Lee Hyo-jae

LIFE IN URBAN KOREA

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In Memoriam

This Volume of the Transactions, Korea Branch,
Royal Asiatic Society
is respectfully dedicated to the late
MR. WILBUR D. BACON
1925-1971

Mr. Wilbur D. Bacon, during his years of service in Korea from the late 1940's until the early 1960's, was an active and dedicated leader in the activities of the Royal Asiatic Society. Mr. Bacon was the contributor of two outstanding articles in the Transactions, including “Tombs of the Yi Dynasty Kings and Queens,” Vol XXXIII, 1957, pages 1-40; and “Fortresses of Kyonggi-do,” Vol. XXXVII, 1961, pages 1-64. He was working on another RAS Transactions article, a translation into English of a Korean history of the Japanese invasion of Korea of 1592-98, at the time of his untimely death, following a heart operation, on March 28, 1971. Mr. Bacon was also one of the founders of the Choi Byong-woo Memorial Fund, honoring that former editor of the Korea Times who was killed in Quemoy during fighting there in the late 1950's. It is this fund which the Society has been using as a revolving capital fund, to provide funds for its expanding program of publications on Korean scholarly projects. The Council of the Royal Asiatic Society, by action at its May 1971 meeting, voted to dedicate this volume of the Transactions to the memory of Mr. Wilbur D. Bacon, who contributed greatly to the ongoing program of the Royal Asiatic Society.
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FOREWORD

Sociology in Korea
by Lee Man-gap

I. Trends in Sociology in Korea

The development of sociology in Korea went through the following four stages: 1) sociology before 1945; 2) the early establishment stage for a decade after 1954; 3) the period of "new sociology" up to the early 1960's; and 4) the period of emerging self-awareness in the latter half of the 1960's.

Before the end of World War II, there was no sociology department at any higher educational institution; only a few courses on sociology were offered at the Japanese-dominated Keijō Imperial University. A handful of Korean and Japanese sociologists engaged in research activities of a sociological nature.

Shortly after the war, a sociology department was established for the first time at Seoul National University and, later, at Kyungbuk National University. A number of introductory sociology texts in Korean were published; lectures were regularly offered, but they were largely confined to the introduction of Western sociological theories developed back in the 1930's or even before; e. g., Comte, Spencer, Simmel, Toennies, Weber, and so on.

The third stage began in 1956 with the introduction of new theories and methodology then rapidly developing in the United States. Many sociologists began to undertake empirical field research, utilizing new research techniques. Research topics covered a wide area, including attitude toward occupations, urban and rural families, the social structure of the rural villages, fertility in rural areas, and so on. Another distinctive trend relating to research activities was the development of a strong
interest in sociological investigation by government agencies and private organizations, such as newspaper companies. This stage also witnessed the establishment of the Korean Sociological Association.

The fourth stage may be characterized by the emergence of self-awakening in Korean sociology and extended activities of sociologists in various fields. This stage reveals a number of distinctive characteristics. First, the Korean sociologists began to publish their first professional journals in 1964. In addition, they became increasingly critical of the sociological theories developed in the West, as to their relevance and applicability to the Korean social scene, and expressed a strong interest in developing sociological theories which would properly account for the characteristics of Korean society. For example, in 1965, the Korean Sociological Association, formerly the Korean Sociological Society, had a special session with a panel discussion on “Problems and Methodology in the Analysis of the Korean Social Structures”, as a follow-up of a previous symposium on “Problems in Sociological Studies of Korean Society”, which was set up as a special session of the annual conference of the Association in 1963. Then, in 1966 and 1967, the Association held symposiums on the problems of rural social research methods in Korea and on the ethical position of academicians, respectively.

Secondly, the Korean sociologists were becoming increasingly concerned with social development, modernization, and other changes in the Korean society, and their general attention gradually shifted from rural to urban and industrial problems, even though the rural society remained a major research topic.

Thirdly, the Korean sociologists have become more active in research in connection with research institutes such as the Council of East Asian Studies, the Institute of East Asian Studies of Seoul National University, the Asiatic Research Center of Korea University, and the Korean Culture Research Institute of Ewha University, all of which were already established in the preceding period. Two other research institutes were established around 1966: the Population and Development Studies Center at the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences of Seoul National University, and the Social Research Institute of Korea University.
Lastly, the Korean sociologists promoted inter-disciplinary research; extended the academic front to public discussion on current social problems in various seminars; and became more diverse and productive in research subjects than ever before.

II. Factors Bearing on the Development of Sociology in Korea

Sociology has now gained wide popularity in Korea and is regarded as one of the most important social science disciplines. In a survey conducted eight years ago with regard to the situation and problems of the social sciences in Korea, sociology was ranked as the second most important social science field by the social scientists who were interviewed. Opinions of sociologists are increasingly sought by the policy makers. That sociology is also popular among college applicants is reflected in the relatively low percentage rate of admissions to applications in the sociology departments at various universities. This phenomenon is largely due to the following five factors:

The first factor to be noted is the leadership of key figures. They should be credited for encouraging young sociologists to introduce new sociology from abroad and to become active in academic affairs.

The second factor may be the introduction of newly developed sociological theories and research methodology with which the young sociologists could give more meaningful explanations to current social problems.

The third factor is the increasing cultural influence by the United States. After the Korean War, many social scientists came to have opportunities to study in the United States, and thereby the social scientists in general became familiar with newer sociological concepts and began to use them. Furthermore, the newspapers and magazines introduced new ideas in which sociological concepts were occasionally referred to.

The fourth factor is the practical usefulness of sociological knowledge for problem solving in social matters and development problems. In recent years, many Korean and foreign experts or advisors have frequently emphasized the necessity of taking into consideration socio-
cultural factors in economic or social planning. For example, many governmental and non-governmental programs, such as community development, family planning, and economic development, have usually required the participation of sociologists.

Finally, the deep concern of some sociologists with the field of mass communications, and their contribution to the development of this field, should also be noted. The department of sociology at Seoul National University began to offer courses on mass communications in the mid-1960’s, as the department recognized the important role of mass communications in modern society. As a result, a good many graduates of the department came to develop a strong interest in the field of mass communications, mass society, and mass culture, and have since become active in such studies. It seems that many university students regard sociology as a proper discipline to train workers for mass communications.

III. Concluding Remarks

Sociology in Korea has made steady progress since 1956 with the introduction of newly-developed sociological theories and methodology, mainly from the United States. The work of the sociologists after the introduction of “new sociology” has been widely appreciated in academic circles among social scientists; the importance of sociology is now firmly recognized by many intellectuals.

It is, however, fair to say that the Korean sociologists have so far been largely concerned with introducing Western sociological theories and research techniques and applying them in their empirical studies, and have had little time for intellectual maturation of their own.

Recently a number of sociologists came to be fairly critical of the past tendencies, seeking new theoretical orientations relevant to the study of the Korean society. Substantially, they are also turning to the problems with which the Korean society is confronted and which call for academic comprehension as well as practical solutions, namely, modernization and social change.

The study presented in this volume is an example of this vital trend.
INTRODUCTION

In line with world-wide trends, Korea today is undergoing rapid urban growth. Seoul, the capital city, has been the largest and fastest growing city in the country. Between 1945 and 1970 the population of Seoul increased by more than 800 percent; as of December 31, 1970, Seoul had over five million persons, and an estimated daily increase of over five hundred persons, of which two-thirds entered by migration.

Such rapid urban growth has presented enormous problems. In recent years municipal and central government officials have become aware of the urgent need for urban planning as a means of combating these problems. Seoul City has launched ambitious programs of downtown renewal, expansion of roads and public facilities, and development of new residential areas. These programs have brought about rapid changes in the face of the city.

Unfortunately, however, urban development plans are frequently made without sufficient knowledge of the social patterns and needs of city dwellers. Some projects fail to meet the current demand; others do not take into account the values and life styles demanded by urbanization.

In order to do an adequate job, urban planners must be aware of what it means to be a Korean living in a Korean city. They must know how people earn their living, how they run their homes, what they do in their leisure time, what their desires and frustrations are, and how they relate to their neighbors and relatives. Without such information, urban planning can be only haphazard and speculative.

The present study was designed to help meet the needs of the urban planner. While planners must consider all segments of the population,
no single study could hope to reveal the social patterns of all urban dwellers. As a modern industrialized city, Seoul is composed of a heterogenous population which encompasses the very wealthy and the very poor, scholars and illiterates, entrepreneurs and beggars. Though all elements must be considered, planners are most concerned with the dominant group. In Seoul the dominant group is a middle class composed of small shopkeepers and salaried workers who comprise about two-thirds of the Seoul population. Wage employees—blue collar workers—comprise a little less than one-third of the population, and wealthy entrepreneurs account for only about 2% of the population.

Not only are the salaried workers and the small shopkeepers the dominant urban group now, but there is every indication that the size of this middle class will continue to increase relative to the other groups. As this class grows, it is likely that the proportion of skilled laborers in it will increase. At the present time, only a few skilled laborers live as middle-class urbanites. With further industrialization and more unskilled rural-urban migrants, the demand for skilled labor will increase and thus allow such workers to raise their living standards.

Since the middle class is currently the most numerous in Seoul, and will remain so in the future, urban planners are most concerned with meeting the requirements of this group. Consequently, the present study focuses particular attention on the values and patterns of living of Seoul middle-class residents.

The present study considers three neighborhoods that exemplify the various modes of middle-class living: Hanyang Dong, a long-established neighborhood in the center of Seoul; Kyohwe Dong, a relatively new suburban district; and Shinju Dong, an apartment house community. The names used are fictitious, but otherwise the neighborhoods exist as depicted. The selection of these particular neighborhoods was arbitrary. They were chosen in consultation with the Housing, Urban, and Regional Planning Institute of the Ministry of Construction from the viewpoint that they are generally considered to be middle-class, and represent a variety of middle-class living patterns.

The actual research was carried out by a team of sociologists between October and December, 1967. Professor Lee Hyo-jae of Ewha Womans
University directed the project. Five Korean sociologists acted as a team of researchers, assisted by thirty sociology students.

Each researcher was responsible for a specific topic, and drafted those parts of the report concerned with his or her specialty. Mrs. Choi Syn-duk, of Ewha Womans University, reviewed family life; Mr. Han Sang-bock, of Seoul National University, the economic and social interrelationships; Mr. Kim Kyong-dong, of Seoul National University, the individuals' philosophy and religion; Mr. Oh Kap-hwan, of Seoul National University, social aspirations and mobility; and Mrs. Lee Kyong-jae, of Seoul National University, the general physical and administrative characteristics of the three neighborhoods. Mrs. Kathryn Norton, a social anthropologist with US-AID, acted as advisor-consultant.
While there has been a history of cities in Korea for many centuries, they were basically small national or regional centers of administration. In 1394 the capital of Korea was moved from Kaesong to Seoul (then known as Hanyang) by Yi Taejo, the first king of the Yi Dynasty. Before becoming the capital, Hanyang was little more than a desolate village located in a river basin surrounded by mountains. Its one noteworthy attraction was a palace that had been one of the royal residences during the Koryo Dynasty.

With the arrival of Yi Taejo’s government, a walled city called Hansong was constructed, with four Great Gates and four smaller gates erected at strategic sites. In the middle of the walled city flowed a canal designed to serve as a drainage system. Streets 50 chuk wide (15 meters), such as Kwanghwa-mun Street and Chong-no, were laid out. On both sides of Kwanghwa-mun Street, from Kwanghwa-mun to Hweng To Hyun (now Sejong-no), six central government departments were established, delineating an area of government offices, while business districts (Yuknijon) were relegated to the streets running from Sejong-no to East Gate and from Kwanggyo to South Gate. Royal residences such as Kyongbok Palace were constructed on the north of the river basin, and the shrine of royal ancestors (Chongmyo) and altar (Sajik) were built within the walls.

The pealing of the great bell at the crossroads of Chong-no announced the opening and closing of the city gates. The silence of the sleeping city would be broken as the bell tolled thirty-three times, summoning the
hordes of merchants who poured into the city to turn previously quiet areas into bustling marketplaces. At 8:00 in the evening, the bell tolled twenty-eight times to warn the people of curfew and the closing of the gates.

There was a rough division of five residential areas in the city: noblemen, landed aristocrats and bureaucrats lived in the north; aristocrats with careers on the wane, who had been ousted as a result of power struggles, lived in the south at the northern foothill of Namsan; rank and file officials resided in the west (Udae); soldiers in the southeast (Arendae); and petty officials who ranked below the aristocrats but above the peasants lived in the central portion of the city. Hence, social stratification was further reflected to some degree in the subdivisions of the residential areas.

For centuries social stratification in Korean society retained the same basic form. Beneath the king was a large bureaucracy made up of Confucian scholars who were appointed to their positions through nationwide civil service examinations held every three years. This bureaucratic elite was recruited largely from the yangban (upper) class; Confucian scholars, government officials, and the descendants of distinguished loyal subjects to the Throne. Once in office, the intellectual had great prestige and power to amass a fortune.

Ranked immediately beneath the yangban were the chongin; government clerks and functionaries. Many in this group were the offspring of yangban fathers and concubines. Though their step-brothers by their fathers’ first wives were yangban, they were not accorded this high rank.

Ranked below the chongin were the commoners—the peasantry—who formed the foundation of Korean society. The peasantry was composed of several occupational groups, such as artisans and merchants, but the majority were small landholders or tenants and farm laborers. Beneath the commoners were the outcasts of society; slaves, entertainers, shamans, and butchers. Social status in Korean society was hereditary, but “vertical mobility” or aspiration was not entirely absent. The only way to maintain one’s yangban status was to pass the civil examination and be appointed to a government position. These government positions were eagerly sought, and young yangban vied for success in the government
hierarchy. Commoners and outcasts, however, were excluded from the examinations.

The Korean class system began to break down around the beginning of the twentieth century as the Yi Dynasty came to an end and Japanese colonization began. One of the most influential Japanese colonial policies was the introduction of the capitalistic system of private ownership of land into Korean society. Up to that time, all land had been nominally owned by the Throne. The yangban class had held the privilege of tax collection for farmers’ use of the land. Once private ownership was established, many of the yangban class became landowners or owner-cultivators (independent farmers), and most of the commoners became tenants. At the same time that private ownership of land altered the social patterns of the rural areas, the pattern of urbanization was changing as well.

In 1862 Hansong (Seoul) and Pyonyang were the only two cities with a population of more than 20,000 persons. At that time they comprised only 3.6% of the total national population, and most of the urban dwellers relied upon direct ties to rural areas to supply them with foodstuffs and household goods. There was relatively little production or mercantile activity in the urban areas.

With the impact of industrialization, Hansong, which had previously indicated no signs of growth other than rebuilding of old walls and palaces, began to develop. In 1882, foreigners were permitted to dwell within the city walls; western Europeans settled around Chong Dong, while many Japanese chose Chin-gogae. This area, presently Myong Dong, emerged as a flourishing thoroughfare, forming the inner core of the Japanese-dominated central business district. In 1899 the first streetcars began running between Chong-no and Chungnyang-ni, and in 1900 another track from Chong-no to Wonhyo-ro past South Gate was built. The custom of opening and closing the city gates in accordance with the curfew bell of Chong-no disappeared with the establishment of outgoing streetcars. At about the same time, lanterns and candles were replaced with electric lights, and a modern water supply system was partially adopted. Markets grew and industries developed.

Hansong was renamed Kyongsong after the Japanese annexation.
At the time of annexation in 1910, there were five cities with a population of more than 20,000, but by 1940 there were twenty-one. As a colonial governor, Japan expanded already existing cities to make them centers of industry. These centers attracted rural migrants. The urban population as a whole increased 110% between 1920 and 1930, and another 105% in the following decade. The municipal boundary of Kyongsong itself was twice extended during the years of Japanese occupation. With the liberation from Japan in 1945, the capital was renamed Seoul.

After the liberation, urban areas continued to increase in population. However, the new settlers were no longer mainly from rural areas, but rather comprised refugees from the communist north and repatriates from Manchuria, Japan, and other foreign lands. Military records show that from October 1945 to September 1949, a total of over one million Koreans returned from residence outside the country. In addition, it is estimated that by the end of 1947, 1,116,000 refugees had fled into the south from the north. The Korean War brought 2.1 million more. Most of these refugees and repatriates settled in Seoul and the other large cities. After the war, the urban population grew at a slower rate, but continued to increase steadily. In 1949, 17.21% of the total population was concentrated in urban areas; by 1955, this had increased to 24.56%; by 1960, 28.59%; and by 1966, 33.59%.

In the last decade, migration patterns returned to the more usual rural-urban flow, and between 1955 and 1966 cities increased at a rate of nearly five percent per year, in contrast to the rural increase rate of about one and a half percent a year. The high population density and rapid creation of industrial jobs in urban areas were major contributing factors to this migration.

Only 13% of the respondents of this study stated that their families had lived in Seoul for more than three generations. Most of the remaining respondents came to Seoul from other cities and towns. Those who came directly from rural areas were few, and now comprise the lower class of Seoul. Only those who had experience in urban life in other cities were able to adjust to the living conditions of Seoul's middle class. This appears to be true of other cities also, so that in general Korean urbanization may be said to be a two-stage process; rural residents migrate first to towns.
and later move again from towns to cities. In the past ten years, towns (up, population 20,000-49,999) grew about as rapidly as cities (population 50,000 or more), at a rate of about 4.5% per year, which is about three times the rural population growth rate.

With one of the highest population densities in Asia, and one of the fastest rates of industrialization in the world, Korea will very likely continue to display strong rural-urban migration patterns and rapidly growing cities for many years to come.

The process of industrialization, which commenced during the Japanese regime, accelerated after the Korean War. The number of people working in factories, businesses, and government offices has continually increased.
Only 12% of the inhabitants of the city proper are of these different nationalities. The others are mostly German and French. But there are many Italian and Spanish as well. These people are mostly immigrants from other countries. They are mostly poor and live in the poorer parts of the city. They are mostly farmers or workers. They speak their own languages and have their own customs and traditions.
Seoul City Administration and Organization

As of Dec. 31, 1970 there were over five million people in Seoul. The Special City of Seoul, under the immediate supervision of the Prime Minister, is headed by a mayor appointed by the President with the recommendation of the Prime Minister.

The ideal of local autonomy, tried once during the Democratic Party regime (April 1960–May 1961), followed the genuine process of election of the mayor by the municipal legislature. However, after the Military Revolution of May 1961, this ill-fated practice was interrupted.

Under the mayor are two (first and second) vice-mayors, appointed by the President with the recommendation and approval of the mayor. Areas of responsibility of the vice-mayors are: Internal affairs, finance, city planning, tourism and transportation, health and welfare, and sanitation for the first vice-mayor; industry, construction, waterworks, and police for the second vice-mayor.

Broad staff functions are also active, with 41 committees, such as Municipal Administration Research Committee and City Planning Committee.

The Seoul municipal area of 613 square kilometers is divided into nine administrative districts, or ku, which are subdivided into the successively smaller areas of dong, tong, and ban. The ku chief is appointed by the President upon the recommendation of the mayor through the Prime Minister, and is generally responsible for the well-being of his district, besides representing it in higher level discussions. Furthermore, he is responsible for appointing the dong chiefs within his ku.
The tong is usually composed of about ten ban, and the ban, the smallest unit of the administrative hierarchy, usually consists of ten to twenty neighboring households. Tong chief and ban chief are nominated by the dong chief and serve without pay. The posts are ordinarily given to those who have lived in the area for a long time and who know their neighborhood well; there is no esteem attached to the positions.

When necessary, a meeting of tong and ban chiefs is held, and each house within the area is informed of decisions made. There is little concern about autonomous rule. Meetings of ban members seldom occur; most inhabitants pay little attention to community life. The ban is far from being an efficient organization devoted to mutual improvement and cooperation.

While Seoul city officials strive to meet the needs of the residents by readjusting the land, building underground walkways and pedestrian overpasses, constructing buildings and elevated highways and widening and paving roads, many of the respondents in the present study believe that such construction projects are aimed at modernizing the appearance of the city rather than at the welfare of the people. They consider problems of housing, garbage collection, and water supply to be more urgent. Further, they claim that the municipal government is concerned only with modernizing the downtown areas while remaining indifferent to the outlying districts.

The general attitude of distrust toward city officials is concurrent with the widespread distrust of the elite: the politicians, big businessmen, and high officials. Only 7% of the respondents believe that politicians toil for the benefit of public welfare and national development; 64% regard big businessmen as persons who have no thought for public welfare, while 53% of the respondents say that they feel the present corruption amongst bureaucracies, businesses, and politicians will continue.

The extreme distrust of the political elite by the middle class has many causes: the unceasing scandalous behavior of politicians in maintaining or acquiring political power, their disregard of public opinion and welfare, their corrupt electioneering practices. Wealthy businessmen made fortunes by receiving favors from the government during and after the
Korean War, and have made huge profits through dishonest speculation in real estate and production of consumer goods. They are sometimes blamed for smuggling. Government officials have been criticized for their corrupt practices, including embezzlement, venality, misconduct in office, bribery to obtain more lucrative employment, and so forth.

This political disillusionment does not imply chronic apathy among the people. Rather, there is great interest in politics. They know that political decisions may affect their everyday life, and even cause national prosperity or disaster. The majority of the male respondents are greatly interested in the political news in newspapers, and try to persuade their wives to support particular candidates in elections. Most succeed, for about three-fourths of the women respondents said that they followed their husbands’ advice regarding voting choices.

While there is general interest in the basic political issues, opinions differ as to what the single most important factor is regarding Korea’s future: 53% of the respondents say that strong leadership and individual sacrifice are needed; 26% say that more equitable distribution of wealth to remove the gulf between the rich and the poor is required; and 13% regard the guarantee of personal individual freedom as the most urgent issue.
A Perspective of Three Neighborhoods

Under the jurisdiction of the Hanyang Dong office there are seven tong and 43 ban; under Shinju Dong, 14 tong and 146 ban; under Kyohwe Dong, 23 tong and 193 ban. Of these, the present study surveyed two complete tong in Hanyang Dong; one entire tong in Kyohwe Dong; and two complete apartment buildings in Shinju Dong; one wherein the residents own their own apartments, the other wherein they rent.

Never in its history has Seoul faced so acute a housing problem as during the last two decades. From the end of the Yi Dynasty until the end of World War II, housing facilities were modest, but there was no urgent housing problem in Seoul. According to the records of 1899, the population of Seoul was only 200,923, living in 42,780 houses, an average of 4.7 persons per house. Though the population had increased to over one million by 1942, there was not yet a real housing problem. Many families consisted of three or more generations. Thus, while the space allotted per person was small, there was an adequate number of houses to accommodate the number of families.

Seoul first began to have housing problems at the end of World War II, when western patterns of living threatened the traditional Korean family system. Married sons used to live in their parents’ house. Now they began to want separate housing. The housing problem became acute when one-fourth of Seoul’s houses were destroyed during the Korean War. By 1965, only 41% of Seoul’s households lived in houses they owned. The remainder found habitation in rented houses or rooms, or through any other available means.
In recent years the government has worked toward easing the housing shortage in Seoul by building low-cost accommodations and encouraging private investors to do likewise. However, as of 1967, the number of houses in Seoul met only half the demand; today, an average of more than three persons live in each room. Room sharing and overcrowding are threatening the privacy of citizens' lives.

People who rent their housing tend to move more frequently than homeowners. When looking for new housing, a prospective renter may turn to one of the 5,600 registered real estate dealers in Seoul, or to one of the countless agencies currently engaged in real estate transactions without registration. Every neighborhood has several real estate offices which are frequently no larger than a few square feet. The dealers act as brokers for buyers and sellers, renters and lessors. Their fees are usually 3% of the agreed transaction payment. This is paid half by the houseowner and half by the buyer or lessor.

Korean households customarily choose a lucky day to move, according to esoteric calculations involving the lunar calendar: usually the tenth, twentieth, or thirtieth day of the lunar month. Consequently, many loads of household goods are seen being moved on the last day of the month in Seoul.

Seoul people move frequently. Only one out of ten respondents has lived in the same neighborhood for more than ten years, and seven out of ten have lived in their present neighborhoods less than five years. One out of four respondents has spent less than one year in his present residence.

The relationship between neighbors in Seoul is different from that found in rural villages. Most Seoul residents commute to work outside their area of residence. Leisure hours are frequently spent away from home. However, while urban social relationships tend to be formal and impersonal, familiar relationships still persist. Neighborliness is not absent; many of the women in a neighborhood know one another, and a few have intimate relationships. Acquaintances are made when people live close to one another. Women often meet at a garbage bin or in an alleyway, and children play together in the side streets.

The number of families with whom one housewife has familiar re-
lations usually ranges from three to five. Most such relationships are not intensive—an exchange of greetings when people meet casually in an alley, perhaps; though sometimes one can find cases in which housewives exchange visits, use a neighbor's telephone, or give special foods, such as rice cakes, to nearby families, or help with *kimchi* preparation. Husbands who work in offices outside their neighborhoods usually have no personal relationships with their neighbors. Instead, they enjoy a social life with their colleagues, spending evenings with them going to movies, tearooms, billiard houses, and bars.

While there are few social relationships between neighbors and little participation in local administration, voluntary organizations within common residence areas are formed for the purpose of dealing with common problems. One such organization was formed within the Shinju Dong apartments. There people formed a group to handle the problems of water supply, drainage, management of the apartments, and so on. The group is entirely utilitarian; members are not emotionally involved and have no secondary relationships related to being group members. A similar organization was established by the suburban residents of Kyohwe Dong to solve such common problems as water supply. Once the immediate problems were solved, few residents paid further attention to the organization.

**Hanyang Dong in the center of the city:** The area that is now known as Hanyang Dong used to be the location of the *Naesusa*, the management offices for the royal household of the Yi Dynasty. These offices were responsible for the procurement and distribution of foodstuffs, textiles, and slaves, as well as various miscellaneous goods. While primarily concerned with palace supplies, the *Naesusa* also played the role of the king's "loan sharks." As such, they usually acted to aggravate the general plight of the people, but in years of severe crop failure, the *Naesusa* would release thousands of tons of low-priced government stockpiles to the hungry citizens. At the end of the Yi Dynasty (1907), the slave management office was abolished, followed by the others in
1908. The central office has been replaced by dwellings. Nothing to recall the old days can be found today.

The neighborhood is now a cluster of black-tile roofs. Women's dress shops, drugstores, laundries, restaurants, taverns, and numerous kinds of retail stores busy themselves along the main streets. In the lanes behind these streets, over four hundred houses are clustered. Adequate light, fresh air, and sanitary facilities are lacking. The narrow blind alleys and winding back lanes cannot be properly serviced by fire-fighting equipment.

Here on the dusty, unpaved roads, groups of little boys and girls are absorbed in playing hide-and-seek and jacks, while tiny children with one-won coins in their fists approach the small store to buy candies, crackers, and juice. The bean curd salesman passes twice a day, jingling his handbell; the gluten-wheat salesman, with rags and junk in his handcart, clacks his scissors noisily; the human hair buyer with her packages; the ricebread, fruit, flower and other peddlers with their baskets on their heads, pass along the lanes.

The areas surrounding Hanyang Dong are a contrast of the wealthiest and the poorest. One of the richest residential areas of the city is located on the southern periphery of the Dong. Here one sees many modern multi-story houses (Diagram 3). These are two- or three-story brick and stone buildings constructed within recent years. Most are occupied by members of the upper class. Apart from spacious living rooms and halls, the average number of rooms per house is 6.8, and the average living space per house is 78.4 pyong (258.7 sq.m). The luxury of such residences is often criticized as ostentatious, though the owners justify the spacious accommodations as a safe investment in real estate on a market that suffers from chronic inflation.

The lavish Western-style houses on one side of Hanyang Dong contrast with the slums of the war refugees and rural migrants on the hill to the west of the Dong. The dwellings here are the epitome of poverty and disease. They offer only the most minimal shelter, and are filled with squalor, stink, and vermin, to say nothing of intolerable extremes of heat and cold. Relaxation, privacy, and even the minimum human dwelling comfort are prohibited to the residents.
Most of the houses in Hanyang Dong itself are of traditional Korean construction. These are wooden, one-story houses with black tile roofs, most of which in Hanyang Dong were built twenty-five to fifty years ago as replacements for older decaying structures. As illustrated in Diagram 2, the U-shaped house is composed of a main part (anche)—living room, opposite room, and kitchen—and a secondary part (sarangche)—the guest room, granary, and toilet. The two parts surround a small open space known as the madang. In Korean-style houses most family activities, such as dining, entertaining, recreation, and sleeping occur on the floor of the main inner room.

The floor level of the kitchen is 60 to 90 centimeters lower than that of the main room, and 30 to 60 centimeters lower than the madang ground level, because it is designed to be used for both cooking and heating of the ondol flue system under the floor of the rest of the house. Since the cesspool is emptied only quarterly, the squalid toilet is situated as far from the living area as possible. As the saying goes, “The farther away you live from your in-law’s house and the farther away you live from the toilet, the better it is.” During the long winters, a crescent-shaped chamber pot (yogang) is used frequently, especially by the very young and very old, as a means of avoiding the cold walk to the toilet.

The average living space in a traditional-style house is 16.8 pyong (55.44 sq.m). However, frequent multiple family occupancy limits the average amount of space per household to only 10.1 pyong (33.3 sq. m), a fraction of the space afforded by the nearby wealthy residences.

In the surveyed area of Hanyang Dong, 56% of the households live in separate houses; the remainder must share their housing with other families. Up to six households may be found under one roof. It is estimated that there are three houses for every five households.

Of the Hanyang Dong families 61% own their own homes; 10.4% live in rented houses; the rest live in chonseh-leased houses. Under a chonseh contract, the house owner receives full payment for an occupancy of at least six months at the beginning of the occupancy. He can then invest this at interest rates up to 50% a year and more on the private money market. When the contract ends, the house owner returns the full amount of the payment to the occupant, but retains the
Diagram 2

LAYOUT OF TRADITIONAL KOREAN HOUSE

1. Gate
2. Anche (main room)
3. Taech'ong (large floor)
4. Opposite Room
5. Kitchen
6. Toilet
7. Granary
8. Sarangch'ae
9. Ch'angdokt'ae
accrued interest. Contracts are made for at least six month periods. If the house owner breaks it before this time has elapsed, he is held liable for the brokerage fees and moving costs. If the contract is kept for the specified time, the house owner pays only half the brokerage fees and no moving costs. In most cases, the guest room and other minor rooms can be occupied for W70,000 to W100,000 chonseh. The chonseh payment for an entire house is usually over W800,000.

There are more rented and leased rooms in Hanyang Dong than in Kyohwe Dong, the suburban area surveyed. This may be attributed to the propinquity of Hanyang Dong to downtown business and government offices, and to the recent strict implementation of the zoning system in allotting placement in primary schools. As there are great disparities in the quality of primary schools in Seoul, parents try to maintain residence in those areas having better schools. Thus, Hanyang Dong is more popular with parents of school-age children than are many other Dongs.

Hanyang Dong is more traditional in character than either of the other two Dongs surveyed. Not only are the houses here of the traditional style, hence better accommodating traditional living patterns, but also the values and attitudes of the residents are more traditional than those of residents in the other neighborhoods. For instance, a higher percentage of Hanyang Dong residents participate in family memorial ceremonies than do residents in the other neighborhoods.

This is partially accounted for by the migration patterns of the area. A significant percentage of Hanyang families moved into the area from outside Seoul, and thus presumably have retained the more traditional ways of smaller towns and rural areas. Proportionately fewer Hanyang Dong household heads have attended college than in the other neighborhoods. There are more small shopkeepers and laborers in Hanyang Dong than in the other areas. These jobs are more readily available to relatively recent migrants, and those with only a high school education, than are the white collar jobs of Kyohwe Dong or the business ownerships of Shinju Dong; at the same time, they are more suited to maintenance of traditional ways than are the other jobs.

Considering the tendency of Hanyang Dong residents to retain more traditional patterns of living, one would expect this neighborhood to
Diagram 3
LAYOUT OF MULTI-STOREY WESTERN-STYLE HOUSE

1.2. Porch
3. Garage
4. Greenhouse
5. Living & Dining Room
6. Lavatory
7. Kitchen
8. Granary
9. Servants Room
10. Bedroom
11. Terrace
12. Clothhouse
13. Children's Room
14. Bath room
15. Boiler Room
have the highest rate of three-generation households. However, while it has the only four-generation household interviewed in the study, and has more three-generation households than do the apartments, it has fewer three-generation households than the suburban area. This can be accounted for by the age of the household heads. Those in Hanyang Dong are generally over forty, and generally older than those in the suburb. Since a single generation in Korea encompasses thirty years, most of the parents of Hanyang Dong householders are already deceased, whereas the parents of Kyohwe Dong are still living—as part of three-generation families.

Hanyang families frequently have three children. The average household size here is larger than in the other areas, with 5.98 persons. (According to the October 1966 census, the average household size in all of Seoul was 5.26 persons, compared with 5.71 in the country as a whole.)

**Kyohwe Dong, a suburban residential area:** Kyohwe Dong is a new suburban residential area about ten kilometers northeast of the center of Seoul. Located in an area of high mountains with magnificent scenery, Kyohwe Dong is visited by crowds of mountaineers and picnickers from early spring to late fall.

Kyohwe Dong, formerly part of Koyang county, was incorporated into Seoul during the municipal expansion in 1949; the following year, it was renamed its present name. Over ten years later, this area was still country farmland and abandoned fields, with only a few scattered cottages. Beginning in the early 1960's, houses were built on newly-cleared sites. Within the past five years, 4,650 households have been established and the population has almost quadrupled, so that the total population today is 37,715 persons. The rapid population growth as well as an unusually large geographical jurisdiction (Kyohwe Dong is thirteen times as large in area as Hanyang Dong) have resulted in a heavy work load for the Dong office, with resultant inefficiency.

To meet increasingly acute housing problems, the central government Housing Administration (presently the Korea Housing Corporation) initiated a project in 1960 which built approximately four hundred mixed-style low-price houses and sold them to middle-class salaried men,
paving the way for subsequent growth. Picturesque single-family houses called *Kungmin Chutaek* ("Peoples’ House") were built along the well-arranged streets where seven years ago there was only a lonely field criss-crossed by streams.

These dwellings are designed to secure the maximum utility for the minimum cost. They have a mixture of the advantages of modern and traditional houses. Two major types are illustrated in Diagram 4. The sale price of a 15 *pyong* (49.5 square meters) house on a 60 *pyong* (198 square meters) lot (Diagram 4a) is W1,200,000. Such a house can be *chonseh*-leased for W300,000, roughly a third of the cost for a Hanyang Dong house, even though the livingspace is generally equivalent. Similarly, land prices in Kyohwe Dong are much cheaper than those in the center of the city. Residential land in Hanyang Dong ranges from W60,000 to W100,000 a *pyong* (3.3 square meters) while in Kyohwe Dong it averages only from W12,000 to W20,000 a *pyong*. The variation in cost reflects the inconveniences of the outlying suburb.

There are no municipal water facilities in Kyohwe Dong. Every house depends on a well. However, there is sufficient clear underground water so that the residents of this area should have few water problems. Some inhabitants use the more hygienic and convenient privately-supplied water which is purified and delivered at limited hours. The cost to each house in Kyohwe Dong for initially installing water facilities was twice as high as for municipal water supply, but the monthly fees are less than the average water charge for municipal water. The single advantage, however, is diminished when compared with travel difficulties in Kyohwe Dong, when coupled with the other advantages of municipal water service. It is said that about 10% of the inhabitants return to the inner city annually because of the two major inconveniences of everyday life—water and transportation.

Though consumer facilities are not as widespread as in Hanyang Dong, a drugstore, physician’s office, herb medicine house, beauty parlor, cigarette booth and the like are scattered about the small community, and nearby are a small market area and a public bath. A private bath is available in private houses here, but most inhabitants prefer to use the public one, except in summer. The public bath offers the comfort
of heated bathing rooms and the convenience of already heated water. Men attend a public bath house about twice a month; women and children attend slightly less often. Sponge baths are utilized at home. A comic strip enjoying national distribution once depicted the following story of a home bath. An unclothed gentleman was enjoying a bucket shower bath in his madang one sultry summer day. An astonished next door woman who had casually looked out from her second floor window quickly shut the window and called the bather over the telephone to plead, “Please let me open my window to have access to the breeze.”

There are seven realty offices in this fast-growing suburban area—evidence of recent land speculation. Adequate space for children’s playgrounds was originally set aside, but this space has been illegally utilized by the expanding market; children are now playing in the street.

Kyohwe Dong is generally more settled than the other two areas surveyed. A higher percentage of people living here own their own homes. Only about 16% of the Kyohwe Dong residents did not own their places of residence (as opposed to about 40% in Hanyang Dong). Furthermore, most suburban families live in single-family dwellings. Only 1% share housing with others.

While two-generation families are the rule in Kyohwe Dong, there are proportionately more three-generation households than in the other two neighborhoods. Most households here have children, usually two. The fewer children per household accounts for the fact that the average household size here is smaller than in Hanyang Dong (5.91 persons as opposed to 5.98), even though there are more three-generation households. Many of these suburban residents hold professional, managerial, or white collar jobs; 65% of them are college graduates.

Shinju Dong, an apartment dwelling neighborhood: Today Shinju Dong is a community of apartment dwellers near the Han River, about five kilometers from the center of Seoul. This area was once called “Peach Village” because of the abundance of peach trees here. It was incorporated into Seoul in 1944 under the Japanese administration. At that time, the land now occupied by the apartments was a field cultivated by inmates of a nearby penitentiary.
Construction of the first six apartment blocks that housed a total of 450 families was initiated in October 1961 and completed in December 1962; another four blocks housing 192 families were added successively by second and third construction projects. When the apartments first appeared, they held great appeal for the young, small family. Three and a half applications were received for every vacancy.

A spacious garden with a sparkling fountain, statues, trees, flowers, well-cared-for lawns, and many paved sidewalks provide the blocks with a calm and pleasant environment. Located in the manager’s block are the rental office, a flower shop, physician-pediatrician, and pharmacy. Four other blocks have subterranean grocery stores, butcher shops, laundries, dressmakers, barber shops, beauty salons, a Chinese restaurant and a Korean restaurant. Almost every apartment has an extension telephone; a public telephone is attached to the cigarette seller’s booth within the district. The indispensable coal briquette dealer is stationed beside the telephone switchboard room. Children slide and swing merrily in the back yard.

Each apartment block consists of ten units in a six-story concrete building erected on a site 14,008 pyong (46.2 sq.km) wide. There are two types of buildings: one designed for western living, with individual heating and a hot-water system in the interior of the X-shaped, one corridor building, and another for the traditional Korean life, with an improved ondol floor heating system and a community stairway which guarantees relative privacy. The apartments are of three varieties (see Diagram 5). The kitchens are equipped with a sink, a garbage chute and water closets. Housekeeping is relatively easy. However, storage of briquettes not only hampers the use of available space but also dirties the kitchen. A central heating system and an elevator would improve the health and comfort of the residents.

Shinju Dong apartments may be either owned or rented; the majority are rented. Prices for a chonseh lease vary from W600,000 to W800,000. This is slightly less than the lease cost for a whole Hanyang Dong house. The living space per household in the apartments is also slightly less than that of Hanyang, being 13.8 pyong (45.54 sq.m). The average number of ondol rooms per family in Hanyang Dong is 2.8, while it is 2.1 in the
Shinju apartments. The apartments are not overcrowded by Seoul standards, averaging 1.96 persons per room. However, in general Koreans do not like living in apartments.

When asked, "What kind of house would you prefer if you could buy one in the future?" only 0.8% of the respondents chose apartments; 59.4% stated a preference for Western-style accommodations; 23.9% desired the combined kungmin style; and 13.9% preferred traditional-style housing. Even the majority of those currently occupying apartments are not happy in their present quarters—only 1.9% responded that they like living in apartments. Out of 179 persons surveyed who live in rented rooms, only one expressed a desire to live in a rented apartment.

Multiple factors account for this attitude. First, the traditional modus vivendi of Korea is not suited to apartments. Second, most Koreans wish to own real estate. Usually, when a person buys a house, he also buys the land; but land is not taken into consideration in apartment transactions. Many people who own Shinju Dong apartments say that they do not experience any pride of ownership because they do not own land. Third, since many households live in the same building, each family is conscious of having its living standards exposed to the scrutiny of immediate neighbors.

In general, Shinju apartment dwellers are younger people with a higher level of education than those in the other neighborhoods. The women here have generally completed more years of schooling than the women in the other Dongs. There are also more working wives in this neighborhood than in the others. Many of the employed women are young and have not yet started to have children. Slightly more than a quarter of the apartment households surveyed have no children at all. Those which do have children usually have only one, so that overall Shinju residents have fewer children on the average than do residents of the other areas.

Most Shinju Dong households are composed of only one or two generations. In general, the household heads are young men who have completed college and now hold professional or managerial jobs. On the average, the household heads in Shinju Dong have resided in Seoul longer than those in the other areas, even though they are younger. Just
as the Hanyang Dong dwellers may be characterized as being more traditional, Shinju Dong residents may be characterized as more "urban" or "modern." Their mode of dwelling is new to Korea, but more important, their attitudes and values reflect those of an impersonal, industrialized society rather than those of the more traditional family-oriented system. For instance, two-thirds of the Shinju Dong families do not participate in the traditional family rituals.
Level of Living

**Family Income and Expenditure:** Income levels in the sampled districts appear to be somewhat higher than in Seoul as a whole, perhaps by 20 to 30%. In the last quarter of 1966, according to official statistics, the average Seoul family earned a monthly income of about W19,600, if all income sources are included. A year later, the respondents in this survey reported monthly incomes averaging about W40,000. The real increase in urban incomes, plus price inflation, was approximately 25% in that year, so this figure corresponds to an income of W32,000 per household in the last quarter of 1966. This lower figure must be further discounted to reflect the fact that our survey data do not permit a clear differentiation of loan receipts and repayments, so in the total sample loan income (a transfer) is netted out. When this factor is accounted for, it may be inferred that average incomes during October-December 1966 in the surveyed neighborhoods were about W24,000 to W27,000, or about 23 to 30% higher than the citywide average.

There is considerable variation in income levels in the area studied, and incomes tend to be approximately uniformly distributed over a wide range. This is shown by the respondents’ information on total household consumption expenditures each month: 20% of the families reported monthly expenditures of W10,000 to W20,000; 24% reported W20,000 to W30,000; and 27% reported W30,000 to W40,000. Thus, 71% of the families have monthly expenditures between W10,000 and W40,000. Those who spend more than W100,000 per month constitute only 2.8% of the sample.
The overwhelming majority (almost 80%) of the respondents consider themselves members of the middle income stratum in the city. Another 20% think themselves members of the lower stratum, and only 1.6% claim affiliation with the upper stratum. The latter include managerial staff members of large industrial plants and owners of small businesses; those who placed themselves in the lower income class include small shopkeepers and some white collar workers.

The trend in living standards over time for the respondents probably has followed the pattern for the entire city: in the early 1960’s, rise in earnings did not keep up with price rises, but since the middle of 1964 income and consumption levels have increased at almost 10% per year in real terms.

A substantial portion of income accrues in non-wage forms. Interest and rent income and gifts and donations were reported frequently by respondents. The amount of revenue received in this manner may be significant, particularly for those in important government positions. For high officials, it is not uncommon to receive at the funeral of their parents gifts whose total value is greater than ten years’ wages. Large sums of money are also required to seal business agreements, and government officials’ incomes are enhanced substantially through their dealings with the business community.

Another typical form of non-wage income is subsidy from relatives who are better off. This can be an important resource for those in difficult straits. Younger married couples frequently receive assistance from parents, and if the parents live in the country this assistance takes the form of gifts of food staples, such as rice and beans.

Earnings and gifts received may be supplemented by loans from personal acquaintances in time of need. At any point in time, a considerable volume of loans will be outstanding within the community, as noted earlier. Also, installment buying has come into vogue recently, perhaps as a sign of increased desire for the material comforts which were so long unobtainable.

Some families extend their credit by the practice of receiving monthly salaries in advance. The prevalence of borrowing from acquaintances and merchants means that many men yield up more than half their
checks to creditors on payday.

In the three areas, in about 27% of the families, other members besides the head of the household contribute some income. Wives add their earnings to 41% of the supplemented incomes, while the remainder is provided by the labor of sons and daughters, parents, or other relatives. In recent times, the phenomenon of working housewives has become more common. Traditionally, Koreans thought that women should depend on their parents before marriage, then on their husbands, and finally on their sons. But within the last fifty years, Korean women have achieved a measure of independence and equality in working with men. The income of women has greatly improved the family daily living standard.

As a whole, the living standards of Seoul citizens showed somewhat irregular but gradual improvement from 1960 to 1966 in terms of consumption expenditures. In 1960, monthly per capita consumption expenditure was W1,017, and by 1966 it had risen to W2,717, with most of that rise occurring since 1963. Total monthly family expenditure (consumption and non-consumption) by wage-earner and salaried families averaged W8,350 in 1963 and W12,280 in 1966. Average income grew somewhat more rapidly than average consumption during the 1960–66 period, due to regular pay raises in government and industry, especially in the last three years, and the relative stability of staple food prices in the last three years.

The proportion of the family budget spent on food fluctuates considerably from year to year, due to the erratic pattern of staple food prices, which are determined largely by the size of the harvest. In 1966 in Seoul as a whole, the food share of the typical family consumption budget was 45%. Housing took another 19%, heating took 22%, and clothing 6%.

In the surveyed neighborhoods, the proportion of food in total consumption expenditures was 35%, rather less than in the city as a whole, as might be expected from the higher incomes in the surveyed neighborhoods. The middle income groups spend proportionately more on meat, fish, and seasonings, while the lower income groups buy proportionately more vegetables.
The present-day living standards of the middle class are indicated by their household goods. Clocks or watches, radios, electric irons, and coffee sets are considered to be indispensable daily necessities and are owned by every household. A sewing machine, electric fan, television set, telephone, and refrigerator are among the luxuries every household wants. More than two-thirds of the residents in the surveyed areas have electric fans and sewing machines; more than half have a camera, television set, oil burner, record player, or a telephone; only one-third have an electric mixer, an oil stove, reception room furniture, or a refrigerator. Pianos and automobiles are too expensive for the middle class, especially since maintenance and taxes on a private car would require almost the entire monthly expenditure of a middle-class family. Accordingly, only members of Korea’s upper class can afford to own automobiles.

The Korean financial structure consists of the organized money market, such as banking, insurance, and trust institutions; and the informal money market, or private finance such as the kye, usurers, and kaekchu. The informal money market is the more commonly used by both urban and rural dwellers. Most Seoul citizens are currently members of various kye; and 90% of the debt in city households is owed to private financial sources, leaving only 10% owed to banks. Though these private loans ask four to six percent in monthly interest, they are generally preferred over bank loans because (1) they do not demand complicated procedures, and (2) they do not require collateral, but place more importance on subjective individual credit-worthiness.

Members of the middle class find it difficult to save money in financial institutions. If they do have money to set aside for the future, they try to invest it in real estate instead of buying stock or depositing it in banks. This habit is attributed to the history of inflation in Korea and to the recent boom in real estate prices. When asked, “How would you increase your money if you had W500,000 to invest?” about half of the respondents, both heads of household and housewives, answered that they would buy real estate, while about 30% said they would buy stocks or deposit the money in banks. Government employees currently are required to deposit part of their monthly stipends in savings accounts as
part of the national campaign to encourage the habit of bank saving. Many people save money by joining a kye, the traditional Korean financial organization. The kye performs the function of a credit union, providing loans to some and interest on savings to others. Slightly over half of the households in the three areas studied are currently members of at least one kye, and about half of those are connected with more than one kye. The kye assets may range from W10,000 to more than one million won, but the assets of those kye in which the majority of households take part range from W50,000 to W100,000.

The economic gains of recent years have given urban residents a fairly optimistic view of the future, but many would like to see even faster progress. When questioned about their economic future, 50% of the respondents stated that they believed they will be better off in future years, while only 8% felt that they would be worse off. No attitudinal surveys are available from earlier years, but it is the consensus of the researchers that a far larger share of the people would have voiced a pessimistic outlook in the 1950’s and early 1960’s.

A sense of frustration tends to accompany the hopes for the future. Two-thirds of the male respondents believe that the gulf between the rich and the poor in Korean society will widen, and only 17% believe it will narrow. Significantly, a full one-fourth of the respondents would like to emigrate to other countries, even though most of these believe their lot will continue to improve if they stay in Korea. It is, in fact, the middle class which makes up the bulk of the emigrants, a sign that the frustrations which accompany the striving for a better life are still severe indeed. It is the middle-class citizens who have the skills needed to migrate successfully, and who therefore feel the relative lack of local opportunity more acutely.

Health, Sanitation, and Social Security: Since only 13% of the toilets are equipped with a flush system, disposal of garbage and human waste are major problems of Seoul citizens. Every house in Seoul has a garbage box in front of its gate. Garbage and waste collection is handled by municipal authorities. In the Shinju Dong apartments, there are comparatively good facilities for garbage removal, but this is not true in
Hanyang Dong or Kyohwe Dong, and residents of these areas must pay particular attention to sanitation.

During the spring and summer, when epidemics are apt to occur, metropolitan authorities as well as private households frequently spray areas with disinfectants. The Seoul health centers and street inoculation teams vaccinate citizens seasonally to prevent typhoid fever and cholera. Middle-class families go to private doctors to vaccinate their children against polio, measles, and smallpox.

According to the results of a month-long health survey of Seoul citizens, conducted in October 1966, 35.4% of the population suffers from respiratory diseases, such as acute nose catarrh, pharyngitis, influenza, and tonsillitis at any one time, while 19.8% suffer from diseases of the digestive system, including the stomach, duodenum and liver. According to the respondents in the three areas studied, the most popular course of action when major diseases occur is first, to go to a hospital for treatment; second, to call a pharmacy; and third, to treat oneself at home. A few people consult herb doctors or acupuncturers, but none call on the shaman or devote themselves to prayer. Those of the middle class and above go to the big, well-known hospitals downtown, even if there are smaller hospitals nearby. Though the Shinju Dong apartment area has its own clinic, staffed with physicians, pediatricians, and dentists, most residents prefer the well-known hospitals downtown.

Middle-class people believe they have a considerable knowledge of pharmacy as a result of numerous advertisements for drugs carried by newspapers, radio, and television. Therefore, for minor ailments they use what drugs are available. They go to a hospital only when the situation is urgent. When asked, “Is medicine in the form of a tablet, a liquid, or an injection the most effective cure of disease?” about 80% believed that injection was best. The majority of middle-class people believe that physical and mental fatigue and carelessness are the causes of disease and that sufficient rest, proper nutrition, and appropriate exercise are the best preventive measures. Normally, medical treatment accounts for only 1 to 2% of the total household consumption expenditures, but when a member of the family undergoes an operation or acquires a chronic disease requiring hospitalization, medical expenses become a heavy
burden for middle-class families.

Korea’s social security system has a short history and is not yet widely functioning. It is not well understood by citizens. When respondents of the three areas studied were asked how they would support themselves when they grow old, no one mentioned making an insurance contract: 72% of the heads of household and 66.1% of the housewives replied that they will save money toward their old age, and others responded that they expect assistance from sons and daughters, or will receive a retirement pension. Only 6.1% of the heads of household wished to be supported by sons and daughters, while 18.7% of the housewives expected to receive such support. In keeping with their more traditional outlook, more residents in Hanyang Dong than in the other two neighborhoods planned on support from their offspring. Similarly, more Hanyang Dong residents stated a desire to live with their sons and daughters during old age.

Government and some private businesses have initiated programs of medical insurance and social security. However, these programs are not widespread, nor as effective as might be hoped. Since 1960, central and local government officials have been eligible for pensions, as well as benefits for illness, injury, funeral, and widow and orphan care. Pensions totaling W1,116,960,977 were paid to 54,403 individuals between 1962 and July 1966. Those who serve more than twenty years are eligible to receive an annuity as their retirement pension, while those who serve less than twenty years receive a single lump sum payment. Many leave government work before serving twenty years because they feel that the investment of a single lump sum will be much more profitable than annuity payments, due to inflation and the rising cost of living.

The government has also passed legislation concerning insurance for industrial workers. The industrial disaster compensation insurance, which became effective in 1964, is applicable only to government-run enterprises, and to workers in those industries employing more than 100 workers every day or more than 25,000 man-days annually. As of July 1966, 251,688 workers, or about a third of the industrial labor force, was eligible to receive benefits. The medical insurance pays an allowance stipulated by the labor standard law to wage earners and their depen-
dents for childbirth, disease, injury, and death. From 1964 to 1967, this system was voluntary, but in 1968, all employees of government enterprises were forced to apply for this insurance.

Newer companies generally do not have a pension plan. Employees who have been of notable service to the firm may receive a lump sum upon retirement, but this is arbitrary. Older companies are more likely to have retirement benefits. A lump sum payment is made that is equal to one month’s salary times the number of years the person has worked for the company.

Most firms have an employees’ credit union that is operated on a cooperative basis for the workers. Each person puts in a small amount of his monthly salary (say W100, or maybe 2% of the salary, depending upon the agreement of that particular union). In return, every member is entitled to small loans at low interest rates. Further, upon retiring from the firm, the employee receives his total investment plus accrued interest.

Private companies generally do not offer any type of medical assistance beyond compensation for injuries incurred on the job. However, private universities with teaching hospitals offer university employees and their immediate family members a 10% discount on hospital expenses.
Daily Life

Men's life: The majority of people residing in Hanyang, Kyohwe, and Shinju Dongs are white collar workers, professionals, managers, and retail merchants whose place of work is in the central part of the city. Most of the heads of household interviewed in the three areas studied had not assumed their fathers' occupations: the majority of whom were country farmers or land-owners. This extreme inter-generational migration was not due to major shifts within the class structure, but rather to the changing occupational structure under the pressure of the urbanization and modernization processes during the past forty or fifty years. Few of the middle-class people were raised in lower-class families; though their occupation is different, their ranking in the social hierarchy has not changed. The fathers of present professional people were themselves independent farmers, merchants, or professionals. Fathers of white collar workers were independent farmers, landowners, managers, or white collar workers. Most of the merchants are offspring of independent farmers and landowners.

Office hours for the white collar workers usually last from 9:00 in the morning until 5:00 or 6:00 in the evening. Most ride buses to work. Taking a morning bus is difficult. After waiting thirty minutes or more for the right bus, one has to jostle others and push them aside to get on. Most of the men interviewed ride the more expensive buses that limit the number of passengers but supposedly guarantee every passenger a seat. Inside the less expensive buses, one is usually forced to stand and suffocate in a crowd. To avoid this hardship, one must try to catch the more
expensive bus, though they are frequently already full and thus pass by further customers.

Some companies and schools provide transportation for their employees in company-owned buses. This means of commuting is especially popular with the outlying suburban dwellers, though it is also frequently used by the apartment dwellers as well. Some use taxis to commute in the morning. Though taxis are more expensive than buses, by sharing the ride with others who work nearby, the individual fare can be reduced. Only 4% of the middle-class families interviewed own automobiles.

Once at work, whether a man is clerk, manager, or technician, he works among many people. Most of the respondents are content with their relationships at work: 22% of the respondents are satisfied with their relations with their bosses, while 5% are not. The remainder claim that their relations with their superiors is neither good nor bad. Those who are dissatisfied with their relations with superiors describe the superiors as being dogmatic, authoritarian, and interfering. On the other hand, those who are satisfied find their superiors cooperative, democratic, reliable, and trusting.

Most workers find their relationships with their colleagues satisfactory; 37% say they get along very well with their co-workers, while only 1% regard their relations with them as unsatisfactory. A good relationship with one's colleagues is based upon mutual understanding, cooperation, familiarity, and loyalty. The minority regarding their relations with co-workers as unsatisfactory attribute the maladjustment to differences in "ways of thought and behavior."

When asked what they thought is required to attain a desirable occupation or status, almost 40% of the respondents believe that high positions can be achieved through personal efforts if opportunities are open. Another 50% do not have faith in personal competence, but are convinced that having money and personal connections is the only way to succeed. It is assumed that those who believe in personal competence as the means to advancement are those who still believe in social justice, while the cynics are assumed to believe that this society is unfair, as revealed in their motto, "You fail because society is against you."
Though these survey results show that many people of the middle class have social grievances, interestingly enough, they are not completely frustrated. As will be discussed, they attempt to send their children to schools and colleges and want them to be able to enter the highly-valued professions by exerting their own efforts.

Regarding men’s life after working hours, about half the respondents said they went directly home after working hours, arriving at about 7:00. The other half said that they frequently stop somewhere first with their colleagues. They visit restaurants, teahouses, billiard rooms, movie houses, beer halls, or bars. Most return home by 9:00, but 20% say that they stay out later. Around 11:00 every evening, the downtown streets bustle with people hurrying to catch taxis to return home before the midnight curfew. The majority of them seem to be under the influence of alcohol.

Evening socializing is only partially a means of relaxation, and partially a manner of conducting business. If a person wishes to transact a private business matter or to ask a personal favor of someone, or deal with someone on a purely personal basis, it is desirable to do this away from the formal surroundings of the office. Bars and tearooms offer an atmosphere in which personal relationships can easily be established, and thus facilitate requests for personal favors.

Wives sometimes complain that in most amusement establishments such as kisaeng houses, bars, beer halls, and dance halls, entertainers and waitresses are available to provide pleasures to men. They also sometimes complain that their husbands spent too much on themselves on such occasions. As one woman said, “When my husband returns home late after drinking, he will say, ‘Someone else took me out tonight,’ but I know he can’t be a guest every night.” Still, according to Korean tradition, men are relatively free to go where they please, without concern for their wives’ feelings, so the wives know that though they may caution their husbands not to spend too much on such occasions, they are rarely heeded.

Those who return home soon after work generally spend their evenings watching television or listening to the radio: 70% of the respondents said that they are habitual television viewers, preferring sports and
drama programs, while 40% listen regularly to the radio, especially to news, music, and sports programs.

On holidays and weekends the men said they enjoy hiking, fishing, and playing *paduk* and *changgi* games. Regularly 30% go mountain climbing with their friends or family. In recent years, family outings to such places as the zoo, palace gardens, and nearby scenic areas have become more popular.

**Women's life:** Traditionally women were expected to concern themselves solely with household matters, while their husbands handled all business outside the home. This division of responsibility is no longer as rigid as it once was. In fact, today not everyone judges a wife on the merits of her housekeeping alone. Though the older respondents continue to express regard for the traditional ways, younger respondents sometimes said that they thought it more important for a wife to be a good companion to her husband.

About half of the households polled have at least one nonfamily person living with them. Most of these people are housemaids who work from early morning till late at night. Housecleaning, food preparation, and care of clothes used to be the responsibility of the wife. Now these matters are handled by the maid. A good housekeeper supervises these activities, but most women would like to leave everything to the care of their maids.

Many maids are young girls in their late teens or early twenties who were raised in the country and now want to experience city life. Most have only a primary school education: some, not even that. Many are just barely able to read the Korean alphabet. Their pay averages W2,000 a month according to their age and experience. Housewives say that maids used to be obedient and faithful to their jobs, but nowadays they tend to be selfish and prefer to work in the better-equipped homes that own labor-saving devices and television. More middle-class families can now afford a maid than in the past. The increasing demand is out-reaching the supply; consequently, the girls are becoming more particular about their working conditions.

The job of housemaid is considered a low position. Most of the girls who are now maids say they would prefer to be factory workers, bus
girls, or beauty shop apprentices. Though housewives prefer maids to remain with them for a number of years, most maids change jobs frequently, seeking better situations.

Many wives express the opinion that they would rather have machines than maids to help with the housecleaning and laundry. Maids are temperamental; machines just do the work. Though middle-class homes are beginning to be able to afford the luxury of mechanical aids, they continue to employ a maid. Salaries are low and the extra person is needed to help with the complicated and time-consuming task of preparing and serving Korean food. The presence of a maid also ensures against theft, because someone is always present in the house.

Whether or not housewives have a full-time maid, most people now say they should be assisted in the care of the house by the rest of the family. Grandmothers, grown daughters, and even husbands help from time to time. People used to consider it demeaning for a man to do anything around the house, but now most men offer their wives assistance, if only for lifting and carrying heavy loads. Older men continue to think it would be shameful to be seen in the kitchen, but younger wives say, “Why not?” Younger husbands also help with folding up the bedding in the morning. Recently they have even taken to caring for the children when on a family outing.

While most women no longer place great emphasis on feeding or clothing their families, those with more education have recently taken to reading books to learn how to manage their homes more scientifically, how best to decorate their homes, and so on. Many take classes to learn calligraphy and flower arrangement.

However, some housewives have grown lazy now that they no longer need be constantly occupied with household affairs. Some spend long hours sleeping and reading magazines. Many complain about putting on weight.

Marketing is one of the important duties of the housewife. Purchase of commodities follows different patterns, depending upon one’s residence and socio-economic living standard. In all three neighborhoods there are grocery stores and nearby market places. Where convenient, people frequent the large wholesale markets such as Tongdaemun and
Namdaemun as well as the large department stores downtown to buy necessities.

In all three areas, residents buy staple foods, whose quality and price do not vary, in neighboring markets: however, the pattern of buying food for side dishes varies among the three areas. In Kyohwe Dong and Shinju Dong, the markets in the area are small and do not stock a sufficient amount of goods. Accordingly, the women in these areas usually shop at Tongdaemun or Namdaemun markets. This is particularly true when high-quality food is desired for guests. Occasionally, neighboring dealers will deliver goods by telephone order to the Shinju Dong apartments.

In buying clothing, most people patronize the large markets or department stores, taking into account differences in price and variety. The department stores are attended primarily by those of the middle class or above. Women’s cosmetics are purchased at department stores, from door-to-door salesmen, or from black-market dealers who handle foreign goods. Since the government controls the sale of foreign goods, black-market dealers sell in secret to the wealthy who can afford many foreign products besides cosmetics.

Other necessities, such as stationery and cooking utensils, are purchased at neighboring markets or the large markets. Some housewives in the Shinju Dong apartments jointly buy large quantities of goods from wholesale markets and then divide them among themselves.

More than half the women questioned said that they participate in at least one kye, the traditional financial organization. Membership in a kye does not remain constant, but is usually between ten and twenty-four persons. The majority of a kye’s members are the fellow alumnae of its organizer—usually a housewife—followed by neighbors, relatives, and fellow employees. Most often, members gather on dayday or the day after for convenience in a restaurant or a member’s home. They dine together during the meeting to promote their friendship.

A kye serves the duplicate function of savings and loans among its members. There are various forms of kye arrangements, but the most common is one wherein each month each member contributes a given sum of money. The kitty is then turned over to each member in turn.
Women said that they participate in kye with kitties ranging from W10,000 to W100,000. The women can either invest this sum in a loan or else use the money to help with household costs, to buy luxuries for themselves and their families, or to help their children in school. Most of those who participate in kye join only one or two, but a few participate in as many as five.

About 70% of the husbands disapprove of their wives’ memberships, because they distrust their wives mingling with women who are active in kye. The husbands say that such women are poor influences; furthermore, they are afraid of the possible consequences if the kye disintegrates before its function is served, for then they may either lose their investment or be liable for others’ debts. The kye is dissolved if the members cannot pay the promised installments, or if the head of the kye or one of the members absconds with the funds. To protect themselves from these occurrences, almost all members invest in the kye in two separate stages, and the financial background of the kye leader is carefully examined.

Most of the married women questioned said that they wear Korean-style dresses when they go out, but that they go to the dressmaker to have these made. Many admit that they wouldn’t know how to make one themselves, though their mothers would have been too shy to admit this. The older women have their better clothes made by a professional, but continue to make their clothes for house wear themselves. Younger women say they would like to learn knitting and Western dressmaking. Their husbands have clothes made by tailors. Children’s clothes are available ready-made on the market.

Though women need not be preoccupied with daily household matters, most are during late October and early November when they preserve sufficient kimchi (a fermented cabbage dish) to last the family through the winter. Many follow their kimchi making with soy sauce making. Some, however, find this task too time-consuming and tedious, preferring to purchase commercial soy sauce on the market.

A day in the life of one woman: Mrs. Kim is a 33-year-old mother of three. She lives with her 39-year-old husband in Hanyang Dong in a
three-room modern-style house that was purchased for them by her father. Her husband is a business office worker.

Mrs. Kim’s day begins about 7:30 when she arises, goes to the kitchen, stirs up the coal fire, and puts the water kettle on to heat. She then begins collecting together the various items her second grade son will need in school, such as pencils, books, and papers. By this time her husband is awake and sitting in bed reading the newspaper. The 15-year-old maid is busy in the kitchen preparing breakfast. Mrs. Kim fetches the warm water and helps her son to wash his face and hands. Seeing that he is clean, she returns to the kitchen to tend to the rice cooking, and to arrange a breakfast table for her son. When it is prepared, she takes it in to him and stays with him to help him eat. If he dallies with his food, she reminds him that this and that is nourishing and that he should eat it. When she becomes impatient with his delays, she takes the spoon herself and hand-feeds him. When she is satisfied that he has eaten enough, she helps him to dress and sees him to the gate, where she cautions him to watch for cars on his way to school.

Having seen her son off, she returns to put away the family’s bedding and then carries water to her husband for him to wash. When her husband is ready to eat, Mrs. Kim joins him and their two little girls at the round table. By 8:40 her husband has breakfasted, dressed, and is off for his office.

Only after her husband has left does Mrs. Kim have time to consider her own needs. She has a part-time job as manager of a girls’ high school co-op shop. On this particular day she has a ten o’clock appointment to meet one of her colleagues from the shop. Both women graduated from the school where the shop is located. They had planned to meet this morning to see one of the board members of the co-op. Mrs. Kim’s friend was fifteen minutes late; while waiting for her, Mrs. Kim occupied herself reading posters plastered along the walls on the street. Once the friend arrived, they immediately went to see the board member, who is also a teacher of the high school, and their former teacher. They took her a box of eggs as a friendship token. Once their business conference was over, the two women went to the shop itself, where Mrs. Kim went over recent sales records with one of the clerks. By the time she
had completed this task, it was lunchtime.

Earlier that day, she had been concerned when she saw that her husband ate an unusually small breakfast. Thinking of this, she decided to call him at his office to ask if he would join her for lunch in a restaurant. He was pleased to do so. They rarely eat together in a restaurant. Thus, this was a special occasion. They said that eating together somewhere other than at their own home made them feel like newly-weds. Mrs. Kim paid for the lunch, after which she returned to her shop to continue working until half past three.

After work she went to a nearby bathhouse and from there to a beauty shop next door. As usual, she spent almost one and a half hours scrubbing in the bath and another forty minutes having her hair done. Feeling clean and fresh, she returned home to change clothes, before making a social call with her young daughter on her brother’s wife who lives nearby.

Once she returned from visiting, it was time to give the children their dinner. She dined with them and afterwards asked her son about his school test papers. Primary school papers are always returned to the students for their parents to see. On his recent test, Mrs. Kim’s son had made one mistake, receiving a 96% score. For this he was reprimanded. There is keen competition for entry into middle school. Parents fear that only those who have perfect grades can expect to enter the better schools. Having discussed the wrong answer with her son, Mrs. Kim sat down to help tutor him on his lessons. The younger children remained in the room, imitating their older brother studying.

About 8:30 Mrs. Kim’s husband returned home, had dinner and sat down to watch television with his children. Mrs. Kim went into the next room to write down the day’s activities in her diary. She had been a good student with a special interest in literature, but had not attended college. Her family could have afforded the tuition, but decided that Mrs. Kim’s health was not good enough to meet the arduous task of college study. On this night, she completed her diary and returned to the main room to tell the children that it was time for them to go to bed. After several delays, they finally went.

The family all sleep in the same room. The children sleep on either
side of their mother, the two girls using one of her arms for a pillow, the boy, the other arm nearest his father. The Kims lay down with the children and turned off the light to encourage them to go to sleep. Sometimes the parents fall asleep at the same time, but frequently they arise again after the children are settled. On this night, she studied English together with her husband for about an hour, and then they helped each other practice the abacus by calling out the numbers for each other to calculate. By eleven o’clock they too were sleepy. Mrs. Kim toured the house to see that it was locked, then joined her husband in bed next to the children.

**The children’s comic shop:** Comic shops are very popular among Seoul children, and have been gaining popularity in the last few years. There are at least 1,400 in Seoul. Most are small and dimly lit. There was no children’s library or recreation center in the city prior to 1970, hence these shops are among the few sources of entertainment for children in middle- and lower middle-class neighborhoods. Well-to-do families can afford to buy and read whatever they want, but children of the low-income class are forbidden all but the cheapest pleasure.

During the rush hours at the comic shop, between 2:00 and 6:00, little boys and girls pore over the comics: “A Trip to the Moon,” “Cry-baby Princess,” “The King Without a Smile” and “The Sold-out Happiness of Nana.” One book may be read for one won, six books for five won, and for ten won eight books are loaned for 24 hours. Over a hundred comics usually appear in a series of eight volumes each; if they prove unpopular with the readers, they are discontinued.

There are striking differences in readers’ tastes: girls prefer sad and sentimental romances; boys are devoted to stories of space exploration, scientific and historical adventures, and exciting “007” tales. One of the younger patrons (aged nine) says “Hero Toto” is most impressive and exciting; it is estimated that he pays ten won for comics every day.

Almost all elementary school boys are customers except the poor readers of the first-grade class, and the sixth-grade boys who are under the heavy pressure of middle school entrance examination preparations. Occasionally, newsboys and shoeshine boys come in during their slack
hours, and even the sixth-grade boys stop by to read on their way home from long hours of studying. At times, older school boys make a sentimental stop at their favorite comic bookshop of yesteryear.

An introspective shopkeeper who has been in charge of a comic shop in Hanyang Dong for the past three years expresses deep concern over the quality of comics. He says, “Thrills and excitement mean everything, while moral and intellectual growth are completely disregarded. If these unsound trends continue without proper control, dire consequences will be inevitable.”
The library at the school: Containing the very popular novels, travel books, and poems, the school library has been growing continually in the last few years. There are at least 5,000 books available, and others are added every month. The library contains a variety of genres for the students to enjoy and explore. This not only facilitates learning but also caters to the diverse interests of the students. During the school hours, the library is open from 8:30 am to 5:00 pm, providing easy access to the students. "A Trip to the Moon," "The King Within a Crystal Ball," and "The Scientists and Their Adventures" are some of the recommended books for the students.

There are significant differences in the reading habits of the boys and girls. Boys are more interested in space exploration, adventures, and science fiction, while girls prefer romantic novels and poetry. One of the boys, John, shares, "Science fiction is my favorite genre, and I love reading about space exploration and adventure."

Under all circumstances, reading is a habit that should be encouraged, especially during the crucial years of development. It promotes critical thinking, understanding, and empathy.

In conclusion, the school library plays a vital role in nurturing the students' intellectual growth and fostering a love for reading.
The relationship between husband and wife: The basic relationship between a husband and his wife is revealed in their terms of address for each other. Husbands frequently call their wife’s attention by saying, “Look here!” or “Hey!” much as if speaking to someone beneath their own rank. The wife, on the other hand, uses a more respectful term when calling her husband. She will say something to the effect of, “Please look here,” or use her husband’s professional title to call him, such as “teacher,” or “doctor.” Traditionally, the husband who held complete control over his family was respected as a manly person. Consequently, even though wives now participate in activities both inside and outside the home, few men like them to show any superiority, especially in public.

The people who report most satisfaction with their marriages are the ones who say they frequently converse with their spouses. In each of the neighborhoods studied, between 60 and 70% of the women reported that their husbands told them about their office and social life. Whether or not couples have a high rate of conversation seems to be a matter of the individual personalities involved rather than of age or education. If a man enjoys the company of his wife, he tells her about his life outside the home; if he doesn’t feel comfortable with her, he refrains from conversation. Most couples talk over important family matters such as their children’s extracurricular tutoring and choice of schools.

In most of the households interviewed, the husbands are responsible for the family income, but the wives are responsible for the family consumption. One wife said that regarding family finances she played an
equal role with her husband. If she was thrifty and watched the budget closely, her savings were as important as any additional earnings her husband made. In general, women seem to be more prudent than their husbands in expenditures.

Most of the husbands polled said that they give their wives their total pay envelope. The wives then return a sufficient allowance to cover their husbands' daily expenses of transportation, lunch, and so forth. However, though the husbands may turn over all of their main income, many wives do not know just how much side income their husbands make from lecture fees or thank-you gifts. Many wives admit that they have no real idea of their husbands' total income. Any extra income is kept by the men and used on themselves for clothing and entertainment.

Above the age of forty-five, married couples rarely go out in public together. Younger couples have joint social activities at least once a month. The more education the family has, the more likely they are to participate in mutual activities. Those in Shinju Dong have the highest rate of joint social activities; 34.8% said that they go out together once or twice a week, and another 18.2% go out together at least twice a month. In Kyohwe Dong couples tend to go out together less than in Shinju Dong, but still almost half go out at least twice a month. Hanyang Dong has the lowest rate of mutual social activities. This is in keeping with their general pattern of more conservative behavior. The most popular activities are films and concert attendance, followed by visiting relatives or friends. Some couples shop together, others picnic or hike.

The women say that they go out with their husbands whenever their husbands get a bonus or a bit of extra income. Those with fewer children can afford to go out more frequently than those with many children.

Traditionally, men and women maintained separate social lives. Only recently have men begun to take their wives with them to parties. Most wives say they want to go, but some say they feel awkward on such occasions when foreigners are present. They are concerned about their clothes, appearance, and lack of English if foreigners are present. They feel left out of things, and worry about their husbands' reaction to their lack of participation. They also worry about the impression they make on the other guests.
One woman who feels this way has had two years of college. However, her husband holds an MA degree from an American university. Whenever she goes out with him, she is keenly aware of her lack of social experience. She watches her husband closely to try to understand how he wants her to act. She finds herself most uneasy when her husband meets his professional friends. When this happens, she is excluded from the conversation. Yet, she doesn’t complain, but says that there must be some distance of knowledge or achievement between a woman and man so that she can respect him.

In general, the younger and more educated couples are the ones who attend social gatherings together. In both Shinju and Kyohwe Dongs slightly less than half the women respondents said that most invitations come to both their husbands and themselves. Only a little over a quarter of the Hanyang women said they received invitations along with their husbands, though almost 44% said that when they sent out invitations they extended them to both the husband and the wife. When entertaining their husbands’ friends, women rarely have time to join them. When they do, they remain on the edge of the group, ready to return to the kitchen when needed. The elaborate preparation of Korean food requires constant attention. Even if a woman has a maid to help her, she finds that one person alone is not enough to prepare all the food and to serve it piping hot, as is polite. Most kitchens are not well enough equipped to serve guests easily. Thus, women feel they must give full attention to kitchen activities.

Some of the younger, intellectual families have taken to serving more simple menus so that the wife might join the guests. However, many people above the age of about forty-five feel uneasy in the presence of their spouses’ friends. While both men and women say that a wife is becoming more of a companion than a servant to her husband, there are still occasions when it is considered proper for her to give her primary attention to the house.

Most husbands and wives refrain from demonstrations of affection towards each other, either publicly or privately. Concrete gestures of affection are not made or spoken, but delicate nuances of eye or voice reveal feeling.
As one woman put it, "My husband doesn’t specifically show his affection for me, we just go on with everyday life. But when he tells the children ‘Be careful, your mother put great effort into making that,’ or he helps me dressing them or puts the bedding away in the morning, then I know he holds me in his regard.” She says that while a more direct show of affection might be nice, she doesn’t think the present situation is unsatisfactory. She knows when her husband is irritated with her or with the rest of the world, then he goes into a room, closes the door, reads the paper, and fails to give any response to his family. When he is drunk, she says he exhibits affection toward her by making some funny gestures or bringing her gifts of fruit or ice cream.

Parents usually sleep with their children in the same room. This situation does not encourage an active sex life; parents feel they must wait until the children are asleep before they can have relations. Most wait until after midnight, or until early morning. As in other countries, the frequency of relations declines with age. Young couples in their twenties or thirties have relations almost every night for the first few years of their marriage. By the time they are forty the rate has declined to three or four times a month. By the time they are grandparents in their sixties, they may even sleep in separate rooms. Relations are usually hurried. There is little or no foreplay or relaxation afterwards. Women say that it was several months or years after their marriage before they enjoyed marriage relations. People now in their sixties say they rarely, if ever, know satisfaction. Those who have the highest rate of satisfaction are usually in their early forties. The factor most closely related to this is not education or location of residence, but length of marriage. Generally, those who say they have a good marriage are also the ones who say they enjoy their marital relations. On the other hand, those in their forties who do not enjoy satisfaction express the opinion that sex is just a nuisance. Unfortunately, there is virtually no sex education available. Husbands are unaware of their wives’ needs, and tend to be selfish about the satisfaction gained from relations.

When asked the questions, “If your husband were involved with another woman would you divorce him? If you didn’t have children? If you had children?” 77% in Shinju Dong said they would consider a
divorce if no children were involved; 54% say they would consider it even if children were involved. In the other two Dongs, over half the women would consider divorce without children, but only about a quarter would consider it with children. As noted, the women in Shinju Dong have a higher rate of education, and more hold jobs; thus they have greater economic independence than the women in the other two areas, and are less hesitant to chance divorce.

**Parents and children:** The Korean house is closed off and secluded from the outside street. Though the street may be alive with children, passersby, and peddlers, the interior of the house is peaceful and has a warm atmosphere conducive to relaxation. The atmosphere is serene. Korean patterns of living bring family members into frequent contact with one another. Even when there are sufficient rooms for everyone to have his own, most activities are conducted in the main room.

According to Confucian mores, children should show filial devotion before all else. For instance, when the wife of a married son complains about her husband’s mother, her husband is expected to side with his mother, even if he thinks his wife is correct. If the wife persists in arguing with his mother or sister, the son is expected to divorce her, even if he himself is fond of her. A divorce in these circumstances brings no shame upon the son. He has acted in accord with the accepted principle of devotion to his parents. Today, emphasis is beginning to be put on the husband-wife relationship. When children are young, the parent-child relationship is more intimate.

From the moment of birth, a Korean child is “skin close” to his mother. Most of the day he is either carried on her back, or feeding at her breast. It used to be that a wet nurse was employed if the mother did not have sufficient milk. Cow’s milk was considered harmful. Today, cow’s milk is gaining popularity. Due to scarcity, it is expensive, so very few children are fed on cow’s milk alone.

Korean parents, especially mothers, seem to regard ensuring the success of their children as their purpose in life. Mothers often feel that if their child shows off to good advantage, they do likewise. In Seoul, small children can be seen with permanents and thick make-up: all this
is an attempt to beautify them, much as their mothers beautify themselves. Many parents give youngsters piano, art, and dance lessons even if the child’s talent does not warrant them. By providing their children with the greatest number of opportunities, the parents hope to gain prestige. They hope that the child will succeed. His success will reflect credit upon them.

The main concern about a child’s success centers around his academic achievement. In general, children from the lower classes have little opportunity to obtain an education beyond the compulsory primary level. Only middle- and upper-class families can afford the costs of high school and college. Yet, the desire for education is unusually high in Korea. Most middle-class urban families encourage their children to continue their schooling for as long as possible, whatever the cost. Parents will sacrifice their own well-being in order to obtain the necessary funds for schooling. They are more concerned with future gains than with present satisfactions.

Competition for entering schools becomes more keen at each successive level. This is especially true of the high-ranking schools. Opportunities of entering college are limited. Each year the number of applicants increases, as those who failed in the past try again. More than half of the applicants for Seoul National University in 1968 had tried at least once before, and 49% of those admitted were accepted on their second or third application.

In order better to prepare their children for college entrance examinations, parents try to have their children attend high-ranking schools on the lower levels. Competition for middle school seats is especially intense as there are fewer vacancies at this level proportionate to applicants than at the high school level. Consequently, parents force children of the ages of about 10 to 12 (by Western count) to endure extra tutoring from 5:30 in the morning till 11:30 at night. Such tutoring is either by private instruction or at academies that specialize in training for entrance exams. Often children who were not accepted at the school of their choice spend another year or two preparing for examinations. Anxious mothers often visit famous fortune tellers to learn whether or not a son will pass the examinations. Some teachers even recommend
that mothers visit fortune tellers to learn which school is most likely to accept their child.

While doing everything possible to ensure their children's academic success, parents who were questioned replied that it was really best to consider a child's individual abilities, whether or not these were scholastic. Thus, parents believe one thing but act in a contrary way; while recognizing that a child's achievement depends upon his innate abilities, and that not all children are suited for academic success, parents are hesitant to break from the traditional way of achieving social success. No one is willing for his child to be the first to break the scholastically-centered value pattern. Furthermore, as mentioned, parents feel that their children's success reflects upon themselves. If they themselves did not achieve as much academically as they desired, they hope their child can somehow achieve this in their place.

Academic success is generally seen as a means to occupational success. People in all three neighborhoods said that they hoped their children would be well off economically, and would be able to enter professional occupations. Few respondents desire their children to become politicians, high-ranking officials, or leaders in social movements and social reform. Rather, they value those occupations that are socially and economically secure and prestigious over those that are accompanied by risk, sacrifice, and adventure. Science and engineering careers are the most highly respected. Seven out of ten respondents want their sons to become professional scientists or engineers.

Parents say that they think the world of tomorrow will be very "sophisticated," but very selfish. Today's children are going to have to develop flexibility, in order to maintain smooth relations with others. In such a world it will be to the child's best interest to have passed the hurdles involved in getting an education at the best schools. It may be a pity that the child struggles today, but having conquered the present difficulties, he can go on to a leading position and a good future.

Foreseeing the future as a selfish world, parents say that children of today will not think about the elderly or their families. Already they can look around them and see examples of people with a miserable existence in their old age.
Traditionally the eldest son was expected to remain in the family house to care for his elderly parents. He was also responsible for the family ancestor ceremonies. In return, he received more than half of the family's property upon the death of his father. Parents expected to remain in the family house until their death. Today this pattern is changing. Sons move away to establish their own homes soon after marriage. There is a tendency for inheritance to be divided equally between all sons.

Most of the parents polled said they prefer the security of their own savings for their old age rather than having to live with their children. Only one fifth of all the fathers and mothers said that they wanted to live with their eldest sons; more than half of the fathers and over two thirds of the mothers stated a preference for not living with their children at all. Even if the respondents preferred to live with their children, they said that they would like the independence afforded by their own financial means. Most fear old age, and express concern about possible ill-health and loneliness. Of the people who are now elderly, the most content are those who are economically independent, hold some responsibility, and have the strength of religious conviction.

Relationships among relatives: Traditionally, close family relatives were those within ten relations removed. This was the chinjok. If relatives of more distant relation lived nearby or had frequent contact, they would be regarded in the chinjok group. Today, there is a tendency in Seoul to limit chinjok relations to only the very close relatives such as aunts, uncles, and first cousins. People know who their more distant relatives are, but do not necessarily have contact or communication with them, though the degree and range of kin activity varies from family to family.

There is a tendency in Seoul for relatives to have infrequent contact with one another.

Many Seoul families have relatives living in rural areas. The main family house in the country frequently will send rice and soy bean blocks to their chinjok relative in the city. In return, they assume the right of staying in their city family's house when they come to the city. Similarly, if sons or daughters of the country house come into Seoul to take en-
trance examinations, the branch family in the city is expected to do its best in caring for them.

Good relations and close contact are usually maintained between the city branch and the country family. In some families, there may be good relations but little contact. Educated people from other cities and towns may elect to stay at an inn or hotel when visiting Seoul. They visit their brother or other relatives, but prefer not to interfere in the domestic routine or strain their finances by assuming their welcome as house guests. In turn, their relatives are not expected to presume upon them when visiting the country.

Everyone in the city is busy with his own affairs. Many think they should have more contact but don't. At best, they have frequent phone conversations with their relatives. However, they do get together on special occasions, such as birthdays or ancestor memorial ceremonies.

While many Seoul people would like to have closer contact with their relatives, the opportunity is not always present. On the other hand, some simply do not care.
Recurrent social relations: Traditionally, close family relations were the main social relations between members. If members of the same family relation had been isolated and considered separately, they would not be recognized by the same family. Today, there is a tendency in this country to have closer relations to only the close family relations such as parents and children. People who have close family relations are better able to communicate and maintain their affectionate and friendly ties.

There is a tendency to keep the family relations separate from other social relations.

Many social relations have been developed in small areas. The family is the center of these relations. The family is the basis for the social network and the family is the center of the social network. The family is the center of the social network and the family is the center of the social network. The family is the center of the social network and the family is the center of the social network.
Religion and Social Values

According to statistics from the Ministry of Education compiled in 1966, the religiously committed population in Korea is 3,416,129 persons, or only 11.7% of the total population of 29,208,000 (October 1, 1966). This population can be subdivided into 3.2% Buddhist, 3.1% Protestant, 2.7% Catholic, 0.2% Chondo-gyo adherents and 2.1% miscellaneous religions—mainly new religious sects of either Buddhism, Confucianism, Chondo-gyo, or a combination of these. Each religious body, however, claims that the official statistics underestimate its membership. If we take this claim to be more accurate, the religiously-committed constitute around twenty percent of the total population.

Data from our study areas show a slightly larger proportion of religiously-committed persons than does the data of the Ministry of Education. Among 2,670 people in the three middle-class residential areas, 921 or 34.5% are religiously committed. Among them 16.7% are Protestants, 9.5% Buddhists, and 7.0% Catholics, the rest being Confucians and Chondo-gyo adherents. Among the three areas, Kyohwe Dong has the largest proportion of non-believers, 70.3%; Hanyang Dong has 64.8%, and Shinju-Dong least, 41.2%.

The above figures are indicative of the strong secular orientation of Korean culture, and the general trend of Korean people toward religious indifference. Since liberation in 1945, all religions have experienced internal division and struggle. Today, the most urgently needed religious reforms according to both the religiously committed and the non-believers are concerned with 1) overcoming internal disintegration;
2) ridding each religion of the superstitious elements it has incorporated; 3) raising the quality of the clergy; 4) promoting active social participation and social concern by opening the doors of church to the general public; and 5) enhancing national morality through the concerted efforts of all organized religions in Korea.

Data from the three middle-class residential areas in Seoul might suggest the following socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the religiously committed: 1) More female than male members of the society are religiously committed. There are relatively more female Buddhists and Christians than male, but the difference is slightly larger in Buddhism. 2) The average age of the committed is higher than that of the general population. The average age of Buddhists is highest, that of Catholics next and that of Protestants is lowest. 3) In terms of occupation, the committed apparently belong to relatively higher status occupational groups. Protestants have occupations of relatively higher status, the Catholics next, and Buddhists have the lowest status occupations.

The younger and the better-educated informants in the three middle-class areas in Seoul seemingly attach little "religious" significance to church attendance. Their reasons for attending church were more concerned with secular affairs, such as social affiliation or ethical self-discipline. For the older and less-educated female respondents, church attendance has more psychological meaning. They apparently wish to relieve the tensions caused by the rapidly changing social and familial relationships through religious affiliation. Further, they cherish vague hopes of heaven where they could lead peaceful lives, and receive compensation for the frustrations they meet in this unsympathetic world. This is true of older female Buddhists as well as Christians, although the Buddhists are more secularly oriented in that they wish to bring good fortune and avoid evil by praying to Buddha. For some older male Christians, church affiliation is one way to seek status in this world; for those less-educated men who are deprived of any other socio-economic status, the position of church office has much significance.

The younger Christian intellectuals have mixed feelings regarding their religion. Society's strong tendency to identify Christianity with the
Western way of life puts them in the position of men with a Western orientation and background. At the same time, since Christianity is regarded as an alien religion, they feel somewhat isolated in Korean society. Young Christian intellectuals feel frustrated at being unable to mix with other people if they must refrain from socially necessitated practices such as smoking and drinking.

To Chondo-gyo adherents, commitment is more a moral discipline and means of enhancement of national self-sufficiency. They frown upon Christianity’s dependence on foreign financial support. However, they are conscious of their exclusiveness and the rather obsolete doctrines of their religion.

Though Buddhism in general is regarded as a religion for old ladies, many young intellectuals have recently indicated much interest in a modern interpretation of Buddhist doctrines. The religion itself is trying hard to attract young people by internal reform.

For many older believers, religion’s strong attraction is as a means to release tensions, and shamanistic folk beliefs and practices seem to survive in disguise among many Christians as well as Buddhists. The growing enthusiasm in the Protestant church and in many new religions of various origins may be a sign of this tendency. Further, many conservative churches of Protestant denomination still emphasize spiritual life, repentance of sins, and salvation under God’s grace over church fellowship, social service and social ethics. The preacher of a Presbyterian church in Hanyang Dong had to shout to the dozing congregation one Sunday morning, “You deacons and congregation who are merely sitting here in the sacred house of the Father our God and doze off at the Words of God are eating and drinking sins! Wake up!” He was forced to repeat this several times during his long sermon on the spiritual significance of the Sacrament.

The noncommitted have mixed feelings about the committed. Some say that those who are religious must have achieved something useful, i.e. peace of mind or a sense of security. But others show disgust at the worse qualities of the religiously committed. Apparently expecting the committed to behave better than the noncommitted, the latter seem to be disillusioned by some of the more cruel and unethical practices of the
former. Some young intellectuals, committed and otherwise, expressed strong disapproval of the foul struggles of religious leaders involved in church hegemony over economic matters.

Except for ancestor memorials, there are virtually no religious activities or rituals occurring in the framework of family life. Although 21.1% or 105 families in the areas studied have all members belonging to the same religion, very few hold family services or prayer meetings, as many conservative Christians did a decade ago. 35% or 174 families have more than one religion dispersed among different family members. For the most part, other recreational or leisure activities are replacing religious activities in the family.

Ancestor memorial practices which originated from ancient spirit worship and were reinforced by Confucian ceremonialism have apparently undergone drastic changes in meaning and form among urban families. Of the total 428 families studied, about half (48.8%) the housewives reported that they practiced ancestor memorials of one or more type. The proportion of those who do not is highest in Shinju Dong, the apartment area (66.7%). The next highest (45.9%) is in suburban Kyohwe Dong and the lowest in the traditional area, Hanyang Dong (33.6%).

Originally, the practice of ancestor worship was designed to honor and comfort the spirits of the deceased; in return, the spirits were expected to protect the family by continuing the family line and promoting kinship solidarity. These implications of ancestor ceremonies are now being rapidly forgotten by urbanites, especially young people. The most significant meaning still attributed to these ceremonies is the emotional consolidation of a small family unit through remembrance of recently deceased family members. On these occasions, the whole family participates in the ceremony and shares the memories of the deceased, thereby solidifying the emotional bonds of the family.

The drastic changes in ancestor memorial ceremonies manifest the sharp decline of interest. Under the Confucian influences of long ago, the ceremonial procedures were strictly observed. But today there are not many families still clinging to these strict rules. The practice of ancestor rituals itself is now changing into a type of Chudoshik or memorial
ceremony instead of Chesa or ancestor worship. The procedures and formalities are being simplified. The frequency of observance and the number of ancestors remembered are reduced.

As suggested above, the fact that the religiously committed constitute only a minority of Korea’s total population might be viewed as a sign of the secularistic orientation of Korean culture and people. Nevertheless, we should not immediately conclude that Koreans are basically a non-religious people. Such a conclusion overlooks the persistence of indigenous folk religion in Korea. These shamanistic religious beliefs and folk practices have survived long years of encroachment by the great religions of the world, and further, have been partially absorbed by them to appeal to the people. Even Christianity, which would appear to be least similar to this oriental folk religion, has adopted many of its superstitious and secular elements.

Although shamanistic elements of religious belief and practice persist in the minds of people today, these people do not necessarily believe in the existence of spirits or in their power to control fortunes and natural phenomena. For example, in response to a question concerning belief in life after death, 46.5% of the males and 39.7% of the females polled answered that they thought death was the absolute end of existence. When these figures are combined with the number of people who did not know or gave no answer to the question, 78.8% of the males and 64% of the females polled had little confidence in the possibility of spiritual existence.

This attitude is also reflected in the responses to the question regarding the possibility of reward and punishment for good and bad in this life as well as the next. Around 40% of the respondents believe that good people will be rewarded whether or not their lives are more difficult than those of evil people. Slightly more people think that the bad lead a better life and the good a harder life in this world.

What kind of life do they think is blessed in this world? Traditionally, such blessings included wealth, status, many sons, and longevity. Even today, the items listed as blessings remain similar, though the ranking may have changed. Wealth or economic condition invariably comes first; then, a wholesome and peaceful family with an adequate number of
good children. Status and power are high for men but lower for women, who would rather have a stable life, health for self and family, and a good husband. Then come various items such as self-sufficiency, a moral life, self-expression, ability and good luck.

One interesting observation here is that many people apparently choose things as blessings not because they already enjoy them but because they want them. If you are poor, you want to be rich; but if you are rich, you do not express a desire for wealth. Are many Koreans poor because they are naturally evil, or does poverty breed malevolence in people? The majority of the respondents believe that because of poverty and adverse conditions people become malicious.

The majority of urban people do not seem to attribute poor living conditions and a bleak future to mere fate. The percentages of respondents believing that human destiny or fate is determined at birth and cannot be altered are only 4.9% male and 16.6% female. The view that man should work hard to decide his own fate is more strongly held by men than women.

Many people are concerned about the uncertainties in life. Though the spread of scientific education and the development of technology have overwhelmed aspects of social life, many people, educated or ignorant, urbanites or villagers, still seek answers to the empirical and non-empirical uncertainties confronting them daily. Due to the Koreans' basically secularistic orientation and to the spread of scientific knowledge, non-empirical uncertainties occupy only a small percent of their problems. However, many empirical uncertainties are not resolved in a rational, scientific manner. Instead, superstitious practices, such as recourse to fortune tellers, prevail among the lower classes as well as in the upper echelon of society.

According to official statistics provided by the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, the number of people dealing in the occult increases yearly. In 1960, there were 13,287 seers; in 1965, 21,932; and in 1966, 25,761. These figures include only registered fortune tellers such as shamans, palm readers, phrenologists, and physiognomists.

Today, many people seek these fortune tellers for various reasons. One of the most popular requests comes from young girls who wish to
know the identities of their future husbands. Upper-class people often visit the more famous fortune tellers early in the morning, as it is difficult to meet them later in the day. During the general election, the wives of many high-ranking government officials or political figures are said to have lined up to see the celebrated local fortune tellers.

In Hanyang Dong there is one fortune teller dealing in the popular Chinese philosophy of Yin-Yang and Five Elements, one female phrenologist and Chinese philosopher, and one amateur shaman.

Before this researcher knocked at her door, the female fortune teller had been listening to a radio soap opera. Looking much younger than her nearly sixty years, she told how she had lost her husband in her youth, and afterwards led an isolated life in one of the Buddhist temples near her home village. There she learned of prophecy and Chinese herb medicine, and now prospers from her practice of such knowledge. Groups of young and middle-aged women waited in line to have their fortunes told. A pair of young girls in their early twenties asked about their future husbands. Several middle-aged women were curious about their marital relationships and the futures of their husbands’ businesses, while others were worried about their sons’ middle school entrance examinations.

Elsewhere, the researcher met a man in his early fifties who was asking the male fortune teller whether he should recommend his cousin for a position in his firm. He was concerned that the cousin might make mistakes and the blame fall on him. Since he was not certain of his cousin’s birth hour, he and the fortune teller were fixing it through an utterly irrational calculation.

The amateur shaman in Hanyang Dong, who lives in a poverty-stricken area on the slope of a hillside, attained her vocation (Son Mudang) after two years of sickness and a final revelation from Inwang-San (a nearby hill) Sillyong-Nim (Divine Sage). She says that unless she practices shaman prayer and fortune telling, she will again become sick. Her custom is to prepare a table with a bowl of rice and a dozen old traditional coins and to chant a simple call, naming the mountain god and one of the Bodhisattvas, a Buddhist figure. Claiming no religious background whatever, she tells fortunes in a mystic trance and utters various
predictions. Elderly women, who are her usual visitors, ask her to pray for them and for their family members when they are sick or have encountered misfortunes.

Do people really believe the fortune tellers’ prophecies? This is a very difficult question to answer. In general, except to a minority of elderly women, the function of fortune telling deals with the management of uncertainties. Whether they believe or not, people want to be prepared for future uncertainties in some way.

Occasionally, the function of a shaman ceremony has significance only as a custom. For instance, the day after one of the largest newspaper firms was partially destroyed by fire, a rival daily newspaper conducted a shaman ceremony. Within the three study areas, about one third of the female respondents said that they practice one or more of these types of customary ceremonies, such as Kut by shamans, Korsah—a sort of worship of household spirits—or Chisong—a prayer to mountain spirits.

Concerning visits to fortune tellers, within the three areas studied the proportion of visitors is almost 50%. This includes visits to Chinese philosophy fortune tellers, phrenologists, name-makers, and other traditional folk fortune tellers. Tojong-Bigyol, a prediction of fortune at the beginning of the new year, is very widely practiced.

In cases of both spirit worship ceremonies and fortune telling, Han-yang Dong, the traditional residential area, has the highest percentage of practitioners, Kyohwe Dong the next, and Shinju-Dong, the apartment area, the lowest. This fact might illustrate the relationship between maintenance of traditional customs and the environment. However, it should be noted that these traditional superstitious practices are not monopolized by the poor and less-educated population. Many young intellectuals also patronize superstition, especially through fortune tellers, and even some alleged Christians do not completely avoid these practices.

The world religions do not provide simple, forthright answers in terms of management of uncertainties. They are often remote and unrealistic, and consequently many religiously committed people resort to folk practices. In this instance, religious syncretism can be observed.

In the traditionally status-oriented, familial social system, the indi-
vidual was not the unit of social life. Instead, kinship or family was the most significant social unit, while the individual was evaluated in terms of his class status. As society has undergone modernization and differentiation, the position of the individual has been greatly elevated. Even so, various forms of the familistic, ascriptive, authoritarian, and particularistic orientation have persistently survived.

With its authoritarian, ceremonial, familial, and secular emphases, Confucianism was the strongest ideology dealing with human relationships in this society. The influence is still exerted in various forms. Particularly in terms of social morality, the collectivity orientation of Confucian familism took precedence over individualistic social ethics. Loyalty to collectivity, especially family and kinship, has overridden individual considerations in decision-making.

Among the urban respondents studied, this collectivism still exerts a significant influence. For instance, when an urbanite is asked to care for a rural relative, more than a third of the respondents expressed an obligation to treat him as a member of the family, without charge. This trend declines sharply from Hanyang Dong (51%) to Kyohwe Dong (32.4%) and to Shinju Dong (25.5%).

However, group ties weaken in a decision between ability or morality and social connections. For instance, when one is asked to recommend the son of a friend for a position, the overwhelming majority of respondents believed that ability should be considered to at least some extent. And if one is aware of misdeeds committed by a relative, friend, or employer, more than half the respondents declared that they would not conceal these misdeeds because of special connections with their perpetrators.

Diffuse social consciousness among urban people is growing in many respects. This is reflected with regard to the respondents' behavior while waiting for the bus during the morning rush hour. About half the people state that they would wait in line if others also stand in line, and about a third replied they just stand in queue regardless of others' behavior.

As urbanization and industrialization proceed, individualization and social consciousness are expected to develop further. However, at the present time, this may be occurring only on the surface. The Korean
people are not endowed with a deeply religious ethical morality; a facade of shamanistic and formalistic Confucian beliefs covers their basic secular and utilitarian orientation.

Though many religious leaders and social critics agree that Koreans must develop religious beliefs to integrate the nation's values, this task will not be easy. The long tradition of secularism and shamanistic utilitarian orientation may prevent the people from adopting a deep-rooted religious belief in sacred and social morality. The surging tide of secularism may even enhance the secularistic orientation as industrialization and urbanization proceed. A new core of integration may have to be located in some sphere of social life.

On the other hand, the superstitious elements in the religious lives of the Korean people have been thought to hinder further socio-economic development. Modernization occurring within each religious body will alleviate this problem. Further advancement of empirical thought will also reduce this tendency. However, the strong inclination to resort to superstitious beliefs and practices may remain, unless some sort of social mechanism evolves which can successfully soothe the minds of people fraught with the uncertainties of modern life.

Together with development of individualization, forms of strong familial collectivism may persist in social relationships. Though the lack of social consciousness has been beneath the widespread corruption and social injustice in Korea, it is naive to expect its evolution until individualization matures.
APPENDICES

A) Research Methods

During the time of research, the researchers maintained residences within the neighborhoods studied. In the case of the suburban and city center neighborhoods, rooms were occupied in houses that were part of the study. In the apartments, however, facilities in the study district were unavailable. The apartment units themselves were too small to allow a family to rent out a portion, and rental of a complete apartment was too expensive for the budget allotted to the project. Thus, while it would have been preferable for the researchers to reside within the apartment community, they had to take space in a nearby house.

The actual research followed a combined approach consisting of structured questionnaire interviews, informal interviews, and general participant-observation. In each of the three areas, approximately 150 households were selected for intensive study. The specific houses selected were chosen with the advice of the neighborhood (Dong) officials, so that a representative cross section was sampled. Within each Dong, complete administrative sub-units (tong) were studied; in the case of the apartment complex, two whole apartment buildings were selected, one wherein the residents own their own apartments, the other wherein they rent.

A structured three-part questionnaire was administered to each of the houses in the sample area by students from Ewha Womans University, Seoul Women's College, and Seoul National University. The following table shows the high rate of return on the questionnaire.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Shinju Apartments</th>
<th>Kyohwe Dong</th>
<th>Hanyang Dong</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of households</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General questionnaire</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male questionnaire</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female questionnaire</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refusals</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(9 vacated) (15 not available)

Of the 541 households in the sample area, nine were currently vacant and fifteen were unavailable for questioning. In all three neighborhoods, the rate of return on the female questionnaire was noticeably higher than on the male questionnaire. While the women could be interviewed during the daytime, the men were reluctant to spend their evening leisure time answering questionnaires. Furthermore, in some households there were no male residents. Such households are composed either of women living alone with children or else of young siblings who are temporarily living together in Seoul so as to attend school while their parents maintain permanent residence elsewhere.

Of the households approached, only 18 refused to answer the questionnaire. Of these 18 refusals, 13 were in the Shinju Apartments. In many apartment households both husband and wife are engaged in full-time jobs outside the home, thus they were more hesitant than the residents of other areas to give their few leisure hours to answering questionnaires.

The data from the questionnaires was processed by card sort at the Bureau of Statistics under the direction of Mr. Lee Gyusul. The information obtained was correlated by the research assistants and is available in the form of statistical tables in a separate US-AID publication.

The formal interviews were supplemented by the direct observation of family and community behavior, and by informal conversation. This report is a general summary of the statistical information obtained and of the researchers’ observations.
B) Historical Perspective of Religion in Korea

Animism and ancestor worship are the oldest forms of religion in Korea. Everything in the environments of heaven and earth—men and animals, plants and even lifeless objects—were thought to have spirits. Believing that these spirits had the power to control nature, the world, and human life, people tried to please them in order to obtain their blessings and avoid their wrath. This belief in spirits was the underlying principle of the shamanism that was practised by all the Altaic race living not only in Korea but throughout Northern Asia, particularly Mongolia and Siberia. The shaman himself was the mediator between spirits or gods and human beings. In ancient tribal Korea, the shaman (or priest) was simultaneously a religious figure and the social-political leader of the tribe. The mythological founder of the nation, Tungun, is said to have been one of the greatest shamans in ancient Korea.

Although shamanism or spirit worship, including ancestor worship, has played different roles depending upon the rulers of old Korea, it has persistently survived in the life of the common people in this society. Except in ancient society, shamanism has been the religious life primarily of the lower echelons of society—the commoners and the menials—and of the female population. In general, shamanism has been the single most important religious orientation in Korea, though other religions and philosophies have gained favor in more recent times.

Buddhism governed the religious sphere of life for almost ten centuries, until the end of the Koryo Dynasty (918–1392 AD). In 372 A.D., a Chinese monk brought Buddhism to Koguryo, one of the Three Kingdoms of the time. However, it flourished most in Silla and was adopted as the state religion as a measure calculated to gain the favor and protection of China. Promoted and protected by monarchical power, Buddhism became the spiritual foundation on which Silla achieved unification of the peninsula and development of her culture. While the ruling class accepted Buddhism as the state religion, the “Pure Land Sect” and other popular sects of Buddhism, combined with the indigenous folk shamanism, prevailed among the commoners. Their dogma was mainly concerned with
existence after death and passive acceptance of fate; and this of course appealed to the peasants, who suffered many hardships in life.

After the decline of unified Silla Dynasty, Buddhism continued to dominate the religious life of people in all echelons of society. During the Koryo Dynasty, hundreds of Buddhist temples were built and the Buddhists accumulated great amounts of land and wealth. During the Mongol invasions, Buddhism played the role of a protective religion. But after the invasions, as society was beginning to disintegrate, Buddhist monks became involved in the political struggles of the aristocrats, using the wealth and military power of the temples. Through this enthusiastic participation in political and economic affairs, the monks became corrupted and Buddhism began to lose its religious significance in the society. At this time, Buddhism was absorbing Taoist doctrines and adapting to the traditional folk religion. It was transformed into a kind of superstitious folk religion, oriented mainly to the worldly interests of the simple people.

The ruling class of the Yi Dynasty, which was built upon the ruins of the Koryo Dynasty, strongly opposed Buddhism, partly because Buddhism had become unbearably corrupted and degenerate, and partly because the new dynastic elite needed a new ideology to supplant it as the influential state religion, and by so doing to reinforce their political control. Under the Confucianist literati bureaucratic rule of the Yi Dynasty, Buddhism was suppressed. Many temples were torn down, and their land and wealth appropriated by the state. Most of the monks retreated to temples in remote mountain valleys or upon high hilltops. However, Buddhism retained its appeal to the common people and women, who were the oppressed in the strict Confucian status system. It appealed to those with a superstitious nature. Buddhist temple sites were concerned with funerals, prayers for fertility of childless women, fortune telling, comforting poor women in trouble, and so on.

Confucianism was introduced to Korea around 300 A.D. as a scholastic system rather than as a religion. Even during the period of the Three Kingdoms and the Koryo Dynasty, when Buddhism was at its peak, Confucianism produced a large number of great scholars who established their reputations not only in Korea but also in China. When the
Yi Dynasty adopted Confucianism as the leading ideology of the regime, the new Confucian thought was based upon Chu Hsi’s strict doctrinal interpretations, and had highly elaborate and codified metaphysical and ceremonial aspects.

The foundation of society under the Yi Dynasty was this authoritarian-ceremonial Confucian principle. The only religious element involved was emphasis on ancestor worship. While the excessive concern with formal ceremonialism on the part of the ruling elite eventually caused serious factional struggles, Buddhism and shamanism continued to exert influence on the religious life of commoners. Though to varying degrees Confucianism could provide normative patterns for the social life of both gentry and commoner classes, it could not gratify the basic religious needs of the people.

During the period of tremendous social disorganization brought on by power conflicts among the ruling elite and the Hideyoshi invasion at the end of the 16th century, Catholicism arrived via the Ching Dynasty of China. A young attendant of the annual goodwill envoy to the capital of Ching returned with some Catholic books in 1783. Once introduced, Catholicism at first appealed to a group of isolated Confucian scholars eager to seek novel ideas which could be used to restructure the rigid Confucianism. Though these men were primarily former literati and bureaucrats ousted from their posts during the power struggle, the new religion rapidly spread among the oppressed lower-class people.

The rising popularity of this new Western religion among the scattered gentry and oppressed peasantry was not ignored by the ruling elite. Afraid of the potential threat to the very root of their social structure, they reacted by persecuting hundreds of Catholic converts, including a few foreign missionaries and even female converts of the royal family.

The late nineteenth century was marked by ceaseless challenges from outside powers to open Korea’s gates, and she was finally pressured into signing a series of treaties with such Western powers as the United States, Germany and France, as well as with neighboring China, Japan and Russia. With the opening of the country to foreign interests came freedom of religion, and foreign missionaries poured into Korea during the period from 1884 to 1908.
Missionaries of two leading denominations, Presbyterian and Methodist, initiated various cultural and social welfare activities, in addition to regular mission work, and established high schools, junior colleges, medical clinics, Bible translation, publication of periodicals, and youth movements such as the YMCA and the YWCA. Through these activities, and the organization of democratic churches, early Protestantism in Korea resulted in promotion of democratic values and became associated with the ideology of an independent national state. One notable contribution occurred when Christians took a leading role in the national independence movements after annexation by Japan, including the Sam-II (March 1, 1919) Independence Uprising.

Not only Christianity played a significant religious role in the enlightenment and independence campaigns. A new indigenous nationalist religion called Chondo-gyo (Religion of the Heavenly Way) arose around the middle of the 19th century. Basically a combination of Confucianism, Buddhism and Son-gyo, or traditional spirit worship adapted to Taoism, Chondo-gyo had a strong nationalistic orientation in two senses. First, under the name of Tonghak or Oriental Learning, it was created to oppose the growing tide of the alien religion, Catholicism. Second, it undertook activities and movements to enlighten the masses and promote national independence.

As tensions and instability within society increased during the last decades of the Yi Dynasty, a number of new pseudoreligions developed. In essence, they were deviant sects of Confucianism, Buddhism, Shamanism, and Chondo-gyo, or some combination of these. At first, with their claim to build an earthly paradise and to relieve the poor and the oppressed of their suffering, they attracted many people from the lower class and female population. However, they gradually became corrupt, and most of them were outlawed and banished to the mountains.

Under Japanese rule, the only religion enjoying the protection of the colonial authorities was Buddhism. Christianity and Chondo-gyo suffered from Japanese oppression because of their strong nationalist orientation.

With the liberation of the country from the bondage of colonial rule, freedom of religion was reestablished. But the religions rapidly lost the
vitality which had characterized them during the days of hardship.

The surging tide of secularization, and the loss of the zeal for national independence which had been the mainstay of these religions, now resulted in serious internal struggles among the leaders of each religion over church hegemony and economic control. This increased the disillusionment of the general populace with the existing organized religions in Korea. The consequent indifference of the people to religion, and their pronounced secularism, can be cited as a general characteristic of the Korean people today.
Notes on the Contributors

Professor LEE Hyo-jae, who is teaching sociology at Ewha Womans University, was the Director of this study on life in urban Korea. Professor Lee attended Ewha Womans University for two years before going to the United States to study at the University of Alabama, where she received a B.A. degree in sociology. She obtained her M.A. degree from Columbia University, and has done further graduate work at the University of California, Berkeley.

Professor Lee began teaching at Ewha Womans University in 1958, and has taught there until the present, except for a five-year period when she taught sociology at Seoul Womans College. She has published many books, monographs, and articles on sociological subjects. Her books include The Family and Society, Study of Korean Rural Families (co-authorship), and (to be published in June 1971) Korean Urban Kinship Relations. She has also written monographs on the Korean family, Korean women’s organizational activities, the Korean urban housewife, and the modernization of Korean women.

Assisting Professor Lee in this project were able young Korean scholars and an American advisor-consultant, as follows:

Mrs. CHOI Syn-duk, who teaches sociology at Ewha Womans University, and who reviewed family life in this study.

Mr. KIM Kyong-dong, of Seoul National University, who is now working for his Ph.D. degree in sociology at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York and who worked on philosophical and religious aspects of this study.

Mr. HAN Sang-bock, of Seoul National University, who is currently working for his Ph.D. degree in anthropology at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. He concentrated on economic and social interrelationships.
Mr. OH Kap-hwan, of Seoul National University, who is working for his Ph.D. degree in journalism and mass communications at Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia, dealt with social aspirations and mobility.

Mrs. LEE Kyong-jae, a graduate of the College of Law and of the Graduate School of Public Administration, Seoul National University, is doing graduate work in public administration in the USA. She worked on the general physical and administrative characteristics of the three neighborhoods surveyed in this project.

Mrs. Kathryn Norton, a social anthropologist with US-AID, acted as advisor-consultant for the project.
Annual Report of
Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch,
for 1970

The Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, celebrated the 70th anniversary of its founding in 1970 and had an active year of progress in its many activities. The membership of the Society in December 1970 totaled 633 members, including 450 members in Korea; 160 overseas members; and 23 life members. A summary of the major RAS activities in 1970 in its three primary fields is as follows:

RAS Meetings: During the year 1970 the Society held 21 meetings, including 13 with regular speakers; four panel discussions; three for movies; and one Anniversary Party at the Tōksu Palace, which included an anniversary speech by a former President of the Society, Dr. L. George Paik, as well as performances by Korean musicians and dancers.

RAS Tours: During the year 1970, the Royal Asiatic Society conducted 38 tours to all parts of Korea and to Hong Kong. Over 1,000 people participated in these tours, which included 26 of one-day duration; four of two-days; seven of three-days; and one of seven-days.

RAS Publications: The year 1970 was an active one for the publication of RAS Transactions and books, highlighted by the publication of the first book of the RAS guidebook series Seoul: Past and Present, by Dr. Allen D. Clark and Donald N. Clark; and Volume 45 of the RAS Transactions, entitled "Mass Communications in a Developing Korea." During 1970, the fifth printing of Dr. Paul S. Crane’s Korean Patterns was completed. Plans are underway for the publication of an index to all volumes of the RAS Transactions issued since 1900. New RAS books scheduled for publication in 1971 include The Birds of Korea by Mr. M. E. J. Gore and Dr. Won Pyong-oh (May 1971); Dr. Gari Ledyard’s The Dutch Come to Korea (July, 1971); Dr. James Hoyt’s translation of The Songs of the Dragons Flying to Heaven (August
1971); Dr. Edward Wright's *Politics in Contemporary Korea* (Fall 1971); Dr. Pak Ki-hyuk's *Three Clan Villages in Korea*, (Fall 1971); Dr. James S. Gale's *A History of the Korean People*, (December 1971); and Volume 46 of the Transactions, "Life in Urban Korea" (May 1971). In addition, new editions of two other popular RAS books will be printed, including Dr. Hahm Pyong-choon's *Korean Political Tradition and Law* (June 1971); and Bishop Richard Rutt's *Korean Works and Days* (May 1971).

**New RAS Offices:** The RAS moved to new quarters on the 10th floor of the Korea Times Building near the ROK Capitol in December 1970. It is anticipated that, under the leadership of the new President, His Excellency, Ambassador Nigel C. C. Trench, the year 1971 will be among the most productive and worthwhile in the long history of the Society.
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