the lowest in the mountainous village. However, the differences in educational level are partly balanced off if the age structure of the population is standardized. With this crude background information, let us now turn to the basic research findings on the fertility behaviour of the resident population.

BIRTH

Because of the anthropological nature of the research, the survey population in each village community was very small. This restricts the extent of our analysis of demographic analysis severely. However the traditional level of fertility or the natural completed family size, can be roughly indicated by the total number of children ever-born to the ever-married women age 50 and over.[4] The mean number of births in this age group was very large in all the communities, ranging 7.3-8.0 children per currently married wo man. The level is much higher than those reported in other fertility and family planning surveys for the approximately same age cohorts. The discrepancy is greatly reduced if the current survey results are compared with the estimates based on the census data.[5] The gap with the census estimates for the nation may be blamed partly for the small sample size, but more for migration selectivity which is in favour of a smaller family size. All the survey communities had lost population through migration since 1960. The relatively lower level of fertility reported in other surveys may be caused partly by ¡under-enumeration which is charecteristic in the one-round social surveys on fertility and family planning.

When different quinquennial age cohorts between ages 45 and 59 are compared a continuous decline of fertility is observed in all survey communities. The decline is more marked for the middle-sized town than the fishing and farming villages, as is shown in Table 2. The same kind of change is also found among the younger age cohorts after marriage duration is controlled.

level of fertfillity has been relatively low though the age at marriage and the rate of

Table 2. **Mean Number of Children Ever Born per Woman by Age Groups**

area \ age group	20—24	25—29	30—34	35—39	40—44	45—49	50—54	55—59
Middle town	1.3	2.5	3.4	4.9	4.9	4.4	6.9	7.9
Fishing village	1.4	2.7	4.3	4.5	5.7	6.4	6.5	8.6
Mountain village	1.3	2.7	3.7	5.3	5.8	8.1	7.5	8.5
Farming village	2.0	3.0	4.5	5.0	6.9	6.4	7.8	6.8

Such changes in fertility are accounted for mostly by the postponement of marriage and the dissemination of fertility control methods within each survey community. The former was the almost sole determinant of the level of fertility for older women, while the fertility of younger cohorts was influenced by both factors. The close relationship between the level of fertility and age at marriage, and the important contribution of rising age at marriage to the decline of fertility in Korea since 1960 are well documented (Kwon, 1980: 65-71). The same confirmation has been made with the dissemination of contraceptive use (*ibid*). However, one important observation from the survey is that no such significant relationship is discerned between the level of fertility and age at marriage or the degree of family planning acceptance when the different types of communities are compared: In the case of the fishing village, the

4. See, section on fertility control in this paper.
5. According to a series of census estimates, the equivalent figure for the nation is about 7.0 while the figure for the ever-married is 6.5 (Kwon, 1977:348-351).

family planning practice were not high, and *vice versa* with the rice-farming village. This seemingly contradictory observation may be explained by the ecological or circumstantial factors of each survey community, more specifically by the degree of stability of family life and structure which is, in turn, related to the pattern of subsistence economy of the villages.

In the fishing village, at least half of the male population was engaged in sea fishing which usually accompanies a great deal of risk of dying. Because of high mortality of adult men, family dissolution took place very frequently and, as a result, the remarriage of women was accepted as 'inevitable', met little social resistance in the village, and the rate of remarriage of women turned out to be very high: about 90 percent of currently married women were married more than once in the village. On the other hand, rice farming is least involved in the risk of dying and the proportion of widowed and remarried women is very low in farming areas. According to our survey results, the proportion of women remarried in the farming communities was reported to be less than 10 percent. The type of work which adult men are supposed to be engaged in and the frequency of family dissolution due to the death of either part of spouses appears to have resulted in completely different family structure and living between the fishing and the the farming communities. In the fishing village, concubinage, desertion of spouse by either side, and separation of the couple were very common. No such tendency was discerned in the rice-farming village. Probably family solidarity and stability would have been strengthened by the tradition of clan-village in this farming area.

Again in the fishing village, people live on upland farming from spring to fall, sea farming during winter and fishing throughout the year. Men were supposed to work only at sea, leaving the land farming almost exclusively to the women. Unlike agricultural villages, winter was the busiest season there. All available hands except very young children and very old persons were put to work from early in the morning till late at night. Relatively low labour demand of women was noticed in October and April. However, winter is a slack season in farming areas. The survey reveals that the frequency of pregnancies is clearly associated with the type of subistence economy and the seasonal variation in labour demand (Chun, 1977). In the farming villages, pregnancies occurred most frequently during the winter slack season: on the other hand, pregnancies were highly concentrated in October and April in the fishing village and relatively even monthly distribution was seen in the town community.

From the above observations, we can easily and safely conclude how much the ecological factors are important to determine the level of fertility of a community. It is well documented in Korea that socio-economic factors such as differential level of educational attainment, the degree of contacting urban way of life and income are of great power in explaning the fertility differentials of individuals. However these factors appear to explain, to a very limited extent, the community differences in fertility (Hong, 1976, Lee *et. al*,, 1978).

MARRIAGE

The age at marriage was reported to range 12 to 20 for women age 50 and over. The mean age was 14.8 in the mountainous community and 16.0-16.8 in the other three villages. The mountainous village shows the lowest age at marriage for all ages persistently. In the middle-sized town community, the most significant rise in age at marriage took place during 1950-55 which includes the Korean War years. The experience was followed by the other villages at intervals of five to ten years. The reversed

Table 3. **Mean Age of Women at First Marriage by Current Age Groups**

area \ age group	20—24	25—29	30—34	35—39	40—44	45—49	50—54	55—59
Middle town	20.9	20.7	22.4	20.9	18.6	19.4	16.1	15.9
Fishing village	18.9	20.1	20.0	19.7	18.8	16.6	16.7	16.5
Mountain village	18.8	20.8	19.1	17.1	16.7	15.4	14.7	14.9
Farming village	19.1	21.0	21.2	20.0	18.1	16.9	16.3	16.5

trend for ages 20-29 should not be interpreted as what is shown. The relatively young age at marriage in these age groups is ascribed mostly to the low proportion of ever-married women. In other words, those married early are only included in the calculation of the mean age at marriage while those who would marry afterward are excluded. Compared to the national averages from the 1974 Korean National Fertility Survey (KNFS), the women at the crucial reproductive ages in the current survey villages appear to have married at a relatively late age. For example, the average age at first marriage for women age 30-34 was reported as 20.5 for middle-sized towns (Eups) and 20.4 for rural area in the 1974 KNFS (FPB; BOS & KIFP: 69).

Despite the original differences in age at marriage and the different timing on which marriage began to be deferred, no consistent pattern of differences in age at marriage among the four communities were observed since the mid-1960s. This indicates that age at marriage has been less important in determining the level of fertility since the mid-1960s.

The major functions of marriage are found to differ somewhat among the communities surveyed. The alleged traditional functions of marriage which are largely postulated by Neo-confucian ideology, such as succession of family name, continuation of ancestor worship, strengthening family unity and filial piety, were still the main concerns of people in marriage in the farming villages. On the other hand, as suggested in the above, family unity or succession of the family name was of only secondary importance in marriage in the fishing village. Dependency in old ages and to obtain personal security were the more important functions in the community.

The mode of mate selection differs significantly between the villages. The so-called 'free marriage' was most frequently found in the fishing village and the next was in the middle-sized town community, though the cases are few for old age women. With the increasing age at marriage, free marriage began to occur more frequently. Even in the case of arranged marriage, the process is hardly similar between the fishing and the farming villages. Unlike in the farming village there was very little involvement of the family and community in marriage in the fishing community and accordingly, the stability of married life or family was very weak. The middle-sized town largely conforms the patterns of the farming villages, but to a much lesser extent. These observations on marriage system do not confirm the idea that childbearing is the most crucial function of marriage, which is known to constitute a high fertility pressure in family living, throughout the entire Korean society, and rather do suggest that the major functions of marriage may differ in accordance with ecological settings of an area.

FERTILITY CONTROL

The national family planning program was introduced in Korea in 1962 as part of the first economic plan for development. However, the dissemination of the idea of fertility control had to wait until the late 1960s in remote areas. Such was clearly reflected in the survey areas. According to the survey results, contraceptive began to

Table 4. **Status of Using Family Planning Methods and Induced Abortion**

Area	Family Planning Methods			Women experienced induced abortion
	Never used	Ever used	Currently using	
Middle town	30.9	27,1	42.0	23.8
Fishing village	61.4	22.8	15.8	8.9
Mountain village	48.4	22.6	29.0	10.0
Farming village	42.4	18.6	39.0	20.4

be noticed in 1963 and 1964 in the middle-sized town and the rice-farming village which are adjacent to big cities. Contraceptive practice began to spread in 1968 in the fishing village, and in 1969 in the mountainous village.

The proportion of current contraceptive users parallels the timing of the dissemination of family planning methods, as clearly shown in Table 4. The same pattern is seen with induced abortion. In the middle-sized town and also in the rice farming communities, more than 20 percent of the ever-married women at age 15-49 was reported to have experienced induced abortion at least once, while the proportion was less than 10 percent in the other two communities, where the dissemination of the idea of fertility control was delayed. We may expect from these observations that the level of fertility for young women is much higher in the remote areas than the town or the village near a big city. But as mentioned earlier, the survey findings do not confirm this seemingly obvious association between fertility and family planning practice. This may point to the fact that there existed some traditional mechanisms, though involuntary, to regulate fertility behaviour in each village in relation to their socio-economic and environmental circumstances. The mechanisms would include the type of housing, the pattern of relationships among family members, the degree of women's labour participation, community health and nutrition conditions and so forth.

The commonly known methods of fertility control in the survey villages were condom, vasectomy, the Ota ring, loop, and oral pill. Most women appear to have some practical knowledge of how to use those methods. As illustrated in Table 5, the most

Table 5. **Status of Knowledge and Practice of Family Planning Methods**

Family planning methods	Middle town				Fishing village				Mountain village				Farming village			
	N	H	K	U	N	H	K	U	N	H	K	U	N	H	K	U
Loop	2	17	43	16	3	21	24	10	3	22	18	19	1	22	23	16
Oral pill		14	42	21	2	17	22	17	1	24	16	21	1	16	24	21
Vasectomy	2		73	2	7	1	50		15	5	40	1	1		56	4
Tubal ligation	9		67	1	30		26	2	42	1	18		13		48	1
Ota ring	21	19	36	1	27	14	17		15	20	26	1	29	17	15	1
Rhythm	14	10	41	12	31	15	11	1	38	13	8	3	18	28	9	7
Condom	3	18	44	12	9	13	33		21	19	21	1	10	10	36	6
Coitus interruption	21	5	41	10	31	7	15	5	43	4	12	3	15	7	24	16
Pessary	63	8	6		58				61	1			53	6	2	1
Jelly	57	3	16	1	56	2			54	2	6		55	3	3	1
Douche	49	3	21	4	52	3	4	1	58	2	1	1	51	5	5	1

N: Never heard
H: Heard, but do not know how to use
K: Know how to use, but do not use
U: Used

frequently used methods were oral pill, loop, coitus interruption, the rhythm method, and condom. There were several women reported who still used traditional folk methods, which are known to have no effect at all, such as 'drinking cold water, jumping or running backward after the coitus' to prevent pregnancy, and 'drinking of soy bean souce' to abort birth. The survey data also reveal that the methods adopted became diversified with the increasing proportion of women using contraceptives.

Through an extensive field work, it was identified that many women wanted to limit their family size, but were not using any methods. The most important barriers in the family planning program came on the local community level turned out to be 'inadequate service'.

The fishing village was reported to have been visited by a family planning field worker once a year at most.[6] There was no women in the village who could give necessary consultation when need arose in connection with family planning clinics or health center in the nearby town which took one and half hours by bus. The situation was similar in the mountainous village though the intensity of the problem was much less felt. In the case of the rice farming village, a family planning worker visited the village once for two months on average. The worse was that the field worker could not see any women during the farming period from April to October, since they returned home late at night while the field worker works during the day time only: often, the field worker visiting the village stayed idle in the Li-chief's house. Consequently, it was found that most women had inadequate, or sometimes wrong, knowledge of the methods they had used or were currently using. This partly explains why there were so much suspicion about the contraceptives and distrust in the field workers in these communities. The lack of contact with family planning workers was the same in the middle-sized town. But women in the town had an advantage of easy access to the information and methods of fertility control because of the availability of many drug stores and private as well as public clinics within and near the town.

In all the communities, the effectiveness of contraceptive use was very low. This low effectiveness points to another major problem area in the current family planning programme; that is, the so-called 'rumors' about contraceptives and sterilization. The most commly found suspicion was either that contraceptives cause some kinds of illness or that the person who undergoes seterilization becomes powerless and inenergetic. Such 'rumors' were not only prevalent in the survey communities but are known to have been wide-spread all over the country, and the family planning authorities treat them for long as one of the most important barriers to the family planning programme.

But it could be easily seen that these so-called 'rumors' are not simply rumors caused by the ignorance of villagers. In many cases, contraceptive practice caused illness or side-effects because of poor sanitary conditions, and in this sense the 'rumors' can be considered to be soundly grounded. To raise the effectiveness of family planning methods, consideration to various problems of the methods in actual living circumstances seems vital. The major concern of the programme authorities so far has been to persuade women not to listen to the 'rumors' because they are groundless. This kind of policy to tackle 'rumors' appears to have rather contributed to create between the field workers and the villages. In this regard, understanding the grass-root structure of communities will be of great significance to upgrade the performance of the national family planning programme.

6. According to the instruction to the field workers, they were supposed to visit each village more than once a month all over the country.

FERTILITY ATTITUDES

It has been alleged that the large family ideal and strong son-preference prevailed in traditional Korea. The most common ideal number of children in traditional Korea, though implicit, is known as five consisting of three sons and two daughters. According to various surveys, the average desired family size are reported to have been 4.5 at the turn of the 1960s which was reduced to 3.9 in 1965, 3.1 in 1973, and 2.8 in 1976, and 2.7 in 1978 (Song & Han: 30-34; Park et al., 85; Byun & Koh: 157). The overall result (3.1 children) from the current survey is in closed agreement with that of other national surveys as a whole. However some discrepancies are apparent if each community is compared to the national average of the same type of communities.

Also, significant differences in the ideal number of children are discerned among the four communities as is seen in Table 6. While the fishing village reveals the highest ideal size of 3.71, the middle-sized town community shows the lowest value of 2.57 on average. The desired family size for middle-sized town is one of the lowest reported throughout the country until the mid-1970s. On the contrary, that for the fishing village marks one of the highest level being currently observed all over the country. Such difference between the survey communities is usually explained by the degree of urbanity, economic conditions and level of modernity of the communities in question.

The survey has failed to document the relationship of desired family size with the fertility behaviour of the residents, while that with the status of fertility control is clearly established. However, we may expect that with the effective means to control fertility being available to all women and with the dissemination of comprehensive knowledge of contraceptive use, the family size value would be likely to be the most important factor to determine the level of fertility even in the survey areas. Such an assumption can be roughly tested by a comparison of the average family size and the would-be fertility of women which was measured from the responses to their preferred childbearing options in various specified conditions.[7] The survey demonstrates that, if a community is taken as a whole and women can regulate reproductive behaviour as they desired in every specified conditions, actual fertility will end up, on average, in the number of children very close to what women desire to achieve in an ideal condition.

The differences in desired family size among the ecologically distinctive villages overshadow other differentials, including those by age. A significant decline in family size value from the traditional level is also observed in all the four communities. But the decline appears to have been greatest in the middle-sized town and least in the

Table 6. **Average Ideal Number of Children and World-be family size, age 20–39**

Area Age Group	Average Ideal		Would-be	
	20—29	30—39	20—29	30—39
Middle town	2.50	2.63	2.49	2.86
Fishing village	3.35	3.80	3.16	3.80
Mountain village	2.85	3.13	3.29	3.05
Farming village	2.87	3.29	3.23	3.42
Total	2.82	3.16	2.92	3.24

7. This is measured by the responses to a series of queistions on whether the respondents would stop at a given number of children together with a given sex combination or proceed to have at least one more child if they were put into such circumstances.

fishing village if the traditional ideal is assumed to have been similar among the survey communites. This observation may be taken as a partial indication that ecological factors are more important than socio-economic factors in the formation of fertility attitudes, as in the case of fetiliy behaviour discussed earlier. A close association can easily be demonstrated between family size attitudes and ecological factors such as patterns of subsistence activity, demand for labour, women's labour participation, and perception on public health conditions in the community. On the other hand, socio-cultural factors such as traditionalism, familism and community system do not have much power to explain the observed differentials in desired family size among the four villages. The relatively low level of births in the fishing community which is mainly attributed to their living circumstances and the perception of the villagers of high risk of dying as stated in the above would have somewhbt boosted their desire for a large family size.

The community differentials in desired family size can also be related to differing perceptions on the value of children in economic terms: the less desire is apparently associated with the higher costs of child-rearing and the less utility of children's labour. In the fishing village, where the desired family size was the largest, children usually gave a direct help to women's economic activity; since women worked on farm assigned to perform mose household duties. Besides, children's labour was utilized extensively during the winter sea-farming season in the village. Because the work opportunity for unskilled labourers in the city becomes very tight during the winter, many children in the fishing village who had migrated to cities tend to return to their family in the village temporarily to work on sea-farm. In the farming communities, no such kind of direct economic gain from children is expected. However, very low costs were involved in raising children, and the complain was rarely heard in the farming communities as well as in the fishing village that women could not work because of young children. It was not unusual there that a six-year-old sister took care of her younger brothers and sisters while playing with other children. In the case of no helping hands being available within the family, children were taken care of by the community simultaneously. In a word, child-rearing is rarely considered as "burden" to the parents in these communities. But the way of life in the middle-sized town is completely different. People in the town are more rational economically and feel distance even from the neighbours. Expectation for proper child-rearing is high. Majority of the households used one or two rooms. All these seem to have contributed to generating the perception of children as a burden rather than an asset in the town at least in economic sense.

Unlike the changes in desired family size, strong preference of sons to daughters is found to have little attenuated during the last few decades (Kwon & Lee, 1976: 1-11; Kwon, 1976: 225-231). Also the degree of sex perference varies little among the survey communities when measured by Coombs sex preference scale (Coombs *et. al.*, 1975: 233-298). The clear differences in the changing trends and differential patterns between number preference and sex bias toward children point to an important theoretical proposition: the major factors associated with large family ideals are not necessarily identical with those supporting an extreme son-preference in traditional Korea. There is a common belief in Korea that son-preference is the most serious barrier to the effort for population control. However, contrary to this belief, an extensive analysis of the implications of son-preference on the level of fertility based on the current survey data discloses no substantive or significant relationship between the two (Kwon, 1976: 231-236). Still most women consider at least one son is an absolute requirement for a family no matter how many daughters they may have. This will certainly cause

a higher fertility than the level desired, to women without sons but achieved the desired family size. If the problem of decision whether a couple should stop pregnancy or proceed to have an additional child arises after the desired number of children is reached, this son-preference should centainly be considered as having high fertility propensity. However, the current survey discloses that the decision is often made at the family size less than the desired. Because of the relative unimportance of daughters, the majority of women stop childbearing when they have enough sons even though there is no daughter and accordingly the desired family size is not yet attained. In other words, son-preference results in lower fertility than what is expected in such cases. According to a detailed calculation on the would-be family size as mentioned in the above, the two conflicting effects are largely balanced off, indicating little impacts of fertility on an aggregate level.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the above, we have reviewed the current status of anthropological type of research on fertility and family planning in Korea and introduced the major findings from the study, "Social, Cultural and Ecological Factors Affecting Population Processes in Korea", the only fullfledged anthropological resarch in the field ever conducted in Korea.

The study disclosed many new and valuable pieces of information on the fertility behaviour of Korean women in the societal as well as environmental context. These include seasonal variation in the frequency of births which is in turn related to the pattern of subsistance economy, the relationship between perception of mortality and fertility, the impact of stability of marriage and community system on the value of children, the association between the pattern of child-rearing and the ideal family size, inadequacy of the current family planning service on the community level, relatively minor significance of son-preference in determining the level of fertility on an aggregate level, and so forth. Some of them appear to have direct and immediate policy implications, while others have broad and long-range policy meanings in connection with the societal transformation of the country.

All the fertility and family planning surveys in Korea have invariably demonstrated the relationship of fertility with such major socio-economic background of individuals as the level of educational attainment, residential background, the timing of marriage, and occupation. The current anthropological survey confirms the relationship, but reveals that ecological factors are more important than those personal background in explaining the community difference of fertility level. Furthermore, the confirmation of the relationship between socio-economic status of individuals and the level of fertility is known to be of very limited implications in formulating detailed programme for population control, though useful in evaluating the general directions of population policy. To change the socio-economic status of persons in reproductive age can not be pursued as a measure for the promotion of family planning. This does not point to the inadequacy of the programme, but to an urgent need for a new type of research which would generate the information required by the programme. The review of the findings from an anthropological study assures us that anthropological type of research is one of the most promising approaches in this regard. It will certainly bring about highly valuable knowledge on fertility behaviour and family planning on a micro level which can be directly accomodated into the population policy programme.

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<國文要約>

한국의 출산력 및 가족계획 연구에 있어서 인류학적 접근

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本稿는 한국의 출산력과 가족계획에 대한 인류학적 연구의 현 위치를 검토해보고, 이 분야에서는 유일하게 완전히 인류학적 연구인 '한국의 인구과정에 영향을 끼치는 사회·문화·생태학적 요인들'의 주요 발견 사실들을 소개한 것이다.

이 연구는 한국 여성들의 출산행위를 환경적·사회적 맥락에서 파악하여 새롭고 귀중한 많은 정보들을 밝혀내었다. 그 정보들은 생계유형과도 관계가 되는 출생 빈도의 계절적 변이, 사망에 대한 지각과 출산력의 관계, 자녀의 가치에 대한 결혼의 안정성과 지역사회 체제의 영향, 자녀 양육 유형과 이상적인 가족크기간의 연관, 지역사회 수준에서 현행가족계획 사업의 부적절성, 전체적 수준에서 출산력 수준을 결정하는데 남아선호가 별로 유의미하지 않다는 점 등이다. 이들 중 일부는 정책에 대해 직접적이고 즉각적인 함의를 가지며, 또 다른 것들은 사회변천과 관련되어 광범위하고 장기적인 정책적 의미를 함축하는 것으로 생각된다.