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CHILD CARE NEEDS OF LOW INCOME WOMEN
IN RURAL AND URBAN KOREA

By
the Department of Food and Nutrition, College of Home Economics
Seoul National University
in collaboration with
Carol Rice and Jane Wilber of the
OVERSEAS EDUCATION FUND of the League of Women Voters

Women in Development
Agency for International Development
Room 5015, New State
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(202) 338-3002

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OVERSEAS EDUCATION FUND
of the League of Women Voters
2101 L Street NW, Suite 916
Washington, D.C. 20037

Department of Food and Nutrition
College of Home Economics
Seoul National University
Seoul, Korea

PROJECT ON CHILD CARE NEEDS OF LOW
INCOME WOMEN IN LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

PREFACE

This report is one of six country reports which present field research findings and recommendations on Child Care Needs of Low Income Women in Less Developed Countries. The project was undertaken (a) to identify child care needs of low income rural and urban families as an increasing number of women participate in income production, and (b) to seek child care alternatives responsive to the children's socioeconomic needs within their cultural context.

Most women in less developed countries, especially in low income areas, perform the dual role of household manager as well as income provider. Women from low income families are farm laborers, domestic servants, market vendors, factory workers and seamstresses for many hours a day in addition to performing necessary household tasks such as cooking, grinding grain, washing clothes, fetching water, gathering firewood, and taking care of children. Development programs have only recently started to address more carefully the specific needs of women in the many roles they play, including that of primary dispenser of health and nutrition care of the family.

In all societies children are primarily cared for by their mothers. Other female members of a household, if present, help when necessary, as do some male members depending upon a society's mores and cultural traditions. As the demands of economic development increase, the need for more cash income to buy consumer goods and services also increases. The demand for better incomes, rural to urban migration, and the changing family structure are some of the factors which have an impact on the type and quality of care children, especially children under five, receive in rural and urban areas.

It is hoped that this report will suggest answers to questions such as:

- (a) How are the child care needs of low income families being met in Korea?
- (b) Do low income women desire and need to participate in income generation?
- (c) What are the effects of existing child care patterns on opportunities for these women to participate in income production?
- (d) What are the child care needs of these low income families and what alternative solutions do they recommend?

In this report the following definitions of child care and work have been used:

Child Care is defined as a system that includes health/nutrition and education services integrated with custodial care which is responsive to the children's socioeconomic needs in their cultural context. These services are provided in the absence of the mother while she is engaged in income production or is otherwise occupied.

Work is defined as income generating activities, performed in the home or outside, that lead to income in cash and/or kind.

The basic research design includes the following data instruments: household questionnaire, group discussion guide, literature search, and interviews with policy makers, government, and domestic and international agency program planners and implementors. Details of the design are found in the Methodology section of the report.

We are grateful to the Office of Nutrition of the Agency for International Development* for funding the project and for their continuous commitment to it. We are indebted to the Department of Nutrition, Seoul National University, Korea, for their collaboration in the project and to Dr. Sumi Mo and the graduate research team for the time they dedicated to research and writing. We greatly appreciate the cooperation extended by Korean government officials, domestic and international agency personnel and everyone who in one way or another helped personally and/or professionally during the course of this study.

It is hoped that the findings of this study and the emerging recommendations will make a significant contribution in Korea towards the development of policy and programs that meet the needs identified by the low income families.

For the Overseas Education Fund,

Willie Campbell
President

Elise Smith
Executive Director

Emily DiCicco
Project Director

Carol Rice
Asia Field Coordinator

Jane Wilber
Research Associate

*The view and interpretations in this publication are those of the authors and should not be attributed to AID or any individual in its behalf.

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CHAPTER I

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This report is one part of a comparative study on child care needs of low income women, conducted in several Latin American and Asian countries. The goal of the study was two-fold, to investigate the degree to which child care acts as a constraint to women's participation in income generation activities and to understand how such participation affects child care patterns, health and nutrition. The study also assessed the alternative approaches to child care available in Korea and the quality of care the children receive.

Women constitute 41% of the total labor force in Korea, a figure which has risen from 36% in 1963. Nearly half of these women are engaged in agriculture and fishing, though women's participation in manufacturing and production is increasing. Cultural constraints and lack of skills for employment in the modern sector, however, restrict women to low pay, low status, and unskilled work.

Korea has a nationally regulated system of child care, but centers meet the needs of only a small proportion of the people who require such services. Because the programs of child care centers generally include an educational component, such facilities are in great demand. Even though parents would like their children to receive these educational benefits, the fact that most Korean child care facilities operate only half-day, means that they do not fully meet the needs of the working mother.

Two communities were studied in depth. Pyungwhachon, on the outskirts of Seoul, was selected as a "typical" low income urban area. Rural Dongmyun, located seven miles from the demilitarized zone, is a mixed farming/military community. Although isolated and located in one of the poorest regions of Korea, the military helps the local economy by purchasing fresh farm produce and provides services to the people such as emergency medical care and occasionally inoculations for the children.

A sample of the residents was surveyed in the summer of 1978 by a research team headed by the Chair of the Nutrition Department, Seoul National University, and assisted by nutrition graduate students of the University. Additional information was gathered through interviews with government officials, local and international voluntary agency personnel, group discussions with community residents and through a review of existing literature on government policies and programs.

Certain common needs and concerns were found in both communities surveyed, though degree of need differed in some cases because available resources differed. It is generally recognized that due to industrialization and the change from the extended to the nuclear family system, the majority of women have more work to do than before. The respondents and those involved in the group discussions generally agree that women need to work to supplement the family income. This is a major departure from tradition, since in the past, married women have not been expected to work.

Conclusions

1. Of the women surveyed, 77% of the rural women consider themselves to be working. Primary occupations are farming, animal husbandry, shopkeeping and casual day labor. In the urban area, 34% of those surveyed worked as vendors in family owned market stalls selling handicraft items, and as shopkeepers and housemaids.
2. There is general agreement in both urban and rural survey areas that women need to work to supplement the family income. However, low income women are limited by lack of skills, and lack of job opportunities. Societal attitudes also hinder women's participation, especially married women, in the labor force.
3. The surveyed women expressed a desire for training in traditional skills; however, economic development planners feel the emphasis should be on training in non-traditional areas, including agricultural technology and technical skills required by industry.
4. Over 40% of the working mothers in both the rural and urban groups take their children to work with them, an arrangement that most find unsatisfactory. In a quarter of the cases, family members, grandparents and siblings care for children. Twenty percent of the rural mothers use one of the three child care centers. Only 1% of the urban mothers utilize the one child care center in the community. Seventeen percent of the urban mothers leave their children alone, compared to two percent of the rural mothers.
5. While family members, including mother, grandparents and siblings, are the preferred caretakers, child care centers have been well received and many mothers in both groups would prefer a child care center.
6. Surveyed women, both working and not working, cite lack of alternative child care arrangements as a problem.
7. The surveyed families, and Koreans in general, expect a child care center to offer more than just custodial care. They look on it as a place where their children may begin to receive an education, socialize, and work and play in an organized setting.
8. The law regulating child care centers inhibits private sponsorship of such centers by requiring that property used for a center revert to the

government if the sponsoring individual should decide to give up the center. This law, currently not enforced, discourages involvement in day care activities since personal property could be lost. Eighty percent (80%) of Korea's child care centers are currently privately sponsored.

9. The families in both areas are generally dissatisfied with the health care available in their communities, because of inadequate services and poor facilities.
10. Nearly 20% of the interviewed mothers did not breast-feed their infants. Half of the urban women and one-fifth of the rural women who work reported that their work had affected infant feeding patterns.
11. The National Nutrition Survey of 1977 found 30% of the population suffering from various forms of malnutrition. While there is little evidence of severe malnutrition, dietary deficiencies do exist. Leading nutritionists believe this is due to lack of knowledge rather than poverty or lack of nutritious foods.
12. Environmental pollution in relation to health is a concern in both communities surveyed, focusing on the use of pesticides in the rural community, and poor drainage and sanitation in the urban area.

Recommendations

1. Child care services, including education and nutrition components, should be expanded in both the rural and urban areas. Several types of care facilities are required to meet differing needs of families:
 - a. All-day care to meet the needs of working mothers.
 - b. Half-day care to meet the needs of mothers who do not work or who work part-time.
 - c. Baby-sitter clubs to make use of unoccupied elderly women in the community, who may be trained in modern child care methods.
 - d. Industry-based child care centers.
2. The existing program of supplementary feeding in child care centers should be strengthened to improve the health and nutritional status of young children. Standard menus of low-cost, high quality nutritious meals should be developed. Nutrition education and cooking demonstrations should be provided for the mothers in order to extend good nutrition practices to the home.
3. Modification of existing laws governing regulation of licensed centers is necessary to encourage more private individuals to sponsor centers.
4. Vocational training should be provided for women. Training projects must be based on current and projected needs by geographical location.
 - a. Emphasis should be placed on training women in occupations where

- labor shortages exist, such as electronics and construction.
- b. Training in production of marketable products for home-based industry should be based on what is practical and feasible for the local area.
 - c. For women to take full advantage of training programs, child care facilities should be provided for the duration of training.
5. National employment needs should be disseminated through a variety of information networks, such as the media and local government channels, to inform women of work opportunities. Employment referral and job placement centers should be created to widen the information base for those seeking employment.
 6. The mass media could be utilized to initiate attitudinal changes regarding women's participation in new employment fields. Such programs, focusing on Korea's need to utilize all available human resources in its nation building process, could have a great influence on both men and women in terms of encouraging women to seek employment outside the home.
 7. A national nutrition policy with special attention paid to the nutrition status of vulnerable groups, such as pregnant and lactating women and weaning children, would focus attention on their needs and encourage programs to address these needs.
 8. Health services need to be expanded and improved. The number of Maternal and Child Health clinics should be increased and should offer integrated health and child care services, including family planning and nutrition education. Emphasis should be on preventive services.
 9. Industrial and community environmental health must be examined and people educated regarding the importance of sanitation. Resources must be made available to address environmental hazards, and attention focused on improving drainage and sanitation facilities.
 10. The leadership potential of women needs to be maximized. The Saemaul program emphasizes the importance of developing local leadership and offers leadership training programs which have been directed toward training men. The program needs to be expanded to include women so they may participate more fully in the development process.
 11. Korean family law should be modified to improve the status of women. Specifically this law stipulates that women cannot be head of a household, children are awarded to men in divorce cases and all material possessions acquired during marriage revert to the man. This prevents women from sharing equally in family rights and responsibilities.

CHAPTER II

COUNTRY AND SITE DESCRIPTIONS

Korea

Korea is an ancient Oriental country occupying the mountainous peninsula that extends due south of Manchuria. As a land bridge between North Asia and the outside world, Korea has had great strategic importance and has been heavily influenced through the centuries by both China and Japan. Invaders from the north have swept over the country attempting to attack Japan, while Japan has periodically occupied the Korean peninsula as a base from which to attack the Asian mainland.

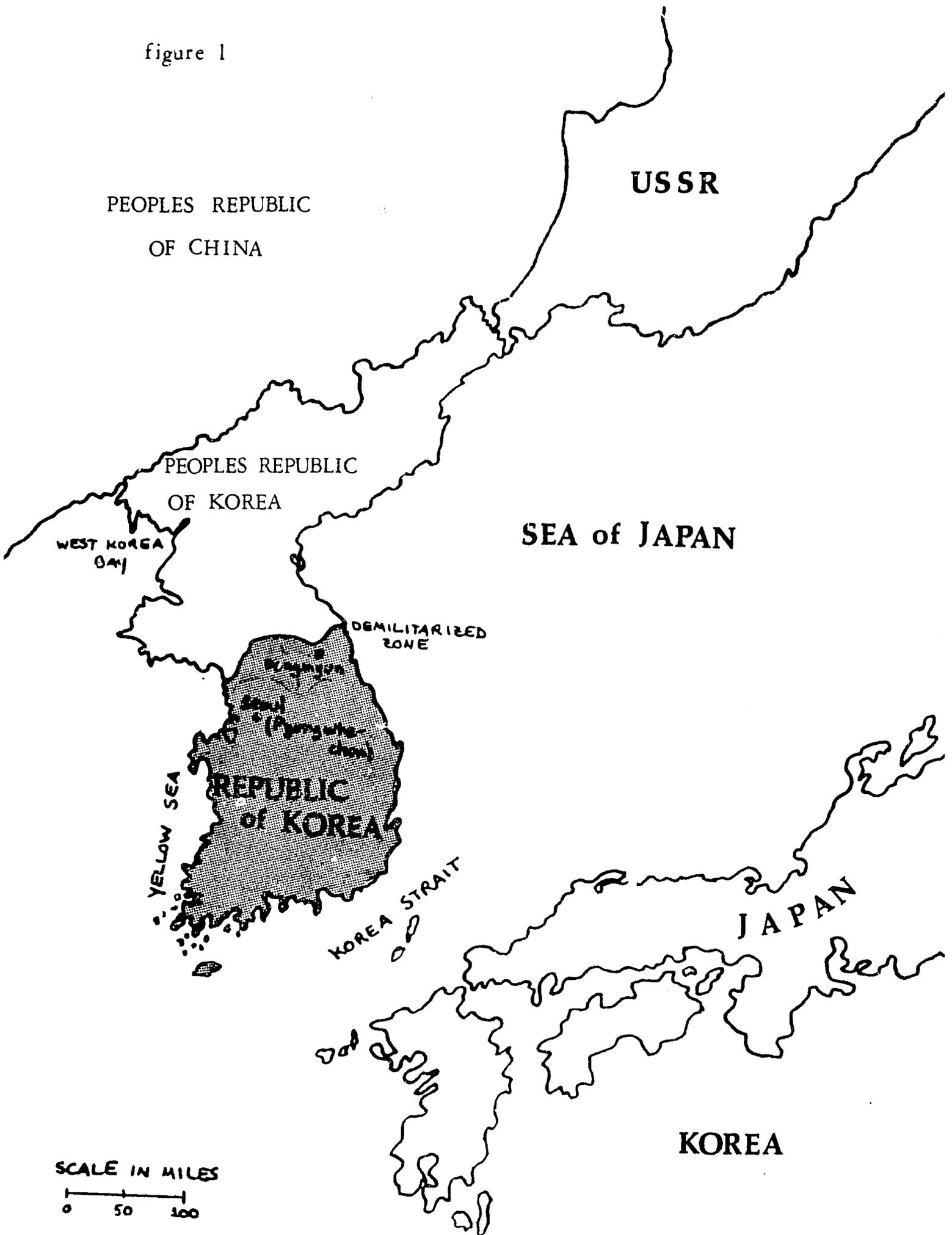
By the end of the 16th century, in reaction to the successive Japanese invasions, Korea had embarked on a policy of isolationism. This policy was carried out so thoroughly that Korea became known as the "Hermit Kingdom" and was virtually unknown abroad at the beginning of the current century. After political upheaval and uncertainty, the country was annexed by Japan in 1910. Korea regained its independence in 1945. In 1948 the Republic of Korea was created under the auspices of the United Nations, and formally separated from the Communist controlled Peoples Republic of Korea by a demilitarized buffer zone which roughly follows the 38th parallel. Since that time economic development has progressed at a rapid pace. Throughout this report, "Korea" refers to the Republic of Korea. (See Figure 1, map of Korea).

Korea's strength and achievement lie in the characteristics of the people, who have been shaped by historical, cultural, and geographic factors. The combination of a rugged landscape with only one-fifth of the land arable and centuries of political strife and subjugation have contributed to the development of a people known to be independent, resilient, disciplined and hard-working. Ethnically the Koreans are a homogeneous society, united by one language, one cultural tradition and a long history going back over 4,000 years. Korean society has been strongly influenced by Confucian teachings. Inherent in this is a strong sense of patriotism, respect for education, and filial piety; these characteristics are interwoven in the fabric of Korean life today.

In 1962, with a change in government directed by General Park Chung Hee, Korea embarked on a series of Five Year Economic Plans. These efforts have transformed Korea from an undeveloped agrarian state to an industrial semi-advanced nation.

The first two Five-Year Plans emphasized industrial development and

figure 1



expansion of export capacity. The average economic growth during this ten-year period was an unprecedented 10% per year. However, the emphasis on rapid industrialization had unfavorable side effects on the agricultural sector. The availability of jobs and cash income encouraged a rapid migration to the urban areas. During the period 1955 to 1976, the proportion of the population living in urban areas increased from less than 25 percent to 36.7 percent.¹ This influx of population created serious urban problems as well as labor shortages and decreased productivity in the rural area. In response to this problem, the government's third Five Year Plan (1972-1976) emphasized balanced growth between industry and agriculture. The development of fishing industry, agriculture, heavy industry and increased exports were major objectives of the Third Plan. The Saemaul Undong (New Community) Movement was introduced in 1971 to counteract the negative effects of rapid industrialization and to encourage rural development. The program has a dual purpose: to raise rural living standards and income, and to provide a sense of ambition, aspiration and achievement which corresponds to the national goals of modernization through productivity, independence and industrialization.²

Under the Saemaul program, farm roads have been constructed, straw thatch roofing replaced by tile, irrigation and water supplies extended, and electricity supplied to 98% of all rural households. In addition to village improvement projects, farmland has been reclaimed, fruit trees planted, livestock increased and Saemaul factories established in villages. As a measure of the success of the program, rural household income, which in the 1960's was only 60% of urban income, now equals the average urban wage-earner's income. The country has become self-sufficient in rice and barley. The rural-urban migration rate has decreased; however, the average age of farm communities has risen, indicating that the younger generation is not choosing to remain in the rural area.

The current Five Year Plan (1977-1981) has shifted emphasis from light industry such as textiles, clothing and footwear to high profit heavy industry, iron and steel, heavy machinery, ship building, automobile manufacture and chemicals. Emphasis, however, continues to be placed on labor intensive manufacturing. Other plan goals include sustaining export growth and strengthening the balance of payments. Increased employment opportunities and improved delivery of essential services including health, sanitation, education, housing and electricity are benefits of the strengthened economy which are beginning to reach the general population. The Plan also envisages a significant increase in money available for social development, including pension and retirement plans, social security and health benefits.³

The continued growth in manufacturing has served two purposes. First, while the labor force has grown since 1963 at a rate of 3% due to population growth after the Korean War and to the increased number of women seeking employment, unemployment has declined from 8% to 3.8%.⁴ The manufacturing and services sector has provided 4 out of 5 jobs created since 1963. Second, the increase in manufacturing has resulted in domestic-made products replacing imported products, thus improving the balance of payments.

The export of construction technology has made a significant contribution to Korea's economic growth. At the end of 1978 over 80,000 Korean

workers were abroad, primarily in the Middle East. With 70% of its volume overseas, construction exports have become an integral part of Korea's economic development, its balance of payments and therefore its foreign policy. The export of such large numbers of trained manpower has resulted in the beginnings of a labor shortage, particularly in construction activities. This is significant in terms of the implications for future labor force participation of women in non-traditional activities.

The population of Korea reached 37 million in 1978. The population growth rate declined from 2.7% in 1960 to 1.7% in 1978. The population is very young with almost 60% under 25 years of age. Life expectancy is 69 years for women and 65 years for men.⁵

Koreans consider education of primary importance for success in life. The literacy rate is currently 92%, one of the highest in Asia. Education is compulsory and free through elementary school. The current Five Year Plan calls for free education to be extended to include middle school by 1981. In 1977, 98% of the school age population attended elementary school. Eighty percent of these graduates continued on to middle school, while 76% of the graduates of middle school entered high school.⁶ Influenced by a history of Confucian ideas, traditional Korean schooling has emphasized liberal education. Efforts are now being made to promote teaching of technical, vocational and scientific skills which will meet the manpower needs of industries. Efforts are also being made to upgrade the quality of education and lower the student/teacher ratio.

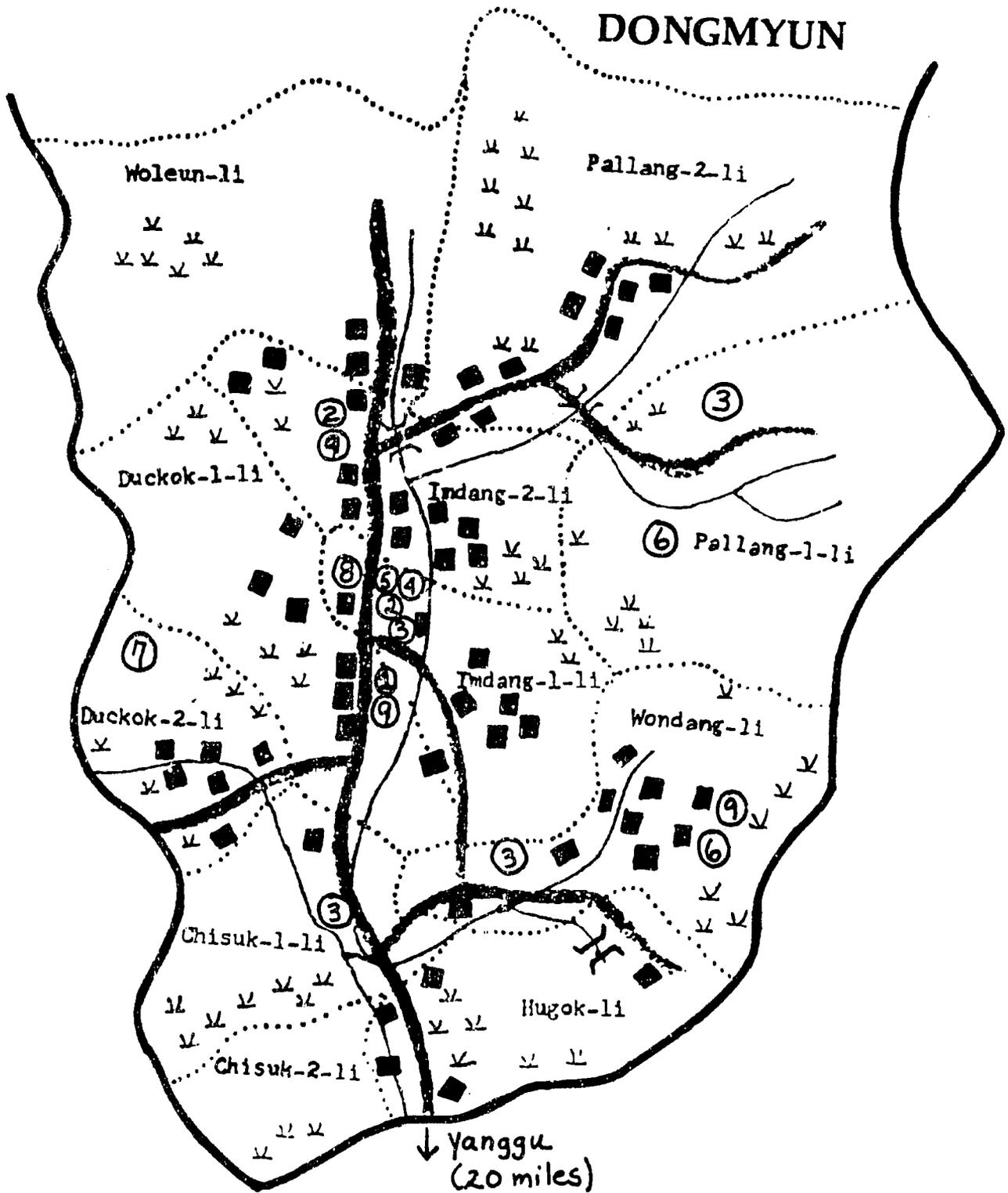
Koreans are beginning to enjoy their increased purchasing power through consumer goods and labor-saving devices. Many households, both urban and rural, have television. People are using their increased leisure time for recreational activities such as picnicking, hiking and mountain climbing. The development of modern transportation systems and highways is facilitating travel between rural and urban areas, lessening the traditional isolation of the rural people.

Dongmyun - Rural Survey Site

Korea is divided into nine provinces which are further divided into counties, towns or cities, and villages. The rural survey for this report was conducted in five of the eleven villages of the town of Dongmyun in Yanggu county of Kangwon province. Kangwon province, considered the least advantaged of the nine provinces, is located in the northeastern portion of South Korea, 100 miles northeast of Seoul. The town's northern boundary follows the demilitarized zone where military troops are stationed. (Figure 2)

Yanggu county belonged to North Korea before the Korean War but became part of the Republic of Korea after the ceasefire. Bitter fighting took place in the area and Dongmyun was almost totally destroyed. The majority of inhabitants sought refuge in the south but returned to their native area once the war was over to rebuild their homes and communities. Dongmyun is surrounded by mountains on three sides and is difficult to reach from the larger cities. The trip from Seoul to Dongmyun takes most of the day.

Figure 2



legend :

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------|---------------------|
| ① Community Development Foundation Office | ⑥ Village hall | V V Rice field |
| ② Post Office | ⑦ Church | ~ River |
| ③ School | ⑧ Agricultural Cooperative Union | — Road |
| ④ Town Office | ⑨ Child Care Center | Bridge |
| ⑤ Police Station | | ■ Clusters of homes |

The main road passing through Dongmyun is unpaved and used mostly by military vehicles. The only cars in the area belong to the government and are used by local government officials. People rely on public transportation for travelling long distances and on bicycles for local use. A few people, mostly government or local officials, own motorcycles. The roads into the villages away from the main road are unpaved and narrow. In spite of this, there is a feeling of space and privacy since the houses are spread out, not clustered tightly together.

There is no industry in the area and farming has traditionally been the main source of income. However, the structure of Dongmyun town has changed from being strictly a farming settlement to a mixed farming/military community.

Most of the military families are not native to the Yanggu area, so the population mix has brought about an interchange of ideas and concepts. Good relations and a spirit of cooperation exist between the two groups. The military health facilities offer inoculations and emergency medical care to the local people. The farm community in turn visits the single troops and takes homemade foods and other items as gestures of appreciation for their contributions to the community.

Approximately 54% of the household heads in Dongmyun are land owners; the remaining 46% are tenant farmers, small shopkeepers and military renters. The average landholding is 0.9 hectare,⁷ which approximates the national average. There is hope of increasing the acreage suitable for farming through land reclamation. The average gross farm income is \$1,900 yearly,* and the living standard is considered below middle average.

Rice is the main crop, but production is insufficient even for local consumption. Vegetables are grown under a special contract to supply the local Korean Army units. Other crops grown include corn, potatoes, wheat, beans and barley. People raise pigs, chickens and cows for sale at the local market.

Dongmyun has been strongly influenced by the Saemaul Undong Movement, which initiated major development activity in 1971. One of the major projects has been the improvement of housing and living conditions. Almost 98% of the traditional thatched roofs have been replaced with new slate tiles or tin. Community wells and individual pump wells have been drilled and now provide some of the water which previously came from contaminated streams. In September 1978 the first running water system was brought to Duckok village, one of the areas surveyed. Plans are underway to have piped water throughout Dongmyun by 1981. The rice bank and village cash bank projects established in the last two years through Saemaul efforts have contributed to increase credit available to the villagers and improve food supply.

The main road through Dongmyun town is lined with an assortment of public and private facilities. There is a township office, police sub-station, a branch of the Office of Rural Development (ORD), post office, farmers' cooperative union, three Christian churches, several drug stores,

*The 1978 rate of exchange was approximately 484 won to US\$1.00. All figures quoted in this report are in dollars.

a barber shop, several restaurants and coffee houses, grocery stores, eight warehouses, seven rice mills and eleven community halls, one for each village.

Three primary schools, one middle school and one high school serve the 11 villages. Ninety-eight percent (98%) of the children attend and finish primary school which is free; approximately 70% go on to middle school. This corresponds fairly closely to the national average of 80% attendance at middle school level.

Ninety-eight percent of Dongmyun has electricity and over half the houses have television aerials on the roofs. Electricity is used primarily for lighting, radio and television. The research team noticed more consumer items and conveniences such as electric fans in military homes than in the farmers' homes.

The majority of the houses in Dongmyun are built in the traditional style. The building is usually an L-shaped or U-shaped one story structure with walls of brick, clay wattle, earth or cement blocks. The roof is of tile, corrugated metal or plastic. Each room in the traditional house, except for kitchen and storerooms, is generally an all-purpose room. Thick, quilted mats are brought out for sleeping at night and put away during the day when the rooms are used for other activities. The rooms face an open courtyard, and in good weather most activity takes place on the open veranda adjacent to each room. The house is entered through sliding panels, which have wooden grilles covered with translucent rice paper. Windows may be of rice paper or glass. There is little furniture other than a low table; one sits cross-legged on the baked clay floor which has been covered with shiny glazed paper. A unique feature of the traditional house is its ancient ondal "radiant heating" system. Stone flues that carry heat from the kitchen fire or external ground-level grates run under the floor. The hot floor warms the room most efficiently.

The total population of Dongmyun town is just under 6,000. The research team surveyed 104 households (24.8% of total households), encompassing 562 people in five villages. In all but two of the households both husband and wife were interviewed. (Husbands were not present in two of the cases.) The average household has 5.4 members, the same as the national average. The most common household structure in the rural survey area is the nuclear family with parents or in-laws often occupying a separate house nearby.

The breakdown of households interviewed by village and number of family members per household is seen in Tables 2.1 and 2.2.

Family Profile - Rural Dongmyun

The Kim family is an example of a traditional farm family in the rural area. It is a large family, larger than the Dongmyun average, but it is described here because it exemplifies traditional ways of thinking and demonstrates the influence which may be exerted by extended family members. Members of the Kim household include:

TABLE 2.1 NUMBER OF PERSONS SURVEYED BY VILLAGE
IN RURAL DONGMYUN

Village	No. of Households	Persons Interviewed	
		Wives	Husbands
Imdang 1	27	27	27
Imdang 2	10	10	9
Wondang	30	30	30
Duckok 1	18	18	17
Duckok 2	19	19	19
Total	104	104	102

SOURCE: Author data

TABLE 2.2 SIZE OF SURVEYED HOUSEHOLDS IN
RURAL DONGMYUN

Number of Family Members Per Household	Households	
	Number	Percent*
2 - 3	11	10.6
4 - 6	66	63.5
7 - 9	24	23.1
More than 10	3	2.9
Total	104	100%

SOURCE: Author data

*Percentages on this and all subsequent tables
are rounded to nearest one-tenth of a percent.

Detail may not add to 100.0% due to rounding.

<u>Family Member</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Level of Education</u>
Husband's mother	78	None
Husband (Sang Soo Kim)	42	High school completed
Wife (Yong Soon Lee)	35	Elementary school completed
1st daughter (Mi Ja Kim)	17	High school in progress
2nd daughter (Ae Ja Kim)	15	High school in progress
3rd daughter (Ke Ja Kim)	12	Elementary school in progress
1st son (He Tai Kim)	9	Elementary school in progress
2nd son (Wu Tae Kim)	5	Attends day care center

The Kim family farms the land which was owned by Kim's father and on which he has lived his entire life. Since his mother is old and not healthy, the burden of her care falls on his wife. Since this is considered a wife's duty, she serves her mother-in-law without complaint. The four older children assist in household chores and feed the animals. The older daughters care for the boys when the mother is away from home. The 5 year old attends the village day care center for a half day which allows his mother time to work in the fields and to participate in village activities.

After the three daughters were born, the family began to worry because there were no sons. Kim's parents convinced him and his wife to have one more child in the hope that it would be a boy. When the son was born, they insisted that "one son is not enough, another son should be born for the parents and for the elder son." The family thus was persuaded to have one more child and happily it too was a son. Because of her multiple pregnancies and years of doing heavy household and farm duties, the mother looks much older than her 35 years.

The family works hard and all are aware of their community responsibilities. They listen to the daily official announcements via loudspeakers and participate in community activities. The primary goal of the parents is to provide each of their children with the highest level education possible. They have been successful so far in sending the two eldest daughters to high school. It is expected that when they finish school and are working they will contribute to the education of the younger children.

Urban Survey Site Community - Pyungwhachon, Seoul

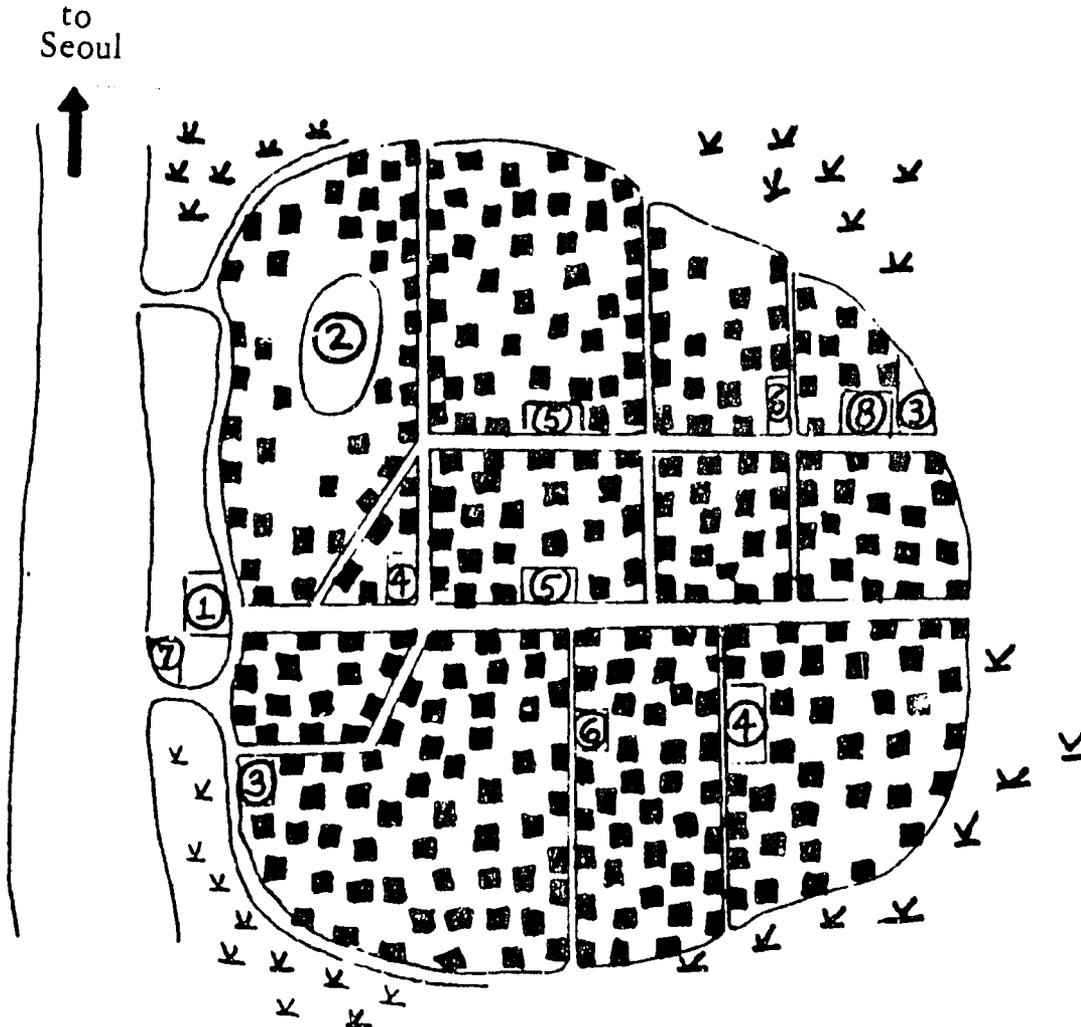
Pyungwhachon is a resettlement area located on the southern outskirts of Seoul, approximately 50 minutes by bus from downtown. The inhabitants, from all parts of Korea, formerly lived in squatter settlements, having come to find work in Seoul in the 1960's. The people occupied whatever land they could and formed colonies with no basic facilities or organization. The number and extent of these slum colonies continued to increase, resulting in serious sanitation problems, crime and social disorganization. In response, the Seoul City government began to systematically demolish these squatter areas and relocate the inhabitants to specified areas to form new communities. In 1967, six hundred families moved into tent houses in the Pyungwhachon area. Each household was given 6 pyungs,* (20 square meters) of land, plus the equivalent of \$2,000 with which to build a house. (See Figure 3 and Table 2.3)

Initially Pyungwhachon faced many problems. Since the new residents came from diverse rural areas of Korea, they had to establish a working relationship and sense of cooperation among themselves. Poverty, combined with a lack of community tradition, led to distrust, fighting and quarrelling. As a result the head of the local municipal office and his staff named the area "Pyungwhachon" meaning "Peaceful Village" in hopes that the name, even though a contradiction to reality, would lead to more orderly development and a

*Pyung: unit of measure equivalent to 3.33 square meters.

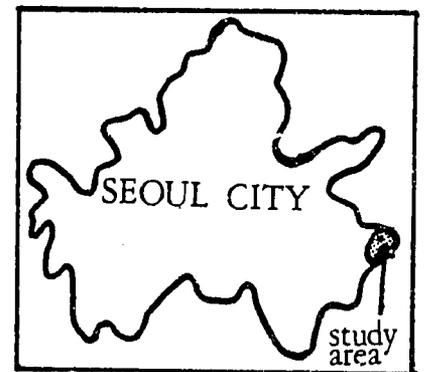
Figure 3

PYUNGWHACHON



legend:

- | | |
|---|-----------------|
| 1 Welfare Center (village credit, public bath, child care center, CDA) | 5 Drug store |
| 2 Play ground | 6 Public toilet |
| 3 Church | 7 Hospital |
| 4 Public laundry | ■ house |
| 8 Senior Citizens house | |



peaceful community. Gradually, the people, with encouragement from the Seoul city government representatives and their own community leaders, gained more confidence, settled down and began to work together for the common good.

In 1974 the Community Development Foundation (CDF), a U.S. based private voluntary organization, became involved in an integrated community development program in Pyungwhachon. Subsequently, a Community Development Committee (CDC), was organized and is currently responsible for planning and carrying out plans for the balanced development of the community as a whole.

The Pyungwhachon Community Development Committee consists of 15 members, two of whom are women. All members are volunteers. There are several subcommittees, including an active women's subcommittee of 30 members. The local Saemaul branch has a representative on the CDC.

The major CDC achievement of 1978 was the completion of a new community center which houses a public bath, cooperative credit union and day care center. Other community improvement efforts have centered around renovation of 18 public latrines, installation of ten public laundries, road repair and general upkeep of area roadways and alleys. However, sanitation and hygiene are seriously affected by inadequate drainage for rain water. The inhabitants recognize this as a major problem.

The long-range plans of the CDC call for all-around improvement of the area. There is currently some uneasiness in the community because of rumors that the Seoul city government has plans to clear the Pyungwhachon area and build high rise apartments to relieve the acute housing shortage.

Pyungwhachon has the appearance of a village community in an urban setting. Small farm plots are located just outside the area, but this land is not owned by or available to the residents. Of the total 996 households, 657 families (66%) own their own homes and the others rent a house or part of a house. Some houses are owned by absentee landlords who have left the area, while other landlords live in the main part of the house and rent part to another family.

Houses in urban Pyungwhachon are small, with over two-thirds having less than 40 square meters (12 pyung) of space. A typical house of 6 pyung has one all purpose room and a kitchen; the larger houses have one or two additional rooms. The current official minimum standard for single family housing in Seoul is 27 pyung. Measured against this standard the people of Pyungwhachon live in very crowded conditions. The houses are built closely together leaving no open land for children to play or for home gardens. Water is piped to most of the houses, but lack of space and faucets inside the smaller homes means that washing is done at outdoor public pumps. All houses in the community have electricity, and 80% of the households have radios or televisions.

Most of the roads are paved, but the roads and lanes within Pyungwhachon are too narrow for cars. The community is clean and neat, and trash is collected on a regular basis. There does not appear to be the same sense

TABLE 2.3 SIZE OF HOUSES
IN URBAN PYUNGWHACHON

Size	Houses of this Size	
	Number	Percent
Less than 6 pyung (20m ²)	230	35%
6 - 12 pyung (20 - 40m ²)	230	35
Over 12 pyung	197	30
Total	657	100%

SOURCE: Author data

of community as in the rural area, and when a family can afford to leave Pyungwhachon they readily do so. On the other hand, the original inhabitants seem to have a more settled feeling and sense of esteem than residents who have arrived since 1968.

The inhabitants of Pyungwhachon are initially reserved with strangers and tend to distrust outsiders. Many peddlers and sales people have come from Seoul to try to "help" the people and end up convincing them to buy something on the installment plan with high interest rates. For this reason the people are very wary of the intentions of outsiders, and in the case of this survey, the people wanted to know how it might benefit them if they did cooperate.

As in the rural area, emphasis is placed on the importance of education. Current enrollment in primary school is 98% of those eligible; 90% go on to middle school, and 75% of middle school graduates go on to high school. This is similar to the national statistics earlier noted with a slightly higher rate of middle school students.

Pyungwhachon has many public and private facilities. There is one primary school, one middle school, one high school, a municipal office, post office, police branch office, and four churches. Small shops line the narrow main road of the community. There are two drug stores, one herbal drug store, two rice mills, two barber shops, one children's playground, one private medical clinic, and several small tailoring shops.

The population of Pyungwhachon is young, with 55% of the residents under 20 years of age (Table 2.4). The nuclear family structure predominates, with extended family households representing only 8%.

One hundred eight (108) households, representing 10.8% of the total households, were surveyed in urban Pyungwhachon. The women were generally an average of 5 years younger than their husbands. Over 90% of the women and over 75% of the men were under age 40. (Table 2.5)

TABLE 2.4 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE - URBAN PYUNGWHACHON

Age	Total	Male	Female
0 - 6	783	378	405
7 - 13	1,252	635	617
14 - 20	729	383	346
21 - 65	2,103	1,127	976
Over 65	113	63	50
Total	4,980	2,394	2,586

SOURCE: Author Data

TABLE 2.5 AGE DISTRIBUTION OF HUSBANDS AND WIVES SURVEYED IN URBAN PYUNGWHACHON

Age	Wives		Husbands	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Below 25	9	8.3	2	1.9
26 - 30	29	26.9	12	11.3
31 - 35	39	36.1	20	18.9
36 - 40	26	24.1	49	46.2
41 - 45	4	3.7	15	14.2
Over 46	1	0.9	8	7.5
Total	108	100.0%	106	100.0%

SOURCE: Author data

TABLE 2.6 SIZE OF SURVEYED HOUSEHOLDS IN URBAN PYUNGWHACHON

Number of Family Members per Household	Households	
	Number	Percent
2 - 3	15	13.9
4 - 6	80	74.1
7 - 9	13	12.0
Total	108	100.0

SOURCE: Author data

The average size of the families interviewed in urban Pyunwhachon was slightly smaller than the 5.4 average found in rural Dongmyun, there were considerably fewer households in the urban area having over six members.

Family Profile - Urban Pyungwhachon

The Lee Chol Young family has lived in Pyungwhachon since it was founded. It is a nuclear family, and has the following members:

<u>Family members</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Education</u>
Husband (Young Chol Lee)	48	Elementary school completed
Wife (Kun Mi Park)	39	Elementary school completed
Son (Tai Gii Lee)	10	Elementary school in progress
Daughter (Tai Ja Lee)	9	Elementary school in progress
Son (Byung Gil Lee)	5	Attends the day care center

Lee is a native of North Korea and stayed in the South as a refugee after the Korean War. With only an elementary school background he has no special work skills. He works as a daily laborer on road or building construction projects. His monthly income is so low that his wife finds it necessary to keep a small home shop. Very early each morning she goes to the East Gate wholesale market to buy vegetables and fruits to sell. The youngest child attends the new day care center while she works in the morning. The other two children are in elementary school and are encouraged to study hard for self-improvement. The parents work hard to earn money to deposit in the community credit bank as a form of savings to use to educate their children. They hope all their children will be able to complete high school.

To conclude this introductory chapter, the two communities surveyed offer a representative sample of these two areas only. Attention is now directed toward the labor force participation of women in Korea, and in particular, the women surveyed in Dongmyun and Pyungwhachon.

Notes

¹Facts about Korea, Seoul: Korean Information Service, 1977, p. 19.

²Saemaul Undong, Seoul: Korea Overseas Information Service, 1977, pp. 7-9.

³"The Economy," Seoul: Korean Overseas Information Service, 1978, pp. 1-3.

⁴Ibid., p. 2.

⁵Hong, Sawon, Population Status Report: Korea. Korea Development Institute, Seoul, Korea, 1978, p. 17.

⁶Facts about Korea, op. cit., pp. 103-108.

CHAPTER III

FEMALE LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION

National

The structure of the Korean economy has undergone significant changes during the 1960's and 1970's which have resulted in changes in employment patterns. Through a concerted effort, including financial backing and national policies to support and emphasize industry, the government has shifted the economy from one based solely on agriculture, fishing and forestry to one which is export-oriented, in which manufacturing and related construction and support industries play an important role. In 1963 the primary sector* of the economy accounted for 40.1% of the GNP and the secondary sector 17.8%. By 1972 the primary sector was generating only 24.2% of the GNP while the secondary sector had risen to 33.0%.¹

TABLE 3.1 LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION, BY SECTOR,
KOREA, 1963-1977

Sector	% of Economically Active Population			
	1963(a)	1967(a)	1972(a)	1977(b)
Primary	63.2	55.2	50.6	41.8
Secondary	11.5	16.1	18.3	22.4
Tertiary	25.3	28.7	31.1	35.8
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

SOURCE: (a) Area Handbook for South Korea, Second Edition, 1975, page 219.

(b) Evaluation Report of the First Year Program of the Fourth Five-year Economic Development Plan, Office of Planning and Coordination, Seoul, 1978, p. 76.

This shift in the economy's base has resulted in new employment patterns, job requirements and work opportunities. The diversification of

*Primary sector: agriculture, forestry and fisheries. Secondary sector: mining, manufacturing, construction, electricity, gas and water. Tertiary sector: commerce, transportation, storage, communication and services.

the economy has created more jobs and government figures show a slight increase in the percentage of all economically active persons from 55.5% of the total population aged 14 or older in 1971 to 57.6% in 1977.²

The rate of registered unemployment declined from 8.1% in 1963 to 4.5% in 1972.³ However, these figures do not reflect the actual rate of unemployment, and underemployment. Some authors warn that the size of the working-age population has been underestimated; that only those who have registered as unemployed, an embarrassment in Korean culture, are counted; and that anyone who works at least one hour per week is considered employed. Further, the current employment situation in Korea is a complex mix of underemployment for parts of the population, while the lack of skilled workers results in vacancies in certain fields.

Scientific and technical manpower training has not kept pace with the demands of the growing industrial sector, resulting in unfilled jobs and a need to either slow the process of industrial expansion or find new sources of trained personnel. Government policy on manpower development is directed toward expanding technical programs and vocational courses. Unskilled, semi-skilled and even skilled persons who do not possess the specific qualifications required by industry, however, face stiff competition for the limited job openings that are available in other sectors. People with skills required abroad are actively encouraged by the government to seek employment outside Korea. The number of Koreans employed overseas increased from 37,192 in 1976 to 69,000 in 1977, with further increases likely.⁴ Civil engineers, construction workers and sailors are those who most easily find employment abroad, and over 75% work in the Middle East.

Women constituted 41% of the total labor force in Korea in 1974, a rate comparable to that of industrialized countries. Because of high priority given to the industrialization policy, income generating opportunities for women have changed. This is partially reflected in the increased participation of the economically active female population from 36% in 1963 to 41% in 1974. (Table 3.2).

The change is also reflected in the shift that occurred in the proportion of women employed in the three economic sectors during the same period of urban-industrial development. In 1963, 69% of the women were employed in the primary sector, 7% in the secondary sector and 27% in the tertiary sector. By 1977, the percentage of women active in the primary sector dropped to 47%. Those in secondary activities rose to 22% and the percentage employed in the tertiary sector increased to 29%.

In spite of the substantial increase in the proportion of women employed in clerical, sales and service occupations over the last fourteen years, nearly half of the economically active women (46.7%) continue to work in agriculture and fishing. (Table 3.3)

This view of women as remaining within traditional occupations is supported by the fact that in 1970 nearly 70 percent of all employed women were either "self employed" (i.e., farming and petty trading) or were "family workers" (i.e., family business).

TABLE 3.2 FEMALE LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION
IN KOREA, 1963-1977

Year	Female Labor Force Participation Rate
1963	36.3
1965	36.5
1970	38.5
1973	40.8
1975	39.3
1977	40.7

SOURCE: Korea Labor Statistics Yearbook, 1964-1977. Office of Labor Affairs, Seoul, Korea. Monthly Statistics of Korea, #4, 1978, Economic Planning Board, Seoul, Korea.

TABLE 3.3 PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE LABOR FORCE BY OCCUPATIONAL
GROUPS IN KOREA, 1963-1977

	1963	1965	1970	1975	1977
Professional, technical and managerial	2.0	1.5	2.4	2.0	2.5
Clerical	1.1	1.1	2.2	3.6	5.0
Sales	12.9	15.6	14.3	14.3	13.7
Service	6.8	8.6	10.3	11.2	10.2
Agriculture and fishing	68.1	63.9	57.9	51.9	46.7
Production	8.5	9.3	12.9	16.9	22.1
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOURCE: Korea Labor Statistics Yearbook, 1964-1977. Office of Labor Affairs. Seoul, Korea. Monthly Statistics of Korea, #4, 1978.

The shift in employment opportunities from rural agriculture to urban manufacturing has also affected women's migration patterns. A study published by the Royal Asiatic Society found that while the overall rural-urban migration rate was higher for males (many of whom left for the military or advanced education), more females than males left to find jobs in the cities.⁵ When young women migrate, the older rural women are left with more child care and more housework in addition to their work in the fields. This, combined with the unexpected detrimental effect on rural family life of a decrease in the number of helping hands, as a result of success in the family

planning program, has created an unanticipated burden for the older women left at home.

Although women's participation in the labor force has diversified, their participation is still limited by traditional constraints. More and more women are receiving a higher education in Korea and it is expected that this trend will continue; however, the type of education achieved by women reflects traditional ideas of what are appropriate roles for women. In spite of the high value placed on education in Korea, women represent a small proportion of the total enrollment in universities. Those who do attain higher levels of education overwhelmingly concentrate in two fields considered appropriate for women--teaching or pharmacy. (Table 3.4)

TABLE 3.4 ENROLLMENT IN UNIVERSITIES BY AREAS OF STUDY, KOREA, 1976

Area of Study	Total Enrollment	Females	
		Number	%
Law	5,988	237	4.0
Public administration	4,322	95	2.2
Business	14,031	1,216	8.7
Economics	5,871	137	2.3
Engineering	55,934	600	1.1
Medicine	7,380	708	9.6
Pharmacy	2,718	1,502	55.3
Teaching	35,918	18,583	51.7

SOURCE: Hong, Women and Development Planning - The Case of Korea, Table 7, page 16.

The rise in educational attainment has not been reflected in the occupational structure of female employment in Korea. From 1960 to 1975, the percentage of female college graduates increased almost eightfold, while the proportion of women in professional and managerial occupations remained constant at about 2% for the same period.

In addition, the amount of schooling a woman has is negatively related to her labor force participation rate. Generally speaking the more education a woman has received the less likely she is to work. In 1974, while 49.6% of women with elementary school educations were employed, only 37.8% of the women with college degrees were working.⁶

Other problems confront women in seeking jobs. Even top university graduates find certain jobs closed to them, especially in business and finance. The only jobs available to many women graduates are secretarial

and clerical positions. From the point of view of educational qualification they are underemployed. Promotion is not offered in the male dominated occupations such as banking, business and government. Practically speaking, there is little incentive for women to stay in careers which offer only hard and often unchallenging work, low salary and no promotion possibilities. One female bank clerk, a college graduate, stated that women in such jobs do not get the opportunity to show their talents and abilities because they are restricted to very simple work from the beginning and receive lower salaries than men for similar responsibilities.

Even within areas commonly viewed as appropriate for women, men predominate. For example, in 1977 only 3.2% of all school principals and vice-principals were women.⁷

From the employers' point of view, the high turnover rate and the fact that most women quit their jobs before marriage makes them reluctant to offer further education, training or promotion to women. Interviews with top executives pinpointed their reason for the reluctance to hire and promote women. Reasons given are inefficiency, lack of commitment, lack of enthusiasm, high turnover rates, and inconvenience of offering maternity leave.⁸ These statements, coupled with the prevailing attitude of both men and women that a woman's place is in the home, indicate that the possibilities for women achieving substantive jobs with good future potential is extremely limited.

A YWCA survey in 1975 confirmed that a major obstacle to female advancement in traditional male occupations is resistance from the men toward women working, particularly married women. Traditionally married women have not held jobs. In some occupations open to women including teaching and bank and clerical work, a woman often must agree to resign when she marries. Specific examples of discrimination against women are noted in newspaper articles that indicate that teachers in many private middle and high schools are forced to resign when they marry.⁹ In fact, a condition of hiring in many private schools and banks is the advance signing of a paper agreeing to resign upon marriage.

The Korea Times in March, 1978, organized a round table discussion of women employed in companies in Seoul to see what obstacles they face in their work. The occupations of participants included bank clerk, radio broadcaster, airline reservation clerk and teaching; all were college graduates. Their discussion supported much of the above data. Little discrimination between male and female teachers was found; however, in banks, jobs were differentiated specifically for men and women, the easier and less challenging jobs going to women. Pay differences for male and female were noted in both bank and airline work. The airline clerks, because of pay inequities, decided with the support of their male colleagues to strike but were prevented from doing so because striking is against the Special Law for National Security and Defense. The radio broadcaster, while noting little male/female discrimination in her work, stated, "Under the present system, married women find it hard to continue their careers." Other comments follow: 1) bank clerk - "Generally we are not able to work when pregnant." 2) airline clerk - "In our place, married women are usually not welcome. . . ."

They don't really force us to quit after marriage but we ourselves somehow feel we ought to quit before marriage." The latter statement suggests one constraint on women's progress in the labor force, the attitude of the women themselves.¹⁰

However, in another study on attitudes toward the participation of married women in the labor force, the primary reason why married women were not employed was the objections of the husband (60%), and only secondarily that the wives themselves did not want to have a job (15.4%). The majority of wives (83%) in the survey did not work, while 15% had careers in teaching, nursing, pharmaceuticals, and medicine. When male respondents were asked the reasons for their wives working, the highest response was "income need" (37.2%), followed by "because wife wanted to" (28.6%), "in order to avoid conflict since we live with parents-in-law" (17.1%), and "it is pitiful not to make use of education" (11.4%).

On the other hand, the majority (73.7%) of male respondents had positive attitudes toward their daughters having careers. The reasons for this included a desire for the daughters to obtain experience (45.5%), take part in society (44.6%), and broaden their scope of view. Of the 26.3% who objected to their daughters working, the reasons centered around the neglect of homemaking activities.¹¹

A positive attitude on the part of the husband is significantly related to the wife's participation in the labor force. Even with a supportive attitude, however, it is rare that husbands offer actual assistance in home management or everyday household chores since there is a strict sense of role division in Korean society. The major responsibility of the Korean husband is to provide for the economic support of the family. The position of women has traditionally been defined by the Confucian ethic; her role is that of a man's daughter, wife and mother.

The role of housewife is considered a full-time occupation. A married woman in Korea is not only responsible for taking care of her husband and children, but also for parents-in-law, her own parents, and other kin. The fact that the wife works outside the home, with the exception of the rural farm wife, indicates that the husband is unable to provide economically for the family. Thus traditionally a social stigma has been attached to a wife's involvement in income generation activity outside the home.

A survey on labor force behavior and unemployment in Korea in 1976 found that, contrary to expectations, the presence of young children under 6 did not hinder women from entering the labor market. Interestingly, the labor force participation rate of Korean women with children ages 14-17 and no children under 18 declines sharply; in contrast, similar statistics in the U.S. show a substantial increase in labor force participation. A possible explanation is that Korean women's child-bearing years extend over a longer span of time. This, combined with the fact that a Korean woman considers herself "old" at forty, may contribute to a decrease in labor force participation at this point.¹²

Although Korea has been progressing rapidly, not all sectors of the economy nor of the population have advanced with equal speed. Despite impressive increases in production, the agricultural sector has lagged behind technologically, and development has bypassed a large segment of the rural and industrial population--the working female. While women increase their economic participation, they are left in the least developed sectors of the economy, and most female workers in industry and agriculture are unskilled laborers.

Also, women generally have been excluded from training programs which are offered to men in similar occupational fields. Agricultural training programs have taught new skills mainly to men while women continue to do tasks based on pre-industrial technology. Men dominate cash crop production and also control the major marketing. Women peddlers and traders sell less profitable products raised from gardens or manufactured at home.

In agricultural and non-agricultural pursuits women have fewer opportunities than men to claim the advantage promised by an industrializing economy. Largely an unskilled, technologically ignorant labor force, women's labor is given a lower value than male labor.

The Korean government has recently recognized that working women should be included in development. The development of heavy industry and the sharp rise in overseas manpower employment has created shortages of technical manpower in some sectors, notably electronics, machinery and construction. Economists and planners are realizing the necessity of utilizing the resources of women, including married women, to fill this gap. Tied to this are development plans which include expansion of facilities for women, including maternal child health centers, day care and vocational training opportunities.

While attitudes and tradition remain major constraints hindering the participation of women, especially married women, in the labor force, if Korea is to meet its goals of economic progress and full employment, these attitudes must change.

Economic Life in Rural Dongmyun

The economic life of the community centers around agriculture, although the unique geopolitical location of Dongmyun has diversified the occupational structure through the introduction of a larger number of military personnel than would be found in other Korean villages. No industries are located in or near Dongmyun. This fact has led many of the younger men to migrate to the urban areas in search of factory work.

Men remain the primary wage-earner of the family. Of the families surveyed, 43% of the husbands earn their living solely from agriculture. This figure increases to over 50%, if those who are classified as daily laborers during the slack farming seasons are also recognized as being active in farming. A very small group of men, 8%, are employed in commerce and white collar government jobs. Military men represent 39% of the wage-earners of the sample. (Table 3.5)

TABLE 3.5 OCCUPATIONS OF HUSBANDS IN
RURAL DONGMYUN

Occupations	Number	Percent
Farming	44	43.1
Military service	40	39.2
Government employees (a)	3	2.9
Daily laborer (b)	8	7.8
Small shops and business (c)	5	4.9
Others	2	2.0
Total	102	100%

SOURCE: Author data

- (a) Includes county and town office employees and school teachers
- (b) Road work, construction and other activities during slack farming season
- (c) Includes barber shop, groceries, tea and coffee shops, blacksmith

Seventy-seven percent (77%) of the women in Dongmyun reported being active in activities other than domestic work. Of the 80 women, over half are involved in farming. Another 20% of the women are raising small animals, such as sheep, pigs, chickens and ducks. Approximately 6% work as wage laborers, by the day, at such activities as farm labor, sales clerk and community projects which occasionally pay wages. Sixteen percent (16%) run small grocery stores and tea shops, nearly always located in or close by their homes. Two women make knitted goods for sale and one woman works as a teacher in the local primary school. (Table 3.6) The majority of the women are not engaged in full-time employment. Those working in the home combine the income production activities with child care and other domestic responsibilities. Those in farming work only during the peak agricultural seasons. Since most are not full-time employees, nor employed in occupations covered by the law, they receive none of the benefits or protection from the labor laws.

Many of the women who reported themselves as involved in income generating activities in fact do not receive a wage, as shown in Table 3.7. This indicates that receiving a cash income is not necessarily part of their definition of working. Those in farming and small animal husbandry would more appropriately be classified as unpaid family workers. This is confirmed by the low number, 42%, of women who say they have never earned money, considerably less than the 77% who are classified as engaged in income generating activities. However, their contribution is as valuable in terms of real household income as those engaged in other activities.¹⁴

TABLE 3.6 WOMEN'S INCOME GENERATING ACTIVITIES,
RURAL DONGMYUN

Activity	Number	Percent
Engaged in Income Generating Activity:	80	76.9
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Farming	43	53.8
Small shopkeeper (a)	13	16.3
Animal husbandry (b)	16	20.0
Daily wage labor	5	6.3
Handicrafts (a)	2	2.5
Teacher	<u>1</u>	<u>1.3</u>
Subtotal	80	100%
Not Engaged in Income Generating Activity	24	23.1
Total	<u>104</u>	<u>100%</u>

SOURCE: Author data

(a) These activities are done within the home.

(b) Includes farming, sales and public works projects.

TABLE 3.7 PERCENT OF WOMEN
WHO HAVE EARNED MONEY, RURAL DONGMYUN

Status	Number	Percent
Has earned money	42	40
Has never earned money	57	55
No response	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>
Total	104	100%

SOURCE: Author data

The activities of Saemaul Undong have made the women more aware of their potential participation in income producing activities. Half of the women not now working responded that they would like to work, primarily to raise the family income, and 94% of the women surveyed felt that wives should earn an income to help the family. Several factors were cited as restraints on

women's involvement in income producing activities.

The women themselves identified lack of child care and excessive household work as a major difficulty they faced in seeking work. Lack of education or training as well as the scarcity of suitable jobs were also cited as factors that kept women from working. (Table 3.8) Of the six reasons cited, the fact that no one was available to care for the children and that there were no suitable jobs were the two most important.

TABLE 3.8 DIFFICULTIES MARRIED WOMEN FACE
IN EARNING MONEY, RURAL DONGMYUN

Difficulties	Number	Percent
No one to take care of children	73	70.2
Excessive household work	68	65.4
No suitable jobs	20	19.2
Ill health	15	14.4
Lack of education and skills	10	9.6
Husband and in-law oppose	5	4.8
N = 104		

SOURCE: Author data

*Multiple response

Most of those who had worked previously, stopped when they married, although a few continued until the first child was born. (Table 3.9) Those who have never worked give other reasons for not working. (Table 3.10) The largest number said that there were no appropriate jobs. Others replied that they had no skills and others said that there was no financial need for their working. A third said that there was too much work at home for them to work outside the homes. Many of the reasons given by this group (24 in total) relate to the stigma attached to a married woman or a daughter working, as this implies that her husband or father is not able to provide for the family economically.

Both husbands and wives were asked if the husband approved of the wife working inside and outside the home. In response to income production inside the home 84% of the wives said their husbands would approve, and 78% of the husbands stated approval.

In response to the question about wives going outside the home to earn an income, 40% said their husbands would approve; this correlates exactly with what the husbands stated. The major reasons for women having an occupation are consistently to generate income, and reasons for disapproving consistently focus on the neglect of children and household, even when the mother's income generating activity is performed at home.

TABLE 3.9 REASONS FOR STOPPING WORK,
RURAL DONGMYUN

Reasons*	Number	Percentage
Marriage	11	45.8
Pregnancy	3	12.5
Childbirth	9	37.5
Moved from area	3	12.5
Not satisfied with job	8	33.3
No need to earn money	0	0
Other	8	33.3
N = 24		

SOURCE: Author data

*Multiple answer, i.e., some cited more than one reason for stopping

TABLE 3.10 REASONS FOR NEVER HAVING WORKED,
RURAL DONGMYUN

Reasons	Number	Percentage
No need to earn money	6	10.5
Lack of skills	5	8.7
No appropriate jobs	19	33.3
Too much work at home	20	35.1
Others	7	12.3
N = 57		100%

SOURCE: Author data

A general question was asked both husbands and wives about participation of the husband in household chores and activities. (Tables 3.11 and 3.12) These activities were grouped into two categories: 1) those involving shopping, cooking and laundry; and 2) those involving cleaning of house and yard, and child care. Fifty-five percent (55%) of the women and 38% of the men said they feel men should help with the first set of activities while 88% of both husbands and wives were in agreement that men should help with the children and cleaning the house and yard. The shopping, cooking and laundry were generally considered the responsibility of the wife.

TABLE 3.11 WIFE'S OPINION OF HUSBAND'S CONTRIBUTION
TO HOUSEHOLD CHORES- RURAL DONGMYUN

Chores	Does he currently help?				Do you think he should?			
	Yes		No		Yes		No	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Marketing	18	18	84	82	} 56	55	46	45
Cooking	14	14	88	86				
Laundry	11	11	91	89				
Cleaning house	59	58	43	42	} 90	88	12	12
Cleaning yard	75	74	27	26				
Child care	84	82	18	18				
N = 102								

SOURCE: Author data

TABLE 3.12 HUSBAND'S VIEW OF HUSBAND'S CONTRIBUTION
TO HOUSEHOLD CHORES-RURAL DONGMYUN

Chores	Do you currently help?				Do you feel you should help her with those tasks?			
	Yes		No		Yes		No	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Marketing	20	20	82	80	} 39	38	63	62
Cooking	8	8	94	92				
Laundry	8	8	94	92				
Cleaning house	64	63	38	37	} 90	88	12	12
Cleaning yard	72	71	30	29				
Child care	80	78	22	22				
N = 102								

SOURCE: Author data

Economic Life in Urban Pyungwhachon

The households surveyed in the urban neighborhood rely primarily upon the husband's income, derived from salaried positions (office employees and government employees) in 38% of the cases, and non-salaried (farming, small shops and daily laborer) in 62% of the cases. (Table 3.13)

TABLE 3.13 OCCUPATIONS OF HUSBANDS,
URBAN PYUNGWHACHON

	Number	Percent
Office employees (a)	25	23.6
Small shops (b)	24	22.6
Government employees (c)	15	14.1
Daily laborer	14	13.2
Farming	5	4.7
Others	23	21.7
Total	106	100%

SOURCE: Author data

(a) Includes clerks and low level office workers

(b) Includes printing, pharmacy, barbers

(c) Includes low ranking jobs in town, village and military

About 21% of Pyungwhachon men have a secondary job to supplement their income. Most are steadily employed, although there is some underemployment and seasonal variation in type of employment as well. Over 68% reported a combined family income of less than \$240 monthly, earned primarily by the men.

The percentage of urban women engaged in income production is smaller than in the rural area. Of the women surveyed 34% are involved in income generating activities; of these 13% work outside of the home, mostly at part-time activities. (Table 3.14)

A larger number, 34% of urban women ran shops from their homes, while as expected, a much lower number worked in agriculture (13.5%) and in animal husbandry (2.7%). A sizable group made knitted goods and other craft items at home. Smaller numbers of women worked as daily wage laborers (5), as vendors (1), and as government employees (1).

The figure of 34% may not accurately reflect the extent of female labor force participation in Pyungwhachon. The interviewers found many women absent from home; these may have been involved in income generating activities outside the home. Those women available for interview were either not working, worked part time, or were involved in home based income production. The women stated that income production activities available for them are not as stable as those for men, and are less well paid.

Of the women who had worked at some time, 66% left their jobs because of marriage, pregnancy and childbirth. (Table 3.15) This is similar to the rural women, where 53% left work for family related reasons. Nineteen

TABLE 3.14 WOMEN'S INCOME GENERATING ACTIVITIES,
URBAN PYUNGWHACHON

Activity	Number	Percent
Engaged in Income Generating Activity:	37	34.3
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Small shop (a)	12	32.4
Handicrafts (knitting and other (a))	11	29.7
Farming	5	13.5
Daily wage labor	5	13.5
Government employee	1	2.7
Vendor	2	5.4
Animal husbandry	<u>1</u>	<u>2.7</u>
Subtotal	37	100%
Not Engaged in Income Generating Activity	71	65.7
	<u>71</u>	<u>65.7</u>
TOTAL	108	100%

SOURCE: Author data

(a) These activities are carried out at home.

TABLE 3.15 REASONS FOR STOPPING WORK,
URBAN PYUNGWHACHON

Reasons	Number	Percent
Marriage	23	39.0
Pregnancy	7	11.9
Childbirth	9	15.3
Moved from the area	11	18.6
Not satisfied with job	5	8.5
No need to earn money	1	1.7
Others	3	5.1
N = 59		

SOURCE: Author data

percent (19%) said they stopped working because they moved to a new area. This is probably a result of the urban migration which reached its peak in the 1960's.

The reasons given for never having been engaged in income production are similar to those of the rural survey. They revolve around the lack of availability of suitable jobs, lack of skills and too much work at home. (See Table 3.16.) Of the women not engaged in income production, 47% said they would like to be involved in such activities, 48% said that they preferred not to because of household and child care responsibilities. This is also similar to the rural findings. The majority (75%) felt that housewives should work in order to save money for the education of children and for buying a home. Those who did not wish to be involved in income production feel the wife should be at home taking care of home and children.

TABLE 3.16 REASONS FOR NEVER HAVING WORKED,
URBAN PYUNGWHACHON (a)

Reason	Number	Percent
No need to earn money	3	6.4
Lack of skills	9	19.1
No appropriate jobs	21	44.7
Too much work at home	11	23.4
Others	3	6.4
	47	100%

SOURCE: Author data

(a) Multiple answer

The major difficulties married women face in income producing occupations are the same as those found in the rural community. (Table 3.17) Husbands and wives agreed that household responsibilities and care of children, coupled with lack of availability of suitable occupations are major constraints to women contributing to family income.

The wives' perception of their husbands feelings about their being occupied in income generation differed from what the men said. Sixty percent of the wives said their husbands approve, while 47% of the men expressed approval. Eighty-eight percent said their husbands approve of income production inside the home, while only 58% of the men said they approved. Again the major reason for disapproval focused around neglect of home and children, even when the mother remains at home.

There was greater variation in response to the question about husbands' participation in household activities than in the rural area. This may be attributed to the fact that there is more sharing of tasks in the rural areas. The work of married couples in the urban setting rarely is complementary, resulting in a more pronounced division of labor.

TABLE 3.17 DIFFICULTIES MARRIED WOMEN FACE
IN EARNING MONEY, URBAN PYUNGWHACHON

Difficulties*	Number	Percent
Lack of education and skills	5	6.0
No suitable jobs	18	21.4
Ill health	2	2.4
No one to take care of children	34	40.5
Husband and in-laws oppose	10	11.9
Excessive household work	15	17.9
N = 108		

SOURCE: Author data

*Multiple answer

Fifty-six percent of the urban women feel their husbands should help with the cooking, shopping and laundry, while 86% of the men feel they should not have those responsibilities (See Tables 3.18 and 3.19)

TABLE 3.18 WIFE'S OPINION OF HUSBAND'S CONTRIBUTION
TO HOUSEHOLD CHORES, URBAN PYUNGWHACHON

Chores	Yes		No		Do you think he should?			
					Yes		No	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Marketing	11	10	95	90				
Cooking	5	5	101	95	59	56	47	44
Laundry	4	4	102	96				
Cleaning house	38	36	68	64				
Cleaning yard	36	34	70	66	74	70	32	30
Child care	59	56	47	44				
N = 108								

SOURCE: Author data

More men (58%) say they feel an obligation to help with child care and care of house and garden than with the marketing and cooking; however, in actual fact only about 30% admit to offering such help. What they say they do and what they say they should do are two very different things.

TABLE 3.19 HUSBAND'S OPINION OF HIS CONTRIBUTION
TO HOUSEHOLD CHORES, URBAN PYUNGWHACHON

Chores	Do you currently help?				Do you feel you should help her with those tasks?			
	Yes		No		Yes		No	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Marketing	15	14	91	86				
Cooking	8	8	98	92	15	14	91	86
Laundry	5	5	101	95				
Cleaning house	20	19	86	81				
Cleaning yard	28	26	78	74	61	58	45	42
Child care	39	37	67	63				
N = 106								

SOURCE: Author data

Mothers in both the rural and urban communities make substantial contributions to the total family budget in activities inside the home as well as outside the home. While the percentage of urban mothers, 34%, is lower than the rural rate, 77%, all work because the families need the extra income.

The need to find a suitable job is an important issue for many of the women who have never worked and the inappropriateness of a married woman working if the money is not needed is reflected in the number of women who stopped working at the time of marriage, pregnancy or first child birth.

Domestic responsibilities, including both housework and child care are constraints on married women working and seem to fall primarily to those who are working. Not surprisingly many of these women work at income generating activities on a part-time or seasonal basis.

Notes

¹Vreeland, et al., Area Handbook for South Korea, Second Edition, American University, Washington, D.C., 1975, p. 218.

²Evaluation Report of the First Year Program of the Fourth Five-Year Economic Development Plan, Office of Planning and Coordination, Seoul, 1978, p. 76.

³"Economy," Seoul: Korean Overseas Information Service, 1978, p. 2.

⁴Office of Planning and Coordination, op. cit., p. 79.

⁵Yoon, Soon Young S., "The Role of Korean Women in National Development," Virtues in Conflict, Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society, 1977.

⁶Park, Kyung-nan, "Labor Force Participation of Professional Women in Korea," Unpublished dissertation, Boston University, 1979, pp. 86-87.

⁷Sawon Hong, Women and Development Planning--The Case of Korea, Korea Development Institute, Monograph 7804, 1978, p. 19.

⁸Park, op. cit.

⁹"Wed Teachers Forced to Quit," Korea Times, Seoul, March 16, 1979.

¹⁰"Discrimination Against Women Still Prevalent," Korea Times, Seoul, March 11, 1978.

¹¹Park, op. cit.

¹²Park, K. R., "A Study of Korean College Women's Attitude Toward Occupation at Women's and Coeducational Universities," Seoul: Journal of Korean Sociological Association, 1976.

¹³Since the group surveyed was not intended to be a random sample of the community, these figures do not represent the occupational stratification of the entire community. Further, as a result of the out-migration of the younger farm families, it was difficult to find farm families with young children. Therefore, a larger percentage of military families than are probably living in the community was included in the survey.

¹⁴It was difficult to determine which aspects of "work" in the home relate to the domestic tasks of child care, meal preparation and household care and which referred to unpaid family labor such as knitting, animal husbandry, and tending a small garden. As noted by several researchers on women's labor force participation, many women's activities overlap the domestic and nondomestic spheres.

CHAPTER IV

CHILD CARE

Korea has a child care system that is regulated by the government through the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs (MOHSA). There are currently 615 licensed day care centers in the country, reaching 42,000 children. In 1978 the World Bank estimated the age 0-4 population of Korea to be 4,565,000. When 5 year olds are added to this number, the percent reached by licensed day care centers is well below .1%. The 615 centers average over 68 children per center. Eighty percent of these are located in or near the fringes of the larger cities. The government has minimum requirements that must be met for the establishment of these centers; however, due to the great need for centers these standards are applied with flexibility. Approximately 80% of the centers are privately owned. The rest are government sponsored or run by charitable organizations.

The organized child care program in Korea is a natural outgrowth of the war orphanages, which were both privately funded and managed. As these children were adopted or grew up and became independent, the problem developed of what to do with the orphanages and staff. Many of these were converted to child care centers. These centers in Korea are often called "Children's Homes" which is directly related to the fact that many centers were once homes for orphans. Day care centers are considered the same as pre-schools and the terms are used interchangeably in Korea. In this report they will be referred to as child care centers.

Korean law currently requires that private sponsors of child care centers must agree to donate to the government all center property and equipment if they should decide to give up their center. This law, although it has never been enforced, inhibits the establishment of more centers. Government plans called for enforcement by January of 1979; fortunately this was not carried out. Nevertheless few people are willing to commit themselves with such uncertainty as to ownership, so very few privately sponsored centers have been formed in the last year.

The founder of a privately sponsored child care center must either own or locate the building for the center. She must provide toys, play equipment, furniture, shelves, cupboards, and other essential items. The building must meet government standards in terms of space, kitchen, sanitation and bathroom facilities. Once this is accomplished the Child Welfare Department inspects the premises to determine whether it meets the government standards, issues a temporary license and provides a small food and cash subsidy. The sponsor then advertises for children and hires teachers and helpers.

The typical child care center staff consists of a director, teachers and aides, a cook and a maid. The majority of the directors are the founders, are generally unpaid, and view their work as a community service. In a survey administered by CARE in 1975, 80% of the directors had received professional training and were considered qualified as administrators, educators, and welfare workers. The teachers supervise and teach the children, as well as counsel the mothers regarding child development and care. The CARE survey also found that 75% of all teachers had received professional training in the field of education and child care.

The number of attendants employed by each child care center varies according to the size of the center and its financial status. A center may have from 30 to 100 children, depending on its capacity and the needs of the area served. Fees are based on a sliding scale and those families who cannot afford any payment are exempted. However, in order to meet expenses the directors must have the assurance of enough children who can pay the fees, so most centers have a mix of low income and low middle income children.

The child care system in Korea was initially planned to meet the needs of low income working mothers; however, since many centers are open for half a day only, these needs are not being met. Some nonworking mothers send their children to the centers, since they see the center as fulfilling socialization and educational needs. The current program needs to be expanded and alternative modes of child care must be explored to meet the needs of both working and nonworking mothers.

Korean families expect child care for preschoolers to include an education component. In response to this, The Korean Institute for Research in the Behavioural Sciences (KIRBS) has been developing a pre-school curriculum which includes the development of educational toys. The program is currently being pilot tested and may be ready for introduction into the child care centers sometime in 1980.

CARE has supported 90% of the licensed child care centers in Korea by providing food for the children and offering nutrition and family planning education programs for the mothers. This program, called the Integrated Day Care Program (IDCP), was initiated in 1973 with the support of the Korean government. The program focuses on the following three areas:

Food Services

1. To provide good services acceptable to the mothers.
2. To contribute to the normal growth of children.

Nutrition Education

1. To increase mothers' knowledge of nutrition.
2. To help mothers put their knowledge of nutrition into practice.

Family Planning Education

1. To increase mothers' knowledge of family planning and instill in

- them a favorable attitude toward family planning.
2. To influence mothers to practice family planning.

CARE is responsible for the planning and administration of the integrated (IDCP) Day Care Program;* the Government of Korea provides a grain subsidy; and the World Food Program (WFP) of the United Nations supplies other food commodities. The centers offer the children lunches and snacks daily. The individual daily ration consists of the government grain (141 grams of a mix of barley and rice) and the WFP commodities shown in Table 4.1

TABLE 4.1 DAILY FOOD RATION PER CHILD

Commodity	Quantity (gm)	Calories	Protein
Wheat flour	150	522	15
Cornmeal-soybean mix or corn-soybean mix	50	262	14
Edible oil	25	221	0

SOURCE: Sung, Kyu Taik, "Integrating Nutritional and Family Planning Education with Food Services in Korean Day Care Centers," Public Reports, vol. 93, #2, page 178.

Nutrition education and family planning classes are conducted at the child care centers and reach approximately 15,000 mothers. These classes consist of ten meetings per year and are conducted by women licensed by the government and trained specifically for the program. They travel most of the month in their assigned areas and hold meetings with mothers which emphasize practical knowledge and practices concerning nutrition and family planning. The meetings are informal and scheduled to fit into the mothers' free time. Many meetings are held in the evenings when the mothers have more time to attend.

Two day care centers in Seoul provide examples of how private centers are administered. Both are in low income congested areas, take children ages 3 to 6, are open from 9 to 4 six days a week and provide lunch and 2 snacks daily. Each center has an unpaid director, two teachers, one aide and a cook.

The first center serves a mix of low income shopkeepers and vendors

*CARE conducted an evaluation of the IDCP in 1975 after two years of sponsoring the program. The results are discussed in Chapter V.

and a sprinkling of well-educated young families who live in a new housing development nearby. The center is used also as a community center for choir rehearsals, neighborhood meetings and civil defense drills. Located in the basement of an old apartment building, it has no outdoor play facilities and a minimal kitchen, in the process of being improved. What is lacking in terms of physical aspects is compensated for by the bright atmosphere of the room. Gaily painted animal murals, art work and paintings by the children are displayed on the walls and bulletin boards. A jungle jim, rocking horse, a fire engine, and other riding toys occupy one corner.

About 48 children attend the center. Half pay the maximum fee of US\$5 monthly; others pay on a sliding scale. A mothers' meeting led by the CARE field worker was in progress. Nutrition needs, healthful foods, the importance of proper foods when pregnant, and the importance of spacing children for better maternal and child health were topics discussed. A lively discussion followed the talk. Most of the children are from low income families and most of the mothers in attendance had small shops nearby or were engaged in part-time income production.

The second center is located in a private home, built with the specific purpose of providing child care services. The yard surrounding the house has a swing set and outdoor games and serves as a playground. The basement is a large room with a platform at one end where the children perform plays and play games during winter and rainy weather. The first floor contains two classrooms, bathrooms and a kitchen. The director, whose two children attend the center, and her family live on the top floor. Two classes were in session, with 42 five-year-olds and 22 three-year-olds. The children are primarily from low middle income families and not all the mothers are employed. More than one-half pay the maximum monthly fee of US\$8, the rest pay on a graduated scale. Both centers appear to be well-run and present a cheerful and stimulating environment for the children.

Private voluntary organizations such as the YWCA and the Red Cross provide day care on a seasonal or permanent basis. The YWCA runs three day care centers outside of Seoul to meet the needs of working mothers as well as busy housewives. One began in 1970 as a seasonal center during the agricultural season and in 1977 became a permanent center. They provide health and nutrition education to the mothers. The YWCA representatives say there is a growing demand for more centers as the number of women entering the labor force increases; but due to a shortage of money, leadership, and physical facilities, the Association finds it difficult to start new work or expand on what has begun. The Red Cross centers are primarily seasonal. The Office of Rural Development (ORD) also provides seasonal day care facilities, including meals, in the busy agricultural season.

The government recognizes the fact that women must be utilized to fill the gap in the labor market and that adequate child care is a necessary step in implementing this policy. Factory management is being encouraged to provide child care centers for their workers, but since they prefer to hire single girls, they are reluctant to provide facilities for children.

MOHSA has plans to expand the government child care system to 1,200

centers by 1981. A major problem is finding space for child care centers, especially in the urban areas. Existing community centers, churches, and health centers will be utilized where possible. In the rural areas Saemaul halls and Maternal Child Health (MCH) centers will be used.

Part of this expansion includes the construction of 205 new MCH centers. These centers will be designed to provide an integrated program including MCH and family planning information, child care, nutrition education, and possibly vocational, technical and skills training. When these centers are established, all children will be eligible to attend, costs will be determined by ability to pay, with the government subsidizing the needy.

Child Care - Rural Dongmyun

Rural Dongmyun has three child care centers, one each in the villages of Duckock, Wondang and Imdang. Children from all of the Dongmyun villages are eligible to attend; however, there is a problem of space and not all can be accommodated. The children attending the centers are ages 3-6, which leaves infants and younger children at home. If the mother is engaged in employment outside the home, the younger children still are in need of care.

The Duckok center was formed in 1974 with the help of the Community Development Foundation (CDF). This center met a felt need and provided the impetus to Mother's Clubs in two other villages to organize and establish, through community initiative, centers in their own villages. CDF partially supports the salaries of the teachers; although the pay, approximately \$40 per month, is low. The monthly fee per child is \$2-4. Most families pay the full amount, although some pay little or nothing. The mothers help on a rotating volunteer basis with matters concerning the centers, including meal preparation in the Duckok center. Each center has a capacity of 50 children and there is no restriction on who may attend.

In some areas seasonal child care centers are set up by the ORD during the busiest harvesting and planting seasons. Although the time of the survey was considered one of the busiest in the agricultural cycle, there was no evidence of any additional arrangements for child care in Dongmyun. Children of all ages were observed swimming and playing in the stream that flows through the area. No older people were seen watching the young children in the water and there was no evidence that any of the older children were responsible for the younger ones.

The three teachers in the rural area are native to Dongmyun, are unmarried, and have an educational background almost equal to high school level. All are active in one of the Christian churches and the mothers feel that because of their church activities, they are skillful in taking care of the children at the center. Songs and games, drawing and constructive play activities as well as lessons on good health and sanitation habits are included in the curriculum.

Each child care center has its own building which can be used for other

community activities. Land was set aside for the building and the actual structure built by organized voluntary community effort. Each of the two centers has one large room with a raised platform at one end and a smaller room where supplies are kept. One hundred people can easily be seated in the large room without crowding. Each center has a piano. Toys and games are primarily homemade, and the walls and bulletin boards are decorated with drawings and cutouts done by the children.

The survey team was asked by the teachers to give a cooking demonstration of inexpensive nutritious meals to offer to the children at the child care center, which they would in turn teach to the mothers. This was done and was greatly appreciated. Another similar demonstration was given when the group returned to the village later.

Dongmyun is a somewhat unusual rural community in having three child care centers. In 1978 there were only 615 licensed child care facilities in the entire country, with approximately 80% of them concentrated in the urban areas. Reliable data showing total national population of preschool age and comparable figures for Dongmyun are not available. However, in 1978 the total population of Dongmyun, including all ages, was approximately .016% of the national population.* The three licensed child care centers in Dongmyun represent .488% of the total centers in the country, or some thirty times the national per capita average.

In the rural villages surveyed in Dongmyun, approximately 77% of the mothers considered themselves working. Of this number, just under two-thirds are engaged in income generating activities outside the home. Of those children whose mothers worked outside the home, 84% were cared for by one of the following three arrangements. In 43% of the cases the mother reported that the children accompanied her. Grandparents cared for children in 21% of the cases, and the child care center accounted for 20% of the cases (Table 4.2). The arrangements considered most satisfactory by both husband and wife were care by grandparents or the child care center. Many mothers (33%) expressed dissatisfaction with having to deal with the presence of the child while working.

Thirty-three percent of mothers had no opinion regarding satisfaction with their current child care arrangements. When care for a child is necessary, somehow the need will be met. The mothers had probably not thought about being satisfied or not since the basic need was being met and that is their major concern. Another possibility is a reluctance to voice dissatisfaction when other family members are the caretakers.

Urban Pyungwhachon

Pyungwhachon has a child care center located in the new community center, a multi-purpose building built through community action. The land for the

*Based on author data.

TABLE 4.2 TYPE OF CHILD CARE ARRANGEMENTS OF EMPLOYED MOTHERS
BY RURAL AND URBAN SURVEY SITES IN KOREA

Caretakers	Rural		Urban	
	Number	%	Number	%
Accompanies mother	61	43	65	41
Grandparents	30	21	25	16
Child care centers	28	20	3	2
Older siblings	7	6	19	12
Relative/neighbor	6	4	8	5
Left alone	3	2	27	17
Others, unspecified	6	4	11	7
Total	141 (a)	100%	158 (b)	100%

SOURCE: Author data

(a) Total number of preschool children in Dongmyun

(b) Total number of children in urban Pyungwhachon

building was purchased for the community by the Community Development Foundation, and the building was planned by the local Community Development Committee. A public bath and cooperative credit union are on the first floor. The child care center occupies the second floor. The center is also used for community meetings and other activities. Future plans call for a library to be available for community use.

The child care center is well-equipped with new tables and chairs, a piano, a few educational toys and games, cupboards, blackboard and bulletin boards. The center provides uniforms, including special hats, which the children change into when they arrive in the morning, and identical book bags. The children seem eager to attend the center, and a certain status seems to be attached to those who are able to attend.

With a preschool population of 783, this one center does not nearly meet the needs of the community. The present capacity is 50 children, ages 5 and 6, selected in order of application. Plans are underway to expand the program. The center is open from 9 a.m. until 1 p.m. The monthly fee is \$4, and all the children attending can afford to pay the fee. Even though a relatively small percentage of mothers are engaged in income production, the parents view the center as not just a place for child care but as a place for learning, and preparation for school.

A lunch program is an integral part of the total child care program. The mothers volunteer their time and services to prepare the meals. Home economics students from Seoul National University (SNU) work with the

mothers three times a week to develop a number of low cost nutritious recipes to serve in the center and also to use in their homes. As part of the meal preparation program, the students studied the food preferences of the children. Favorite foods proved to be fruits, ice cream, sweet breads, candies and eggs, while not so favored foods were spicy and strong flavored foods such as peppers, leeks, onions, Korean celery and wild sesame oil. Because of the high cost of beef, pork, chicken, and fish, most of the protein sources are eggs, soybean and dried fish.

In the urban area, when mothers are not at home, 69% of the child care needs are met by family members, 41% by the mother taking her children with her, 16% by grandparents and 12% by elder siblings. Again, a high degree of dissatisfaction was expressed by both mother and father when the mother took her child with her when she left the home for work (Table 4.2).

Leaving children alone is more prevalent in the urban area, a practice that 17% reported. Ninety-five percent of the parents are dissatisfied with this arrangement but often there is no other alternative. Fewer grandparents are available in the urban community and only 2% of the parents surveyed use the child care center.

In both the rural and urban areas older siblings frequently look after infants and young children, but never at the expense of their education. Both husbands and wives feel that child rearing is the responsibility of the parents, and that the children must have as much education as possible for a good future. In the rural area no siblings took care of younger children instead of working; however, in urban Pyungwhachon, 6% of those surveyed reported children staying home to care for siblings instead of working.

A small group of mothers (15%) in rural Dongmyun nevertheless believes that older daughters should care for younger siblings both because the care they provide is better than that of a neighbor and because it is good training for their future marriage.

Most of the respondents reported that they were cared for almost entirely by family members when they were growing up, and in both the rural and urban areas, all the women who had had younger siblings indicated that they had cared for them. In the rural area 9% interrupted their schooling to do so, while 4% cared for children instead of working. In the urban area, 11% interrupted their schooling and 7% took care of children rather than working. These figures support the priority placed on education nationally in Korea, both in the current generation and in the last.

When asked about the best child care arrangement if the mother is not available, 64% of the rural women cited family members and 32% suggested a child care center. (See Table 4.3.) In the urban area, 59% of the women favored family care, while 20% mentioned a child care center. Since the child care center in Pyungwhachon is a recent phenomenon and limited in the number of children it serves, this could be the reason fewer urban people favored it as a place of care.

TABLE 4.3 PREFERRED CHILD CARE ARRANGEMENT BY RURAL AND URBAN SURVEY SITES, KOREA

Preferred Child Care	Rural		Urban	
	Number	%	Number	%
Grandparents	33	32	28	26
Child care center	33	32	22	20
Elder siblings	20	19	21	19
Adult relative	12	12	19	18
Neighbor	6	6	18	17
Total	104	100%	108	100%

SOURCE: Author data

If child care is available, 78% rural and 88% urban prefer that it be in the neighborhood, while 22% rural and 12% urban said place of work is desirable (Table 4.4). In neither community surveyed, however, were children cared for at the workplace, except when the child accompanied the mother.

TABLE 4.4 PREFERRED LOCATION FOR CHILD CARE

Location	Rural		Urban	
	Number	%	Number	%
Neighborhood or nearby village	81	78	95	88
Place of work	23	22	13	12
Total	104	100%	108	100%

SOURCE: Author data

In both communities 46% of the women surveyed feel the government should be responsible for providing day care for children. Table 4.5 shows that in the rural areas 20% feel the village should be responsible for day care while 27% in the urban area feel day care should be a community responsibility. There was a high rate of non-response to this question in both areas, perhaps because it is something the respondents have not considered before.

TABLE 4.5 CHILD CARE RESPONSIBILITY - WOMEN'S RESPONSES

Responsibility	Rural		Urban	
	Number	%	Number	%
Village	21	20	29	27
Government	48	46	50	46
Private	4	4	9	8
Don't know	31	30	20	19
Total	104	100%	108	100%

SOURCE: Author data

The urban/rural responses were very similar regarding hours of care. Approximately 33% of the women interviewed favor half-day care (which is how the child care centers in the survey areas operate now); 25% suggest every-other-day care. This latter arrangement, however, does not solve the problem of the full-time working mother. If a mother is not working and uses the center for socialization and educational purposes, half-day or every-other-day would satisfy her needs.

TABLE 4.6 PREFERRED HOURS OF CHILD CARE FACILITY - WOMEN'S RESPONSES

Hours	Rural		Urban	
	Number	%	Number	%
Full-day care	45	43	43	40
Half-day care	32	31	39	36
Every-other-day care	27	26	26	24
Total	104	100%	108	100%

SOURCE: Author data

The majority of wives and husbands feel that the child and family are not adversely affected by the mother's working outside the home. About two-thirds of the husbands and wives in the rural area feel the quality of care according to the variables selected in Tables 4.7 and 4.8 is the same or better than when the wife is not working, while less than one-third feel the care is worse.

TABLE 4.7 HOW WORKING OUTSIDE THE HOME AFFECTS CHILDREN*
(Rural Women's Responses)

Variables	Better		Same		Worse	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Menu	5	10	29	57	17	33
Cooking methods	4	8	26	51	21	41
Feeding pattern	2	4	30	59	19	38
Education	0	0	37	73	14	27
Health	0	0	37	73	14	27
Attention	1	2	37	73	13	25
Religion	15	29	33	66	3	6

N = 51

SOURCE: Author data

*Total number of women working outside the home is 51.

TABLE 4.8 HOW WORKING OUTSIDE THE HOME AFFECTS CHILDREN - HUSBANDS' VIEW*
(Rural Husbands' Responses)

Variables	Better		Same		Worse	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Menu	6	13	29	64	10	22
Cooking Methods	4	9	29	64	12	27
Feeding pattern	3	7	29	64	13	29
Child care	3	7	26	58	16	36
Health	2	4	27	60	16	36
Attention	5	11	28	62	12	27
Religion	15	33	26	58	4	9

N = 44

SOURCE: Author data

*No response - 33.

In the urban setting, the 14 working mothers out of the 108 surveyed are more critical than either their husbands or rural counterparts of the quality of child care. Nearly two-thirds of the mothers feel that the health care of their children is negatively affected by their working. Fifty-six percent of the husbands reported that child care suffers when the mother works. (Table 4.9 and 4.10)

In the other areas, family life had remained about the same in many families as before the mother began working. Significantly, only one area, "Menu," (referring to the foods served) showed improvement. The improved menu may result from increased family income from the mother's employment.

TABLE 4.9 HOW WORKING OUTSIDE THE HOME AFFECTS CHILDREN ^(a)
(Urban Women's Responses)

Variables	Better		Same		Worse	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Menu ^(b)	4	29	4	29	6	42
Cooking method ^(c)	2	14	7	50	5	36
Feeding pattern ^(d)	0	0	7	50	7	50
Education	0	0	8	57	6	43
Health	0	0	5	36	9	64
Attention	1	7	10	72	3	21
Religion	1	7	13	93	0	0
N = 14						

SOURCE: Author data

- (a) Total number of women working outside the home is 14. Because this number is so small, caution is advised in interpreting percentages.
- (b) Menu refers to foods served.
- (c) Cooking method refers to how food is prepared.
- (d) Feeding pattern refers to regularity of meal time.

TABLE 4.10 HOW WORKING OUTSIDE THE HOME AFFECTS CHILDREN
(Urban Men's Responses)

Variables	Better		Same		Worse	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Menu	6	22	12	44	9	33
Cooking method	3	11	15	56	9	33
Feeding pattern	0	0	15	56	12	44
Child care	0	0	12	44	15	56
Health	0	0	21	78	6	22
Affection	0	0	18	67	9	33
Religion	6	22	18	67	3	11
N = 27						

SOURCE: Author data

*No answer - 8.

Overall the quality of family care is not significantly improved by the mother's involvement in income production outside the home, and it may be that families trade improved diet for less adequate child care and attention to health needs.

The survey has shown that the mother remains the preferred and primary caretaker in both the rural and urban areas. Grandparents and older siblings, especially girls, are also favored caretakers. The child care centers, while clearly representing a break in tradition, are popular, partly because of the educational aspects. Older siblings in Korea are expected to care for younger children but never in lieu of attending school. Fathers and mothers agree that child rearing is the responsibility of parents, not siblings. The fathers willingly spend time with their children, primarily in play and educational activities.

In both the rural and urban communities, the same high percentage of mothers (43% and 41%) reported that their children accompany them to work. and mothers in both communities expressed dissatisfaction with this solution. This may reflect a lack of alternative child-care arrangements. It also may be related to the fact that many of the mothers work part-time and in the house, an arrangement that allows for the children to be cared for simultaneously as the mother works. Nevertheless, child care seems to be less of a problem in this rural area than in the urban community studied, because of the greater availability of child-care centers and/or family members who would help.

The urban nuclear family appears to have a greater need for alternative child care arrangements as more mothers leave their children alone when they go out to work. In the urban areas a combination of factors, including female labor force participation, the increase in the nuclear family structure without the family living nearby, and the recognition of the necessity to provide an education to all children, thus eliminating the practice of leaving little children with older brothers and sisters, has led to a small but nevertheless significant increase in the number of urban children being left alone while parents earn a living. Lack of child care does not keep a woman from seeking employment when more money is needed. It can provide precarious care for the children.

CHAPTER V

HEALTH AND NUTRITION

The socioeconomic condition of the Korean people has improved dramatically since the Korean War, and thus have health conditions as well. The infant mortality rate in 1975 was 38 per thousand live births, a sharp decline from 82 in 1960. Life expectancy has increased from 56 years in 1960 to 68 years in 1975. The current growth rate is 1.7, and children under 14 years of age make up 37% of the population.¹

In 1977, the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs sampled 1200 rural and urban households in a national nutrition survey to determine nutritional status. The survey showed that 30% of the population suffers from various forms of malnutrition.² The results were not presented by income groups so no evaluation of differences by socioeconomic status can be made.

It is difficult to construct a picture of nutritional status in Korea with the information currently available. The number of studies are limited and those which have been done cover only a small segment of the population. Nevertheless, from the national nutritional survey, and other studies conducted by leading nutritionists, one can conclude that while there is little evidence of severe malnutrition, various nutritional deficiencies do exist. The Korean diet is low in fat content and protein and high in carbohydrates. The diet of pregnant and lactating mothers is no different from their diet at other times, with the exception of those who practice food taboos, indicating that nutritional deficiencies exist at a very important time in the mother's life.³

The average monthly family income in cities and farm has been substantially increasing in recent years. As income rises, the food consumption pattern seems to be changing slowly. Urbanites tend to rely more on non-traditional foodstuffs such as dairy products and processed foods. Very little increase in per capita grain consumption was observed in urban areas despite the increase in food expenditures. Relatively static trends have been observed in the farming areas.⁴

The stature of the average Korean has been steadily improving during the last two decades. The children in rural areas, however, are slightly shorter and lighter than the children of the same age in urban metropolitan areas. These and all other indices seem to indicate overall improvement of health in general and nutritional status in particular since the war, with the rural areas slightly behind the urban population.⁵

Thus, as some authors conclude, nutritional deficiencies, while not pronounced, are still common.⁶ Studies on lower income groups where nutrition is likely to be a pressing problem are urgently needed as well as nutritional studies on weaning children, pregnant and lactating women.

Various programs to improve the health and nutrition of preschool children have been established in Korea. The Government's Applied Nutrition Program (ANP) is coordinated through the Office of Rural Development, MOHSA and the Ministry of Education, with much of the dissemination of nutrition education taking place at the local level through the women's branch of the Saemaul movement. The program is aimed at improving the level of nutrition, especially of mothers and children, in rural communities through increased local production and consumption of foods containing animal protein and green/yellow leafy vegetables. When the program began in 1968, ten pilot villages in 9 provinces were selected and priority was given to the production and utilization of nutritionally valuable foods. The project has now expanded to cover 827 villages (out of a total of over 35,000 villages in Korea) and attained a commendable degree of success. A recent self-evaluation nutrition survey on the pilot villages indicated a sufficient intake of total protein, calorie, calcium, iron, niacin, thiamin, and vitamins A and C. Only the riboflavin intake was found to be low.⁷

Another program is the Integrated Day Care Program (IDCP) which combines the feeding of preschool children from low income families with nutritional and family planning education for the mothers, as described in Chapter IV on Child Care. In the nutrition education provided for the mothers the goal is to improve nutrition for the entire family. Emphasis is placed on the relationship between foods and nutrients, the balancing of nutrients, appropriate use of milk and baby foods, hygiene and the importance of sanitation.

In 1975, after 2 years of operation of the IDCP, CARE evaluated the effectiveness of the program in terms of acceptance and whether favorable changes had taken place on major variables--child's weight, mother's assessment of child's health, age of baby when mother began giving supplemental feedings, and the mother's practice of family planning. The data from 30 day care centers participating in the IDCP was compared with that of 15 non-participating day care centers. Half were in the rural areas and half in the urban areas.

The day care centers provided similar services in all areas except for the family planning and nutrition classes, and served mothers and children of similar socioeconomic backgrounds. The analysis of the results showed consistent differences in favor of the IDCP centers. The mean height and weight of the children exceeded that of those in the non-participating centers; the mothers showed a greater knowledge of nutrition and put this knowledge into practice. Fifty-eight percent (58%) of the participating working mothers began feeding their babies supplementary foods at six months as recommended by the nutrition instructors, as opposed to 22% of the non-participating mothers. The mothers from the participating centers

also evidenced a better understanding of the purpose of family planning and supported it more actively.⁸

The results of this study indicate that nutrition education should be part of primary health services. There is general agreement that nutrition deficiencies are due to imbalanced diets caused by lack of nutrition knowledge on the part of the mother rather than poverty or lack of availability of foods.⁹ The emphasis should be placed on building better health through better food habits and better food production as well as on preventing malnutrition and disease.

Present health services concentrate largely on curative rather than preventive services for a variety of reasons, including lack of funding and personnel and the low priority placed on delivery of such services. In general, medical services are unevenly distributed geographically and by socioeconomic status.¹⁰ It is currently beyond the government's capability to expand integrated services to all people, especially in the rural areas.¹¹ The government relies on voluntary organizations, both national and international, to supplement the inadequate rural health program. The Korean Red Cross, with some government assistance, has developed a series of health education programs consisting of booklets and audio-visual materials. More than a dozen topics have so far been covered, including parasite control, maternal-child health care, industrial hygiene, infant care, sex education and tuberculosis control. Volunteers are trained to act as health educators throughout the country.

An Economic Planning Board (EPB) unpublished 1977 survey indicates that 85% of all rural women deliver their children at home with their birth attendants drawn largely from family members. There is a high correlation between education and residence in terms of use and availability of maternity service, with nearly all college educated urban women delivering in a clinic or hospital under a doctor's care. The same is true of highly educated rural residents.¹²

Health and Nutrition Survey - Rural Dongmyun, Urban Pyungwhachon

Dongmyun has a health center with one doctor and one nurse, but it is too small to administer to the needs of the entire population. The local military medical units provide mobile inoculation service and emergency help when necessary. The nearest hospital is ten miles away in Yanggu, but the survey respondents consider these facilities unsatisfactory.

The Pyungwhachon community is serviced by one private clinic, which residents indicate is too small and under-staffed to provide the necessary medical attention to the residents. While the residents of Pyungwhachon may lack health facilities within their community, they have the advantage of being able to use the health resources of the larger urban area of Seoul.

Both communities have other kinds of health facilities available,

including the traditional "herbalist" and faith healers and modern pharmacy.*

There were significant differences between the surveyed urban and rural women regarding the health facilities available to them, hence the ones they use when their children are ill. The greatest proportion of both urban and rural women take their children to "modern pharmacies." Approximately one-third of the rural women make use of provincial hospitals, but only one urban woman takes her children to a provincial hospital. Instead, large numbers of the women surveyed in the urban area make use of private hospitals. (Table 5.1)

TABLE 5.1 HEALTH FACILITIES USED WHEN CHILDREN ARE ILL

Facility	Mothers Using Facility*			
	Rural Dongmyun		Urban Pyungwhachon	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Herbalist	8	7.7	1	0.9
Modern pharmacy	96	92.3	79	73.1
Government health center	1	1.0	6	5.6
Provincial hospital	32	30.8	1	.9
Private hospital	6	5.8	74	68.5
Faith healer (mudang)	5	4.8	0	0.0
	N = 104		N = 108	

SOURCE: Author data

*Multiple response

The rural women also make use of traditional methods of health care more frequently than the urban mothers. While 12.5% of the rural women reported using herbalists and/or faith healers, only one urban mother makes use of herbalists and none reported using faith healers.

More women interviewed in urban Pyungwhachon were satisfied with the medical care available to them (see Table 5.2) than were the rural women. Fifty-six percent of the urban women were satisfied with the available medical care, while 45% of the rural women were satisfied.

*Most Koreans today view the modern pharmacy as a place not only to purchase medication but to receive advice on illness as well. The client relates the symptoms of illness and the pharmacist acts as diagnostician and prescribes medication. Going to the pharmacy is cheaper than going to a doctor and is generally the first step taken in disease treatment.

Distance from home was a major source of dissatisfaction for the rural women who said that the clinics were too far away for them to make full use of their services. In the urban area, proximity to health facilities was not cited as a problem. Both groups reported that the quality of medical care and the physical condition of the facilities were unsatisfactory.

TABLE 5.2 REASONS FOR DISSATISFACTION
WITH AVAILABLE HEALTH CARE*

Reason	Rural Dongmyun		Urban Pyungwhachon	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Too far from home	27	51.9	3	7.7
Poor facility	22	42.3	19	48.7
Unkind service	9	17.3	17	43.6

SOURCE: Author data
*Multiple response

In both rural Dongmyun and urban Pyungwhachon over 80% of the mothers cited colds as the most frequent illness of their children. Less than one-third listed intestinal problems and very small numbers cited other illnesses. (Table 5.3)

TABLE 5.3 CHILDREN'S MOST FREQUENT ILLNESSES*

Illness	N = 104		N = 108	
	Rural Dongmyun Number	Percent	Urban Pyungwhachon Number	Percent
Colds	86	82.7	89	82.4
Diarrhea and indigestion	30	28.8	34	31.5
Convulsions	6	5.8	5	4.6
Anemia	3	2.9	1	0.9
Skin problems	3	2.9	3	2.8
Toothaches	4	3.8	0	0.0

SOURCE: Author data
*Multiple response

Children in the urban survey area had more complete immunization records than children in the rural survey area. (Table 5.4) Since the major reason given by rural mothers for dissatisfaction with available care was the great distance they had to travel to receive health care, it

TABLE 5.4 IMMUNIZATION RECORD OF YOUNGEST CHILD -
MOTHERS STATING CHILD IMMUNIZED*

Immunization Received	N = 104		N = 108	
	Rural Dongmyun Number	Percent	Urban Pyungwhachon Number	Percent
B.C.G.	68	65.4	76	70.4
D.P.T.	67	64.4	85	78.7
Measles	38	36.5	49	45.4
Smallpox	56	53.8	65	60.2
Polio	71	68.3	84	77.8

SOURCE: Author data

*Multiple response

is probable that they use health facilities only for serious illnesses and could not justify periodic trips for check-ups and inoculations for their children.

The major reasons given by the interviewed mothers for their children not having certain immunizations included a concern that the child would experience an allergic reaction or be made ill by the inoculation, the child was ill when the inoculation should have been given, or the child was immune as a result of already having had the disease. There were also a number of mothers who did not know about or understand the importance of inoculations. In the case of smallpox vaccinations, it must be noted that in families where the youngest child is under two years old, he/she would not have received the vaccination since the World Health Organization has curtailed giving it since the disease is essentially considered eradicated.

To ascertain how mothers' eating habits affect the nutrition of the prenatal and infant child, the surveyed mothers were asked if they observe any food taboos while pregnant or lactating. In both the rural and urban survey areas, a great variety of foods were avoided during pregnancy and breast-feeding, but small numbers of women avoided each particular food. (see Table 5.5)

In general the foods which are avoided by pregnant mothers are meats which are believed to cause the unborn child to take on the appearance of the animal. The food most commonly avoided by all the surveyed women during pregnancy was poultry, because women fear their babies will be born with the appearance of a chicken or duck.

In rural Dongmyun and urban Pyungwhachon, equal proportions (82%) of the surveyed women stated they breast-feed their children. Among those who did not breast-feed, the reasons did not vary greatly between the rural and urban areas, though slightly more urban women stated it was due to their working away from home. (see Table 5.6)

TABLE 5.5 FOOD TABOOS OBSERVED BY PREGNANT AND LACTATING WOMEN

Avoided Food	Women Avoiding Food*				Reasons for Avoiding Food
	Rural Dongmyun		Urban Pyungwhachon		
	Number	%	Number	%	
Pork	4	3.8	2	1.9	Baby will have skin rash boils; baby will have impetuous character
Beef	2	1.9	0	0.0	No response
Rabbit meat	2	1.9	1	0.9	Baby will have red eyes and harelip
Cat meat	1	1.0	0	0.0	Baby will have cat appearance
Soft bone	3	2.9	1	0.9	Baby will have soft bones
Meat bone	0	0.0	7	6.5	Baby will be disfigured
Duck meat	10	9.6	12	11.1	Baby will have duck legs and webbed hands
Chicken	6	5.8	17	15.7	Baby will be disfigured, have gooseflesh and boils
Octopus meat	4	3.8	4	3.7	Baby will have no bones and an octopus head
Squid meat	5	4.8	5	4.6	Baby will have no bones and 12 feet
Shark meat	1	1.0	1	0.9	Baby will have shark skin
Green vegetables	7	6.7	3	2.8	Baby will have green stool
Lettuce	9	8.7	6	5.6	Baby will have green stool
Green onion	1	1.0	0	0.0	Baby will have diarrhea
Green pepper	0	0.0	2	1.9	Baby will have green stool
Kim chi	0	0.0	4	3.7	Mother's teeth rot
Korean celery	0	0.0	2	1.9	Baby's growth will be stunted and baby will cry
Red pepper	2	1.9	3	2.8	Baby's anus will be red
Ginseng	3	2.9	3	2.8	Decreases breast milk
Fermented rice water	1	1.0	1	0.9	Decreases breast milk
Sweets	0	0.0	2	1.9	Decreases breast milk

SOURCE: Author data

*Multiple response

TABLE 5.6 REASON FOR NOT BREAST-FEEDING

Reason	Mothers Citing Reason			
	Rural Dongmyun		Urban Pyungwhachon	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Insufficient milk	15	78.9	13	68.4
Working away from home	3	15.8	5	26.3
Ill health of mother	1	5.3	1	5.3
Total	19	100%	19	100%

SOURCE: Author data

The major reason given by both rural and urban mothers for not breast-feeding was "insufficient quantities of milk." All 38 women who did not breast-feed reported that they used a powdered infant formula, boiled the bottles and prepared the formula according to package directions using boiled water. The use of powdered milk and formula has prestige in Korea and its use appears to be on the rise. In A Study of Infants' Physical Development in Some Agricultural Areas, published in 1964, Im Yu estimated that 95% of the rural women in Korea breast-fed. By 1976 Yong Gwang Bae wrote in the Journal of Women's Problems Research Institute that the percentage of women breast-feeding was down to 89.9%.

Among these mothers who do breast-feed, rural women continue unsupplemented breast-feeding longer than the urban women. Only 29% of the rural mothers had begun giving supplemental foods to their children by 12 months, compared to some 43.5% of the urban mothers. These findings support those found in a nutritional intake survey of 93 rural children in 1975.¹³ Forty-four percent of children 8-12 months old had not yet been given supplementary food. By one year, all received rice. Although their food intake increased as they grew older, only 5-10% of the total foods taken was protein from animal origin and the children received a limited variety of food. However, the supplemental foods reportedly given children of families in this survey were more varied and had more nutritional value. (Table 5.8) Over half of the children in the 1975 survey received only rice, kimchi, seasonings (soy sauce, bean paste, red pepper), and sesame seed or oil as supplemental foods.¹³

The types of foods given to supplement breast-feeding and/or bottle feeding, with the exception of milk, are rarely special preparations, or different from the foods eaten by the family. Hence, they are offered primarily when the child is able to consume food in its usual form rather than in the form of a strained or mashed weaning food. Fish, meat and many vegetables are not given until children can manage chewing.

TABLE 5.7 AGE TO WHICH MOTHERS GIVE ONLY BREAST MILK
TO SECOND YOUNGEST CHILD*

Child's Age	Rural Dongmyun		Urban Pyungwhachon	
	Number	%	Number	%
6 - 9 months	6	8.7	6	8.7
10 - 12 months	14	20.3	24	34.8
13 - 16 months	12	17.4	8	11.6
17 - 20 months	10	14.5	11	15.9
21 - 24 months	12	17.4	10	14.4
25 - 30 months	11	15.9	8	11.6
31 - 36 months	1	1.4	1	1.4
37+ months	3	4.3	1	1.4
Total	69	100.0	69	100.0

SOURCE: Author data

*The total respondents in the two areas is smaller than the total survey sample because not all of the interviewed women have a second child. The question was asked in regard to second youngest child since the youngest child in many cases was an infant and mothers were unable to say how long they would give only breast milk.

TABLE 5.8 SUPPLEMENTAL FOODS GIVEN TO INFANTS
BY URBAN AND RURAL AREAS

Food	N = 104 Rural Dongmyun		N = 108 Urban Pyungwhachon	
	Number	%	Number	%
Bread/cookie	72	69.2	86	79.6
Rice/rice gruel/drained gruel	53	51.0	42	38.9
Cow's milk	28	26.9	37	34.3
Vegetables	16	15.4	11	10.2
Eggs	65	62.5	61	56.5
Fruits/juice	42	40.4	50	46.3
Fish and meat	3	2.9	6	5.6
Baked rice powder	7	6.7	2	1.9

SOURCE: Author data

*Multiple response

(a) Data obtained by asking mothers to state the foods given.

There was little difference between the surveyed rural and urban mothers regarding the types of supplementary foods given. It is interesting to note that while a large proportion of mothers give eggs to supplement breast-feeding, three mothers (one rural, two urban) felt it was essential not to give eggs since a child who eats eggs is felt to be slow in learning to talk.

All of the mothers who work were asked if their work schedules affected the feeding schedules of their infants. Twenty percent of the rural mothers and 49% of the urban women felt that working affected infant feeding. When the type and location of work are examined, it is found that the surveyed rural women who work are employed mainly at occupations such as agriculture and animal husbandry, which permit them to take their infants with them or return home for feeding. The urban women more often work farther away, in shops or as casual laborers, and cannot take children along or return to feed them. Those women who felt their work had affected feeding schedules were vague in explaining how feeding had been affected, but most indicated work meant not having enough time to breast-feed regularly.

In 1975 and 1976, just prior to our survey, dietary studies were carried out in both Pyungwhachon and Yanggu. The Nutrition Department of Seoul National University analyzed the food intakes of 153 preschool children in urban Pyungwhachon using the 24-hour recall method. Nutritional and anthropometric data were also gathered. The nutrient intakes were found to be lower than the recommended dietary allowance (RDC), with very little protein eaten. The diets of 2 and 3 year old children were found to be generally poor. In physical status all children were found taller by age than the Korean average while 24% were slightly under the Korean weight average by age. The survey showed the children to be basically healthy but experiencing some protein, fat and calcium deficiency.¹⁴

A similar study in the Yanggu area attempted to define nutritional problems and assist in establishment of a nutritional improvement plan.¹⁵ Approximately 50 preschool children were examined to determine food intake and general health condition. This was done by keeping accurate records for three days during two periods in the spring and fall seasons. The intake of energy and nutrients in the form of calorie, protein, fat, calcium, Vitamin A and riboflavin intake were all lower than the Korean RDA in both periods of examination. The average height and weight of boys aged 4 and 5 were lower than the Korea standard of 1967 but those of girls aged 5 were slightly higher. Because of the improved socioeconomic and health condition during the last decade, nutritionists feel the Korean standard should be revised. If this were the case, it could indicate that the majority of the children examined would fall below a new revised standard. Incidence of minor anemia was also found in the children surveyed. The degree of anemia was not severe and may be caused by the low intake of iron and proteins.

These studies confirm the national trend. The children in the rural survey site show greater problems with diet than the children in urban

Pyungwhachon, who themselves are not receiving totally adequate diets. This indicates a need for nutrition intervention to improve the dietary conditions of the preschool child.

Both communities expressed area specific environmental concerns. The rural community wants insecticides that are neither dangerous to themselves nor to their animals. The inhabitants of the urban community are concerned with sanitary conditions in an already overcrowded environment and want to develop community awareness to find solutions to alleviate this problem.

The two communities share the common problem of poor medical facilities and a shortage of trained personnel. Given the problem at the national level of providing health services to the rural and low income neighborhoods, this finding is not unexpected. Of significance is the data from nutrition surveys indicating dietary deficiencies in both areas surveyed and on the national level as well. Strategies and interventions for improvement need to be directed toward the women in the communities surveyed, as they have primary responsibility for child care.

Notes

- ¹World Atlas of the Child, Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 1979, p. 33.
- ²National Nutritional Survey, Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, Seoul, 1973.
- ³Ibid., pp. 75 and 88.
- ⁴Food and Nutrient Intake Studies of Rural Population in Korea, Seoul: Korean Statistical Association, 1977, p. 115.
- ⁵Ibid., p. 117.
- ⁶Wallace, George and Barbara, "Nutrition in Korea," Health Program Office, Peace Corps, Seoul, 1976, pp. 1-2.
- ⁷Food and Nutrient Intake Studies of Rural Population in Korea, op. cit., p. 116.
- ⁸Sung, Kyu-Taik, "Integrating Nutritional and Family Planning Education with Food Services in Korean Day Care Centers," Seoul: Public Health Reports, Vol. 93, No. 2, April 1978, p. 181.
- ⁹Personal interviews with nutritionists from Seoul National University and Ewha Women's College and "Food and Nutrient Intake Studies of Rural Population in Korea," op. cit., p. 118.
- ¹⁰Hong, Sawon, "Women and Development Planning--The Case of Korea," Seoul: Korean Development Institute, Monograph 7804, 1978, p. 22.
- ¹¹Personal interviews with Women's Section Chief, Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, Seoul, November 1978, and Director, Korean Red Cross, Seoul, August, 1978.
- ¹²Hong, Sawon, "Women and Development Planning--The Case of Korea," op. cit., p. 23.
- ¹³Rhee, S. J. "A Study on Practice of Weaning and Supplementary Food in Rural Korea," Seoul: The Modern Medical Journal, Vol. 17, No. 7, 1974.
- ¹⁴Choi, Youngsun and Mo, Sumi, "Studies on Nutrition of Preschool Children of Low Socioeconomic Groups in Seoul," Journal of the Korean Public Health Association, Seoul, Vol. 3, No. 1, May 1977, p. 62.
- ¹⁵Ju, Jin Soon and Oh, Seoung Ho, "A Survey of Nutritional Status on Pre-School Children in Korea," Korea Journal of Nutrition, Vol. 9, No. 2, 1976.

CHAPTER VI

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

It is traditional in Korean villages for a village council to be entrusted with matters of interest to the community. Management of community property and communal duties such as cleaning wells, repairing roads, weeding the village fields, construction of dikes and small bridges normally come under the purview of this village council. Women have not traditionally been participants on these village councils; rather they formed their own groups primarily for the purpose of communal rice saving to provide income for weddings, funerals and emergencies.

Following the Korean War, the kye, a type of women's savings and lending association and social institution, evolved. The kye is popular today at all levels of society. Groups of women meet once a month to pool their money so that one member at each meeting may borrow a large sum of money to meet special needs. A kye may be organized to accumulate funds for a specific purpose such as a child's education, a wedding, funeral, household furnishings, etc. Most Korean women belong to at least one kye.

The other most active women's organizations are the village Mother's Clubs. In 1968 the Planned Parenthood Federation of Korea (PPFK) initiated the reorganization of traditional women's groups in the rural areas in order to tap existing leadership to improve the national family planning program. Although some are more effective than others, these clubs have an impact on population growth and women's participation in community development activities. Many clubs have formed savings and credit union banks; most are involved in cooperative agricultural projects, community construction and income generation activities.

One club studied in 1975 began its activities by saving rice to finance a credit union. The initial purpose of the credit union was to fund members' children's education and to repay their debts. When the Government announced its reforestation program in 1972, the Mothers' Club decided to start a chestnut tree nursery. They next planted barley and peony as cash crops, followed by beans, wild sesame and castor oil. Not all of the projects were successful but the members learned from each experience how to maximize their efforts for the next cooperative project. The latest projects include the establishment of a child care center and night school classes for young women in the community.¹

With the introduction of the Saemaul Undong in 1971, all citizens are expected to participate in community development and related activities.

Saemaul was formed to help balance the growth between industry and agriculture by fostering a cooperative and self-reliant spirit among rural people. Its initial purpose was to modernize agricultural production methods, to improve the rural infrastructure and to establish village industries or other income generation activities to productively utilize idle labor during the slack farming season. Virtually all villages in Korea have been exposed to the Saemaul concept.

The Saemaul program was implemented at what has been called the "rice roots level," with the formation of local village councils. The councils function as a forum where villagers participate in determining needs, priorities and the means to implement and maintain a project. These councils are still composed primarily of men, but the women's role has gained new importance.

A 1977 study by Lee Hyo Chae found increased participation by rural women in community development since women as well as men are mobilized for Saemaul activities.² In that study, 374 women in eight communities were surveyed. About one-third of the women were then participating in a kye and almost all were members of the village Mothers' Clubs. The main activities of the clubs included running a cooperative store, collective cooking during the rice planting season, rice-saving and nutrition and cooking education for diet improvement. Two-thirds of the surveyed women felt that women as well as men should participate in community activities, reflecting a change in the traditional opinion about women's role in the community. With the establishment of the Saemaul Women's Clubs in 1978, all local women's groups and clubs were consolidated into one club for better coordination of activities. Leadership training has been part of the Saemaul program although such training has been primarily directed toward the men. This however is being remedied by training programs for Saemaul women leaders at the National Training Institute of Social Welfare. In June 1979, 60 young women were receiving such training in Seoul.

Many early Saemaul projects were designed to improve the living conditions of individual families. Roofs were repaired and kitchens and toilets improved, with the government supplying materials and technical guidance and the villagers doing the work. In the next stage, projects were planned to improve the village environment and contribute to the easing of the burdens of farm life. The building of bridges, roads, irrigation and water facilities, community laundry places, community compost plots and village halls were typical projects during this stage. The villagers devised their own cooperative work schedule, apportioned tasks and undertook the projects. These projects gave them experience in organization and cooperation. Men, women and youth groups all contributed their efforts.

During the next stage, villagers were encouraged to undertake projects which would increase individual income. Group farming, common seed beds, vegetable cultivation, chicken, pig and cattle farming, reforestation, factories and common marketing facilities are examples of such activities. Later came a concerted effort to maximize the use of the limited land available for farming through land leveling and the use of modern mechanized equipment.³ Under the Saemaul program all villages were initially classified as "underdeveloped," "developing," or "developed," with progress monitored over the period 1973-77 as shown in Table 6.1.

TABLE 6.1 PROGRESS OF VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT - RURAL KOREA

Village Classification	1973		1974		1975		1976		1977	
	Number	%								
Underdeveloped	18,415	53	10,656	30	6,165	18	4,046	11	302	1
Developing	13,943	40	10,763	57	21,500	62	20,936	60	19,049	54
Developed	2,307	7	4,246	13	7,000	20	10,049	29	15,680	45
Total	34,665		34,665		34,665		35,031		35,031	

SOURCE: Ministry of Home Affairs, 1977, as reported in Facts About Korea, Korea Information Service, Seoul, Korea 1977.

Perhaps the major accomplishment of Saemaul is that it has demonstrated what can result from community efforts. The variety of projects and the publicity given to successful programs provides stimuli to others to develop innovative projects for their own communities. In 1976, after successful efforts in the rural areas, emphasis was placed on adapting the Saemaul concept to urban areas and factories. In the cities, Saemaul organization is concentrated at the neighborhood or administrative unit level, as well as in schools, workshops and military units. The urban movement concentrates on improvement of community life and promotion of a cooperative spirit. The Saemaul efforts appear to have instilled in both rural and urban communities a sense of cooperative participation for community progress.

Dongmyun - Rural Survey Area

In the villages where the current research was done, the inhabitants appear eager to participate in community improvement activities, as well as in social events.

In the rural area of Dongmyun the daily round of activities begins with loudspeaker messages urging the people to work hard for the development of the country, giving information on events and tasks for that day. In one community mothers were told to bring their children to the community center for free vaccinations by a military medical team. In another, the people were reminded that this was the day to clean the drains. In a third the women met to clean the public laundry place. The people questioned say they like the music and messages that come over the loudspeakers. They reported that the messages make them want to work hard and give them a sense of working together for the community.

In Dongmyun town there is an active Saemaul program, complemented by the activities of the Community Development Foundation. Home improvement, small bridge construction, electrification, water system improvement, and the formation of the child care centers are a few of the successful activities undertaken in the past. Future projects include expansion of the new

potable water system and introduction of improved agricultural methods.

Participants in the group discussions emphasized the need for expanded child care facilities, the need for more bridges and water reservoirs, and the desire to develop a cooperative pig raising scheme to supplement family income. The discussions also indicated that often the women participate more actively in community activities than men. For example, the Saemaul Women's Club is involved in a variety of activities, including a dietary improvement campaign, family planning, parasite control, kitchen improvement, rice saving, a cooperative effort for rice transplanting and harvest, helping the poor, visits to the military and village cleaning. There are several cases where money saved is earmarked for education and marriage of children and purchase of household equipment.

During the period of the survey, a village celebration honoring the elders took place. The women organized the activity by preparing special foods and arranging traditional music and entertainment for the festivities. Another activity organized by the women was the making of compost piles. A contest was held and prizes were given to those who had produced the most compost. These and other activities draw the people together in a cooperative manner and stimulate productive group effort.

It appeared from the group discussion that the farm families are more active than the military families in the community. Because many military families are short-term residents, they do not display as great a commitment to village development activities. However, they do take part in some of the social events.

Pyungwhachon - Seoul - Urban Survey Area

Pyungwhachon has an active Community Development Committee (CDC) that plans and oversees all community development efforts. The women's subcommittee, consisting of 30 members, provides many services for the community. There is an association dedicated to activities for the aged and several provincial friendship clubs and women's groups associated with the two Christian churches. Mothers of children who attend the child care center meet to discuss items of interest concerning needs of the center and work together to provide nutritious meals for the children.

The community leaders in Pyungwhachon, both those on the CDC and those in the women's subcommittee, appear quite articulate in defining their needs and energetic in instituting projects to address those needs. The community has made significant progress and the people recognize that much can be accomplished through cooperative efforts. Future projects center around an improved drainage system and health and sanitation facilities. The need for an expanded day care center and additional play space is also recognized.

Notes

¹Kincaid, Park, et al., Mothers' Clubs and Family Planning in Rural Korea, East West Communication Institute, Honolulu, Hawaii, 1974.

²Lee Hyo Chae, "Women's Role in Rural Community Development in Korea," Ewha Women's University, Seoul, Korea, 1977, p. 363.

³Facts about Korea, Korea Information Service, Seoul, Korea, 1977, p. 91.

APPENDIX

METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

The objective of this study was two-fold: to understand women's needs in terms of participation in income generating activities and to understand how these relate to child care, family health and nutrition. The methodology used a combination of techniques to obtain the necessary data. The primary survey instrument was a structured questionnaire. Other techniques included participant observation by researchers and field coordinator; community group discussions, interviews with government planners and representatives from national and international voluntary organizations; and a review of existing literature and policy.

To provide an adequate perspective within the national context of women's needs, women of both urban and rural areas were surveyed. The husbands were also interviewed in order to understand the role cultural norms and attitudes play in women's participation. The project emphasized child care needs of low income mothers. Therefore, low income and the presence of at least one preschool child were basic criteria for determining household selection.

The principal investigator on this survey is Chairman of the Nutrition Department of Seoul National University. The research team consisted of six graduate students in this department. This team administered the survey in both communities.

The search in government offices and voluntary agencies for information on low income urban and rural areas led to the Community Development Foundation (CDF), a U.S.-based voluntary organization working in integrated community development in low income areas. Their work complements Saemaul and Office of Rural Development (ORD) activities. In consultation with CDF staff, and from area profiles, rural Dongmyun and urban Pyungwhachon were selected as field sites, based on two major criteria: (1) their low income status, and (2) access to the communities through the CDF field workers.

The principal investigator and one member of the research team visited the proposed survey areas in advance. Initial contact with each community was made through the local CDF rural development officer who introduced them to local leaders and officials. The team explained the purpose of the project, explored the area and gained the support and cooperation of the leaders.

The primary questionnaire was pre-tested in a rural community near Seoul and adapted for use in both the urban and rural areas. It was also pre-tested on site in Dongmyun and further adjusted. The questionnaire was

divided into three major subject areas, income generation, child care, and health and nutrition. The major questionnaire was given to the mother. A shorter version was given separately to the father, to determine differing perceptions and attitudes that might influence women's participation in income generation and how this affects child care.

In both the urban and rural areas the team relied on the local leaders to assist in low income household selection. Income is a sensitive issue and it was not possible to get specific and exact income information. Therefore this was the only feasible way to select the sample. Households were selected on the basis of low income as identified by the local leaders and by the presence of at least one preschool age child. In Dongmyun, 104 households or 24.3% of the community were surveyed; in urban Pyungwhachon 108 households or 10.8% were surveyed.

Rural Dongmyun

To initiate the survey in rural Dongmyun, the survey team invited all mothers of preschool children to a meeting at Wondang village hall. The team leader gave a brief explanation of the survey purposes and asked for their time and cooperation when survey team members came to interview. Then a slide show giving simple nutrition information was presented. Approximately 50 mothers attended the meeting, which had been announced in the afternoon over the public loudspeaker. Many questions about child care, nutrition and weaning foods were asked during the general discussion that followed. No judgement can be made if or how this slide show may have influenced mother's responses in the survey, but this is the accustomed methodology used by the researchers in their nutrition surveys.

As a result of this initial meeting, good cooperation was given to the survey team. Mothers seemed eager to be questioned and even arranged for a child to bring the father from the fields in order to be interviewed. The survey was conducted during one of the busiest agricultural periods, the last weeding before the rice harvest.

One unexpected factor influenced somewhat the outcome of the rural survey. Because of industrialization and the migration of many rural people to the urban areas, the average age of the farm families is older; therefore, many do not have preschool age children. Generally where there is a military presence, it is primarily single men or those not accompanied by families. This community has a larger percentage of military families than similar areas. To find preschool children, the research team had to interview more military families than was initially expected.

Formal and informal group discussions were held on the research team's two visits to Dongmyun. The purpose of these discussions was to reach other members of the community not necessarily involved in the survey, and to gain a broader perspective on community needs and suggestions. The first formal discussion was held the first night in the community when the slide presentation took place. Small informal discussions were held wherever groups were found in the community--at the farmer's cooperative, a local grocery, the public laundry, and the government office. Questions from the discussion guidelines were asked in a casual conversation format. The people were friendly and eager to respond. These spontaneous meetings made the survey work run smoothly, since more people were made aware of

the research. Individual discussions were held with teachers, women's leaders and government officials to gain varying points of view on community matters.

Urban Pyungwhachon

The research team encountered some initial resistance from respondents in the urban area. It was a hot, uncomfortable time of year and as mentioned in Chapter II, the people of Pyungwhachon are wary of outsiders and are not willing to give freely of their time without seeing some tangible return for themselves or their community. Although there was full cooperation from community leaders, the project was not publicly announced and the people did not adequately understand the purpose of the survey. The team members returned to the Women's Committee and explained their difficulties. From then on each team member was accompanied by one of these leaders. The leader introduced the reserach member but was not present for the actual interviews. The survey team usually worked in pairs and usually found it necessary to return to the home to interview the father.

A group discussion was held in the Community Development Committee and others interested in community development. Discussions were held also with the mothers of children attending the child care center, with the Women's Committee and church groups. Individually interviews were held with the nurse, shopkeepers and various community leaders.

Examples of the survey questionnaire and group discussion guidelines used in both communities follow.

From the beginning, the research group was strongly of the opinion that something should be done for the people in return for their time in responding to the survey. The reluctance of the urban people to be interviewed reinforced the team's feeling of obligation to contribute something to the communities surveyed. In both communities the leaders wished to know what would happen after the survey; in other words, what was in it for the community. On their own initiative the researchers and principal investigator have returned to each community to offer nutrition education and advice, and to demonstrate low cost nutritious meals for the mothers. They hope also to aid in teaching some income generation skills. These were expressed needs in each community surveyed.

Survey Questionnaire - Wife

I. Work and Income

1.1. What kind of work do you do?

Inside the house - Household work
Animal husbandry
Small shop
Knitting and others

Outside the house - Farming
Daily wage labor
Teacher
Animal husbandry

1.2. In your community/village, what kind of work is available for women?

Income generation - Farming
Animal husbandry
Knitting and making stuffed toys
Small shop

Community service - Cleaning the village
Making compost
Friendship visit to the military
Cleaning the village laundry
Saving surplus rice for the poor
Cooperative rice planting
Helping the poor neighbors

1.3 Have you ever earned money before?

1.4 If you have worked before, why did you stop?

Marriage	Not satisfied with job
Pregnancy	No need to earn money
Childbirth	Other
Moved from area	

1.5 If you have not earned money before, why not?

No need to earn money	Too much work at home
Lack of skills	Others
No appropriate jobs	

1.6 If you are not working now, would you like to work?

1.7. If you do want to work, what is the reason?

Need money	Want to use my skills
To fill my leisure time	Others

- 1.8 If you don't want to work, what is the reason?
- No need to earn money Husband opposes
 Too busy working at home No skills
 No one to take care of children
- 1.9 Do you think that housewives should work to earn money for their family?
- 1.10 If yes, why?
- To save money for education of children
 To save money to buy a house
- 1.11 If no, why not?
- Wife should take care of children and household
 Earning money is the husband's responsibility
- 1.12 What are the difficulties married women face in earning money?
- Lack of education and skills Opposition of husband and/or
 No suitable jobs in-laws
 Ill health Excessive household work
 No one to take care of children
- 1.13 Among the above reasons, what is/are the biggest problem(s)?
- 1.14 Does your husband approve if you earn money outside the home?
- 1.15 If yes, why?
- Generate income
 Wife becomes more active
 Others
- 1.16 If he does not approve, why not?
- Does not like wife to have economic power
 Wife will become too independent
 Household will be neglected
 Children will be neglected
 Thinks wife should be at home
- 1.17 Does your husband approve if you earn money inside the home?
- 1.18 If yes, why?
- Generate income
 Wife becomes more active

1.19 If he dislikes it, why?

Does not want wife to have economic power
 Wife will become too independent
 Household will be neglected
 Children will be neglected

1.20 Do your children approve of your working outside the home?

1.21 If they like it, why do they?

Child has more spending money

1.22 If they don't like it, why not?

Increased hours at home without mother
 Must help with household chores
 Loneliness, cannot go out of the house

1.23 If you work outside the home, what are the advantages for the children?

Providing children with higher education
 Increased money for children
 Showing children a diligent image of mother
 Increased independence of children

1.24 If you work outside the home, what are the disadvantages?

Negative emotional effects on children
 Negative effect on health of children
 Loneliness of children
 Lack of supervision of children
 Children may learn bad habits

1.25 Does your husband help with any of the following household chores? Do you think he should?

Shopping	Cleaning house
Cooking	Cleaning yard
Laundry	Child care

II. Child Care

2.1 How often are you away from home?

Entire day
 Several hours or less
 Never
 A few days

- 2.2 When you are away from home, who takes care of your preschool children?
- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------|
| Grandparents | Go with mother |
| Relative/neighbor | Child care center |
| Elder brother or sister | Others |
| Stay alone | |
- 2.3 Do you have a child who has interrupted his/her education to take care of younger siblings?
- 2.4 Have any of your children stayed home to take care of children instead of working?
- 2.5 Do you think it is good for a child to stay home rather than going to school and take care of the younger children?
- 2.6 If no, why not?
- 2.7 Do you think it is good for a child to take care of younger siblings instead of working?
- 2.8 If yes, why?
- 2.9 If no, why not?
- 2.10 When you were young, did you take care of younger siblings?
- 2.11 If yes, did you interrupt school to do so?
- 2.12 If yes, did you take care of the younger children instead of working?
- 2.13 When you were young, who took care of you?
- | | |
|--------------|-----------------------------|
| Father | Elder brother and/or sister |
| Mother | |
| Grandparents | |
- 2.14 What would be the best child care arrangement for your family (other than mother)?
- | | |
|--------------------------|----------------|
| Grandparents | Adult relative |
| Child care center | Neighbor |
| Elder brother and sister | |
- 2.15 If child care facilities were available, where would you prefer it to be located?
- | |
|--------------------------------|
| Neighborhood or nearby village |
| Place of work |

2.16 Who do you think should be responsible for providing day care for children?

Village
Government
Private
Don't know

2.17 If child care facilities were available, how long would you prefer them to be open?

Full day
Part day
Every other day

2.18 How does your working outside the home affect your children?

Menu	Health
Cooking methods	Affection
Feeding pattern	Religion
Education	

III. Health and Nutrition

3.1 Where do you take your children when they are ill?

Herbalist	Private hospital
Modern pharmacy	Sorceress
Provincial hospital	Others

3.2 Are you satisfied with the medical care your child receives?

3.3. If no, why?

3.4 What are the causes of illness?

3.5 What illnesses do your children suffer from the most frequently?

3.6 Which of the following inoculations have your youngest two children had?

B.C.G.	Smallpox
D.P.T.	Polio
Measles	Others

3.7 If no, why not?

3.8 Did you breastfeed your youngest two children?

3.9 If no, why not?

3.10 Until what age did you breastfeed?

3.11 When did you begin supplemental feeding?

3.12 What supplemental food did you give?

Bread and cookie	Eggs
Cooked rice, rice gruel or drained gruel	Fruits and fruit juices
Cow's milk	Fish and meat
Vegetables	Baked rice powder

3.13 If you bottlefed, what kind of milk was used for your two youngest children?

Powdered milk	Pasteurized cow's milk
Powdered infant formula	Goat milk
Canned milk	Unpasteurized milk
Condensed milk	

3.14 If you used formula milk how did you prepare it?

3.15 Did/does your work schedule affect the infant feeding schedule?

3.16 If yes, how?

Survey Questionnaire - Husband

- 1.1 Is your wife contributing to the family income?
- 1.2 If not, why not?
- 1.3 Does she work at home or somewhere else?
- 1.4 What are the main problems for your wife in earning an income?
- 1.5 Do you approve of your wife working to earn money outside the home?
- 1.6 If yes, why?
- 1.7 If not, why?
- 1.8 Do you approve of your wife working to earn money inside the home?
- 1.9 If yes, why?
- 1.10 If not, why?
- 1.11 Even if your family did not need the income from your wife, would she still work?
- 1.12 If yes, why?
- 1.13 If not, why?
- 1.14 Who takes care of your children while your wife is working?
- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|
| Husband | Grandparents |
| Neighbor | Relative |
| Elder brother and sister | Child care center |
| Kindergarten | Alone |
- 1.15 Is this satisfactory?
- 1.16 If not satisfactory, why?
- 1.17 If satisfactory, why?
- 1.18 Do you customarily help your wife with the following chores at home?
- | | |
|-----------------|---------------------|
| Marketing | Cleaning house |
| Cooking | Cleaning yard |
| Washing clothes | Caring for children |

1.19 Has your wife's working affected the following areas?

Menu
Cooking methods
Feeding pattern
Child care

Health
Affection
Religion

GROUP DISCUSSION OUTLINE - KOREA

I. Work (income generating)

What kind of work do men do?
What kind of work do women do?
What kind of work do children do?
Who is responsible for household tasks?
Full employment, underemployment, unemployment?
How do labor laws affect women working?
Should women work to contribute to family income?
Who cares for the children when mothers are away from home?
Is this arrangement satisfactory?
Would another arrangement be better?
Who in the family is responsible for handling income earned?
Do attitudes of women themselves deter their participation in labor force, society, community?

II. Education

Do most children go to school? Until what age?
If no why not?
Are there schools or training facilities for adults?
If no, would you use skill training facilities if provided?
Are there schools or training facilities for women?
Do you need training facilities? What kind?
Do child care responsibilities hinder women's participation in training?

III. Health

What kind of health problems are there in the area?
How can the health of the people be improved?
Do you need additional health facilities or personnel? What kind?
How is the health/nutrition of your children affected by child care arrangements?

IV. Community

What do you like about your area?
What kind of community activities or organizations are there in your neighborhood?
Do the people take an active part in these organizations?
Do women generally participate in the community activities?
If no, how could they participate?
Who owns the land in your area?
Who inherits? Are these patterns changing? What do you think about these changes?
What kind of neighborhood will this be in a few years?
Would you participate in community development projects that would improve your living environment?

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In this study of 380 housewives, conducted in Seoul, Chi found that the urban housewife's satisfaction was derived through her husband and children. These women recognized themselves as essential members of the family yet they were not satisfied with the current family income or housing and saw few chances for self-improvement.

- Choi, Chong Do "Present Status and Policy of Children Who Need Care." The Special Issue of the Social Welfare. Seoul: Korean National Council of Social Welfare, September 1978, pp. 92-118.

Choi's report focused on the need for awareness and social concern in dealing with child welfare and handicapped children by both non-government groups and Korean families. Another factor stressed was the necessity for additional day care centers/kindergartens.

- Choi, Sin Duk "The Mother's Role in a Child's Education within the Nuclear Family." Seoul: Journal of Child Development, Vol. 3, No. 8, pp. 22-25, 1975.

Choi emphasized that a child's mother is the most influential individual in his/her social development. However, other family members also play an instrumental role. The mother's warmth encourages a child to contribute to his/her social life and independence.

- Chun, Hui Jung "Improvement of Women's Education in Korea and Their Employment." Seoul: Journal of the Korean Home Economics Association, Vol. 11, No. 3, pp. 52-61, 1973.

Due to recent industrialization, the number of employed women has risen. Although working in areas traditionally occupied by men (anything from factory work to medicine), the problem of sex discrimination still exists. Chun is looking towards improvements in education to prepare women to challenge this inequality in the workplace.

Kim, Byong Sung "Korean Women and Inequality in the Employment System." Seoul: Korean Institute for Research in the Behavioral Sciences, Vol 16, pp. 385-438, 1970.

Ninety-four women with at least a high school education were chosen for this study. The subjects were employed in accounting, sales, and libraries. Kim found several examples of sex discrimination in the offices: promotion and in-service training opportunities for women were limited when compared to those for men; salary schedules were unequal; and women employees were not expected to communicate with their superiors. Kim concluded that although signs of discrimination were not always evident in formal regulations, in actual practice there were serious infractions.

Kim, Hang Ja "A Study on the Leisure Time and Outside Income of Housewives." A Study of Home Economics. Seoul: Sookmyung Women's University, Vol. 3, pp. 103-121, 1971.

Kim surveyed 350 middle-class housewives from Seoul. She determined that they had 3 to 4 hours of leisure time per day and spent this time watching T.V., listening to radios, and reading newspapers and magazines. The women showed interest in learning of better ways to spend their leisure time, yet Kim reports that they showed no desire to become involved in social activities, or to pursue income-generating work outside the home.

Kim, Sooh Ok "A Study of the Emotional Stability of Children as Affected by Family Relationships." Seoul: Journal of Korean Home Economics Association, Vol. 16, No. 1, pp. 71-78, 1978.

A random sample of junior high school students (235 boys and 226 girls) in Kwang-ju city, found that young people from supportive families attained a higher level of emotional stability than did those from families with less satisfying interrelationships.

Kim, Soon Ok "A Study on the Effects of the Wife's Employment on the Husband-Wife Relationship." Seoul: Journal of Home Management, Vol. 3, pp. 76-103, 1973. (The Home Management Association of Ewha Women's University).

Kim surveyed 100 nurses and 100 teachers (all married women) and concluded that although these women complained of work-related conflicts between themselves and their husbands, the problems could not be attributed solely to the wife's employment.

- Kwon, E Hyock "The Interrelationship between Family Planning and Child Health." Seoul: Journal of Medicine, Vol. 16, No. 4, pp. 217-227, 1975.

This study measured the physical growth of 848 preschool children in Seoul and found a definite correlation between the number of siblings and the quality of their physical growth.

- Lee, Chung Duk "Factors Affecting the Child's Development." Seoul: Soohaksa, pp. 53-60, 1976.

Lee found several factors to be important in the physical, emotional, intellectual and social development of the child. She listed environmental as well as hereditary influences, including the value of a sound home life; the economic level of the family; and nutrition.

- Lee, Jae Hyun "A Study on the Mother's Attitudes and Behavior in Child Rearing Practices." Master's thesis, Seoul National University, 1975.

Lee interviewed 30 mothers with children in private nursery school to learn why they use such facilities. In general, she found that their daily lives were too busy to care for their children in the manner they desired.

- Lee, Yang Hoo, et al. "Effects of Rural Baby Care Centers in Korea." Seoul: Journal of Korean Agriculture Education, Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 85-91, 1976.

Data collected from 63 rural households, and 109 baby care centers, enumerated several advantages gained through the centers. The centers allow farm women more time for their work, provide protection for the children in the form of supervision and promote better physical growth because of the snacks provided for the children. However, problems such as lack of facilities, adequate teachers, proper equipment and funding prevent the expanded development of such rural centers.

- Lee, Yong Sim "Time Used by Farm Homemakers for Household and Farm Work." Master's Thesis, Yonsei University, 1976.

Lee found that rural housewives spent more time at their work (13 hours per day) than their urban counterparts. This was attributed to the lack of conveniences and the fact that many young people are now migrating from the farms into the urban centers, hence leaving all the work to be done by the housewife.

- Mo, Sumi and Choi, Youngsun "Studies on Nutrition of Preschool Children of Low Socio-Economic Group in Seoul." Seoul: Journal of Korean Public Health Association, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 61-70, 1977.

In a survey of 153 preschool children from a Seoul slum, the authors learned that cereals and vegetables constitute the major portion of their diets and that the nutrient intake for all these children was below the Korean recommended dietary allowances. They found that birth order plays a role in the level of nutrient intake, i.e., the higher the birth order, the higher the nutrient level.

- Mo, Sumi and Lee, Joungwon "A Survey of Physical Growth and Dietary Intake of Preschool Children of Ruran Area in Kyunggi Province." Seoul: Journal of Korean Public Health Association, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 75-84, 1978.

One hundred fifty preschool children were subjects of this study. The average physical growth of the children was comparable to the Korean standards, but essential nutrients were not included in their daily diets.

- Mo, Sumi and Kim, Kinam "A Study of Food Taboos on Jeju Island (I), Focused on Pregnancy." Seoul: Korean Journal of Nutrition, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 49-58, 1977.

A group of 252 women of Jeju Island were surveyed on the subject of food taboos during pregnancy. The taboos, most of which are due to fears concerning the physical appearance of the unborn child, cover over 70 food items, mainly animal foods. The degree to which these women follow these taboos is directly proportional to their level of education, and is lowest among Christian women.

- _____. National Development and Children. National Seminar Report issued by the Korean Institute of Research for Behavioral Sciences and Yukyung Fund Children's Hall, 1976.

Participants in a child welfare seminar presented recommendations to various government and non-government agencies, focusing on strengthening preschool education, establishing more day care facilities to aid the working women, and endorsing strong child-welfare policies.

Ok, Sun Wha "A Study of Traditional and Modern Values in Family Relationships." Seoul: Journal of the Korean Home Economics Association, Vol. 13, No. 4, pp. 141-156, 1975.

In studying the changes in outlook on the family, Ok questioned urban housewives, one-half of whom considered child rearing to be their most important role. Traditionally all Korean women believed child bearing and housework to be their only life work. Modern women now expect education to prepare their children to assume leading positions in less traditional careers.

Park, Choon Sim "A Study of Family Attitudes and Self-concept in Korean Children." Seoul: Journal of Home Management, Vol. 1, pp. 118-143, 1970.

Park studied 433 sixth-graders from Seoul and found that children from extended families considered familial relationships more important than those from nuclear families. The children from lower class families showed more fear of and had more negative expectations of the future than did those of upper class families. They also showed lower self-esteem.

Park, In Sang, et al. "A Study on Actual Conditions of Day Care Centers in Seoul, Korea." Seoul: Journal of the Korean Home Economics Association, Vol. 9, No. 2, pp. 726-743, 1971.

Park surveyed 42 day care centers in Seoul, which take 5-6 year olds for up to nine hours a day. The centers are supported by various groups, the government, churches, CARE and other voluntary organizations.

Park, Myung Hee "Factors Affecting Children's Personality." Seoul: Journal of Home Management, Vol. 3, pp. 15-20, 1973.

Among the factors influencing a child's personality, two stand out as being most important: how much the parents play with their child and how much love the child receives. Park suggests the presence of a grandmother in the household may increase the children's aggressiveness and hostility.

Rhee, Won Young "The Influence of a Mother's Attitudes on a Child's Social Personality Development." Seoul: Journal of Korean Home Economics Association, Vol. 11, No. 2, pp. 329-344, 1973.

Rhee studied 196 mothers who had children attending nursery schools. He concluded that flexible thinking and an understanding attitude are essential in the development of a sound social personality in the child.

Shin, Young Ju "Methods of Child-Rearing in Two Social Classes." Seoul: Journal of Home Management, Vol. 1, pp. 69-77, 1970.

Shin studied 180 mothers of preschool age children in Seoul. She classified them as either upper-middle or lower-middle class and found the upper-middle class mothers to be more permissive with their children than lower-class mothers. She also concluded that mothers approached child-rearing more seriously than did the fathers.

Son, Won Kyo "A Study on the Cultural Background of Rural and Urban Children." Seoul: Journal of Korean Agriculture Education, Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 60-68, 1976.

Data for this comparative study was collected by interviewing 169 housewives with at least one child between the ages of one and 12--half were from Seoul or another city, the other half from Kangwon-do. Most parents in rural areas were farmers, while urban parents were employed in government, in private business or in commerce. The average family size was greater in the rural areas than in the cities. Urban children had access to more toys, and their families were twice as likely to have televisions and refrigerators than the rural families. Although urban parents seemed to have more leisure time with their children, the children in rural areas had larger play areas with more space.

Song, Chun Duk and Lee, Ok Hee "A Study Improving Work Space for the Rural Home-makers in Terms of Their Work Procedure." Seoul: Journal of Home Management, Vol. 1, pp. 7-14, 1970.

Song and Lee studied 100 households in rural areas of Korea. The homemakers were working 13 hours a day in the field and at home, hence they had little time to pursue personal interests. The best solution was thought to be improving the work space within the house, and eliciting the cooperation of others in the household (in particular, females) to help the mother with her chores.

Suh, Byung Sook and Lee, Chung Duk "A Study on Legal Protection and Welfare Facilities for Women Workers." Seoul: Journal of the Korean Home Economics Association, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 75-91, 1973.

The authors reported an increase in the variety of jobs open to women, more opportunities for promotion, equal wages for men and women, and more welfare facilities for the working women. They also advocated the nullification of the age and marriage limits applied to employed females.

Suh, Young Sook and Cho, Pill Kyo "A Study on Task Distribution within the Family." Seoul: Journal of the Korean Home Economics Association, Vol. 14, No. 4, pp. 1021-1033, 1976.

Suh and Cho studied 407 households in Taegu city and reported that most, if not all, of the housework was done by the wife and/or a hired maid. The males of the house did the minor repairs and heavier tasks. Evidently, the mothers preferred that their children not help in household chores, but preferred that they spend their time studying.

Sung, Young When "A Study on the Administrative Conditions and Problems of Day Care Centers (A Survey on 48 Day Care Centers in Seoul)." Seoul: The Study of Home Economics, Sookmyung Women's University, Vol. 6, pp. 97-114, 1973.

Several facts emerged from this study: 1) the day care centers' playrooms are too small, 2) restricted space is stretched to accommodate the activities of nursing, napping and eating, 3) the playgrounds are too small, 4) the teachers, on the average, have graduated from nursing programs in junior colleges, and 5) the pay of these teachers is lower than that of elementary school teachers.

Yoon, Bok Cha "Time Spent on Household Work." Seoul: Journal of the Korean Home Economics Association, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 151-169, 1975.

Yoon studied 171 Seoul housewives and found that they spent an average of 9 hours per day performing household tasks. This is more time than Western or Japanese women use for the same work, but Yoon attributed this difference to less help from the husbands and to the lack of modern facilities, such as convenience foods, ovens, and washing machines.