

Economic Crisis, Social Network, and the North Korean Family

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INTRODUCTION

Due to the absence of any type of popular resistance, the North Korean regime has survived in spite of changes brought on by the fall of the communist bloc since the late 1980s. As the only source of wages and services as well as the sole owner and distributor of products,¹⁾ socialist countries are responsible for providing their people with food, medical care, education, wages and other services. By the mid-90s, however, the North Korean government's role as distributor had been paralyzed by economic disaster. Then, how do the North Korean people survive? The answer lies first in the country's forced socialist political stability and second, in how the population has dealt with the economic catastrophe. North Korea has certainly exhibited political solidarity as it struggled to overcome the

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1) Michael Buraway, *Politics of Production: Factory Regimes Under Capitalism and Socialism* (London: Verso, 1985), pp. 195-196.

economic crises, and this has been achieved through the internalization of the *Juche* philosophy and Kim Jong-il's iron fist policy over party, politics, and, especially, the army. Specifically, since the crisis worsened in the mid-90s, Pyongyang has advocated *Kangsong Daekook*, a strong and prosperous nation, as its ruling ideology and has reinforced *Songun* (military first) politics.

These ideological and political factors only emphasize why popular resistance has never been manifest. At the same time, the fact that the government is still unable to solve food shortages to ensure its survival indicates that the source of survival may be more tangible, i.e., family dynamics, rather than an abstract ideology or political system.

North Korean families have indeed, found practical measures to secure survival during crises, devising strategies based on the material resources available. These "network fortification" strategies have not only guaranteed family survival, they have even allowed the accumulation of resources.

The purpose of the present study is to analyze the network fortification strategy. Through behavioral and structural research, North Korean families' private and public relationships will be examined, and in the process, their maintenance mechanism will be revealed.

THEORIES OF FAMILY STRATEGY

Existing studies on North Korean families have often analyzed families on the basis of a totalitarian structure, describing a passive existence ruled by a social structure. Specifically, they have focused on how the socialist philosophy was realized through the family and on the changes in family policy and system that occurred due to social changes. Family values, therefore, hinged on how those philosophical goals were realized from a theoretical standpoint. On the contrary, the liberal view emphasizes how much the North Korean family has changed, from the former traditional family unit to the heterogeneous

family unit.

Meanwhile, the feminist view posits that, even though it advocates gender equality, North Korea has actually strengthened the patriarchal characteristics present in the family system. Finally, the class theory underscores the view of the socialist, or revolutionary characteristics, in the North Korean family. Those studies, by emphasizing the passive role of the family, have neglected the independent actions that families take to induce to numerous changes.

This study attempts to look at both structure and behavior by analyzing the family's coping behavior under the structured conditions of North Korean society in order to analyze how North Korea's political and economic situation affects on the family system. For the macro-micro linkage of these structural and behavioral standpoints, the concept of family strategy²⁾ is used. In this study of family strategies, I have focused on analysis of behavior more than on the structural pressures.

Family strategy refers to a type of behavior in which family members deal with the pressure of structural changes in order to maximize the interests of the family. The strategy is determined by a mutual relationship between available resources and the extent of structural pressure placed on the family.³⁾ The idea of family strategy has been used to define how a family controls its resources by social class, stratum or region, and this idea produces various types of family models for coping with the structural changes.⁴⁾ Therefore, this concept becomes more useful in a period of rapid social change, such as during industrialization, war or poverty. The mastery of a strategy, i.e., coping with the serious pressure of social change, is also a process by which a family works as a system to manage crises.

2) M. Schmink, "Household Economic Strategies: A Review and Research Agenda," *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (1984), p. 23.

3) G. Crow, "The Use of the Concept of 'Strategy' in Recent Sociological Literature," *Sociology*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (1989), p. 8.

4) K. Thurley and S. Wood, "Introduction," Thurley and Wood (eds.), *Industrial Relation and Management Strategy* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1983), p. 2.

Family survival strategy posits that a family copes with difficulty and overcomes it as a family unit. For example, before industrialization, French small farmers made decisions about members' share of labor or household duties based on the interest of the whole family rather than on the individual.⁵⁾

Accordingingly, the present study is based on three strategies: the subsistence strategy, the changing strategy for the family system, and the strategy for strengthening the social network. First, the subsistence strategy means maximizing the income, minimizing the expenses and combining the incomes in the family unit. As a unit of mutual aid, the family works as a depository for the wages of all family members.⁶⁾ All members work for the common good, and participation of women and children in economic activities and side jobs is increasing in the North. Members try to minimize all household expenses with the exception of necessary food costs.

Secondly, the strategy also involves relocation of some family members. When a family cannot cope with the structural pressure using its own resources, and when subsistence itself is impossible, they attempt to reduce family size in order to increase the chances of survival. Children or unmarried young people move to the city⁷⁾ to find jobs, thus reducing their parent's burden and contributing to the family income. In North Korean, instead of moving to the city, entire families move to an agricultural village to find food, which has brought about housing shortages in rural areas. In extreme cases, family members have moved into relative's homes, defected to foreign counties or even abandoned their children.

Third, the strategy to strengthen the social network involves using

5) Louise A. Tilly and Joan W. Scott, *Women, Work, and Family* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978), p. 21.

6) J. Humphries, "The Working Class Family, Women's Liberation and Class Struggle: The Case of Nineteenth Century British History," *The Review of Radical Political Economics*, Vol. 9 (1977), pp. 25-26.

7) M. Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1971), pp. 38-39.

private and public networks to enhance a family's coping measures. Private networks consist of relationships with relatives including parents, neighbors, friends and so on, while the public network consists of workplaces and social organizations on the party and state level. This strategy takes advantage of private and public networks to ensure survival.

Strengthening the Private/Public Network

Strengthening the private network is often seen in the relationship between married couples and their parents. When a couple lives with the parents, the whole family can take advantage of the couple's ability to work longer hours since the grandparents can care for the children.⁸⁾ For example, in Japan, the number of extended families has increased since 1975, a phenomenon explained by the increasing numbers of working women and the need to save on expenses.⁹⁾

Family support networks are also formed between rural North Korean young people and their relatives who live in the city. When young people leave rural areas, they choose a city where other relatives have successfully settled, and these relatives usually take on the responsibility of helping the newcomers.¹⁰⁾

Networks for mutual cooperation among neighbors and friends are determined by social class and stratum. Historically, neighbors and friends have much in common, and can work in mutual cooperation. For example, 19th century British workers developed a support system among their associates who were in a similar situation.¹¹⁾

8) M. Anderson, "Household Structure and the Industrial Revolution: Mid-Nineteenth Century Preston in Comparative Perspective," Peter Laslett and Richard Wall (eds.), *Household and Family in Past Time* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1972), p. 230.

9) S. Philip Morgan and Kiyosi Hiroshima, "The Persistence of Extended Family and Residence in Japan: Anachronism or Alternative Strategy," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (1983), pp. 269-281.

10) M. Anderson (1971), *Ibid.*, p. 65.

Existing theories on family strategy have disregarded public networks. In this study, however, it will be addressed in terms of the traditional socialist system.¹²⁾ The relationship between the party and the people in the classical socialist system can be described as “support-protection” or “support-benefit.”

In the socialist system, factories and businesses have an absolute influence on the family. These enterprises have their own hospitals, nurseries and vacation facilities as well as residences for employees. Managers not only run those facilities, they also intervene a great deal in the lives of workers and their families, to the point of supporting or denying an employee’s right to marry or divorce. Indeed, factories and businesses of socialist nations are not only workplaces, they are cells of power.¹³⁾ In addition, the classical socialist system stresses the importance of family, promoting the conservative view of family and insisting on the ethical and legal responsibility to that institution.

In North Korea’s *Suryong* (supreme leader) system, the personalized command of the supreme leader is realized in the Party-State system. Under the *Suryong* system, a personalized network centered on *Suryong* performs is more important than official procedures or rules, and social status and power is secured by loyalty to the system. This type of reciprocal relationship is carried out in the economic sector¹⁴⁾ as well as in social situations. Facing limited markets and insufficient materials, workers participate in unofficial agreements, including private exchanges and corruption,¹⁵⁾ to further their own interests. In the economic sector, the level of the workload and party loyalty is

11) John Burnett (ed.), *The Annals of Labour: Autobiographies of British Working-Class People 1820-1920* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1974), p. 62.

12) Janos Kornai, *The Socialist System: The Political Economy of Communism* (New Jersey: Princeton Univ., 1992), p. 19-20.

13) *Ibid.*, p. 222.

14) Victor Nee and David Stark, *Remaking the Economic Institutions of Socialism* (California: Stanford Univ. Press, 1989), p. 10.

15) Andrew G. Walder, *Communist Neo-Traditionalism: Work and Authority in Chinese Industry* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), p. 16, 26.

evaluated by supervisors at the factories or businesses, while further strengthens the importance of cronyism. This situation produces unique societal characteristics, i.e., a patriarchal authoritarian relationship between superior and inferior organizations; superior organizations' patriarchal behaviors; and an emphasis on cronyism.¹⁶⁾

Case Study

In order to analyze North Korean families, two case studies were conducted on North Korean refugees who entered South Korea. The first was conducted on 20 subjects from March 15 to April 7, 1999. The group consisted of nine couples who had married in North Korea and two women who had formerly been married in North Korea. Of these, two had defected in 1994, four in 1995, four in 1996 and ten in 1997. All of them had defected since 1994, and half of them had defected after the 1997 economic disaster. The second study was conducted on 52 subjects (25 males, 27 females) from May 3 to July 8, 2002. Among them, 15 had defected in 1998, nine in 1999, two in 2000 and seven in 2001. Thirty-three (63.5 percent) had defected from North Korea since 1998. Since the first case study was conducted by each family unit, this study will focus on those cases.

THE PRIVATE NETWORK STRATEGY

Nuclear Family-Parental Relationship

Because location of residence and movement are restricted in North Korea, physical distance is one of major factors in relationships. When access is restricted, or if one needs a pass, visits are difficult

16) Kim Yeon-cheol, *North Korea's Industrialization Process and the Politics of Factory Management (1953-1970): The Social and Economic Origin of the Suryung System* (Seoul: Sungkyunkwan University, 1995).

regardless of the emotional bond.

Following are the results of a study of the relationship between a nuclear family and the husband's family (see Appendix 1). Regarding distance, four families lived a short distance from the husband's family. Among the four families, three families visited the husband's family between once a day and once a week. One exception (case 4)¹⁷ had a bad relationship with her husband's family. Other families who lived in remote areas visited the husband's family only on major holidays. Moreover, although some visited the husband's family frequently, most of them had minimal emotional ties. Only two husbands answered that they had close relationships. Four families helped their parents now and then with cash contributions for family events and food or presents during holidays. Two families received help from their parents. Only one family exchanged mutual support with their parents. Generally, relations between the nuclear family and the husband's family had no emotional bonds. As witnessed in seven cases, the relationship is more inclined to substantial support with husband's families.

To illustrate the relations between the nuclear family and the wife's family, the variables of distance and bond are explored. Four families lived a short distance from the wife's family, and all four visited the wife's family more frequently than the husband's. On the other hand, families who lived more than 1-1/2 hours away by car paid visits only on the major holidays. As far as emotional bonds with the wife's family, all women expressed close ties, and only one male confessed difficulty in the relationship. Three of the families substantially supported the wife's family, two families received help, and the remaining three families exchanged mutual support with the wife's family. In addition to the substantial support, they exhibited closeness in other ways, such as the parents caring for children.

In sum, nuclear families usually support their parents in one way

17) Case No. 4 is about a woman who graduated from a university, worked as a second-class cloth-cutter at a clothing factory and finally defected in 1995.

or another. For example, the woman in case 4 lived with her husband's family early in the marriage, but the relationship with her mother-in-law soured to the point that she became ill. They usually contributed 200 North Korean won¹⁸⁾ to her husband's family during family events, quite a large sum compared to the average wage of North Korean workers (70-100 won per month). On the other hand, the wife's family lived 1-1/2 hours away by car, and the trip required a pass. Although the family could visit only for traditional rituals, she felt closer to them than to her husband's family, and thus, usually offered a contribution of 300 won.

Close relations between branch/nuclear family and the wife's family can be also seen in case 10,¹⁹⁾ in which the wife's parents have six children, and have helped every child equally including the married daughters. This case is typical of closer relationships that focus on the wife's family.

Extended Family Relationship

The common structure of the North Korean household is the nuclear family, consisting of a married couple and two children. Only 20 percent are extended families. In the first case study, three families out of the eleven are extended families who lived with their parents. Families 5 and 17²⁰⁾ lived with the wife's family and family 3 lived with the husband's family (see Appendix 2). In North Korea, living with the wife's family is not yet common. Of those who did live with the wife's family, one husband (family 17) is an orphan, and the other (family 5) emigrated from Japan.

18) The monetary standard used in this study is the standard which was used before prices and wages were raised by the "July-1 Improvement Measure for the Economic Management" on July 1, 2002.

19) Case 10 is about 36-year-old female, director of the People's Association, who defected from North Korea in 1996.

20) Cases 15 and 16 in Appendix 1 are son and his wife of Family 17, and the family 17 of Appendix 2 (cases 13 and 14) are the son's parents.

In the case of family 3, the wife lived with her mother-in-law but failed to form an emotional bond with her husband's family. She visited her parents' family only five times during seventeen years of marriage but managed to maintain an intimate relationship through the exchange of letters 5-6 times per year. Whenever they did visit, they brought household appliances from Hamhung, where they lived. While this single case cannot be generalized, there is a high possibility that living with the husband's family weakens the relationship with the wife's family. However, families 5 and 17, who lived with the wife's family, gave and received economic assistance, and particularly, received assistance from the wife's mother and brother for the children's upbringing and education.

Comparison of Family Networks

An analysis of the kinship network reveals clues that highlight the household structure of North Korea. Appendix 3 compares nuclear and extended family relations with the husband's and wife's families. The following are factors of dual kinship observed in North Korean families since the economic crisis.

(1) Four families in close proximity to the husband's family paid frequent visits, indicating that there is some importance in the bond of the extended family.²¹⁾ However, the other four families that live close to the wife's family paid more frequent visits to the wife's family than to the husband's. Even in the patrilineal society of North Korea, many families live close to the wife's family and substantially maintain the relationship of dual kinship, which has important significance.

(2) The support relations weakened in proportion to the distance between the nuclear family and the husband's family. The more distant, the less able they were to form an emotional bond with the husband's family. Yet they maintained an intimacy with, and formed

21) Charles Hirschman and Vu Manh Loi, "Family and Household Structure in Vietnam: Some Glimpses from a Recent Survey," *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 69, No. 2 (1994), pp. 230.

active support relationships with the wife's family regardless of the distance.

(3) Nuclear families formed intimate relations with the wife's family. However, husbands and wives evaluated the intimacy level differently.

(4) With regard to the husband's family, the nuclear family either gave help or received it, i.e., maintained one-way relations. On the contrary, the relationship with the wife's family was mutual. The relationship with the wife's family showed a diversity of support, including both human and material support. In relations between the parents' family, the more affluent members help the other generation. That is, a more reasonable and practical support relationship was formed between two generations instead of a one-way relationship in which the eldest son completely supported his parents. Furthermore, there was no difference in the understanding of the husband and wife on the support of the wife's family, indicating that support was openly provided in the family.

(5) Again, the cases cannot be generalized, but it seems that living with the husband's family weakened the relationship with the wife's family in terms of support. The only observation that could be made was that the family living with the husband's family formed an obligatory or one-way relationship with the husband's family. On the other hand, the family living with the wife's family formed an intimate and mutually supportive relationship. The wife's family provided assistance, including child care and education, so that the children's mother could work longer hours to better support the family.

In comparing the relationship between the husband's family and the wife's family, we can see that North Korean families form closer emotional bonds with the wife's family than the husband's, especially regarding material support. Even though North Korean families generally adhere to patrilineal household structure and values, the relationships favor the maternal side, and the rule of mutual support has been maintained. However, this does not mean that the North

Korean family is becoming a matriarchal one. The only difference is that the non-male-oriented dual kinship system is now part of the existing patrilineal household structure. This can be understood in the same context as factors of male-centered patrilineal system and non-male-oriented dual-kinship system that coexist in Vietnamese kinship.²²⁾

This appearance of dual-kinship factors can be explained in two ways. First, the economic crisis has influenced kinship and, as a result, kinship has evolved into a more reasonable relationship for practical support that reflects the economic conditions rather than the traditional family system. Moreover, the participation of women in economic activities and in the family economy has increased, enabling them to maintain a closer relationship with their family of birth.

Relationship with Relatives in Foreign Countries

In North Korea, having relatives in foreign countries worked as a disadvantage, in that it lowered their status. Since the economic hardship, however, it has become an advantage. Family 5 (cases 5 and 6) has relatives in Japan, and family 13 (cases 7, 8, 9 and 10) has a maternal grandmother in America.

Cases 5²³⁾ and 6²⁴⁾ were pro-Chongryun who emigrated from Japan, leaving behind the husband's mother, sister, brother and also the wife's brother. The family lived well because they received support from relatives in Japan. Usually, support in cash was sent via other immigrants traveling on the Mankyongbong ferry until 1968, and through "fatherland visitors" since 1975.

In family 13, case 7 and 10 are older brother and younger sister, respectively. Relatives include a maternal grandfather, maternal

22) Hy Van Luong, "Vietnamese Kinship: Structural Principles and the Socialist Transformation in Northern Vietnam," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 4 (1989), p. 742.

23) Case 5 is a sixty four-year-old man who defected in 1995. In North Korea, he had been a warehouse director at a small cooperative farm for daily products in Sinuiju.

24) Case 6 deals with a fifty-seven-year-old woman who defected from North Korea with her husband in 1995.

grandmother, aunt and uncle who live in America. The maternal grandmother sent 500 dollars to the children's parents every three months. The father distributed the money to his children equally regardless of sex or marriage status, and the siblings experienced no financial difficulties.

THE PUBLIC NETWORK STRATEGY

Socialist Economic Activities

As mentioned above, in the classical socialist system, factories and businesses are not only workplaces but also cells of power, controlling the lives of workers and promoting socialist economic activities. Therefore, even though factory operation rates are under 30 percent, they must still go every day just to sign in since their absence could be construed as disloyalty to the nation.

When wages are paid, the average monthly wage for professional managerial positions, including Central Party directors, Cabinet deputy directors, army generals and professors²⁵⁾ is around 200-350 North Korean won. Generally, workers are paid around 70-100 won and office workers are paid 60-70 won. In subsistence terms, the average monthly living expenses for one family is 2,000 won as of the year 2000, and 75 percent of it goes directly to buy food. The average number of family members in North Korea is four people although about two are economically active, meaning that even minimum subsistence is difficult under the planned economy.

In order to find a means of survival, North Korean workers have two options: In most cases, they remain in jobs at which they can earn additional income (cases 3, 8 and 13), or they find time to work at a

25) These jobs are belong in the category of "office worker" in accordance with the social classification of North Korea, however I classified them as "professional managerial position" in accordance with the job classifications of South Korea.

second job or look for food (cases 11, 15, 17 and 18). In a few cases, they quit for a more profitable job. Since resigning is prohibited, they must submit a “reasonable” excuse such as disease or another “fabricated” excuse.

Workers can change jobs within the same city, but getting a job in a different province is extremely difficult. Also, since attendance is compulsory, when they quit their jobs they are investigated by the police and sentenced to forced labor (case 5). If they don't work for over six months, they are imprisoned (case 3 and 15). These facts show that labor is a responsibility, not a right, in North Korean society.

Unofficial Relationships in the Public Sector

If citizens want side jobs or want to quit their jobs, they must offer bribes (cases 15 and 20). When they want to resign, they must submit a doctor's diagnosis, and if they need a false diagnosis, they bribe the doctors. Supervisors must also be bribed since they know a great deal about the situation in each household. Although North Korea recently announced a measure that permits people to take a certain period of vacation for the purpose of obtaining food (Case-15), the bribery continues.

In addition to general types of bribery, citizens also pay bribes in the workplace. If they openly work at side jobs, they must offer a certain amount of money to other colleagues as well as bribes to their supervisors. For example, the husband of case 20²⁶⁾ was a surgeon, but he was not paid. He therefore conducted a business for about ten or fifteen days a month and offered 300-400 won to his workplace every month in return for their approval of his taking personal time to conduct his business.

Also, some cases involve obtaining or changing jobs using personal relationships. A female (case 16)²⁷⁾ worked in a dance troupe

26) Case 20 (34 year-old female) had graduated from a university and defected in 1997. She was a quality inspector at the Science&Technology Council in Hyesan-si.

but later worked as a saleswoman at a folk arts shop using her uncle's personal relationship with the shop manager in Pyongyang.

These techniques, including bribery and personal relationships, have generally occurred during the redistribution process of the socialist system, but they have increased since the economic disaster and will worsen the social inequality. Moreover, it causes a vicious cycle in which people must bribe for jobs or food, and then they have to obtain other side jobs to pay for the bribes. The personal relationship of course, requires an initial bribe.

CONCLUSION

North Korean families use networking strategies to sustain both family and work. In particular, they use a private network, which includes relatives, neighbors and friends, and a public network, which includes work, social organizations, the party and state.

From the case studies, the coexistence of the male-centered patrilineal kinship system and the matrilineal dual-kinship system are observed. In the public network, unofficial relationships have been enhanced along with institutionalized bribery.

Through those network-fortification strategies, North Korean families are securing a livelihood. By using the private network, they can ensure survival through material support. Using the public network allows them to receive support for economic activities. Currently, the responsibility for family survival has shifted from the state's planned economy to the family.

27) Case 16 (26 year-old female) had graduated from university and defected in 1997.

Appendix 1. Nuclear Family Relationship with Parents' Family

FN* Case No.**	Relationship with Husband's Family			Relationship with Wife's Family		
	Distance	Intimacy	Support	Distance	Intimacy	Support
4	3H Same city, but too far to visit	Visits on major holidays	Bring food and clothing and economic support		Visits on major holidays	Economic support
4W	Close; visits on major holidays	Estranged, bad relationship	Gives economic help and food, economic support	Distant (1-1/2 hours); visit for family rituals	Close	300 won contribution
13	7H Walking distance (30 minutes); mother visits frequently	Visits frequently; discusses family issues	Received economic help after setting up nuclear household	15 minutes walk; visit frequently		Gives extensive support
8W	Mother-in-law visits frequently	Separate household due to emotional problems	Received extensive economic help	Close	Visits very often	Economic support, and food; husband's family supports
13	9H	Visits on major holidays	Contribution to marriages; other contributions	Lives in the same apartment	Visits every day	Receives economic help
10W	Both parents deceased; sister-in-law visits				Close	Give contributions; receives help with child care
14	11H Lives in Pyongyang; difficult to obtain pass	Close		Close; visits once a month		Mutual help with food
12W	Visit 1-2 times a year		Minimal mutual help	Close; visits once a month or more		Gives substantial help

17	15H	Visits on holiday afternoons	Receives help	Visits on holiday mornings	Receives food
16W	Close (5 minutes); Visits every day	Receives economic help	Lives 2 hours away; visits on holiday	Receives economic help	
17H	Gives a little help	Difficult	Gives minimal help	Close	Minimal contribution
18W	Visits on holidays; brings food	Minimal contributions	Visits during major holidays		
19W	Both parents deceased; visits sister-in-law		Same city; visits during holidays		Mutual food exchange during holidays
20W		Visits during major holidays	Gives help	Close; visits during major holidays	Receives help

* FN: Family number. The family number is given by the Ministry of Unification.

** H: husband, W: wife

Appendix 2. Extended Family's Relationship with Their Parents' Families

Living Status	FN	Case	Relationship with Husband's Family	Relationship with Wife's Family			
	No	Distance	Intimacy	Support			
With Husband's Family	3	2F	Living together (Mother-in-law passed away in 1987)	Visited family events only 5 times during 17 years of marriage	5-6 letters per year; no relationship with in-laws	Support	Gifts from Hamhung
With Wife's Family	5	5M	Husband immigrated from Japan to North Korea	Receives support for living expenses	Living together	Gives economic help; receives help with child care	
		6F		Living together		Sometimes receives rice	

13M	Husband is an orphan	Living together	Helpful	Mutual help; mother takes care of children
17	14F	Living together		

Appendix 3. Kinship Network Usage

Classification	Relationship with Husband's Family	Relationship with Wife's Family	Note
Distance	Nearby (4 families); frequent visits	Nearby (4 families); frequent visits	Visits the wife's family more than the husband's family
Intimacy	Minimal relationship	Close ties among women	Closer to wife's family
Support	- Helps husband's family (4 families) - Receives help from husband's family (2 families) - Mutual help (1 family)	- Helps wife's family (3 families) - Receives help from wife's family (2 families) - Mutual help (3 families)	Active mutual support with wife's family
Distance	Lives with husband's family (1 family)	Lives with wife's family (2 families)	
Intimacy	No relationship	Close ties	Wife's family is closer than the husband's family
Support	Receives support from relatives in foreign country	Mutual help	Mutual help with the wife's family