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**A Study on the Korean Family Structure  
through Daegu Family Registry 1681~1876;  
Pre-modern Nuclear Family Theory revisited**

Seulki Choi

KDI School of Public Policy and Management

*September, 2016*

*Working Paper 16-13*



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## **Pre-modern Nuclear Family Theory revisited**

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### **Abstract**

There has been a myth that the extended family is the most popular type of family in the pre-modern society. But it is not much supported by the historical data in European countries.

This paper also tries to challenge the myth about the Korean family using Daegu Family Registry, which was recently digitalized. The data shows the family structure of Daegu DongSang-Myeon, DongJung-Myeon, DongHa-Myeon, and SeoSang-Myeon in Daegu-Bu from 1681~1876. The findings are 1) nuclear family was the most prevalent type among the variety of family structure, 2) the popularity of nuclear family was different by status- nuclear family is more popular at lower status, 3) the ratio of nuclear family was changing over times and its ratio increased sharply from the mid-19th century except the ruling class, Yangban.

### **Keywords**

Pre-modern Society, Daegu Family Registry, Nuclear Family, Extended Family, Family Structure

## 1. Introduction

There is a belief that one of the processes of modernization is the change from the extended family to the nuclear family. But it has been challenged by scholars who studied empirical data in European countries (Laslett 1969; Murdock 1968; Saito 1996). They showed that nuclear family is more popular type of the family structure than extended family even in pre-modern European countries.

Can we apply this finding to other countries? Recently released new micro-level historical data sources enables us to test it in East Asian countries (Hao Dong et al. 2015). In China, two multigenerational panel dataset - Liaoning 1749-1909 and Shuangcheng 1866-1913 - are available. In Japan, Ninbetsu-Aratame-Cho Population Register Database, 1716-1870 is available. South Korea also published historical family registry dataset. Daedong Institute for Korean Studies digitalized Dansung-Hyun family registry in Kyungsang-province and Daegu-Bu family registry. Dansung-Hyun family registry has been well known as the first digitalized family registry data in South Korea(Son 2007). Daegu-Bu family registry is on the way of digitalizing by Daedong Institute. The Daegu-Bu family registry includes urban and rural area and its data size is 6 times bigger than that of Dansung-Hyun.

This paper will test the hypothesis of pre-modern nuclear family theory in the pre-modern Korea using Daegu-Bu family registry. Daegu-Bu family registry is the largest historical dataset in South Korea as of 2016. Daegu-Bu family registry began from 1681 and ended in 1876.

It will further explore two related questions. The second question is whether the pre-modern nuclear family theory is applicable to each caste. Pre-modern society has a strong caste system and the family structure may vary by the location within the caste. It may be a myth that pre-modern society is homogenous. It will test if the family structure of pre-modern society would be different by caste. The last question is whether there was any change by years. It may be a myth if the family structure of pre-modern society in Korea was stable and monotonous. There is a possibility that pre-modern society have experienced changes in family structure too. I expect Daegu-Bu family registry would show some changes in family structure from the late 17 century to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century

## 2. Literature Review

Nimkoff and Middleton (1960) argue that the traditional agricultural society is associated with the extended family. They think that bigger family size is more competitive in agricultural society unlike in hunting-gathering society. Burgess (1973) maintains that traditional family is extended patriarchal family and nuclear family is introduced during the modernization process. He even uses the ratio of nuclear family in the family structure as the proxy of modernization.

But there is another theory that nuclear family is popular in pre-modern society. Considering the high mortality and the short life expectancy, three-generation family can last for a limited time. The extended family needs bigger economic resources of the family. If the family has not enough land to cultivate together, it would be a rational choice to live separately (Hsu, 1958). The pre-modern society in Korea is an agricultural society. At that time, the life expectancy for men was only 23 years in 18<sup>th</sup> century (Cha 2009). Even considering the high infant mortality rate, there would have challenges to live with three generation all together.

The extended family in Korea had several characteristics which were observed in 20<sup>th</sup> century (Lee 1990; Cho 1993). At first, it was an immediate extended family. The extended family was mainly built in immediate line instead of the collateral line. Secondly, the paternal line was more important than maternal line. Lastly, eldest son has a primary role for living with his parents.

We observed that the extended family was popular in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. But there is a possibility that it was a special phenomena right before or at the beginning of the modernization era. The real phenomena during the pre-modern society should be examined from the empirical data.

## 3. Data and Methodology

Family registry is an official document which proves individual status by the government. It is similar to census. It is survey by the local government triennially. The survey unit is a household but it counts all the people individually. It includes each persons' name, age, relationship with household

head, family clan, status, name and status of 4 ancestors (father/grandfather/great-grandfather/maternal grandfather). The main survey purpose is taxation. The family registry is stored at three places – the town where the survey was made, the province and the capital.

Table 1. Number of Families in Daegu-Bu Family Registry by Years and Region(Myeon)

	Total	DongSang-Myeon	DongJoong-Myeon	DongHa-Myeon	SeoSang-Myeon
1681	807	-	-	-	807
1684	1,887	500	298	280	809
1690	1,361	741	314	306	-
1696	1,297	726	305	266	-
1705	1,436	852	310	274	-
1708	875	-	-	-	875
1714	932	-	-	-	932
1717	965	-	-	-	965
1720	1,547	900	338	309	-
1723	1,010	-	-	-	1,010
1726	1,757	1,100	346	311	-
1729	1,052	-	-	-	1,052
1732	2,921	1,179	355	313	1,074
1735	2,685	1,051	342	290	1,002
1738	1,103	-	-	-	1,103
1747	3,247	1,274	359	292	1,322
1756	1,398	-	-	-	1,398
1759	1,409	-	-	-	1,409
1762	3,389	1,285	362	299	1,443
1765	1,477	-	-	-	1,477
1768	1,582	921	361	300	-
1774	1,982	1,320	361	301	-
1777	1,980	1,317	362	301	-
1783	1,528	-	-	-	1,528
1786	2,023	1,345	368	310	-
1789	3,647	1,356	370	316	1,605
1795	3,799	1,378	363	400	1,658
1801	2,070	1,384	363	323	-
1810	2,122	1,438	362	322	-
1813	2,095	1,439	363	293	-

1816	1,618	-	-	-	1,618
1825	3,749	1,300	352	325	1,772
1831	3,083	1,303	-	-	1,780
1834	1,787	-	-	-	1,787
1837	2,416	-	309	320	1,787
1840	1,610	-	-	-	1,610
1843	1,204	1,204	-	-	-
1846	1,904	1,244	324	336	-
1852	1,261	1,261	-	-	-
1855	1,271	1,271	-	-	-
1858	3,621	1,274	319	335	1,693
1861	1,908	1,273	302	333	-
1867	1,937	1,302	301	334	-
1870	2,353	-	301	321	1,731
1876	1,771	-	-	-	1,771
Total	86,876	32,938	8,810	8,110	37,018

Source: Daegu-bu Family Registry, Daedong Institute for Korean Studies

Table 1 shows the number of families in Daegu-Bu Family Registry from 1681-1876. The total number of family is 86,876. It consists of 4 Myeons - DongSang-Myeon, DongJoong-Myeon, DongHa-Myeon, and SeoSang-Myeon.

To identify the nuclear family, it is needed to count the number of married couples within the family. If there is only one married couple or less, it will be regarded as a nuclear family. If there is more than two married couple it will be regarded as an extended family.

There are six issues when I count the number of married couple and identify their status within the caste system. The first issue is inconsistency. The same relationship with the household head is recorded differently with a variety of terminology(Cha 2009; Kim 2001; Son 2001). There was a rule to record the relationship but it has been changing and there were a lot of exceptions. The second issue is the risk of incorrectness. To evade the taxation, it is known that there was a tendency to under-report or over-report one's age (Kim 2015). The third issue is the possibility of incompleteness. Because of the high infant mortality, there was a tendency not to record the infants. To handle the first

issue, every terminology on relationship and status was manually verified and coded with the distinct numbers. The second issue is not critical. Because the purpose of the analysis is to count the number of marital couple, age-misreporting is not a crucial issue. There is an inconsistent status by times even from the same person (Kwon 2012). But it is reasonable to classify it was one's actual status because it was recorded not by self-reported survey but by the official of the local government. Considering the rule of "de facto", even the inconsistency may reflect the real changes of its status. The third issue is not critical too. If we can assume that the missing happens mainly among infants or young kids, it may affect the number of household but it will not threaten to estimate-the number of married couples. The fourth issue comes from concubinage. The Chosun Dynasty allows only monogamy. A man can maintain the several marital relationships at the same time but only one woman can obtain legal wife status and all others should become concubines. The status of child was different based on its mothers' status. I do not count the concubine as another number of marital relationships. Even though there is a concubine, if there is no further marital relationship from other man within a family, it is regarded as a nuclear family.

There was a four different caste – Yangban, Joongin, Yangin, and Nobi – in Chosun Dynasty. Yangban is a ruling class. Joongin is at the middle class. Yangin is mainly a free peasant. Nobi is a slave. The fact that Nobi has a limited human right generates the sixth issue. There were two kinds of Nobi – Solgeo Nobi who lived with its owner at the same house and Oegeo Nobi who lived apart from its owner. The family relationship from the household was recorded based on the relationship with the household head. It is hard to identify the family relationship of Solgeo Nobi because they are not related with family ties in a relation with household head. If there were several Solgeo Nobi, it is more difficult to identify the Nobi's family structure. Fortunately, Oegeo Nobi is recorded in a separate family household. So the analysis of the family structure of Nobi is restricted to Oegeo Nobi.

The last issue is also related with caste. Interclass marriage is possible. For example a Yangin can marry a Nobi and vice versa. Even though there were different castes within a family, the family head's caste become the caste of the family in this analysis.



#### 4. Results

Figure1. Percentage of Nuclear Family and Extended Family, 1681~1876

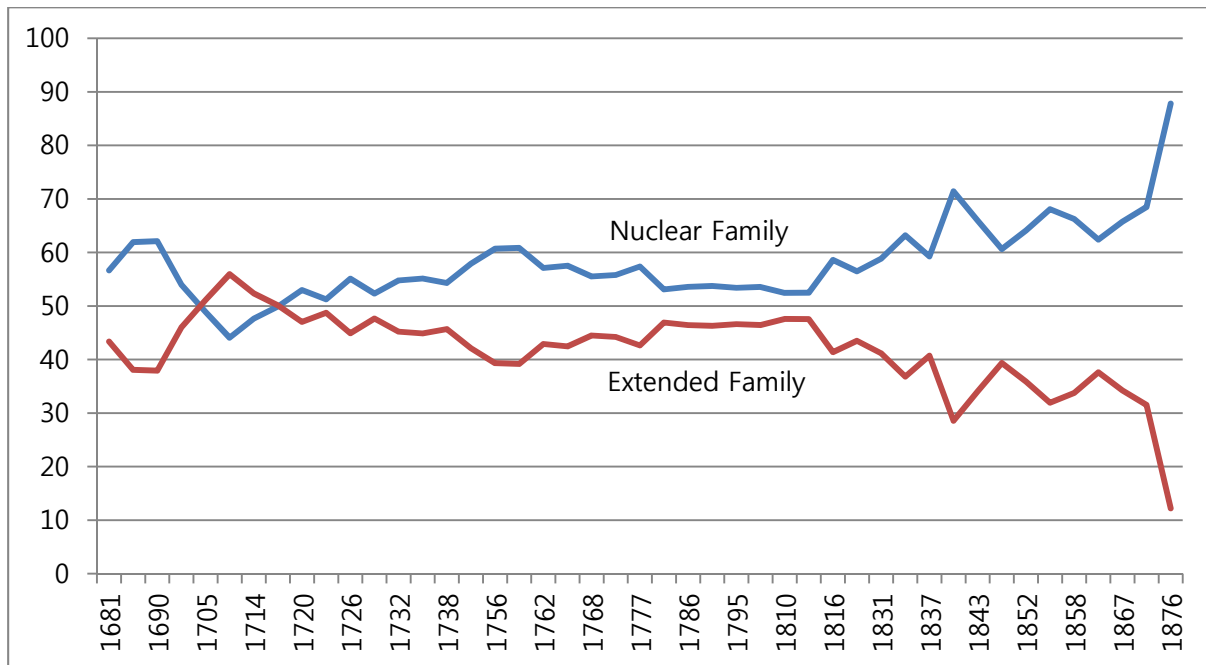


Figure 1 shows the percentage of nuclear family in the family structure. Even though there is a fluctuation, it is clearly above 50% except in 1708. The popular family structure is nuclear family. The percentage of nuclear family starts to increase from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century and it becomes very popular at the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Figure 2 shows the percentage of nuclear family among Yangban. The extended family is more popular than the nuclear family. The share of nuclear family is 40~50% of family structure. Except the last year, it is not clear that nuclear family becomes more popular than in the past. It is quite different trend from other castes' distribution.

Figure 3 shows the story of Joongin. The nuclear family is more popular than other castes. In the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, the share of nuclear family is above 50% and it becomes bigger and bigger later. Especially in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, it increases sharply and reaches around 90%. When its incompleteness, incorrectness and inconsistency of Daegu-bu family registry data are considered, it is clear that nuclear family type becomes majority for Joongin in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Figure 2. Percentage of Nuclear Family and Extended Family of Yangban, 1681~1876

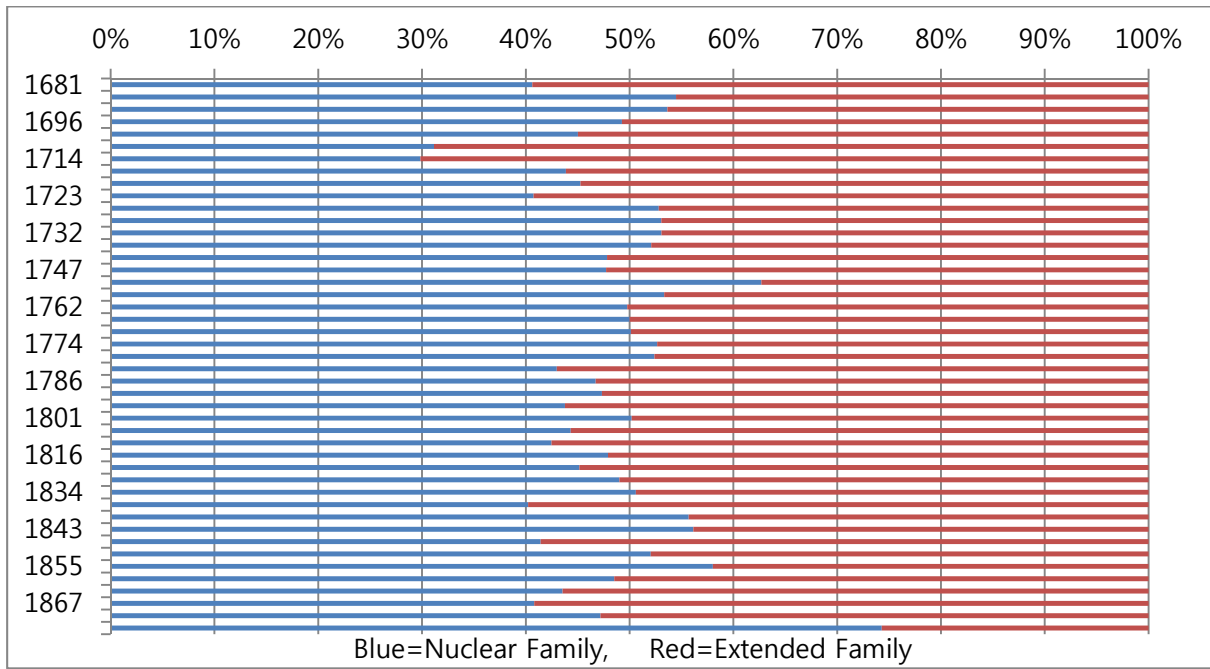


Figure 3. Percentage of Nuclear Family and Extended Family of Joongin, 1681~1876

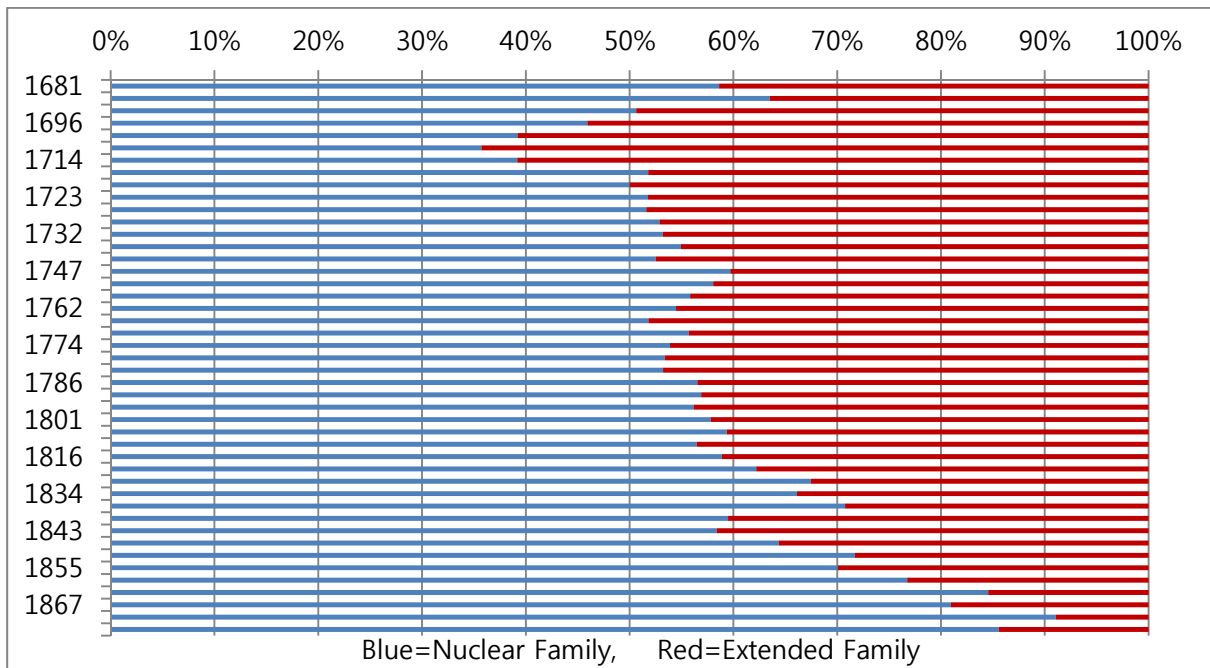


Figure 4 shows the percentage of nuclear family for Yangin. The share of nuclear family is bigger than that of extended family. From 19<sup>th</sup> century, the nuclear family becomes more popular. Comparing to Joongin, Yangin shows bigger share of nuclear family in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century but it becomes similar in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. In 19<sup>th</sup> century the share of nuclear family increases slowly relative to the case of Joongin.

Figure 5 shows the percentage of nuclear family for Oegeo Nobi. The share of nuclear family is the highest among the castes. It is natural considering the socio-economic status of Oegeo Nobi. From 19<sup>th</sup> century, it shows the increasing trend.

Figure 4. Percentage of Nuclear Family and Extended Family of YangIn, 1681~1876

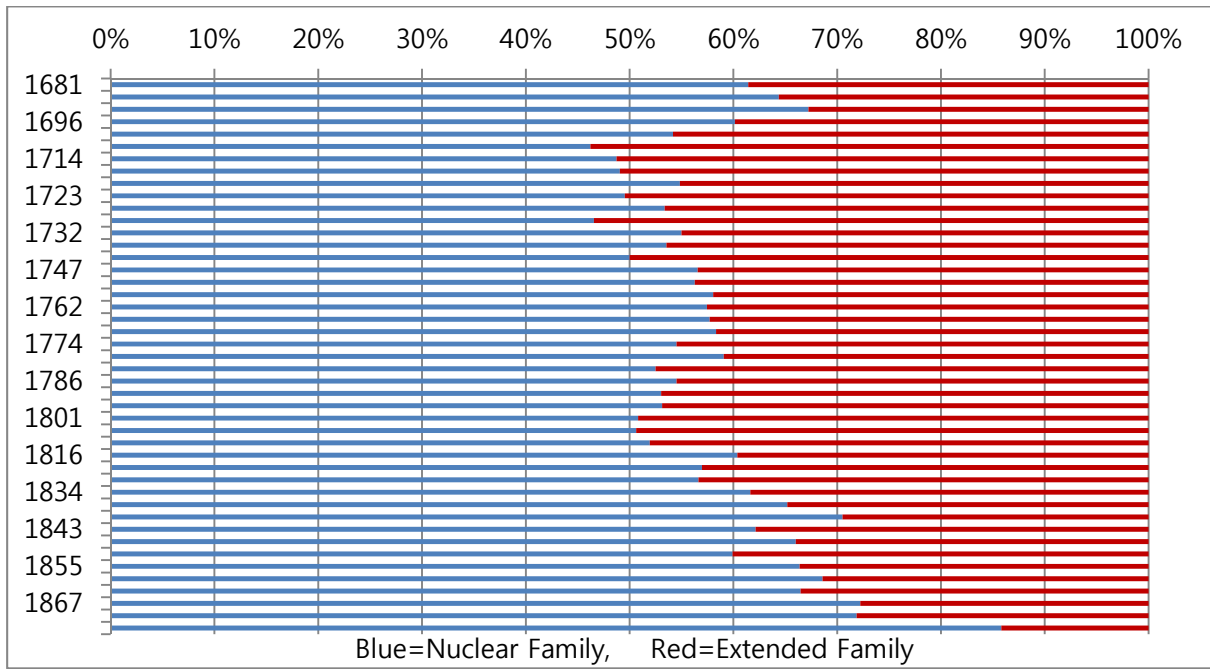
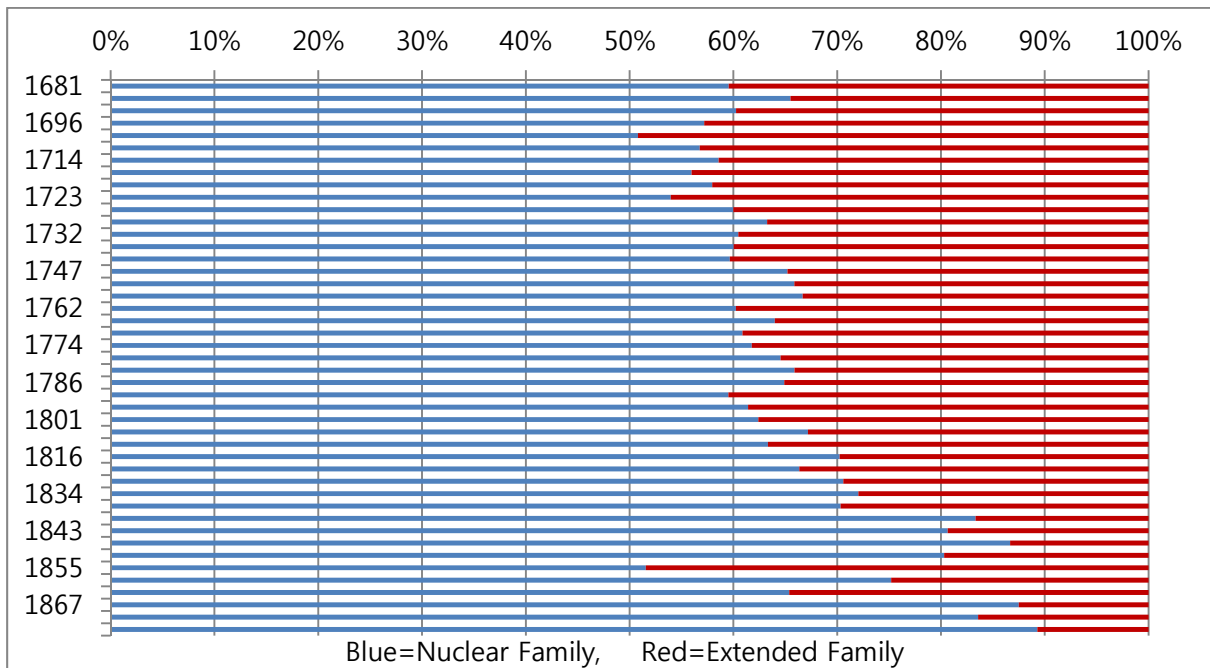


Figure 5. Percentage of Nuclear Family and Extended Family of Oegeo-Nobi, 1681~1876



## 5. Discussion

The results show that nuclear family is the majority of family structure of Chosun Dynasty from the late 17<sup>th</sup> to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century but the gaps between nuclear family and extended family are not much. It tells that in pre-modern Korean society, nuclear family is general similarly to the experiences in the pre-modern European countries. It is also found that nuclear family becomes more popular in the later years. Especially during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the share of nuclear family is increasing more rapidly except in Yangban. The pattern and the trend are similar among Joongin, Yangin and Oegeo Nobu. The difference is shown in the ruling class, Yangban. Unlike other castes, Yangban prefer the extended family. The change of the share of extended family is not clear for Yangban.

It may be inappropriate to argue that the nuclear family is the social norm or social value in the pre-modern Korea. Even though the popular mode is nuclear family, the extended family may be an ideal family type. For Yangban, the ruling class, extended family is more prevalent than the other classes, and it may be a signal that extended family is an ideal type of family in the pre-modern Korea.

It should be noteworthy that the time span of Daegu-bu family registry is from 1681-1876. There is a possibility that before the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, the family structure was different. Even though the same patriarchal society, the specific form can be different. It is known that there was a tradition of matrilocality before 17<sup>th</sup> century in pre-modern Korea (Moon 2004; Kwon 2012). Married couples lived not at husband's hometown but at wife's hometown. This tradition was changed during 17<sup>th</sup> century and at the late 17<sup>th</sup> century patrilocality became the basic rule. It suggests two possibilities. The first is that there may be a discontinuity in family type around 17<sup>th</sup> century. So we should be careful to maintain that the findings at here are applied to all pre-modern Korean society. The second is that even though the form of family structure looks similar, the detailed meanings can be different. In other words, the pre-modern nuclear family may seem to show similar form to that of the contemporary society but may have different principles and relationships within the family. It is also needed to be aware of the changes of caste system. The number of Yangban increased and became

even the majority in 19<sup>th</sup> century (Yoon 2006). It means that many people from lower castes moves to higher castes.

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Working Paper	16-13	Seulki Choi	A Study on the Korean Family Structure through Daegu Family Registry 1681~1876; Pre-modern Nuclear Family Theory revisited

\* The above papers are available at KDI School Website <<http://www.kdischool.ac.kr/new/eng/faculty/working.jsp>>. You may get additional copy of the documents by downloading it using the Acrobat Reader.