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Korean Male Farmers' Patriarchal Perception: A Case Study of *Apo Diary* (1969–2000)*

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Abstract

This paper aims to examine the dynamics of internalized patriarchy in the socioeconomic context of Korea in the 1970s and the 1980s based on *Apo Diary*, written by Soon-deok Gwon from 1969 to 2000. This paper analyzes Gwon's internalized patriarchy in three sections. The first section describes the story of the birth of Gwon's son, which reflects the preference for sons rooted in the Confucianism of the Joseon Dynasty as well as capitalist expectations for the upward class mobility of the family through investment in the only son. The second section examines Gwon's internalized patriarchy in relation to his wife's labor. At the time, smallholders had to rely on family farming for survival. Women were forced to carry out multiple roles in production and reproduction to maintain the system. However, they could rarely achieve an economic reward equivalent to their contribution, keeping their life dependent on the patriarchal system. Finally, the third section discusses the influence of patriarchal thinking on the gender roles imposed upon Gwon's son and daughters. Gwon idealized his son's role as a breadwinner and his daughters as full-time housewives. His perception seemingly follows the Western patriarchy of modern capitalism; however, his views are based on the direct familism of patriarchal blood linearity, which differs from the nuclear family in Western society. In this paper, *Apo Diary* exemplifies how internalized patriarchy changes depending on the times. Gwon's internalized patriarchy in relation to the gender roles works differently for his wife and daughters, keeping the patriarchal system robust.

Key words

Apo Dairy, rural community, internalized patriarchy, upward class mobility, the preference for sons, gender role

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Introduction

This paper explores the patriarchal attitudes of rural Korean men based on *Apo Diary,*[1] Soon-deok Gwon's (hereafter Gwon) diary from 1968 to 2000. This paper does not merely highlight the patriarchal inheritance of a male farmer in a traditionally patriarchal society but also analyzes the dynamics of patriarchy that have changed with the socioeconomic context of South Korea (hereafter Korea) in the 1970s and the 1980s.

Using prior studies on patriarchy and gender in modern capitalist Korean society, Cho, U. (1986) interprets Korean women's transition to wage labor after the Japanese colonization and through the industrialization of the 1960s as a capitalist transformation of the patriarchal system. Cho, U. (1986) points out that the material basis of patriarchy has grown powerful with changes toward an industrial capitalist economic system. More specifically, Lee (1996) argues that, during the modernization of Korea, the government pushed through policies of low wages and the legal repression of labor that targeted women. Jang (2004) also reveals the family-centered ideas and gender discrimination based on patriarchal traditions from the stories of female urban workers in the 1960s and 1970s during industrialization. These studies demonstrate the correlation between capitalism and patriarchy. Lee (2007) analyzes how the rapid growth of capitalism has reinforced the repressive maternal role related to the emergence of the market reproduction or education capital production, family. Lee (2007) refers to this change as a capitalist reconstruction of the Korean patriarchal family.

This paper also examines the patriarchal gender roles adopted by male farmers in the socioeconomic context of modern capitalist societies. However, while previous studies focused on the utilization of patriarchy to control urban women workers or the capitalist family strategies observed in the market reproduction family[2], this paper analyzes how the patriarchal perceptions of a Korean male

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[1] Soon-deok Gwon was born in Daesin-ri, Apo-eup, Gimcheon-si, Gyeongsangbuk-do in 1944, and has always lived in the same village. He has been writing diaries ever since 1969. *Apo Diary* is a collection of his diaries from 1969 to 2000 and has been published in five volumes (Yi et al., 2014; 2015). In his diary, Gwon, whose formal education experience consisted only of graduating from elementary school, often writes the strong dialect of Gyeongsang (southern Korea) the way it sounds. This has required considerable efforts on the part of this researcher to decipher the exact meaning of his expressions. In addition, direct quotes from Gwon's diary had to be limited due to lack of space.

[2] A market reproduction family reproduces a consumer market. In charge of production and re-

farmer have been maintained and have changed since industrialization.

Some researchers in the field of media criticism have examined Korean literature and movies to identify issues of patriarchal masculinity and subordination in modern Korean society (Cho, 2013; Han, 2000; Heo, 2013; Jang, 2014; Kim, 2012; Shin, 2006). While the narratives of these works may include the contemporary socio-cultural context, they mostly consist of the fictional world that comes from the creators' imaginations. In this sense, a personal diary based on real-life episodes is expected to overcome this problem. Considering that human life is mostly gendered, it may also provide useful data on gender inquiry.

This study started with the question of whether internalized patriarchy could be inherent in a homogeneous state. Assuming that patriarchal experiences would change over time, this paper characterizes Gwon's internalized patriarchy in terms of the different socioeconomic contexts throughout his life.

Understanding Gwon's Life through *Apo Diary* and the Socioeconomic Background

To understand Gwon's internalized patriarchy requires the consideration of possible social changes arising from a weakened Confucianism and the wide spread of industrial capitalism. Korean patriarchy was historically at its most influential during the Joseon Dynasty. Adopting Confucianism as its dominant ideology, the dynasty established a robust paternal blood system. This ideology emphasized the overarching importance of giving birth to a son, prohibited women from remarrying, and made them follow *samjongjido*.[3] In the latter half of the seventeenth century, Confucianism became rooted in the general public (Cho, O. R., 1986; Cho, 1988; Lee, 1996). However, the modernization and urbanization of the 1970s and 1980s rapidly diluted the traditional sense of kinship (*munjung*[4]) focusing on the paternal line. Gwon, belonging to the Andong Gwon clan, had also not been

production, while working for their husbands and children, women have been involved with capitals and contributed to the continuation of a labor market. In this sense, a market reproduction family makes strategic investments for their upward class mobility (Lee, 2007).

[3] *Samjongjido* (三從之道, the Way of Three Obediences) means that a woman should be obedient to her father in childhood, her husband after marriage, and her son after the husband's death.

[4] *Munjung* (門中), also known as *jongjung* (宗中), refers to a family with a range of relatives that include more than eight generations in the paternal line. While some very traditional *munjung* still perform ancestral rituals, the actual bond among the relatives has generally faded.

actively involved in family events like annual reunions or ancestral rituals. Regardless of his weak connection with the Andong Gwon clan, however, he retained a strong belief that a family must have at least one son.

Notably, the advent of modern capitalism restructured the Confucian patriarchal family into a capitalist family. The early days of industrialization emphasized the idea of a wise mother and good wife[5] and reproduced a patriarchal system based on a nuclear family. The development of industrial capitalism, led by Park Chung-hee's dictatorship (1963–1979), brought about various social and cultural changes. *Apo Diary* also reflects this socioeconomic context.

Gwon began writing his diary at the age of twenty six. After the introduction of modern education in Korea, keeping a diary was usually considered a form of homework for children. It is therefore interesting that Gwon decided to write his diary after becoming an adult. After being discharged from the military and returning to his hometown, Gwon thought that keeping a diary would be helpful to maintain his regular routines. In other words, for Gwon, his diary was a tool whereby he could achieve success through self-control.

The two principal themes in *Apo Diary* are labor and children. Gwon was farming a total of 0.1 hectares, including land inherited from his father and leased land. In addition to farming, he worked at construction sites and factories and ran his own business. As a result of the hard work, he was able to become a middle-class farmer owning a considerable amount of land by the time he was in his 50s. While Gwon pushed himself hard for his success, he encouraged his three children to do their best at school. Regarding education as the only reliable method to ensure his children's success, Gwon invested generously in their education.

One theme that carries through Gwon's diary is the aspiration for success, a keyword to understand the socioeconomic background of the time. In the 1970s and 1980s, the government accelerated the export-led industrialization policy. Under the circumstances, many young people in rural areas were increasingly flowing into the urban labor market nationwide. As a result, the urban population of Korea, which was only 18.4% in 1950, sharply increased to 74.4% in 1990. This

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[5] In the early days of industrialization, the idea of *yangcheohyeonmo* (良妻賢母, a good mother and wise wife) in Japan was introduced to Korea as *hyeonmoyangcheo* (賢母良妻, a wise mother and good wife). During the Japanese colonial period and the Korean War, women had to replace the men absent from their homes. With industrialization, however, the role of mother and wife was also emphasized for women. Unlike in Japanese, *hyeonmo* (a wise mother) precedes *yangcheo* (a good wife) in Korean, implying that the role of a mother is more important in Korea.

change was influenced not only by the pull of a growing urban economy but also by the push of a deteriorating rural economy (Park, 2003).

After liberation from Japanese rule in 1945, Korean rural society developed along small-farmholder lines (Ahn & Lee, 2016; Im, 1997; Rhee, 2002; Yoon, 1991). Following the 1948 Constitution of Korea, a series of land reform measures were introduced in 1949. Accordingly, smallholders' land ownership became legalized, maintaining to some extent the heritage of a small farming society. Since then, the Korean small farming system has developed from bi-polar differentiation by the 1960s to middle-class standardization from the late 1960s to the early 1980s. This change more focuses on a downward differentiation of prosperous farmers than an upward differentiation of poor farmers (Yoon, 1991). Farmers mobilized their families' labor forces as much as possible to maximize their profits. Rapid industrialization, the widening gap between urban and rural areas, and the decline of agricultural profitability led to a massive rural exodus and the overexploitation of family labor in farming.

The socioeconomic context at the time of Gwon's diary also reveals the cohesion between capitalism and a small-farmer society (Ahn & Lee, 2016). Modern capitalism in Korea did not start from a free market economy, but rather through an overwhelmingly state-led industrialization and agricultural policy. However, as evinced by the sharply growing urban population and the fervor for higher education, such intensive economic growth encouraged people's aspirations for upward class mobility.

Apo Diary vividly describes Gwon's tremendous efforts as a smallholder, raising his three children in a rural community with a strong desire for upward class mobility. More specifically, Gwon aspired to increase the family's economic and educational capital. Farming his rice fields and leased land,[6] Gwon wished to use the economic resources to build up his children's educational capital. It is an ordinary story that could be found in any family in the era of modern Korean industrial capitalism.

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[6] The limit of three hectares imposed by the Land Reform Act (1949) was based on the family labor of five people. This system lasted until the end of the 1960s. However, after the mid-1970s, the scale of farming became more substantial because of farmers' need to satisfy their household expenses and the mechanization of agriculture. This trend led to an increase in leased land, with the proportion of leased land higher on larger farms (Kim, 2003). Gwon expanded both his independent and leased land each year.

Dynamic Aspects of Gwon's Internalized Patriarchy

The Preference for Sons: Internalization of Confucian Patriarchy and Oppression of Women

Gwon had three children. Whenever his wife was pregnant, he desperately wanted the child to be a son. Waiting for the first birth, he wrote, "I feel so anxious, wishing my wife would give birth to a precious son. (04/19/1973)." However, the first was a daughter: "I feel weak unexpectedly having heard that it is a daughter (04/20/1973)." When he realized that the second child was a daughter again, Gwon was even more frustrated: "I am such an unlucky man. I don't even want to talk to my wife (08/24/1974)." Finally, the third was a son.[7]

Gwon, who expressed his feelings differently depending on the sex of his child when it was born, also showed a preference for his son throughout the process of raising the children. For example, Gwon only sent gifts to his son's homeroom teachers (03/16/1983; 06/02/1983; 06/29/1983; 10/21/1983; 01/08/1984) and continued his son's milk program even when his economic situation was not good (10/16/1985). Gwon also paid more attention to his son's education than his daughters': "It is okay if my daughters are behind in their studies. I only hope that my son will be successful in his academic achievement (12/09/1985)." He sent his son to an abacus class (12/01/1987) and paid for one year of home-study materials (02/21/1991) in an effort to increase his son's motivation to study.

What made Gwon so desperate to have a son and wish for his success? Gwon's diary gives a clue regarding his notion of gender: "Some people say not to discriminate between sons and daughters. However, their differences are so obvious, like heaven and earth (12/09/1985)." In the 1970s and 1980s, Korean society retained a strong preference for sons. Many people still believed that only sons could carry on their family lines. It was also expected that sons would be the ones to perform ancestral rites. Originating in Joseon Dynasty Confucianism, these ideas influenced and implicitly shaped Gwon's life.

In *Apo Diary*, Gwon describes his wife, Yun-sim Lee (hereafter Lee) as if her body were only useful in its capacity to produce a son. Deciding not to have an-

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[7] Gwon's wife gave birth to a son on June 12, 1976 (May 15, lunar month), but Gwon did not write a diary entry on that day. Instead, in the diary entry for June 1, 1990, Gwon recalled, "I was so happy to hear from my wife that it was a son, I rushed to my sister-in-law almost barefoot and informed her of the news."

other child for the time being after the birth of their second daughter, Gwon bought birth control pills for Lee but soon regretted it: "I heard that birth control pills would reduce breast milk. I should not have bought these pills (02/21/1975)." Later, when finding out that his wife was pregnant for the third time, Gwon bought abortion pills for her (11/04/1975).[8] As they did not work, however, he went to see an obstetrician with his wife. The doctor said that it was too late to remove the baby by medication or surgery (12/01/1976). Fortunately, the third turned out to be a son.

As Gwon's son was slow in learning how to talk and how to go to the toilet unaided, Gwon wondered if he should try to have another child, expecting a smarter son (03/20/1980; 04/07/1981; 02/12/1982; 10/13/1982). However, he thought it would be too difficult for him to support multiple sons (05/24/1977; 12/11/1979), so he decided to concentrate on his only son (12/26/1982). When his wife conceived for the fourth time, Gwon had her take abortion pills (01/18/1984). When the pills did not work, Gwon had her get both an abortion and tubal ligation (02/07/1984). It was the end of Gwon's long journey to have a son. Thus, a husband's aspiration for a son led to the control and repression of his wife's body at the most physical level.[9]

Interestingly, while the preference for sons had its roots in feudal patriarchy, Gwon's control over Lee's reproduction followed the capitalist rule of population control. When the couple had three children, the Korean government had implemented a birth control policy, considering the rapidly growing population an obstacle to economic growth. This family planning facilitated by the government was based on a belief in Malthusianism, arguing that the reduction of population would lead to economic efficiency. In terms of educational investment, Gwon decided to focus on his only son as he was not sure if he could fully support multiple sons (12/26/1982). The motivation for this decision was the expectation that the investment would lead to his family's upward class mobility. Thus, Gwon's high expectations of his son and control of Lee's reproduction worked with a feudal

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[8] In a later diary entry, he wrote that he wanted to end the pregnancy, feeling that it would be a daughter (01/13/1976).

[9] Lee seemed to rely on Gwon for buying pills or going to a hospital as he completely controlled the family finances. If Lee actively expressed her opinions, considering that Gwon recorded everything in detail, he would have recorded it in the diary. Lee also seemed to want to have a son. Women tend to follow the Confucian patriarchy on this issue, expecting to be compensated later by their son. Wolf (1972) called this family structure dominated by men a "uterine family."

patriarchy stemming from Joseon Confucianism and a capitalism that pursued economic efficiency and upward class mobility.

"I Must Succeed": Gwon's Longing for Capitalist Success and Overexploitation of His Wife's Labor

In early January of 1969, when Gwon began writing his diary, he wrote his resolution: "The rich around the world say that they were under 30 when they gained a foothold in their business. I will do it by the age of 35 (01/03/1969)." Over the course of the year, Gwon wrote the word "success" 29 times which, for him, meant financial abundance. After his military service, he pinned his hopes on the poultry business, but it was not successful and he had to dispose of all the chickens within two years (11/13/1970). While running his own business, he also worked on highway construction sites. At first, he felt ashamed of the job but put up with it in the name of achieving success: "If you do not want to suffer when you are old, you should get a foundation when you are young (07/04/1969)." Even after marriage, Gwon continued to work on the construction sites, which was one of his primary sources of income.

Like other rural young people, Gwon had also left for a city, dreaming of success. He moved to Incheon with a friend's introduction and started domestic iron business (02/27/1971). Unfortunately, the business did not last long, and Gwon soon returned home (03/09/1971). After that, Gwon continued to dream of urban life until half a year after he got married (11/25/1972).

In 1972, Gwon married Lee, who was then 29. Gwon met with six prospective brides when looking for a wife, and Lee was the last woman he met. He chose Lee out of the six women because she was from a rural area and had farming experience. Gwon believed, "A married couple should pave the way for life together (05/05/1972)." What he meant by paving the way for life was financial success. At first, Gwon was not happy that Lee was a Christian: "Christians go to church three days a week. I am concerned that her religious activities may get in the way of our work (05/05/1972)." As a result of his pressure, Lee finally stopped going to church. Gwon wanted his wife to spend as much time as possible with him working in the field.

The Gwon family farm relied primarily on his and his wife's labor. Among the diverse crops that he planted, the primary sources of income were rice and fruit (peaches and plums). When Gwon went to work at a construction site, his wife typically worked alone. Gwon himself worked alone when she was absent to work

for other jobs, went to market, to her children's school, or visited her family. The diaries on these days were full of Gwon's complaints, even though he admitted that his wife was a diligent worker and seemed to recognize how vital her labor was to him. Sometimes his neighbors worried that Gwon made his wife work too much (06/09/1989; 08/20/1990; 02/17/1993; 04/30/1993; 06/19/1993; 01/14/1994). One day in the diary, Gwon complained that neighbors seemed to believe that only his wife worked hard (09/27/1987).

A specific pattern of labor division was evident in Gwon's description of the couple's joint work. Mirroring the usual gendered labor division in the community, Gwon was usually responsible for rice farming, while his wife was responsible for vegetable farming. More specifically, Gwon would operate farm equipment (04/06/1990; 04/27/1990; 05/02/1990; 10/14/1995), choose crops to cultivate (03/11/1987; 11/26/1996), and join training programs for farmers (01/31/1981; 02/01/1983; 02/24/1983; 01/16/1984; 11/17/1992); Lee would bring vegetables to the market to sell (09/07/1987; 10/16/1987; 09/01/1991; 09/08/1993; 09/28/1993; 12/21/1993) and make rice cake, sesame oil, or polished rice (12/09/1997; 09/22/1999; 10/13/2000). When they worked together, Gwon would prune, plow ridges, and manure the garden (07/16/1992; 09/11/1993; 10/14/1995; 03/11/1996; 05/05/1996; 08/15/1996; 12/14/1996; 05/28/1997; 02/03/1998; 04/30/1998), while his wife would pick fruit, weed, remove harmful insects, and thin out crops (07/16/1992; 07/14/1993; 09/11/1993; 10/14/1995; 08/15/1996; 05/28/1997; 02/25/1999; 05/27/1999). They usually worked together when they needed to take immediate action like picking shoots from grapes or weeding (12/14/1996; 02/13/1997; 02/17/1997; 04/16/1999; 05/28/1999).

While there was a specific pattern of labor division in farming, the description in Gwon's diary does not show a strict classification depending on gender. For example, Gwon taught Lee to operate a cultivator in the field, which was considered to be a male farmer's job; Lee was the only woman in the neighborhood who could drive a cultivator (11/23/1983; 12/09/1983; 12/13/1983). Lee also had better skills than Gwon in using a sickle, so she often harvested hemp (06/25/1984; 08/26/1984; 07/17/1985; 07/14/1987; 09/05/1987; 09/14/1987; 09/16/1987; 09/11/1989). Furthermore, Lee was solely responsible for the harvesting of grapes as Gwon was color blind and thus could not pick ripe fruits (08/08/1994; 08/15/1996; 09/12/1996; 05/18/1997; 10/16/1997; 08/07/2000).

Gwon continued to expand his farm size using his own and leased land. The farming area was 4.2 hectares in 1992 (10/31/1992) but increased to 5.2 hectares in 1995 (05/25/1995). Sometimes Gwon recruited a day laborer, but it was pri-

marily he and his wife who handled the work. As the farming scale and labor intensity increased, Gwon often expressed his worries regarding his wife's health in his diary.

However, we cannot necessarily draw the conclusion that it was only Gwon who unilaterally exploited his wife's labor. Smallholders at the time relied on family labor and family strategy to make agricultural profits. Particularly in the 1970s and 1980s, it was common in rural areas to support children's move to cities through investing in their education. Although a female spouse's labor was crucial in maintaining family farming, a husband and a wife did not develop an equal partnership, but rather the wife's contribution strengthened the husband's patriarchal status.

Gwon tried to share farming work with Lee as much as he could, but he thought that housework and child rearing were entirely her responsibility. One day, Gwon returned home after work and found that dinner was not ready yet. When he complained about that, Lee argued she also had no time to set the table in time because of much work. Gwon was very upset with her reaction (06/14/1986). Gwon often described how much his wife struggled with caring for their eldest daughter, who cried a lot when she was a baby (08/07/1973; 10/17/1973; 11/11/1973) but he did not think he had to help his wife. When Gwon took care of his children while his wife had a meeting with her friends, he felt like he "wasted a day meaninglessly (02/16/1975)." He thought that it was natural for "women to spend their whole lives in nurturing their children (01/14/1976; 01/09/1980)."

Gwon's wife contributed to the household economy by devoting herself entirely to farming and housework. However, it was her husband who completely controlled all the family finances, a common feature of Korean rural communities (Kim, 1994). Lee seemed to have received the money she needed from her husband whenever she went to the beauty salon, traveled with her friends, visited her family, or went to see a doctor. Lee also seemed to voluntarily agree to her husband's financial control, regarding her family as a single economic unit. In addition, she was much thriftier than her husband, which made him happy. The thriftier Lee was, the more she felt that her family's situation was improving, and the more she enjoyed her husband's recognition. In this process, Lee naturally internalized the economic dependence on her husband.

After the industrialization of Korea, the urban middle class developed the dichotomous ideas of gender roles in a family, with a husband responsible for the family's financial well-being and a wife dedicated to housework, but it was chal-

lenging to apply this idea to rural society. As in the case of Gwon's wife, women in rural communities had to play a dual role as production workers and reproductive workers. However, these women did not have the economic status granted to the labor force and lived a life dependent on their husbands. As Ueno (1994) points out, in the compromise of patriarchy and capitalism, modern women have been forced to play the role of workers and housewives. Hartmann (1981) also indicates that women's labor is controlled not only by capitalists but also by husbands or fathers, which reflects the interaction between patriarchy and capitalism. Gwon's diary proves that the modernization of Korea's capitalism and small-farming society is based entirely on patriarchy.

Sons as Breadwinners and Daughters as Housewives: Idealized Modern Capitalist Gender Roles Based on Patriarchal Familism

Gwon had a great zeal for education, noting in his diary that he was more passionate about his children's education than other parents (04/22/1987). Devoting himself to the education of all three children (09/11/1987), he wished to overcome his regret (*han* in Korean) regarding his own lack of education through them (10/22/1988). One day when he came back home from a training program for farmers, he reiterated his resolution: "There is no future for rural communities and farmers. Life as a farmer should end in my generation (01/31/1986)."

Despite Gwon's high expectations for his son, his performance at school was not impressive, and he entered a vocational high school. However, thanks to Gwon's steadfast support, his son was ultimately able to gain admission to a two-year college (02/22/1995).

Gwon showed interest in his daughters' education as well.[10] He was deeply dis-

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[10] Gwon's investment in his daughters' education reflects the increase in educational opportunities and social advancement for women at that time. Traditionally, married women in Korea were called *chulgoein* (出嫁外人), meaning that, once a woman is married, she is considered to belong only to her husband's family. However, since the modernization of Korea, this traditional perception has considerably weakened, and the relationship between parents and their married daughters has continued. In this sense, Gwon's investment in education for his daughters can be understood as a family capitalist strategy, expecting a valuable return to the family from his daughters' marrying men with a better educational and/or familial background, or a promising job. Nevertheless, when a family has multiple sons and daughters, sons are still the priority for educational investment, sacrificing daughters' opportunities. For instance, from the 1960s to the 1980s, many teenage girls moved to a city for a job to support the education expenses of their younger or elder brothers.

appointed when his eldest daughter gave up applying for a top high school due to her low grades (12/07/1988; 12/27/1988; 12/31/1988). After that, she failed to gain admission to college two years in a row. Gwon described the day of the second failure as "the bitterest day (02/23/1993)." She was eventually able to enter a two-year college on her third attempt: "Today, my old worries and pain have been resolved (02/22/1994)."

Of his three children, it was his youngest daughter who showed the best performance at school. She was always one of the top students in elementary school (12/08/1986; 10/30/1987). However, her grades started to drop in junior high school, which made Gwon feel as if he had lost one of the greatest joys in his life (09/29/1988). One day, the daughter's teacher told her that her grades were not good enough to apply for the top high school and she came back home disappointed. Gwon felt heartbroken to see her crying (11/04/1989). When she failed to gain admission to any of the four-year colleges, he wrote that he was beyond despair (02/04/1993). Finally, she entered a technical college (02/21/1993) and Gwon could not have been happier when she was awarded a scholarship (08/11/1993; 01/28/1994; 04/20/1994; 08/13/1994; 09/09/1994; 10/03/1994).

Using the educational capital, Gwon expected his son to become a more capable breadwinner but his daughters to become better housewives. His different expectations of the children suggest how Gwon perceived gender roles. He believed his son needed to graduate from college for a successful marriage and social life (08/21/1994; 10/30/1994). As Gwon's son was not interested in study, however, he constantly worried that his son would end up in manual labor (03/26/1990; 08/02/1990; 10/21/1990; 07/18/1992; 07/23/1994): "The less you study, the more you will struggle with physical labor requiring a lot of sweat and bone-grinding pains (10/21/1990)." If his son only graduated high school and became a manual worker, he would have a harder life as the head of a family in the future; Gwon knew that from his own life experience.

Gwon bought his son an apartment and a car to help him find a suitable spouse (09/02/1997; 10/07/1999). He believed that his children's generation would find their spouses through love rather than matchmakers (01/17/2000) but expected that if his son had a house and a car, he would be able to find a better-off spouse more easily, following a common belief in modern Korean capitalist society. Thus, Gwon defined his son's gender role as the breadwinner of his future family and consistently projected his aspiration for success through intervention in his son's life.

In contrast, Gwon assumed that his daughters' roles would be as full-time housewives; his support for their college education was not to avoid manual labor:

"I only hope that my daughters will get a college diploma to find a good spouse in the future (11/09/1991)." In the diary, Gwon often expressed the conviction that, for women, graduating from college is the best way to live a comfortable life by meeting a successful man (02/25/1992; 03/16/1992; 02/23/1993).

While working at a construction site in Gumi, Gwon's diary clearly shows his idea of daughters' gender roles:

> Working as a day laborer at the apartment complex at Gumi City Hall, I observed public officials' wives and found how comfortable a life they had. The wives only washed their children's clothes and rested from 10 in the morning. Later, they took their children to the playground [···] or looked at us working on the porch. They did not do anything, working only three hours a day and enjoying a break for the rest of the day. It is completely understandable why young girls do not want to be married to a rural bachelor. If they get married in the countryside, they will have to work hard all day. Only *byeongsin* (idiots) will move to the countryside by marriage. I am afraid that, soon, the rural area will become a gathering place of *byeongsin* (12/06/1979).

Gwon wanted his daughters to have a comfortable life like the public officers' wives, which he considered ideal for women. Gwon wished his son would graduate college to avoid manual labor, but it was not the case for his daughters because he did not conceive of his daughters as working women. Gwon's two daughters got jobs after college, but this was only a temporary experience before marriage. Calling women married to rural men "idiots" seems to imply that Gwon never imagined his daughters in that situation.

Gwon encouraged his daughters to graduate from college in order to marry a successful man and live as full-time housewives. In the process of choosing a college or career, Gwon did not care about his daughters' social activities or their self-actualization. When his younger daughter had a hard time because of some issues at her workplace, Gwon wrote, "If she had a boyfriend, I would have her quit the job and only focus on preparing for marriage (02/19/2000)." Indeed, Gwon made her have nine meetings with a matchmaker to find a spouse from late 1999 to 2000. One day, the daughter was concerned about a job interview as she thought her major was not a good fit for the job. Gwon, however, was pleased that the company looked like the right place for his daughter to find a future husband (10/29/1994).

Gwon's interventions in his children's education and careers demonstrates two characteristics: First, it reflected a belief in modern capitalist gender roles. Second, the capitalist family that Gwon was pursuing was based on the patriarchal family with direct linearity, which was different from the Western idea of a nuclear family.

Industrialization brought about the change from family-centered production to capitalist production, which fixed gender division by assigning women to housework to make them dependent on their wage-worker husbands. Women were also supposed to maintain the emotional stability of their family members (Cho, O. R., 1986). Gwon internalized these fixed gender roles while making every effort to get his children into the marriage market.

With modernization, children's education and social success emerged as the crucial issues for urban middle-class families. This trend led to the development of a market reproduction family, which was connected to the reproduction of inequalities. Gwon's case shows how a market reproduction family is represented as a family that produces academic capital in the case of Korea, a market reproduction family was represented as a family that produces academic capital (Lee, 2007). Gwon's desire for success, projected through his children, reflected the capitalist family strategy for upward class mobility with successful education and marriage.

Further, the capitalist family that Gwon was pursuing was based on a patriarchal family with direct linearity, different from the Western idea of a nuclear family. Since the modernization of Korea, the practice of patrilocal residence (newlyweds reside with a groom's parents) has decreased, while neolocal residence (newlyweds live independently) has increased. However, a groom's parents usually prepare a new place for their son and daughter-in-law, which reflects the remaining tradition of patrilocal residence (Kim, 2005). When Gwon bought his son an apartment and a car, it reflected his intention to maintain the interdependent and patriarchal relationship with his son and his son's future family. Gwon also expected that his son would take care of him and his wife in old age.[11]

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[11] The obligation of sons to support their parents and carry out ancestral rituals has been much weakened, but has not completely disappeared. Observing how Gwon's children have taken care of their parents and maintained their relationship as of 2019 is helpful in understanding how they are maintaining or changing their traditional gender roles. Gwon's two daughters are married and live as full-time housewives in remote areas, while the son works in a city close to where Gwon and his wife live. However, when Gwon went for long-term treatment at a hospital in Seoul more than a decade ago, it was one of his daughters who took care of him. In Korean society, daughters have substantially shared the obligation of supporting their parents.

Thus, Gwon's understanding of his children's gender roles was based on the typical patriarchal gender perception in modern capitalism. However, it was not modeled on the contemporary Western nuclear family, but rather lay in the Korean idea of the patriarchal family.

Conclusion

Considering both the socioeconomic background of industrial capitalism and the Confucian tradition, this paper analyzes Gwon's internalized patriarchy in three sections. The first section describes the story of the birth of Gwon's son, which reflects the preference for sons rooted in the Confucianism of the Joseon Dynasty as well as capitalist expectations for the upward class mobility of the family through investment in the only son. The second section examines Gwon's internalized patriarchy in relation to his wife's labor. At the time, smallholders had to rely on family farming for survival. Women were forced to carry out multiple roles in production and reproduction to maintain the system. However, they could rarely achieve an economic reward equivalent to their contribution, keeping their lives dependent on the patriarchal system. Finally, the third section discusses the influence of patriarchal thinking on the gender roles imposed upon Gwon's son and daughters. He idealized his son's role as a breadwinner and his daughters as full-time housewives. Gwon's perception seemingly follows Western patriarchy in modern capitalism; however, his views are based on the direct familism of patriarchal blood linearity, which differs from the nuclear family in Western society. *Apo Diary* exemplifies how internalized patriarchy changed depending on the times. Gwon's internalized patriarchy in relation to the gender roles of his wife and daughters works differently but maintains the strength of the patriarchal system.

One question that arises is the identity of the mechanism that makes such a patriarchy so persistent and robust, presupposing women's implicit consent and participation. As *Apo Diary* only reflects a male viewpoint, it is not easy to confirm the degree to which the women, his wife and daughters, were compliant or resistant. Future studies will continue by analyzing women's behaviors using more diverse resources and methods, which will help toward a deeper understanding of Korean patriarchy.

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