

The House Owners in Squatting Area in Seoul(I)

—A Socio-Economic Survey of Oksoo #3—

Hae-Dong Kim, Ph. D.
(Professor)

〈Contents〉

Introduction

Chapter 1. Details of Moving to the Area, Age and Education

Chapter 2. Occupations and Earnings

Chapter 3. Situation of Housing

Chapter 4. Family Goods and Living Environment

Chapter 5. Prospects for Future Life

Chapter 6. Conclusion

Introduction

It is a well-known fact that the Republic of Korea ranks high among world countries in population density. In particular, the population density of Seoul far exceeds the usual degree. Moreover, the population inflow into Seoul from rural areas and provincial cities in the past decade or so has sharply increased to an extent probably unparalleled in the world.

Such a rapid growth of population in Seoul has been curbed to some extent since the early 1970's, when the government's policy to restrain the city's population concentration and provincial and rural development projects, particularly Saemaul (New Community) projects, went into full swing.

The exploding population of Seoul, a city which had been in a defenseless state of city planning, brought about innumerable problems, such as traffic, education, waterworks and sewer systems, health, communications, squatting areas with wooden-roofed illegal houses, and so forth. Such problems arose long ago and have long persisted. Some of these problems may even be too late to solve and some problems seem to be hard to settle by the administrative power of Seoul City alone.

One of such critical problems is squatting areas symbolically called "illegal housing" and "single-roofed makeshift huts." Slum areas are a chronic problem in most large cities in other countries as well. Because of their pathological characteristics,

they cause various socio-economic problems to the cities.

Squatting areas in Seoul generally began to be formed after the outbreak of the Korean War. Immediately after the war, refugees from the north began to build shingle-roofed huts along the Chonggyecheon stream in Seoul, a city devastated by war. Probably this was the beginning of slum areas in Seoul. The makeshift huts were built with scraps of wooden boxes, ration boxes thrown away by American GIs, and what not.

Soon after the war, the refugees started building makeshift huts along the Chonggyecheon, presumably because there was space enough for their huts which had remained idle and because the Tongdaemun market is nearby. Such a way of living was learned not only by refugees from Seoul and other areas of South Korea who had gone to the south earlier and had lives in Pusan and around southern part of Korea. They just took refuge temporarily in such makeshift huts.

Even after the recapture of the capital city, homeless persons and those without relatives or money had to lead such a life. But as the city regained its peace and stability, the government launched city planning projects and intensified control and regulations concerning such makeshift huts, those living in such temporary houses were driven to the city's outskirts. There they also had to build such makeshift huts.

To make the matter worse, rural people began to pour into Seoul in the latter days of the Liberal Party rule. They were in general, those who were unable to continue living in rural areas or provincial cities (for instance, because their farmland area had decreased with an increase in the rural population). In other words, they were mostly those who had been driven out of their farm areas.

Furthermore, excessive concentration of interests in political, economic, social and cultural fields

in these days cannot be denied the fact that caused the attraction of local people into the city. As a result, destitute people from rural areas came to settle down in the vicinity of Seoul where their relatives and friends were resident.

The outskirts of Seoul had originally been of scenic beauty. This survey area was also a scenic one, overlooking the Han River and once having numerous trees and orchards. Until the latter days of the Liberal rule, residents in downtown areas visited this area frequently on picnics to enjoy their weekends. Relatively romantic were the scenic views of ferry boats and fishing boats floating on the river.

As in the case of other slum areas, this area was trespassed on chiefly during elections because during an election period, the government's control was relatively relaxed. Probably the most decisive period was between the second evacuation of Seoul in April 1951 and the May 16th military revolution in 1961.

During this vacuum period of government administration, refugees came to fell trees and began resettling there, building shabby makeshift huts. In spite of government efforts to prevent such illegal housing, makeshift huts continued to increase year after year, until the early 1970's.

Their formation is presumed to have continued still had there not been resolute government action in 1972. The Seoul city authorities in 1972 began to intensify their crack-down on illegal housings even by using aerophotography, with a firm attitude and under a solid plan. As a result, the areas have been restored to normal at last, and there is almost no instance of illegal buildings in the city. And shabby and disorderly housing has been eliminated in some degree by the residents themselves by repairing or renovating their houses.

Still, slum areas with illegal buildings already in their remain one of the most serious problems

to be solved by the city.

This survey regards Oksoo #3, one of such slum areas. In this small and sloping area of less than 30,000 *pyong*, there are 540 houses, in which about 6,000 people in about 1,200 households live. These households were visited by woman consultants of the city for interviews during the survey period of about three weeks: Their survey was intended chiefly to learn the housing status of those owners for the city redevelopment project.

Chiefly they interviewed the heads of families, who are the house owners. Because of the absence of the heads of families, they had to see tenants sometimes (8 houses). In the case of 10 other households, they could not conduct the interview at all because there were only children or no one in the houses. The results of this survey, therefore, cover a total of 530 households in the area.

Lastly, it was regrettable that the survey items could not cover the health conditions of the families, security problems, debts, or savings.

Chapter 1. Details of Moving to the Area, Age and Education

In this section, let us study where the residents in this area come from, and from what motives, and what their family structure is.

1. Resident Years and Details of Settlement

Table 1. Resident Period

Less than 6 months	13 households (2.6%)
" 3 years	123 households(23.2%)
" 5 "	58 " (10.9%)
" 8 "	91 " (17.2%)
" 10 "	96 " (18.1%)
" 13 "	76 " (14.3%)
" 15 "	40 " (7.5%)
" 18 "	27 " (5.1%)
" 20 "	6 " (1.1%)
Total:	530 households(100.0%)

Table 2. Previous Resident Areas

Farming areas	159 households (30.0%)
Fishing villages	5 " (0.9%)
Remote islands	3 " (0.6%)
Provincial cities	70 " (13.2%)
Downtown area of Seoul	46 " (8.7%)
Vicinity of Seoul	220 " (41.5%)
North Korea	26 " (4.9%)
Foreign country	1 " (0.2%)
Total:	530 households(100.0%)

Table 3. House Moving Frequency

None	3 households (0.6%)
1	98 " (18.5%)
2	139 " (26.2%)
3	129 " (24.3%)
4	50 " (9.4%)
5	43 " (8.1%)
6	19 " (3.6%)
7	12 " (2.3%)
8	11 " (2.1%)
9 or more	26 " (4.9%)
Total:	530 households(100.0%)

Table 4. Motives for House Moving

To get a job	149 households (28.1%)
The Korean War	67 " (12.6%)
New assignment by transference	56 " (10.6%)
Children's schooling	34 " (6.4%)
Business	30 " (5.7%)
Following parents	12 " (2.3%)
Out of business	9 " (1.7%)
Because children live in Seoul	9 " (1.7%)
Starting business	9 " (1.7%)
Came to Seoul with no definite purpose at all	8 " (1.5%)
Found a job in Seoul	8 " (1.5%)
To learn skills at factory	3 " (0.6%)
Lack of farmland	1 " (0.2%)
To get married	1 " (0.2%)
Other reasons	3 " (0.5%)
Not relevant	88 " (16.6%)
No response	43 " (8.1%)
Total:	530 households(100.0%)

First, the above tables will be presented to show the results of this survey on the foregoing items.

Table 1 shows the period of residence by the present residents in the area. According to the table, 77 households have been residents in the area for 13 years or longer, accounting for 13.7 percent of the total number of households.

Table 2 shows the previous places of residence before they moved to the area. Of the total, 264 households or 49.8 percent came from areas other than Seoul. Most of the households, in particular, came from rural areas. Slum areas in Seoul, therefore, are considered to have inseparable relations to rural living conditions.

Households which came to the area from the vicinity of Seoul accounted for about 41.5 percent of the total. This fact also supports the foregoing relationship to rural areas because these people are also considered to have come into the area after being driven out of rural areas and having experienced several house moves.

As shown in Table 4, respondents who said "not relevant" to the motives for moving to Seoul from the provinces numbered 88 households or 16.6 percent of the total. Even when those "no" responses are added, their number barely reaches 131 or 24.7 percent.

In general, they may well be described to have "been moving from one area (considered to be slum areas in this case) to another." Those who lived in this area originally are limited to an extreme few. As a result, most of the residents are presumed to have migrated into the area from the provinces.

Table 4 shows the motives for moving to Seoul from the provinces. The largest number is recorded by those who came to Seoul to find jobs (149 households or 28.1%). Other motives are also economic reasons. This is followed by those who sought refuge after the Korean War (67

households or 12.6%) and those who moved to Seoul after transference of their work places (56 households or 10.6%). In conclusion, they might be regarded as those who have come to the area mostly for economic reasons.

Although their ratio is small, 18 households or 3.4 percent of the total responded to the questions, saying that they came to Seoul "without any definite purpose," "after becoming out of business," or "because we had no farmland left." These instances may well be called nearly despairing. They also belong to the category "to find a job."

As shown in Table 5, they all say that they have come to Seoul mostly of their own accord (281 households or 53.0%). It is presumed, however, that with no relatives resident in Seoul or without any counsel, a very few may have been able to come to Seoul of their own accord only. It would be reasonable to think that their decisions were made on account their friends and relatives as well as their advice and counsel.

Table 5. Persons Who Counseled on Moving to Seoul

Friends	16 households	(3.0%)
Persons related to job place	19 "	(3.6%)
Parents	17 "	(3.2%)
Relatives	24 "	(4.5%)
Children	10 "	(1.9%)
One's own accord (including advice by spouse)	281 "	(53.0%)
Brothers	8 "	(1.5%)
Unknown	59 "	(11.2%)
Not relevant	96 "	(18.1%)
Total:	530 households	(100.0%)

As shown in Table 6, they came to Seoul by themselves like an advance party or with a part or the whole family. In particular, those who came to Seoul alone (24.1%) seem to have done so in order to call their families as soon as they

Table 7. House Moving frequency by Year of Residence

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	None	Total
Less than 6 months	0.0	4.0	3.0	1.0	0.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	13.0
	0.0	2.9	2.3	2.0	0.0	10.5	8.3	18.2	0.0	0.0	100.0
Less than 3 years	13.0	23.0	31.0	17.0	15.0	6.0	2.0	4.0	12.0	0.0	123.0
	10.6	16.5	18.7	13.8	34.9	31.6	16.7	36.4	46.2	0.0	100.0
Less than 5 years	8.0	13.0	20.0	4.0	6.0	3.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	2.0	58.0
	13.8	9.4	22.4	6.9	10.3	15.8	5.2	1.7	0.0	1.7	100.0
	8.2	9.4	15.5	8.0	14.0	8.3	8.3	0.0	3.8	66.7	10.9
Less than 8 years	16.0	25.0	22.0	7.0	7.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	6.0	1.0	91.0
	17.6	18.0	27.5	14.0	16.3	15.8	16.7	18.2	23.1	33.1	100.0
Less than 10 years	21.0	30.0	19.0	8.0	4.0	2.0	4.0	3.0	5.0	0.0	96.0
	21.9	21.6	31.3	16.0	8.3	4.2	4.2	3.1	19.2	0.0	100.0
	21.4	21.6	14.7	16.0	9.3	10.5	33.3	27.3	0.0	0.0	18.1
Less than 13 years	21.0	18.0	16.0	8.0	8.0	2.0	1.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	76.0
	27.6	12.9	23.7	10.5	18.0	10.5	2.6	0.0	7.7	0.0	100.0
	21.4	12.9	12.4	16.0	18.0	8.3	8.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	14.3
Less than 15 years	13.0	14.0	9.0	2.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	40.0
	32.5	35.0	22.5	5.0	2.5	0.0	2.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
	13.3	10.1	7.0	4.0	2.8	0.0	8.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.5
Less than 18 years	4.0	10.0	8.0	3.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	27.0
	14.9	7.2	37.0	6.0	11.1	3.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
	4.1	7.2	6.2	6.0	2.3	5.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.1
Less than 20 years	2.0	33.3	1.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.0
	33.3	1.4	0.8	0.0	2.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1
21 or more years	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	98.0	139.0	129.0	50.0	43.0	19.0	12.0	11.0	26.0	3.0	530.0
	18.5	26.2	24.3	9.4	8.1	3.6	2.3	2.1	4.9	0.6	100.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

could find jobs.

For example, 227 persons said that they married in Seoul after their moving to the city. Among them, 1. persons said that they married in this survey area.

Table 6. Persons Taken upon Coming to Seoul

Alone	128 households	(24.1%)
Whole family	239 "	(45.1%)
Part of the family	41 "	(7.8%)
Friends	0 "	(0)
Relative	3 "	(0.6%)
Others	2 "	(0.4%)
Not relevant	116 "	(21.9%)
Unknown	1 "	(0.1%)
Total:	530 households	(100.0%)

After coming to Seoul, they repeatedly moved with their families until they came to the present place of residence. Table 3 shows the frequency of their moves that they remember. According to that table, there were only three households, which answered "none." Those in such families are presumed to be young people who were born in the area.

At an average rate, about 50.5 percent of the total have had the experience of moving twice or thrice. It is surprising to note that about 5 percent of households say that they have moved nine times or more in Seoul alone. Although it is hard to decide because of the lack of data on general households, such frequency of moving is considered probably to exceed the average.

These facts are considered closely related to emotional attachment to their villages or love of their home towns. These facts are very significant in that they make a factor which bears an important effect on what is called social disorganization. On this point, it is desirable to conduct further surveys and analysis closely. The following table shows the frequency of house moving by number of years of residence.

2. Number of Family Members, Age and Education

Table 8 shows the distribution of Family members sharing the same residence with the 530 heads of families surveyed.

Table 8. Number of Family Members

Single	6 households	(1.1%)
2 persons	5 "	(0.9%)
3 "	40 "	(7.5%)
4 "	72 "	(13.6%)
5 "	127 "	(24.0%)
6 "	127 "	(24.0%)
7 "	74 "	(14.0%)
8 "	41 "	(7.7%)
9 "	26 "	(4.9%)
10 or more persons	12 "	(2.3%)
Total:	530 households	(100.0%)

According to the table, the number of one person families was six, and that of families of two each was five. But families of 10 each numbered 12. The most frequent size was families of five and six, numbering 127 households (24.0%) altogether.

When calculated by setting the number of family members in the households coming under the group of "10 or more persons" at 10, their total population reaches 3,021 and their average number of family members, 5.7 persons. The average figures are higher than the average figures for family members of the whole nation, let alone the average figures for Seoul. This is considered one of the characteristics of slum areas in Korea.

It must be noted, however, that if some 723 households who are tenants of houses in this area are added, the average number of family members is calculated at 4.79, standing far below the average for families of house owners alone. The average family size of tenants is 4.12.

This is not because of the increasing development into nuclear families of the tenants, but

because of the extremely small rooms rented and their limited financial ability, so that their family members are scattered.

The following table shows the age structure of house owners.

Now let us study their educational backgrounds. Table 10 shows the schooling backgrounds of the heads of families. Table 11 shows the education of family members who received the highest education in each family.

Table 9. Age Structure of Household Heads

Teens	3 persons	(0.6%)
Twenties	11 "	(2.1%)
Thirties	130 "	(24.5%)
Forties	197 "	(37.2%)
Fifties	131 "	(24.7%)
Sixties	44 "	(8.3%)
Seventies or more	14 "	(2.6%)
Total:	530 persons	(100.0%)

Table 10. School Backgrounds of Heads of Family

No schooling	48 persons	(9.1%)
Left primary school in mid-course	14 "	(2.6%)
Primary school graduate	114 "	(21.5%)
Left middle school in mid-course	15 "	(2.9%)
Middle school graduate	95 "	(17.9%)
Left high school in mid-course	14 "	(2.6%)
High school graduate	126 "	(23.8%)
In junior college or left in mid-course or graduate	14 "	(2.6%)
Left college in mid-course	25 "	(4.7%)
College graduate or higher	65 "	(12.3%)
Total:	530 persons	(100.0%)

Table 11. Persons with Highest Schooling among Family Members
(Except Heads of Family)

No schooling	4 households	(0.8%)
Left primary school in mid-course	4 "	(0.8%)
Primary school graduate	35 "	(6.6%)
In middle school or left in mid-course	35 "	(6.6%)
Middle school graduate	69 "	(13.0%)
In high school or left in mid-course	39 "	(7.3%)
High school graduate	180 "	(34.0%)
In or left junior college or graduate in mid-course	15 "	(2.8%)
In or left college in mid-course	46 "	(8.7%)
College graduate or higher	103 "	(19.4%)
Total:	530 households	(100.0%)

According to Tables 10 and 11, in the case of the heads of households, the largest group was high school graduates (23.8%), followed by primary school graduates (21.5%). In the case

of family members other than the heads of family, high school graduates were the most frequent, followed by those with college diplomas or more.

These figures imply that heads of family wish their children to have better educations than they have. Probably this fact is a tendency prevailing to all in some groups in Korean society.

Chapter 2. Occupations and Earnings

1. Number of Family Members Engaged in Jobs for Earnings

Before proceeding to explanation, it must be pointed out that it is relatively difficult to learn accurate facts about the employment status and occupational structure of residents in such areas. Outwardly, most people seem to be unemployed,

but they can hardly be classified as jobless, in most, cases. In some cases, some respondents may find it difficult to determine to which group they belong.

In this survey, therefore, an effort was made to figure out the numbers of family members who had jobs for regular earnings and the numbers of those who had jobs for irregular earnings during the past six months. Then the question was asked about the amounts of their earnings. The results of this survey on these questions are shown in Tables 12 and 13.

Table 12. Number of Family Members with Regular Earnings

None	40 households (26.4%)	
1 person	301 " (56.8%) × 1 = 301 persons	
2 persons	65 " (12.3%) × 2 = 130 "	
3 "	17 " (3.2%) × 3 = 51 "	
4 "	6 " (1.1%) × 4 = 24 "	
5 "	1 " (0.2%) × 5 = 5 "	
Total:	53.0 households (199.9%)	511 persons

Table 13. Number of Family Members with Irregular Earnings

None	334 households (64.0%)	
1 person	166 " (31.3%) × 1 = 166 persons	
2 persons	20 " (3.82%) × 2 = 40 "	
3 "	3 " (0.5%) × 3 = 9 "	
4 "	1 " (0.2%) × 4 = 4 "	
Unknown	1 " (0.2%)	
Total:	530 households (100.0%)	219 persons

Of the population of households subjected to this survey, the number of people who had jobs with regular earnings reached 511 and that of those with irregular earnings, 219, totaling 730 persons. The figures show that average of 1.4 persons per household in this area are engaged

in jobs with earnings.

2. Occupations and Distances to Work Places

Table 14 shows their occupations in the order of their frequency.

Table 14. Kinds of Occupations of Family Members with Largest Earnings

1. Skilled workers(Skilled, unskilled, and apprentices)	126 persons (23.8%)
2. Company employees	95 " (17.9%)
3. Sales business(Sundry goods, wholesale and retail)	76 " (14.4%)

4) Day workers(Skilled, unskilled, apprentices)	40	"	(7.5%)
5) Transportation and service-men and women	39	"	(7.4%)
6) Public officials	36	"	(6.8%)
7) Brokers(Realtors and various other brokers)	32	"	(6.0%)
8) Salesmen(Vendors and salesmen)	32	"	(6.0%)
9) Teachers, soldiers and clergy	23	"	(4.4%)
10) Doctors and pharmacists	5	"	(0.9%)
11) Others	9	"	(1.7%)
12) Jobless	17	"	(3.2%)
Total:	530 persons (100.0%)		

Note: Figures for skilled workers, salesmen and brokers are considered to include those who may virtually be called unemployed. It is also questionable whether the 17 persons asserted as jobless actually had no earnings during the past six months. For these reasons, in the section on earnings to be discussed in the following, the number of people wishing to have jobs, including housewives, reached 376. (Cf. Tables 16 through 18)

Among employed people, the largest number was found to be skilled workers, including apprentices and workers who are more like simple physical workers. In the sales business those operating small sundry stores are also included; and company employees include typists, office girls and janitors. Those engaged in transportation business include drivers. Their responses give the impression that there are many engaged in submarginal and unsteady jobs.

Table 15 shows the distances to their job places from their homes.

Table 15 Distances to Work Place

No distance	57 persons	(0.8%)
Less than 2km	68 "	(12.8%)
" 5km	34 "	(6.4%)
" 8km	76 "	(14.3%)
" 11km	68 "	(12.8%)
" 14km	31 "	(5.9%)
" 17km	21 "	(4.0%)
" 20km	3 "	(0.6%)
20km or more	24 "	(4.5%)
Other(Figures for self-appointed and jobs unknown)	148 "	(27.9%)
Total:	530 persons (100.0%)	

3. Earnings

The following is the result of an analysis of

their earnings.

Table 16. Monthly Family Earnings

No earnings	8 households (1.5%)		
Less than ₱30,000	78	"	(14.7%)
" ₱50,000	178	"	(33.6%)
" ₱100,000	219	"	(41.3%)
" ₱150,000	28	"	(5.3%)
" ₱200,000	14	"	(2.7%)
" ₱200,000 or more	5	"	(0.9%)
Total:	530 households(100.0%)		

Table 17. Earnings by Largest Wage Earner among Family Members

No earnings	7 households (1.3%)		
Less than ₱30,000	119	"	(22.4%)
" ₱50,000	207	"	(39.1%)
" ₱100,000	169	"	(31.9%)
" ₱150,000	18	"	(3.4%)
" ₱200,000	9	"	(1.7%)
₱200,000 or more	1	"	(0.2%)
Total:	530 households(100.0%)		

According to Table 16, the largest number of family members with earnings was in the bracket from ₱50,000 to ₱100,000, 50.1 percent of the total number of households with earnings. In the case of the largest earnings among family members in Table 17, the largest number was

found in the bracket between ₩30,000 and ₩50,000, accounting for 39.1 percent of the total number of households.

For reference, the government statistics on

family incomes of urban wage earners in Korea are as follows: (Economic Planning Board, Korea Statistical Monthly, p. 75 August 1975)

Table 17-1. Monthly Income and Expenditures of Salary and Wage Earners in Seoul and All Cities

	All Cities	(Seoul)
Average family members	5.15 persons	5.16 persons
Wage earners per household	1.35 "	1.30 "
Monthly income of head of household	₩58,990 (including other income)	₩62,100 (including other income)
Monthly income of other family members	₩4,320	₩4,420
Total monthly family income	₩63,310	₩66,620
Monthly consumption expenditures	₩58,070	₩58,810
Balance (Monthly income minus expenditures)	₩5,240	₩7,810

According to this table, their earnings are more or less the same as those of salaried and wage earners in Seoul. According to them, their jobs appear unstable and their earnings small. These facts may be concluded that they have little more earnings than salary and wage earners in Seoul because any survey conducted according to such methods on income usually results in showing income standards which are lower than actual.

The following table shows the number of family member looking for jobs.

Table 18 Family Members Wishing to Have Jobs

None	146 households	(27.6%) × 0 = 0
1 person	105 "	(19.8%) × 1 = 105
2 persons	69 "	(13.0%) × 2 = 138
3 "	21 "	(4.0%) × 3 = 63
4 "	10 "	(1.9%) × 4 = 40
5 or more persons	6 "	(1.1%) × 5 = 30
Not relevant	173 "	(32.6%)
Total:	530 households	(100.0%) 376

According to their responses, of the total 530 household, such persons now unemployed are in 211 households (39.8%); these figures also

Table 18-1. Number of Skilled Family Members Looking for Jobs

None	192 households	(36.2%) × 0 = 0
1 person	28 "	(5.3%) × 1 = 28
2 persons	4 "	(0.8%) × 2 = 8
3 "	1 "	(0.2%) × 3 = 3
4 "	0 "	(0)
5 or more persons	0 "	(0)
Not relevant	305 "	(57.5%)
Total:	530 households	(100.0%) 39

include the number of housewives. Even when the category "five or more persons" is assumed to be five persons each (Table 18), their number reaches 376. This means, as described before, that their present jobs are not steady or otherwise they want to get better jobs. Their number renders it difficult to learn the accurate number of unemployed.

Another regrettable thing was that there were no questions about their cost of living, savings or debts. But such matters should be very carefully investigated, and it is difficult to obtain valid results by a general social survey type of study.

It must be added that the number of residents

who are jobless at present but have industrial skills reached 39. Their skills include sewing, printing, drying, wig making, photography, and barbering. Therefore, it does not seem that they are all seeking jobs.

4. Businesses Conducted at Present Houses

Table 19. Kinds and Number of Businesses Conducted at Their Own Houses

Coal biquette sales	1 household
Eating house and inn	2 households
Sewing	9 "
Furniture making and carpenters	13 "
Potters	2 "
House building	2 "
Civil engineering material sales	1 household
Groceries (very small scale)	7 households
Wholesale business (unknown types)	2 "
Transportation (taxi and truck drivers)	3 "
Brokers (realtor)	1 household
Wine shops	2 households
Comic book store	*3 " 1)
Repairing business (electrical appliances, watches and clocks)	2 "
Cottage business	*16 " 2)
Others	6 "
Total:	72 households

Note 1) Small stores at which children's comic books are lent.

2) Under subcontracts awarded by exporting firms or export industries for making some kinds of parts at their houses.

Table 20. Number of Employees in Business Conducted at Their Houses (Including Family Workers)

Self-employed	18 households
2-5 persons	21 "
6-10 "	23 "
11-15 "	5 "
16-10 "	2 "
21-25 "	0 "
26-30 "	1 household
31 or more persons	2 households
Total:	72 households

The 18 self-employed households seem to refer to operating small grocery stores, realtors business, and Korean costume making

It is interesting to note that households engaged in some business operated within their own houses numbered 72. Their number represents 13.6 percent of the total respondents. The following table shows details of their business types.

Table 21. Monthly Transactions in Business Conducted at Their Houses

Less than ₩50,000	6 households
" ₩100,000	13 "
" ₩150,000	3 "
" ₩200,000	10 "
" ₩250,000	2 "
" ₩300,000	10 "
" ₩500,000	10 "
" ₩1,000,000	7 "
" ₩2,000,000	7 "
" ₩5,000,000	0
More than ₩5,000,000	1 household
Unknown	1 "
Total:	72 households

business. Their businesses may not have been described openly as what they are in fact. The following table also shows their monthly transaction volumes.

5. Occupations of Parents of Present House Owners, and Their Hopes for Their Children's Occupations

Let us study the occupations of parents and kinds of occupations they want their children. The following table shows parents' occupations enumerated in the order of highest frequency:

Table 22. Parents' Occupations

Agriculture	351 persons (66.2%)
Public officials	34 " (6.4%)
Skilled workers & day workers	18 " (3.4%)
Business men	14 " (2.6%)
Teachers	13 " (2.5%)
Company employees	10 " (1.9%)
Other	77 " (14.5%)
None or unknown	13 " (2.5%)
Total:	530 persons(100.0%)

As stated before, parents' occupations were mostly farming, proving that they are those who have come into Seoul from rural areas. It appears strange that children of public officials and teachers are poor. But this is considered to be a natural outcome in some sense as the past and present pays or salaries for public officials and teachers in Korea. Table 23 shows the kinds of occupation their children want to have.

According to the table, they have a tendency to want their children to have stable lives, rather than any pecuniary success. For instance, those who want their children to be businessmen, including industrialists, number 56 (10.6%). On the other hand, the number of those wishing for relatively stabilized lives reaches 41 for medical doctors, 4 for public officials, 35 for teachers, and 67 for engineers, totaling 184 persons or 34.7 percent of all those subject to this survey.

Table 23. Occupations Their Children Wish to Have

Public officials	41 persons (7.7%)
Company employees	23 " (4.3%)
Bank clerks	8 " (1.5%)
Teachers	35 " (6.6%)
Clergymen	3 " (0.6%)
Businessmen	51 " (9.6%)
Soldiers	7 " (1.3%)
Physicians (including herb medicine)	41 " (7.7%)
Pharmacists	2 " (0.4%)
Skilled workers	5 " (1.0%)
Engineers	67 " (12.6%)
Judges	31 " (5.8%)
Politicians	8 " (1.5%)
Diplomats	7 " (1.3%)
Navigators	0 " (0)
Airplane pilots	0 " (0)
Industrial businessmen	5 " (1.0%)
Farmer	1 " (0.2%)
Livestock industry	0 " (0)
Forestry	0 " (0)
Architecture and civil engineering	3 " (0.6%)
What suite the children's aptitudes	65 " (12.3%)
Scientists	3 " (0.6%)
Artists	2 " (0.4%)
Never thought of	93 " (17.5%)
Not relevant	24 " (4.5%)
Other	5 " (1.0%)
Total:	530 persons(100.0%)

On the other hand, those wishing to be men with power or good positions are surprisingly few; for instance, 31 persons wishing to be judges, eight politicians and seven career military servicemen. This shows how hard unstable their lives have so far.

Chapter 3. Situation of Housing

1. Building and Land

The dates of construction of the existing buildings is asseen in Table 24 below:

Table 24. Dates of Construction of Buildings

In or after 1973	15 households	(2.8%)
1972-1972	61 "	(11.5%)
1967-1969	26 "	(4.9%)
1965-1966	91 "	(17.2%)
1963-1964	41 "	(7.7%)
1960-1962	85 "	(16%)
1958-1959	21 "	(4%)
1955-1957	19 "	(3.6%)
In or before 1954	1 "	(0.2%)
Not sure	170 "	(32.1%)
Total:	530 households	(100%)

In other words, as was indicated at the beginning, out of these 530 buildings those which were built in or before 1954, namely more than 21 years old, were more one or two. It was after 1960 that buildings began to be constructed there in earnest. It is almost certain that those which were built after 1970 are generally not unauthorized buildings. As explained before, this is due to rigid control by the government. It is believed that the time of construction is not clear for some buildings because they changed hands many times.

Meanwhile, the size of housing lots is as seen in Table 25:

Table 25. Size of Lots

10 pyong or less	16 households	(3.0%)
11 to 15 pyong	34 "	(6.4%)
16 to 20 pyong	64 "	(12.1%)
21 to 25 pyong	59 "	(11.1%)
26 to 30 pyong	73 "	(13.8%)
31 to 35 pyong	59 "	(11.1%)
36 to 40 pyong	63 "	(11.9%)
41 to 45 pyong	26 "	(3.9%)
46 pyong or larger	130 "	(24.5%)
Not sure	6 "	(1.2%)
Total:	530 households	(100%)

Here, the only thing to be pointed out is that house which are 25 pyong or less number 173 or 32.6 percent of the total. Moreover, it is estim-

ated that the houses which meet the legally minimum-required land space of 27 pyong account for nearly 50 percent.

The ownership of these lots is as seen in Table 26 below:

Table 26. Ownership of Housing Lots

Privately owned	89 households	(16.8%)
Owned by others	5 "	(1.0%)
Half publicly and half privately owned	17 "	(3.2%)
State or publicly owned	413 "	(77.9%)
Not sure	6 "	(1.1%)
Total:	530 households	(100%)

In other words, most of the housing lots were owned by the state or other public organizations (77.9%), and those owned entirely by the owners of houses are mere 16.8 percent of the total.

Table 27 below shows the size of structures built on these lots:

Table 27. Size of Structures

5 pyong or less	8 households	(1.5%)
6 to 10 pyong	71 "	(13.4%)
11 to 15 pyong	138 "	(26.0%)
16 to 20 pyong	136 "	(25.7%)
21 to 25 pyong	59 "	(11.1%)
26 to 30 pyong	43 "	(8.1%)
31 to 35 pyong	24 "	(4.5%)
36 to 40 pyong	19 "	(3.6%)
40 pyong or larger	27 "	(5.1%)
Not sure	5 "	(1.0%)
Total:	530 households	(100%)

As shown in the table, 40.9 percent of the total were 15 pyong or less in size. Even many of larger houses are believed to be of such size through additions of two or more small structures. The numbers of rooms in these houses are as seen in Table 28 belows:

Table 28. Number of Rooms

1 room	11 households (2.1%)
2 rooms	93 " (17.5%)
3 "	175 " (33.0%)
4 "	120 " (22.7%)
5 "	70 " (13.2%)
6 "	28 " (5.3%)
7 "	17 " (4.2%)
8 "	4 " (0.8%)
9 "	5 " (0.9%)
10 or more	7 " (1.3%)
Total:	530 households (100%)

According to the table, three-room structures top the list with 175 structures or 33 percent of the total. Of the total, 279 structures or 52.6 percent have three or less rooms. The structures with nine or ten or even more rooms are those resembling long countryside inns built exclusively for the purpose of rent. Suppose the structures with 10 or more rooms have 15 rooms on the average (there even is a structure with 20 rooms), then the total number of rooms of the 530 households amounts to 2,021 or 3.8 rooms per house on the average.

The size of these rooms is as seen in the following table:

Table 29. Total Floor Space per Room

Less than 3 pyong	50 households (9.3%)
3 to 6 pyong	184 " (34.7%)
7 to 9 pyong	134 " (25.3%)
10 to 12 pyong	81 " (15.3%)
13 to 15 pyong	38 " (7.2%)
15 to 18 pyong	25 " (4.7%)
19 to 20 pyong	9 " (1.7%)
21 to 25 pyong	4 " (0.8%)
25 to 30 pyong	1 " (0.2%)
31 pyong or larger	4 " (0.8%)
Total:	530 households (100%)

It is difficult to accurately assess the average floor space of rooms. But, as seen in Table 29, the combined floor space of rooms of 368 struc-

tures (69.3%) is 9 pyong or less. Houses with combined room spaces of 3 to 6 pyong number 184, constituting the largest group of houses by room floor space. Therefore, it is believed that if the average room number is set at 3.8, then the average space of a room is about 1.5 pyong.

Therefore, if a structure consists of 3.8 rooms on the average, it can be said that most households occupy one room each.

2. Tenant Households and Rents

The number of households in a building, including tenant households, is as seen in Table 30:

Table 30. Number of Households

1 household	159 (30.0%)
2 households	182 (34.3%)
3 "	98 (18.5%)
4 "	55 (10.4%)
5 "	24 (4.5%)
6 " or more	12 (2.3%)
Total:	530 (100%)

Here, if the structures with "six households or more" each are calculated to have eight households each on the average, then it would mean that a total of 1,253 households live in the 530 houses or 2.36 households including the household which owns the house. In other words, tenant households number 723. With the exception of

Table 31. Numbers of Tenant Residents of Houses with Tenants

1 person	4 houses
2 to 3 persons	68 "
4 to 6 "	134 "
7 to 10 "	64 "
11 to 15 "	65 "
16 to 20 "	22 "
21 to 25 "	7 "
26 to 30 "	2 "
31 or more	5 "
Total:	371 houses

the 159 houses where only one household live respectively, the remaining 371 houses are those where tenant households live along with the households owning houses. Since 1,094 households live in these houses, it means that each of the 371 houses has 2.94 or nearly 3 households.

The numbers of tenant residents of the 371 houses with tenant households are as seen in Table 31 below:

The situation at houses where more than 16 persons are crowded each may be below the permissible level.

Now, we shall look into the form of rents involved here. In Korea, types of housing rent are extremely diverse and complex. However, the most common rent is the type in which only key money is paid without monthly rent. When a tenant leaves a house, the entire amount of key money is refunded. This type of rent is called "chonse." Under this system, the interest on the key money is in effect paid as monthly rent.

Another type of rent calls for specific key money plus monthly rent. In this case, the key money is smaller than in the case of "chonse." The key money is refunded at the time of the tenant's departure, also.

In a third type of rent, only monthly rent is paid without any key money. In this case, the monthly rent is quite high, as there is no key money. In general, this sort of rent is paid on a monthly instalment basis. But in slums like the area covered in this survey, there even are some tenants who pay their rent daily.

The period of rent is also diverse. When needy households are involved, the rent periods contracted were mostly three months, six months, ten months and one year. In most cases, contracts were renewed at increased key money or rent on the excuse of inflation or price increases. The rent period hardly exceeded one year, and it is believed that most rent contracts were for

somewhere between six months and one year.

One interesting thing is that especially in the low-income brackets, there are not a few cases in which parts of rented houses are rented again to other persons. In this case too, the type of rent is one of the three kinds discussed above. The amount of key money or monthly rent is of course small in this case.

The types of rent in the area covered by this survey were as seen in Table 32.

Table 32. Types of Rent

1. No rent	159 households	(30.0%)
2. "Chonse"	300 "	(56.5%)
3. Monthly rent	39 "	(7.4%)
4. Mixture of "chonse" and monthly rent	31 "	(5.9%)
5. Not clear	1 "	(0.2%)
Total:	530 households	(100%)

Table 33 below shows the amounts of rent which house owners were receiving.

Table 33. Amount of Key Money

1. 100,000won or less	37 households
2. 100,001 won to 300,000 won	116 "
3. 300,001 won to 500,000 won	70 "
4. 500,001 won to 800,000 won	60 "
5. 800,001 won to 1,000,000 won	20 "
6. 1,000,001won to 1,500,000won	18 "
7. 1,500,001won to 2,000,000won	16 "
8. More than 2,000,000 won	5 "
Total:	332 households

Table 34. Amount of Monthly Rents

1,000 won to 3,000 won and below	7 households
3,001 won to 5,000 won	26 "
5,001 won to 7,000 won	4 "
7,001 won to 9,000 won	5 "
9,001 won to 10,000 won	5 "
10,001 won to 30,000 won	13 "
30,001 won or more	1 "
Total:	61 households

And 51 tenant households paid their rent on a monthly basis. The amounts of the monthly rent are as seen in Table 34:

Here, tenants who pay monthly rent of more than 20,000 won are considered to operate some sort of business in their rented houses or rooms.

3. State of Structures and Interior Facilities

Tables 35, 36, 37 and 38 below show the materials of roofs and walls of the houses and their condition.

Table 35. Material of Roof

Slate	27 houses (5.1%)
Galvanized iron	2 " (0.4%)
Roof tile	420 " (79.2%)
Roofing paper	13 " (2.5%)
Slab	68 " (12.8%)
Total:	530 houses (100%)

Table 36. Condition of Roofs

Good	258 houses (48.7%)
So-so	202 " (38.1%)
Bad	70 " (13.2%)
Total:	530 houses (100%)

Table 37. Materials of Walls

Red brick	64 houses (12.1%)
Cement block	451 " (85.1%)
Mixture of cement block and red brick	12 " (2.2%)
Rock	2 " (0.4%)
Other	1 " (0.2%)
Total:	530 houses (100%)

Table 38. Condition of Walls

Good	223 houses (42.2%)
So-so	236 " (44.6%)
Bad	54 " (10.2%)
Not clear	17 " (3.0%)
Total:	530 house (100%)

Tables 35 through 38 show the subjective

judgement of the conditions of houses. This judgement was made not on an objective basis. However, such subjective judgement can serve the purpose of sounding out indirectly their intentions for reconstruction or repair of their houses.

Tables 39 through 53 indicate the conditions of various facilities of houses.

Table 39. Piped Water & Sewer Facilities in Kitchen

None	134 houses (25.3%)
Only piped water	21 " (3.9%)
Only sewer	100 " (18.9%)
Both piped water and sewer	275 " (51.9%)
Total:	530 houses (100%)

Table 40. Kitchen Cupboards

Built-in cupboard	37 houses (7.0%)
Separate cupboard	481 " (90.8%)
None	3 " (0.5%)
Not clear	9 " (1.7%)
Total:	530 houses (100%)

Table 41. Type of Kitchen

Conventional	480 houses (90.5%)
Western-style	48 " (9.1%)
Mixed-style	2 " (0.4%)
Total	530 houses (100%)

Table 42. Electricity Facilities in Kitchens

Yes	488 houses (92.1%)
No	42 " (7.9%)
Total:	530 houses (100%)

Table 43. Spaces to Store Things Such as Fuel or Vegetables in Kitchen

Yes	86 houses (16.2%)
No	444 " (83.8%)
Total:	530 houses (100%)

Table 44. Location of Toilets

No toilet	7 houses (1.3%)
Inside house	41 " (7.8%)
In garden	423 " (79.8%)
Outside garden	59 " (11.1%)
Total:	530 houses (100%)

Table 45. Type of Toilet

Flush	40 houses (7.6%)
Conventional	483 " (91.1%)
Mixed type	7 " (1.3%)
Total:	530 houses (100%)

Table 46. Bath-Taking

At public bath houses	417 houses (78.7%)
In garden	37 " (7.0%)
In bathroom in house	65 " (12.2%)
Others	11 " (2.1%)
Total	530 houses (100%)

Table 47. Piped Water & Sewer Facilities

No	88 houses (16.6%)
Yes	416 " (78.5%)
Yes, but not working	26 " (4.9%)
Total:	530 houses (100%)

Table 48. Number of Faucets

None	88 houses (16.6%)
1	184 " (34.7%)
2	120 " (22.6%)
3	75 " (14.2%)
4	26 " (4.9%)
5	21 " (4.0%)
6	7 " (1.3%)

7	2 " (0.4%)
8	2 " (0.4%)
9 or more	5 " (0.9%)
Total:	530 houses (100%)

Table 49. Water Source in Case There Is No Piped Water System

Public faucet for piped water	26 houses (4.9%)
Other house's faucet	58 " (11.0%)
Public well	5 " (0.9%)
Piped water facilities	441 " (83.2%)
Total:	530 houses (100%)

Table 50. Type of Room Heating

Briquette coal boiler	11 houses (2.0%)
Kerosene	2 " (0.4%)
Briquette coal "ondol"	514 " (97.0%)
Wood fire "ondol"	1 house (0.2%)
Stove	2 houses (0.4%)
Total:	530 houses (100%)

Table 51. Method of Disposal of Garbage

To garbage truck	426 houses (80.4%)
To public garbage yard	97 " (18.3%)
No adequate place	7 " (1.3%)
Total:	530 houses (100%)

Table 52. Method of Disposition of Human Excrement

To excrement tank-truck	500 houses (96.0%)
To stream	4 " (0.8%)
Flush toilet	17 " (3.2%)
Total:	530 houses (100%)