people never severed their kin ties when they were in other areas as public officials. Only "the lowly people" (sangnong) left their native villages and did not keep their ties with their kinsmen (Goldberg 1973; 1979).

In Koksan, the future Park lineage heir and his wife, who are presently living in Seoul, are expected to come back on ritual occasions and continue their role as the successors of the lineage heir. But they do not think that they will reside in Koksan and may have to entrust the land and the preparation of the ritual to a kinsman in the village. Thus, the ancestor worship, which has become more elaborate in Koksan in the recent past, tends to become a "ritualistic" occasion. It gives a sense of connectedness of migrants to the native place. Thus, migrants' connection with their native place plays on the same traditional themes and structures of feelings that one never forgets their ancestors and kinsmen - their roots - in their native village. At the same time, it tends to mask the fundamental transformations that have taken place in the nature of the relationship between the village and the state and in the village structure. Villagers in Koksan, for instance, have daily contacts with people in Seoul through work, visits, and mass media. Nonetheless, people seem to have maintained the imagery of the native village as a place where their "original" identity can be found.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In Anthropology as Cultural Critique (1986), Marcus and Fischer remind us that anthropology has a long-standing tradition as a critique of Western society: its epistemological assumptions as well as the influence of the mass culture on the frames of everyday life and formation of identity (Marcus and Fischer 1986: 114-120). They insist that Western anthropologists should repatriate anthropology as cultural critique. A question arises as to how, as a non-western anthropologist, can I bring back anthropological findings both to Western academia and home to Korea as a critique of the way we think and the way we live? My presentation of various "forms" of recruiting household members in Koksan in the past is not aimed at describing exotic forms of marriage, but as a way of pointing up the epistemological problem in formulating a cross-cultural concept of marriage. Marriage practices in Koksan share some "family resemblance" with marriage practices in other areas (cf. Needham 1971), but they are not coterminous. This suggests that while we should be cautious about the use of the general category of marriage, we can reach a better cross-cultural understanding through exploration of specific contents attached to such categories as marriage.

The examination of the construction of gender and social personhood in the context of the domestic cycle, especially in the context of the

native category of chip, again requires us to pay attention to meanings attached to the category and to dangers deriving from translation into western terms such as "family". Even though the domestic group, chip shares some family resemblance to the family as we commonly understand it (as a group of people connected through marriage and blood), the meaning of the chip is different from that of the family in modern industrial society because it is undifferentiated from other domains of social life. And one experiences the self as a kind of social personhood, embedded in the reproduction process of the chip.

Industrialization and modernization often decenter the self from "traditional" relationships (Berger, Berger and Kellner: 1974: 77). I have presented new trends in Koksán pointing to the decentering of self from the domestic cycle. At the same, the socio-cultural forces resisting the decentering of self from the collective identity are also at work. This inevitably creates some identity issues for people in Koksán, whether they consciously formulate it or not. I suggest that various forces deriving from the mass media and the formal educational system or various versions of tradition provide sources for construction of self in the modern conditions.

In his study of The Country and the City, R. Williams (1973) has shown that in Great Britain the country has shaped as well as has been reshaped by capitalistic development. In my study of village Koksán, I have demonstrated how the semi-proletarian household in Koksán which retains some features of traditional social structure is reproduced in modern socio-economic contexts. Nonetheless, as Williams points out, the notion that the country is the place where the influence of the city and

capitalism has not reached tends to prevail and mystify the dialectical development of the country and the city in history.

Various familiar images and structures of feelings attached to the rural village perpetuate the idea that in rural villages, people can find a more "authentic past." The way in which village legend is taught to the students in the primary school in Koksan reflects this mystified notion of the community. Their perception of the village as a community which shares a common past contrasts with their aspirations and hopes which lie in the future. Interestingly, children's future aspirations and hopes are formed through information coming through the mass media such as the television program. TV dramas on rural life such as "A Diary of Rural life" (Chonwon ilgi) portray the agricultural rural village as a bastion of the past where life is protected from the corrupting influence of urban consumer culture (though villagers adopt progressive ideas and technologies) and interpersonal relationships are based on "traditional" ideas of reciprocity and the human heartedness (injong) between neighbors and kinsmen. It is also a place where people live untainted by the urban "consumer" culture. Through images presented by the mass media, villagers seem to be re-aquainted with their "self-images" which are re-presented from the outside and they sometimes recognize (as well as mis-recognize) their present state as a deformed reality. While I was in Seoul during my fieldwork period, I watched an episode of the Chonwon ilgi, in which village women organized a friendship kye for a bus tour to a recreational place. When village men knew it, they lamented the corrupting influence of the urban culture on their women. The episode ended by the women's realization that they

did not have a right mind-set and should cancel the plan. I wondered how people in Koksan, where the bus tour kye was frequently organized among friends and neighbors, received the message of the drama. Unfortunately, I missed a chance to bring up the issue and discuss with villagers.

In chapter 3, I pointed out that the household in Koksan can be understood in its articulation with the wider socio-economic context. Paradoxically, this sustains a semblance of "traditional" household structures and community life. There are indications that some of the Confucian traditional practices and discourse have been reinforced while the indigenous communal tradition has been weakened in recent years. The emphasis on lineage organization and more elaborate ancestor worship, which have been practiced in recent years, for instance, can be seen as a defense mechanism in the face of the change in everyday life in Koksan, and, thus, a sign of change rather than a lack of change. They provide urban migrants a sense of connectedness to the village. This trend contrasts with the assumptions of unilineal modernization theory, according to which the traditional institutions are replaced by the modern institutions.

By pointing out the continuing influence of traditional social forms and meanings in the present social life in Koksan, obviously, I do not mean to say that people are tradition-bound and backward-looking. Rather, I want to suggest that the tradition itself is not a given entity but a constituting element of contemporary social life. By drawing upon traditional social forms, practices and meanings, villagers in Koksan maintain a sense of coherence in the life process and thus, a

sense of ontological security (cf. Giddens 1987: 148).

Deployment of old practices and meanings in new social contexts may result in "unintended consequences" (Giddens 1984: 293) and transformations. For instance, parents' encouragement for their children to receive higher education and bring high status and wealth to the family may result in the breakdown of the traditional household structure. Also, working girls' retreat into the domestic sphere after marriage, which is viewed as the "inside" in the traditional household, paradoxically, makes women more "inside" (domestic) and increases women's economic dependence on men in the modern period, while men's "outside" is understood and even identified with their role in labour market rather than with their function in extra-domestic community relationship. As a matter of fact, the community has become less important than the labour market in the reproduction of the domestic household. And we can discern the emergence of the gender division of the private and the public spheres, home and work place. Transformation in the relationship between the household and the community, however, is masked through the employment of traditional categories and discourses on gender division of space and activities as inside and outside persons (see also Yanagisako for a similar point on the shifting gender relationship among Japanese men and women in new socio-economic conditions 1987). While women's strong identification with the inside tends to force women to be economically more dependent on men, modern practices and images such as the love-match and affectional conjugal ties help women accept the domestic housewifely role with a false image of an equal partnership. Gendered personhood, which was embedded in the

domestic cycle is increasingly mediated by new social institutions such as schools and the labour market. Occupational and class positions may play a more important role in redefining the gender, person, and society in the future.

The recent elaboration of traditional ceremonies such as weddings, and sixtieth birthday celebration and traditional festive days often have been discussed as a continuation of "traditional" rituals. My own analysis, however, suggests that these elaborate rituals are often deployed as a strategy through which filial obligations and sentiments are focused and expressed. This shifts the filial obligations which were embedded in the reproduction process of the domestic group to elaborate ritual occasions and gift-giving. Young people in Koksan are aware of the strategizing aspect of traditional ceremony and often have discussions about it. For instance, daughters-in-law who do not reside with their parents-in-law try to mask the negligence of their duties through the giving of more expansive gifts and birthday celebrations than they can afford. Expansive gifts are supposed to express an unmeasurable affection toward their parents.

Parents, themselves, expect special treatment from their children on special holidays. In the process of incorporating the expectation from their children, they are redefining their relationship with their children from the undifferentiated multi-stranded relationships to the more specific ritualistic relationship while they may not be fully aware of possible implications of their expectations.

The fact that intergenerational reciprocity, which was embedded in the domestic cycle in the past, seems to have become differentiated from

the social process and becomes moments or events signals that the life cycle and the construction of selfhood are being decentered from the domestic cycle. With the disintegration of the domestic cycle, in the future, villagers may try to turn to other religious practices. The Christian church may be a good candidate in which villagers may try to find the meaning of the individual self and life. In other areas of Korea, both rural and urban, Christian churches have proved to be very aggressive and successful in their missionizing efforts.

At present, however, neither the nation-state nor the Christian church have replaced the chip either as a cultural idiom or as a center of identity. Rhetorics of nationalism and the expansion of the Christian church seem to be mixed with the idiom of chip and images from the traditional patriarchal family. Under the circumstance, there seems to be a dual process in which people still try to attain personhood through being a member of the household chip while their everyday activities are gradually differentiated from the continuation of the domestic cycle.

GLOSSARY

Glossary of Korean Words

Aeguk	Patriotism
An saram	Inside person
Anbang	Inner room
Angol	The first administrative section of Village Koksan
Ch'ilsongdang	Seven star household god
Ch'irmok kye	Friendship credit association
Ch'ol	Steel
Ch'ondungi	One who was born when the thunderstorm struck.
Ch'op	Concubine
Ch'ung	Loyalty
Chagun omoni	Small (junior) mother
Chagun manura	Small (junior) wife
Chagunjip	Small (branch) house
Chajo	Self-help
Charip	Self-reliance
Chesa	Ancestor worship
Chiban	Relatives within the tenth genealogical distance
Chido up	Chido township
Chip	House or household
Chokbo	Genealogy book

Cholla-do	A Southeastern Province in Korea
Chondungi	One born with a black spot.
Chong	Warm feeling
Chongbo	A unit of land (approximately 0.9 hectare)
Chongga	Main-line house of a lineage
Chongson	Main-line house heir
Chonwon ilgi	A diary on rural life
Chosang	Ancestors
Choson	Korean dynasty between 1392-1910
Chu'sok	Lunar harvest day
Chukwon	Major management right (of the household)
Chumo	Owner of a drinking house
Chungmae kyolhon	Arranged marriage
Chungmaeban yonaeban	Half-arranged and half-love match
Haksaeng hoe	Student association
Hanguk ui chosang sungbae	Ancestor worship in Korea
Hapdongkyolhonsik	Collective wedding ceremony
Honbaek	ancestral ghost
Honrye	wedding ceremony
Honsangkye	Rotating credit association for weddings and funerals
Hwangap	Sixtieth birthday
Hyangt'o hoe	Native place association
Hyobdong	Cooperation

Hyodo	Filial piety
Ilsan	A township near Koksan
Imjul	A ritual straw string prohibiting certain people's approach to the ritually marked space
Injong	Human heartedness
K'unchip	Big (main) house
Kaksongbati tongne	Village with various surname people
Kangsupso	Private training school
Keun	A unit of weight
Kijesa	Death day ancestor worship
Kimch'i	Pickled Korean vegetable
Kireso chusowatta	Picked up from the road
Koksan	A village near Seoul, My fieldsite
Kongsinjon	"Merit" land
Kosa	Household ritual
Kosa tt'ok	Rices cakes prepared for the household ritual
Koyang kunji	History book of Koyang county
Koyang kun	Koyang county
Kugbap	Soup with rice and beef
Kujong	Lunar New Year's Day
Kwanhonsangje kye	Rotating credit association for rites of passage, e.g., weddings, funeral, and ancestor worship
Kye	Rotating credit association
Kyonggi-do	Kyonggi Province

Kyongno	Respecting elderly people
Kyongno chanch'i	Feast to console elderly people
Kyongyongnong punong	Wealthy managerial peasants
Kyujanggak	Palace (national) library
Maemaehon	Marriage by purchase
Malsungyangi	A legendary animal
Manhon	Ghost marriage
Marum	Resident deputy for absentee landholders
Matshi opda	Food or people with no taste
Maumul yolda	Open one's heart
Metbangsok	Straw mats
Mimmyonuri	A daughter-in-law who marries before puberty
Mip'ungyangsok	Beautiful customs and laudable tradition
Misin	Superstition
Mudom yangja	Grave adopted son-in-law
Munjung	A lineage
Munsan	A township near DMZ
Myon	Distict
Myongil chesa	Ancestor worship on national holidays
Nau'i somang	What I want to be
No ch'onggak	Old bachelor
Noin-ne	Old folks
Nongwu hoe	Agricultural association
Nunggok	A township near Koksan

Omonihoe	Mother's association
Orun	Adults
P'a	A segmentary lineage
P'allyo on yoja	A woman who were brought in through purchase
P'ibujong	Pollution through blood
P'umasi Paegkwiyongsan	Labour exchange Hundreds of young wandering ghosts
Pakk'at saram	Outside person
Panji kye	Association organized to purchase a ring
Pansanghoe	Monthly meeting of neighbors village
Pogdogbang	Real estate office
Pom	Tiger
Posal	Bodhisattiva
Puinhoe	Married women's association
Pulyowu	Fire Fox, a legendary animal
Pyong	A unit of land
Risse	Village tax
Sadaebongsa	Performance of ancestor worship for ancestors in four ascending generations
Saeagi	New baby, a term of address for a young new daughter-in-law
Saemaul undong	New Community Movement
Sahaeng undong	Four practice movement
Samsin halmoni	Birth grandmother goddess

Sanch'isong	Mountain Ritual
Sangkye	Rotating credit association for funerals
Sangnom	Lowly people
Sangsilryong	Mountain grandfather spirit
Saon yoja	Woman who was brought in through purchase
Saram	A native Korean word for person
Setbang	Rented room
Shin	Sincerity
Sije	Annual ancestor worship at the grave site
Sinch'on	A district in Seoul
Sobuyok	Seoul's western train station
Sodang	Confucian elementary private school
Soji	Ritual paper burnt during the Annual Mountain ritual
Soju	Distilled rice wine
Son	Face to face formal introduction of young men and women through the mediation of matchmakers
Songju	Household god
Sonsan	Ancestor mountain available to lineage members for burial
Sowon	Private Confucian academia
Ssogundal	Rotten (polluted) month
Suljip	Drinking house
Sumun taejang	Household god keeping the housegate

Suyangtt'al myonuri sandut handa	One does as one pleases as one make one's adopted daughter as one's daughter-in-law
T'oji chosa saop	Land survey carried out during Japanese colonialism
Tae	Big, great
Tangju	The master of the community ritual
Tangnae	Agnatic kinsmen within 10th genealogical distance
Tangsan namu	Sacred tree
Terilsawi	Son-in-law who undergoes an uxori-local marriage
Todang kut	Shamanistic communal ritual
Toji	Ground-site tax
Tokk'aeabi	Goblin
Tongne kage	Village store
Tongsongdongbon	People with the same surname and the same surname origin place
Tosa halmoni	Shaman grandmother
Tulkke	Wild sesame
Twitgoji	The second administrative section of village Koksan
Umul	Waterhole
Uri maul	Our village
Widap	Lineage ritual land
Won	Korean currency
Yangban	Officials of "two orders" or gentry class

Yeppuni	A female Korean name
Yonae kyolhon	Love-match
Yong	Dragon
Yongdon	Money for personal spending
Yongsenong	Small landholding farmers
Yonjul kyolhon	One marriage leading to another like knots on a string
Yushinhoe	A name for a rotating credit association

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

Questionnaire 1

- 1) Respondent's name _____, address _____, age _____, sex _____, and relationship to the household head.
- 2) How long have you been living in the village?
- 3) Why and how did you come to live in the village? Where did you live before you took residence in the village?
- 4) When and how did your spouse take residence in the village? Where did your spouse live before he/she took residence in the village?
- 5) When did your get married: a) age at the first marriage _____, b) age at the second marriage _____, c) age at the third marriage _____, etc.
- 6) When was your your spouse's age at marriage: 1) age at the first marriage _____, b) age at the second marriage _____, c) age at the third marriage, etc.
- 7) Who mediated the marriage (or who introduced the spouse?) and how?
- 8) Who made a decision on the selection of your spouse?
- 9) Is there any reason for you (or your parents) think that your spouse was a suitable match for you?

10) Composition of the household

N. of H.H.M. Sex Age Mari. St. Econ.Act. Re. to H.H. RE.

Notes: N. of H.H.M. = number of household members; Mar. St. = marital status; Econ.Act. = economic activity; Re. to H.H. = relationship to the household head; RE. = residence in the village.

- 11) Has anybody (either male or female) from your household been provided to your relatives or others for adoption? If so, who in your household, to whom and why?
- 12) Has anybody (either male or female) been adopted into your household from your relatives or others? If so, who, from whom and why?
- 13) What was the size of landholding at the time of your marriage?
- 14) Have you received any household property from your parents (or parents-in-law) or siblings? If so, when, what and how much?
- 15) When were you able to set up your own household?
- 16) To what genealogical distance would you include in your close chiban kinsmen? Diagram of the genealogy that the respondent can give at the time of interview.
- 17) What kinds of activities do you share with your close kinsmen?
- 18) How many times a year do you (or a representative of your household) participate in the performance of ancestor worship? (on what days and where?)

- 19) Who do you think is the orun of your chip or chiban?

Questionnaire 2

- 1) Respondent's name _____, address _____, relationship to the household head.
- 2) What is the annual income of your household (approximate estimate)?
- 3) What is the yearly income coming from agricultural production?
- 4) What is the yearly income from non-agricultural wage labour?
- 5) How many of your household members are in wage labour? What is their relationship to the household head?
- 6) How do you find necessary labour for agricultural production: a) family labour _____, b) p'umasi labour exchange _____, c) wage labour _____, d) others _____?
- 7) Who manages income deriving from rice production?
- 8) Who manages income deriving from cash crop (especially cultivation of wild sesame)?
- 9) Who manages income of the household member(s) in wage labour: a) household head (and/or his/her spouse), b) wage earner?
- 10) How were wage earners able to find current jobs: a) through friends _____, b) through relatives _____, c) others _____. What kind of wage jobs do your household member(s) have?
- 11) In case when the household member(s) is a single, in what form does he/she make a contribution to the household economy: a) regular contribution _____, 2) irregular contribution _____, and 3) none.

- 12) Have you ever sold your agricultural land to others or divided it for inheritance purpose: a) when _____, b) why _____, c) how much _____?
- 13) In what way do you plan to bequeath your household property to your children: a) equal division among children regardless of age and sex _____, b) in favour of the oldest son _____, then (in what proportion), c) equal division among sons _____, d) what ever I feel like doing at the time of the actual division _____?
- 14) In case when the household head live with a married son, who manages the household income?: a) income from agricultural production _____, b) income from non-agricultural _____.
- 15) When were you able to receive right to manage the household economy from your parents (or parents-in-law)?
- 16) When do you plan to hand over the right to manage the household income to your married son (or daughter-in-law)?

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