

# Changes in Daily Lives and Housing Consciousness of Korean Women after Modernization<sup>†</sup>

Hyung-Ock Hong, Nam-Il Jun<sup>1</sup>, Sehwa Yang<sup>2\*</sup>, Sei Kwan Sohn<sup>3</sup>, Nan-Soon Eun<sup>4</sup>

Professor, Major in Housing and Interior Design, School of Human Ecology, Kyung Hee University, Korea

<sup>1</sup>Assistant Professor, Dept. of Consumer and Housing, The Catholic University, Korea

<sup>2</sup>Professor, Dept. of Housing and Interior Design, University of Ulsan, Korea

<sup>3</sup>Professor, School of Architecture, Chung-Ang University, Korea

<sup>4</sup>Researcher, Dept. of Consumer and Housing, The Catholic University, Korea

**Abstract :** The purpose of the study is to microscopically re-clarify the reality of renovation and conflicts that females faced within their families since the modernization period. The research method is the literature review. Families have been considered based on the formation of individual spaces for housing by husband and wife. The study will analyze changes in daily lives and housing consciousness to understand how such housing areas are transforming. The results of the study are as follows. From the perspective of symbolic interaction, in a traditional society, Korean females have been experiencing alienation and isolation in private areas in their daily lives due to family centrism and male chauvinism. Since industrialization, the female's role as the major consumer has been emphasized. Also, in terms of housing space, the symbol of family interaction was influenced more by utility, rationality, and equality than spatial hierarchy. From the perspective of the dailiness of phenomenological traditions, the modern girl's housing consciousness, which appeared during modernization under colonial rule, is considered as revolutionary from traditional society. Soon after in industrialized society, females appeared as leaders of 'sweet home'. They also became the main body to create the space for living by giving meaning to the interior of housing. Considering dailiness from the Marxist perspective, under the colonial social system, females became the subject of colonization through education, socialization, and the labor market. The modern public system presents the female as 'a wise mom and good wife' or laborer causing the colonization of her life. After industrialization, the socialization of housing and prioritization of spending caused the daily lives of females to become colonized by the consumption market.

Key Words : daily lives, housing consciousness, Korean women, modernization.

## I. Introduction

### 1. Purpose

The modernization of housing was accelerated due to the introduction of western culture and modern ways of thinking. On the other hand, it was decelerated microscopically due to the reformation of family

relationships and changes in daily lives. Due to the patriarchal system of traditional Korean society, the daily life of females was restricted to inside of housing. However, since liberation and new ways of thinking, the revolution became centered on the modern girl and family. Yet, this was not able to totally influence the daily lives of females. Since industrialization, however, females became the major consumers and the powerful

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\*Corresponding Author: Sehwa Yang, Dept. of Housing and Interior Design, University of Ulsan, San29 Moogeo-dong, Namgu, Ulsan 680-749, Korea. Tel: 82-52-259-2389 Fax: 82-52-259-2888 E-mail: shyang@ulsan.ac.kr

decision makers within families.

The purpose of the study is to analyze the reality of the female-centered revolution and conflicts inside housing from a microscopic perspective. This will be studied by examining changes in housing as a pleasant area for the parents-centered family, through changes in daily life and housing consciousness. Also, in order to understand the changes in daily life of women and within housing areas, the improvement of housing and housing consciousness led by women since traditional society will be studied based on current theories related to daily life.

The detailed study contents are as follows:

- 1) From a phenomenological, symbolic interactive, and Marxist perspective, important characteristics of changes in women's daily lives and housing, and the achievement of progressiveness of the 'modern girl' and 'modern home', will be studied. The conflicts and compromises caused from such conditions will also be analyzed.
- 2) The changes in terms of housing, life, and housing consciousness related to women's daily lives caused by industrialization since liberation will also be studied from a phenomenological, symbolic interactive, and Marxist perspective.

## 2. Method

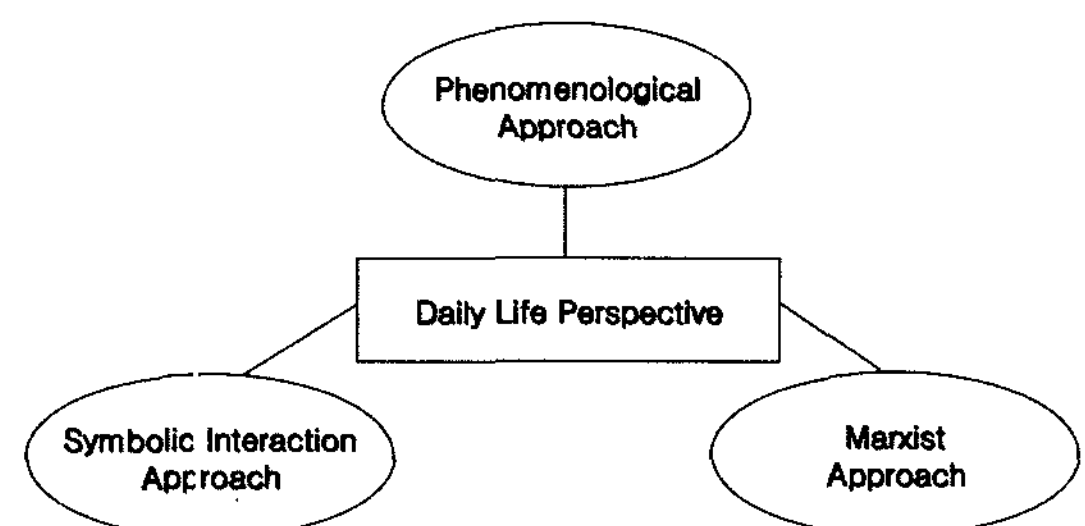
The study was based on literature review using oral statements, old documents, magazines, newspapers, and research papers that show period-based social and living aspects. The period for the present analysis was from the time of opening ports to foreign countries to the 1990s. The contents were written from a daily life perspective, which is one of the microscopic views. Based on Hong (2005)'s classification, it is written from three different perspectives: phenomenological, symbolic interactive, and Marxist. Such an analytical method has the following advantages.

First, the phenomenological approach on dailiness can discover the women's experience and memory, the

meaning of the location in the past and present, and the emotional attachment related to the housing itself. Thus, we can study how women, who were still alienated from wage labor and were indulged in feminism with familism, made their living area by establishing the housing as a castle, and by giving meaning to the interior, since the advent of industrialized society after modernization. We will study the influence of the individuals, worldview, and dialectic of the social structure, including women, on the Korean housing transformation.

Second, from the symbolic interaction perspective, we can observe that the micro affairs from internal relationships are eventually related to the family or non-family role interactions. Symbolic interaction theory emphasizes how individuals learn the sharing of symbols from other people and how they are connected to the common behavioral model. It analyzes husband-wife relations in the traditional and modern family and traces the status changes of women. Also, it analyzes the influences of the social system as a functional unit on the family.

Third, from the Marxist approach, the colonized individuals and families, who were unspecified due to the social structure, are recognized as the leader of the social changes. The current system is considered as the dual system that consists of both the social system and daily life. The study of women's daily life is significant, since understanding and analyzing the gender difference in daily life is critical in interpreting the sustainability of the patriarchal system. Therefore, this perspective is beneficial in discovering how women's daily life was colonized under the consuming society and materialism,



<Figure 1> Diagram of research framework.

which was caused by the industrialized process, as women gained more initiatives in the labor market and social and family relations.

## II. The Japanese Colonial Period Since the Opening of Ports to Foreigners (1894-1945)

### 1. Women's daily life and housekeeping from a symbolic interaction perspective

Traditionally, Korean women experienced alienation and isolation from private areas due to familism and male chauvinism, which are the norm of family formation. Confucian familism emphasized the rigid hierarchy in family relations. Therefore, family members, other than male and the first son, had restrictions in social activities and even in housing as the place for daily life. Such a cultural tradition was still present after the forced opening of ports and the introduction of modern culture caused by foreign countries.

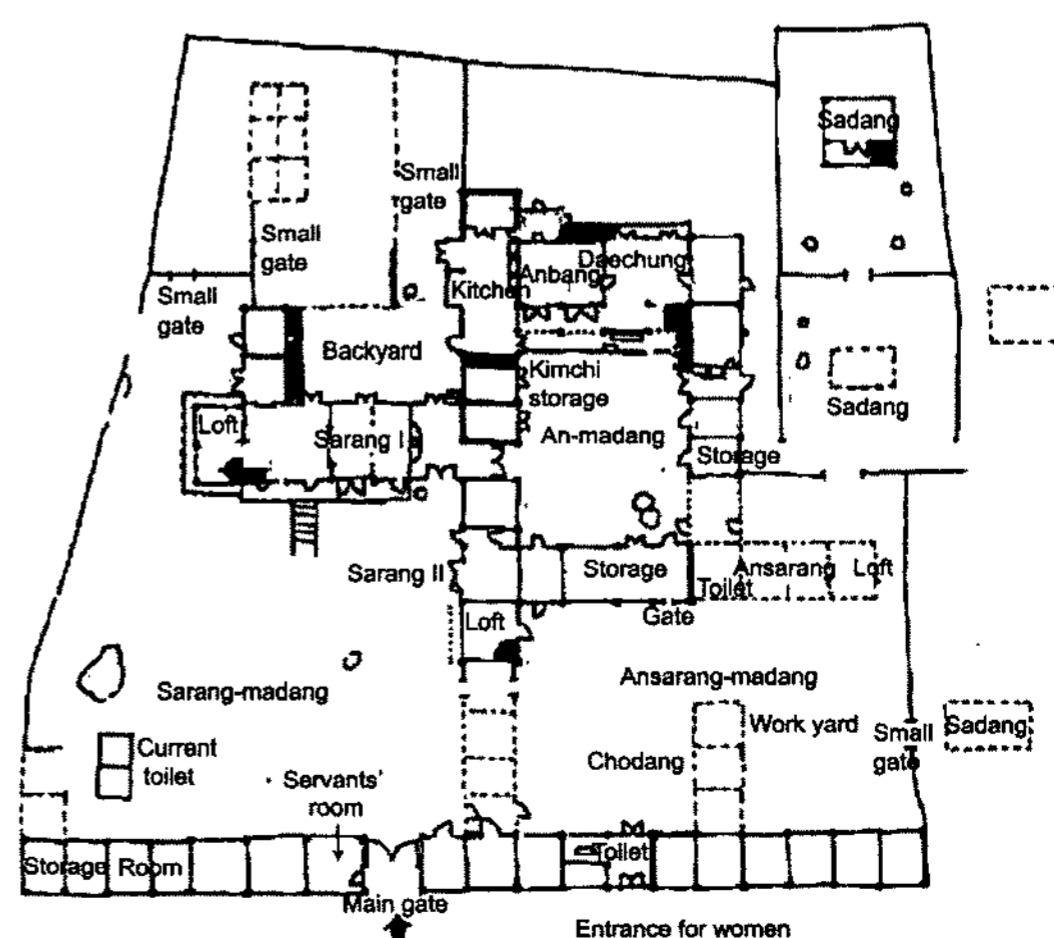
Then how did women's daily lives and labor, which were separated from the system, appear based on the housing? From the symbolic interaction perspective, it is necessary to clarify the socialization procedure where by women learn the social norms. Also, we need to focus on the internal relations of the family that are functioned and influenced by family members. In Chosun, women were raised based on Confucian teachings such as the husband-wife difference or preference for the eldest son. Due to such norms, women were inferior compared to men and their daily lives were restricted within the housing. The majority of the women's daily life was around housing. The main area was the kitchen, and they spent most of their time on housekeeping.

Traditionally, women's space was concentrated on Anchaе and the kitchen, which was located in the west (Research Institute of Seoul, 1994). The reason why the kitchen area was called the 'Arae, which means

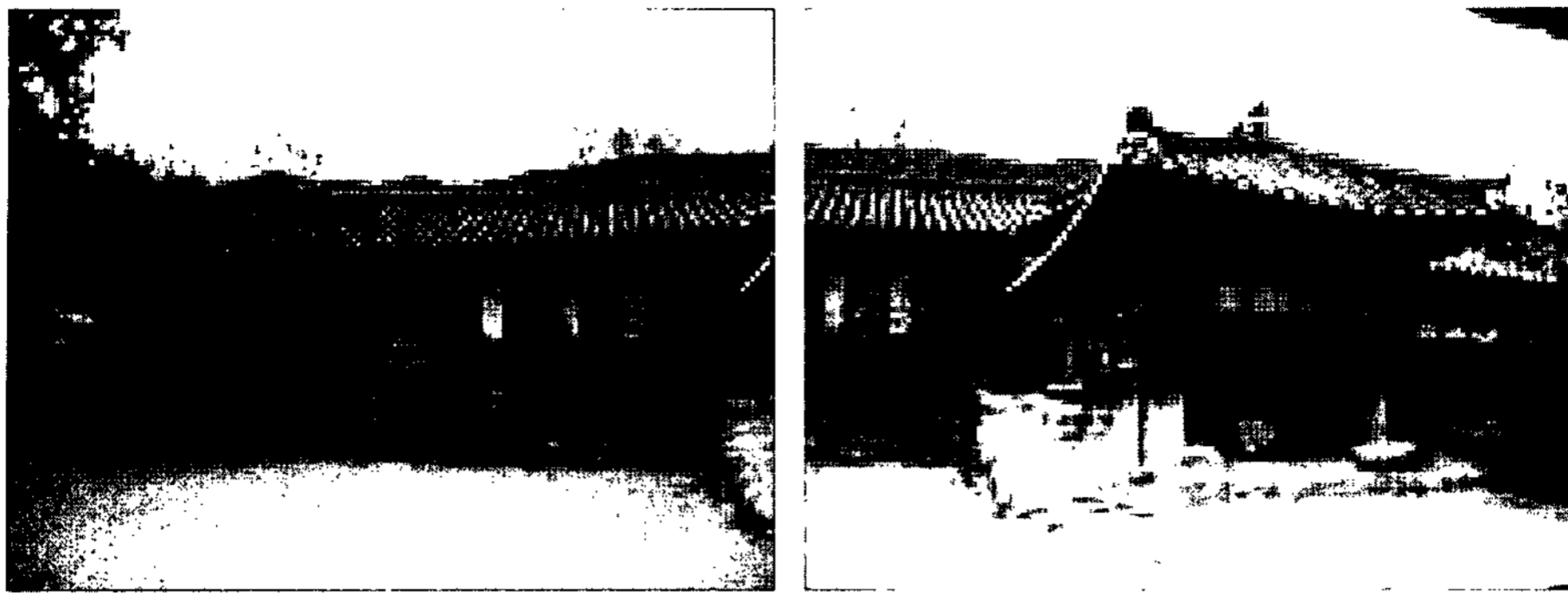
'bottom,' was because the floor was lower due to the floor heating system. There is, however, another argument: that it is due to the status difference between men and women in Chosun. Not only the spatial status, but also the ideological restrictions, had a huge influence on making the kitchen the space for women, and considered men entering into the kitchen to be prohibition. Thus the kitchen was not just a place to cook, it was also a symbolic space connecting role division and interactions between men and women.

The spaces around Anbang had an intimate relationship with women's everyday activities. Women's status in the family was determined by who was in charge of the kitchen, which is the area for food preservation and meal preparation. The main area in the family for women's life was the kitchen. However, their housekeeping was performed in all areas but the Sarangche for men. Areas such as the Jangdogdae or the utility room, which was related to the kitchen, was located near the Anchaе or the kitchen. Yet, these were sometimes located near the main gate, Sarangchaе, or the Hangrangchaе for the servants.

Women's daily lives were very demanding because housekeeping was totally women's responsibility. To the foreigners at that time, Korean women were considered as 'slaves' who spent the whole day on housekeeping. Especially, men from upper noble classes thought little



<Figure 2> Floor plan of Wunjoru in Gurae.



<Figure 3> Anchae for women (left) and Sarangchae for men (right).



<Figure 4> Women washing clothes in the stream (left) and beating clothes on the block (right).



<Figure 5> Food preparation in the kitchen (left) and preserving 'kimchi' in the yard (right).

of labor due to their honors. This acted as the symbolic role to others, and women were unknown in the patriarchal society.

Housekeeping was divided based on the hierarchy of women in the family. Thus the relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law appeared symbolically through the initiatives of housekeeping and the residential spaces inside the dwelling.

## 2. The modern girl's everyday life and housing consciousness from a phenomenological perspective

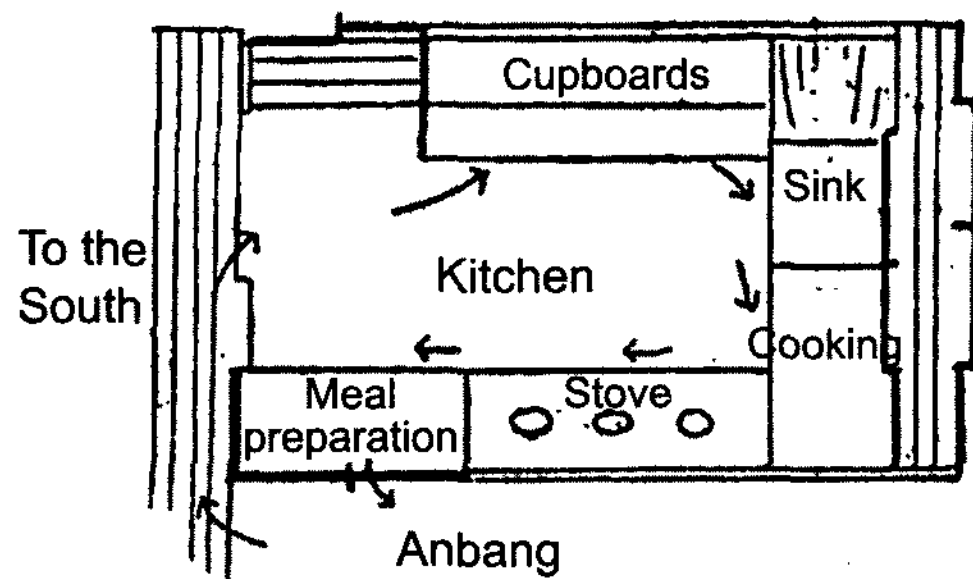
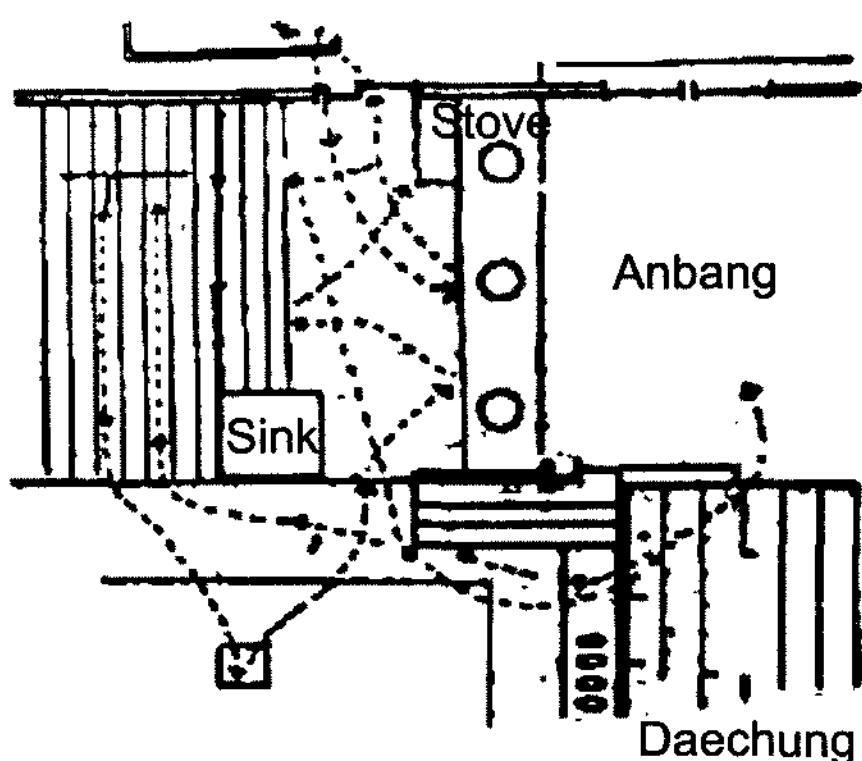
The Japanese colonial period was the time when the traditional wife's image and the modern girl's new norms faced conflicts. The 'modern girl' is the term used to describe the educated women who appeared around

the 1920s. They focused on individuality, and attempted liberation and free love from the family's restraints. They also challenged the women's obedience that Confucianism demanded. When more than 90% of Korean women were illiterate, they studied in Kyung-sung and Tokyo and improved women's status. Therefore, they are considered as women who tried to live their own lives at that time. However, their open approaches and lives were too advanced, so they were criticized not only by men but also by women. They themselves were also experienced confusion of values and were not able to cause a huge change in the traditional family system (Jun, 2003). Nevertheless, their irrational living styles and behavior acted as a stimulus in women's roles and life. They are commended for introducing the new model of marital relationship.

In the beginning of the 1920s, women's magazines were published, and newspapers and magazines contained numerous articles on the very few women who studied abroad in Japan or in the West. In a newspaper in 1924, there was already a separate section entitled 'home' to attract women readers. Although there were only 1,465 women in the entire Chosun, who attended public or private school (current middle school), the power of the women who had modern education was huge. They were the symbol of the social changes in that they were targets of interest (Chun, 2003). To these modern girls, family life in Chosun was extremely unfair, and the housing was planned discriminatorily against women. They suggested many solutions through writing to develop the housing and daily lives. They often used terms such as 'rationalization', 'improvement',



<Figure 6> Modern girls in Kyungsung (left) and embroidery education in 1930s (right).



<Figure 7> Unreasonable (left) and reasonable (right) working circulation in a traditional kitchen.

'effectiveness', 'hygiene', 'health', etc. In terms of daily life, modern girls aspired to the western style of living as some sort of utopia. The phenomenon at that time could be considered as providing a meaning to the existence of 'women', which was hidden under Confucian social order.

Modern girls and educated pioneers courageously argued that the daily lives, which were considered certain, were very discriminating and unfair for women. Na, Haesuk was one of the modern girls at that time. She was the wife of a diplomat who continued her cultural activities after the marriage and gave birth. To this woman, who was absorbed in western culture through the round-the-world travel, the appearance of the Chosun cities was just poor.

*"The streets were dirty and people's backs were bent and looked lethargic. As I came to Chosun, it was quite disturbing how the dust covered up myself on the streets. The sound of beating the clothes coming from the pine-mushroom like flat houses was pathetic. The people wearing white clothes and staggering wearily looked pitiful."* (Kim, 2004)

Na, who had experienced western culture, noted that "Compared to the European countries, Chosun was a wilderness with nothing or even a desert." Through an article titled "The Voice of Women for the Improvement of Living (Donga-Ilbo, 1926)", she stressed rationality and improvement of living and a new relationship with men. She also stated that changes were needed in the Chosun husbands' attitudes regarding their wives and daily life.

Na, Haesuk, who is well known as the modern girl, owned a two-story, western style single-family housing and had her own drawing room. Inside the housing, she had western style spaces such as bedrooms, a dining room, living room and bathroom. Thus the housing for modern girls was the space to support their social activities. Also, they were enviable for having rationality and equality between the genders. However, except for a few modern girls, most of their dream was to meet an



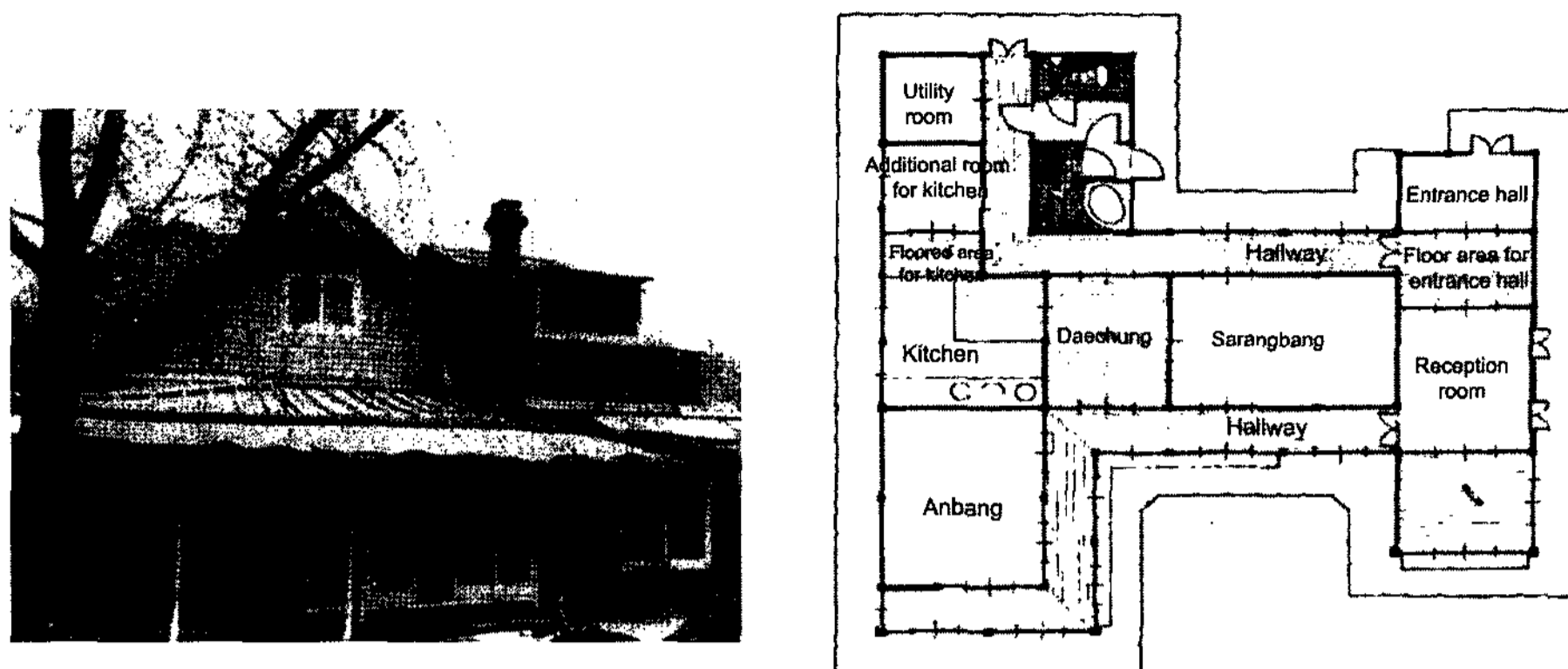
<Figure 8> Na's 'modern family'.



<Figure 9> Streets of Chosun (1920s).

intelligent man with a wealthy family and modern living style. Therefore, modern girls also were not able to totally escape traditional patriarchal relations.

How was life at a 'modern home' by a married middle class modern girl? Modern girls described the 'modern home' as a place where simplified western food is prepared, mothers were not harassed by housework but had leisure time to listen to music, and had a living room with a western sofa and bookcases, where they could play cards. They portrayed the 'modern life' as the major consumer of the contemporary city, and their western consumption style was portrayed through the interior decorations and living styles. They were the leaders of the new housing culture. The improvement of living was slowly achieved by these modern women or by considerate architects, who suggested the new housing model.



<Figure 10> Munhwa housing in 1930s (left) and floor plan of Min's house by Park, Gil-ryoung.

In 1932 the article titled “The Contents of Modern Home” on 「Shindonga」 shows the substance of modern housing. According to this article, modern girls were at least high school educated, had a western style wedding, believed in western religions, and incorporated the ‘Munhwa housing’, which was popular at that time, to consider hygiene and the utility room.

For western interior decoration, a sofa and a rug were Chosen, and traditional furniture, which did not go with the western interior, was disposed or hidden. Conflicts between the modern wife and the mother-in-law frequently happened in their daily lives due to the living style.

In a magazine named 「Samchulli」 in the 1940s, there was an article titled “The Fragrance of a Modern Home.” (Keum, 1940) According to it, in modern housing a reading room, violin room, and children’s room are shown. However, women were not able to control the room decorations and had to call their husbands ‘master’, which symbolically shows that the frames of traditional family relations were still present.

### 3. The colonization of women’s life from a Marxist perspective

According to J. Habermas, the colonization of life world was the performance of daily lives being threatened and destroyed due to the amplification of complexity and compulsion in the economic and administrative system in the process of modernization.

In Korea, capitalization was autogenously preceded before the Japanese colonization period. The Japanese, however, continued the actual ‘modernization’ in a colonized form. They put forward the military armies, amended the government system and established factories and elementary schools. Thus, ‘colonial modernization’ was implemented (Cho, 2005). Since the beginning of modernization, Korea was under the colonial social system by the Japanese, which eventually caused the colonization of the farmer’s life.

The emergence of work places such as factories, and schools for public education, changed family members’ areas and styles of living. Especially women, who gained no attention in the traditional society, were able to enhance their areas due to the development of the modern public area. Modern systems such as education institutes, public institutes, and service facilities greatly influenced their individual daily lives. Private mission schools for higher education, such as Ewha Girls’ School and Jungshin Girls’ School, led women’s education. Most of the modern girls at that time were the women who these institutes created. Christianity, which was a religion based on equality and freedom, became the major social ideology for the leading group at that time. It also challenged the ideology of the conservative feudalism and provided the change to revolutionize for women. The establishment of educational institutions for women provided the basis for women to transform themselves into members of society from the role of

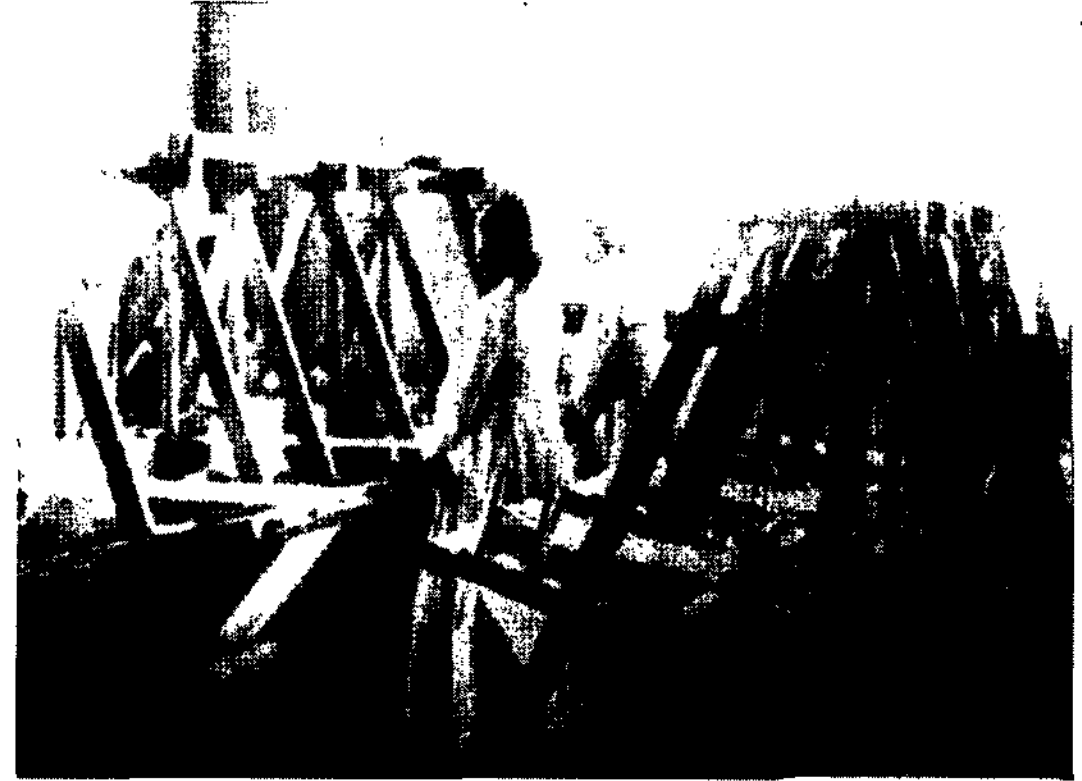


<Figure 11> The Ewha girls' high school (1910).

housekeeper (Jun, 2003). However, public education, which was implemented under colonial rule, had a bilateral feature. It was the free area for psychological and physical experience, and was also an area for discipline and regulation. Hence women's education under the modern colonial period was initially more to create 'a wise mom and good wife' than for women themselves (Tae, 1998).

The education for women, and housekeeping work under colonial rule, was directed toward the needs of the social system. The ideology of 'a wise mom and good wife' served as the mechanism to limit women's daily lives to home. Female students, who were the new modern women, were not able to find an appropriate job in the public sectors. Thus, fulfilling the requirement of housekeeping that encourages 'a wise mom and good wife' for the sweet home, they eventually became 'housewives' (Kim, 1999). As a helper of the husband, a 'good wife' belonged in the home. A housewife's daily life was concentrated on child rearing and housekeeping. As a place for housekeeping, housing became the area for efficiency and sanitation that promoted the nuclear family's comfort. The simplification of food preparation, and effective movement circulation, were only for a few modern women. For the majority of the colonized women, the kitchen was still their main space for survival (Tae, 1998).

On the other hand, for women from ordinary households who were coping with financial hardships,



<Figure 12> Women as factory workers in 1935.

daily lives as laborers were given. The colonial government implemented policies to transform the traditional home-performed handicraft business into the modern mechanical business. As in the industrial revolution in the West, construction of modern factories required a huge labor force. One characteristic of modern industrial society was the separation of work and home. Thus women, who only worked for housekeeping and home-performed handicraft, were able to enter public areas in the society. By the end of the 19th century, industries related to textiles, weaving, rubber, shoemaking and tobacco were initiated. Thus ordinary women were able to enter a new job market called 'factories', and their activity area partially moved to the society from home. Due to such phenomena, women were able to have economic power with the cheap wages provided for their labor. In 1928, according to a survey of female workers of 33 factories in Seoul, 2677 female workers had average daily work of 13 to 14 hours, and their average wage was from 30jun to 2won (Mun et al., 2003). The low wages of women were due to the ideology of male earners, in other words, the patriarchal ideology that believes that "Women laborers work for an additional job that they deserve low wages." (Donga-Ilbo, 1933.11.9)" Women during the colonial period supported modernization by being considered as payless homemakers or factory workers with low wages. Elders, who had no appropriate jobs, replaced the resulting vacant spaces of women who started working





<Figure 13> Old people took care of children and housing instead of working females. (1940s).

outside. Ordinary households, in which the elders and children took care of the housing after the female left for factory work, experienced this common trend at that time.

Women also criticized their own social activities. For the majority of the women, who considered housekeeping work and using the money earned by their husbands as their main duty, entering into work or public sectors such as the factories was an abnormal idea. However, the development of public education and the growth of the modern production system provided them with opportunities for social activities and the chances to enter public sectors. Women's daily lives, which were restricted within the housing, gradually expanded to areas outside the housing. Nonetheless, under the patriarchal colonial system, women's status as a laborer and employee was still degraded as another type of victim due to the male dominance system.

### III. The Economic Development Period after Liberation (1945~1980s)

#### 1. Women as the leader of 'sweet home' from the phenomenological perspective

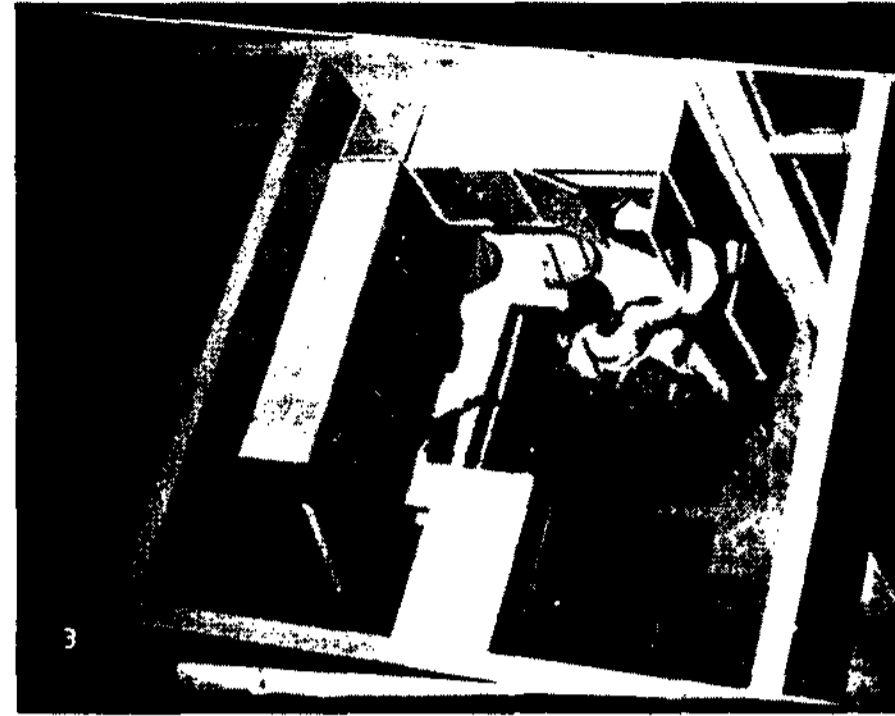
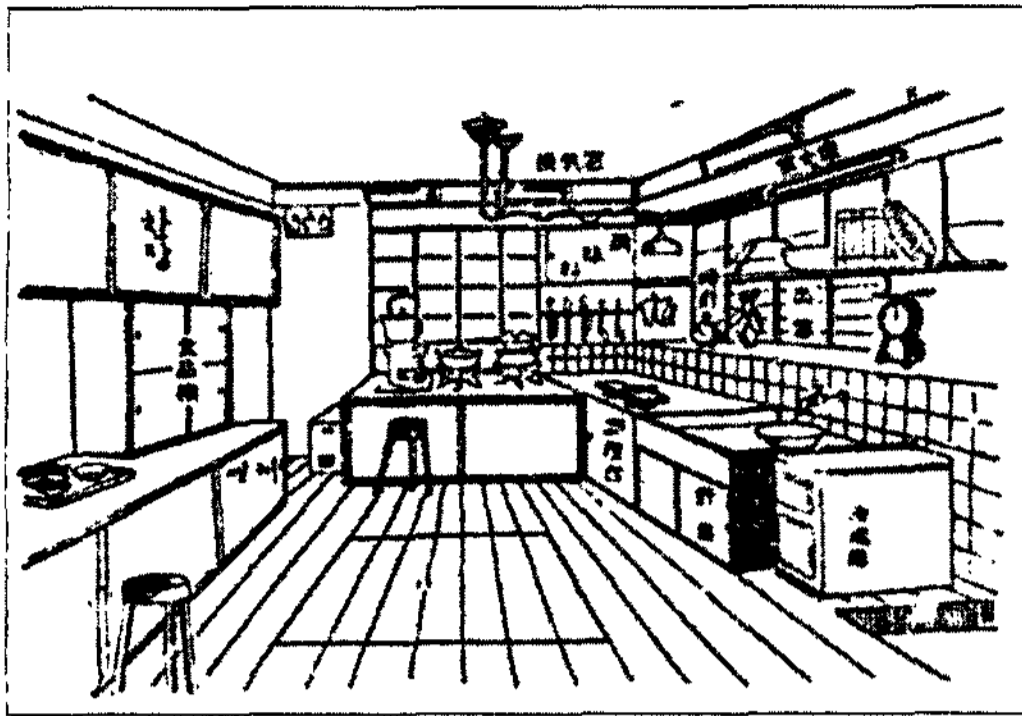
After liberation in 1945, family lives changed rapidly

along with the trend of equality of sexes. Compared to rural areas, in the cities, the male's role in their home was reduced when the female's role increased. The reason was because working men spent less time at home.

Since men spent most of their time and energy at work, they were not directly able to take care of their family. Thus, their power as a decision maker was greatly weakened. Women, who were alienated from industrialization, controlled all of the home-related work such as children's education and financial decisions. In mid-high class families, it was even said there were two leaders in the house. This is known as a procedure of the formation of the matriarchal system caused by the coexistence of the patriarchal system and the industrial society (Kim, 2002). The main role of women during the industrialization period was to protect the family rather than participate in social activities, as in the previous era.

As the men's living zone was transformed to the outside, women eventually took the initiatives of the family. Therefore, home became the base of women's activities and their role in the family was emphasized even more. Women took control of home decorations and also the purchase and management of household goods including home appliances. They acquired economic power and had to take care of asset management. This can be known through advertisements, which were targeted toward women since the 1960s. Women had so much influence on decision making such as purchasing furniture, interior decorations, and space usage that they became the leader of making a sweet home.

According to the ideals of a 'sweet home', the living pattern of women was to simplify food preparation and to enjoy outings and eating out. The spare time that was caused due to such changes was used for house decoration and leisure. Women's interest in home decoration and home fashion intended to escape the simplicity of the apartment life and was spread through various classes and magazines. That housewives could decorate a unique interior space using their own



<Figure 14> Improved kitchen cabinet (left) and new kitchen system introduced in the 1960s (right).

decorations was a huge attraction, which showed the virtue of women, who spend their daily life decorating the house for their family.

## 2. Industrialization of housekeeping and the colonization of women's life from a Marxist perspective

As a type of labor, housekeeping was influenced by the social, economical, and technological environment. Under capitalism, as in the mechanization and specialization of industrial work, housekeeping is also differentiated for each time period based on the development of home appliances and industrialization. Industrialization, especially, changed not only the social life but also family lives and lives of housewives. D. Zaresky stated that the ambiguity of the family's financial function could only be seen in a capitalistic society, where production from wage labor and production within the family are separated (Kim, 2002). The procedures, characteristics, and values of housekeeping also changed during the transformation of traditional society into an industrial society. Also, the relocation of production lines from inside the house to outside was accelerated following industrialization.

If women from the 1960s and 1970s were leaders in forming sweet homes, women from the 1980s were leaders who left their houses for professional lives. As

their social activities expanded, they had more financial power and influence in decision making, to become the major consumer. Their purchase characteristics of household goods also changed. Thus, as double-income households increased, women's housekeeping tasks were reduced and high-tech equipment, which supports social life and leisure, kept appearing. Electric appliances and equipment brought changes in housing areas including the kitchen, laundry room, and utility spaces.

Housewives and some dual income couples let the society take care of the housekeeping in order to reduce their working time. Clothing from factories was easier to fix at laundry places than at home. As the food industry became successful as a value-added business, it became common for busy urban people to eat out more than a meal per day. Instant food and fast food also became popular in urban areas. As meal preparation became simplified from the 1960s, the amount of instant food increased. As processed foods developed from the 1970s, the food industry expanded. Electric appliances for food storage, such as refrigerators, were displayed in show windows. Furthermore, the supply of kitchen appliances, such as rice cookers, washers, and vacuum cleaners reduced housekeeping work and changed the quality of labor. However, as many socialists argue (Jun, 2003), due to the industrialization at home, housekeeping procedures changed but the housewives were still busy. If we analyze changes in housekeeping time from 1968

to 1987, house labor time in relation to clothing was reduced. On the other hand, the time spent for family management and grocery shopping increased in the 1980s. From 1980 to 1990, the labor time for food, clothing, and housing slightly decreased but the time for grocery shopping and family care increased (Im & Lim, 1992).

Consumers preferred high-tech housing and purchased more home appliances to reduce household chores. Electric appliances, however, increased the standard of housework and changed the contents of work but were not able to reduce the workload itself. The appliances had to be cleaned, used in certain time periods, and used often to justify the purchase. If we consider the values of housekeeping, the housewives were tired and stressed from the housekeeping labor despite their social class (Yoon *et al.* 1995). Barely anyone tried to gain psychological and physical satisfaction through housekeeping labor. The burden for such time-consuming housework was mostly given to women, although it differed based on the social relationships among the household members. Also, physical improvement through appliances was unable to change relationships within the family. Unless there was a fundamental change in the social relationships between men and women, offspring and parents, women still had to operate the dishwasher and the vacuum cleaner for their families.

The industrialization of housekeeping influenced the family function of production and the housekeeping method using appliances. Housing spaces, especially, were decorated by convenient home appliances and high-tech equipment. The “functional kitchen” became available, which had a kitchen cabinet and reduces movement. This brought changes in the floor plan of housing and the concept of housekeeping management (Sun, 2000). Also, specialization and professionalism of housekeeping, and a better design and installation of housing appliances, became possible. The mass media urged consumption by women under the commercial system and emphasized the image of woman as a



<Figure 15> Advertisement of kitchen appliances for housewives (1979).

consumer. Since industrialization, women were highlighted as the major consumer, and their daily lives were colonized so that they can concentrate on the ‘consuming life’.

### 3. The equalization of living space from the perspectives of symbolic interaction

Although women became the major consumers and leaders of their families, they were still alienated in the housing space. They had to do housework like maids in the kitchen, while men took over the television, the newest cultural appliance.

The metaphor, ‘bowl that contains life’ for the housing space, was appropriate because changing family life was shown in the space, and it caused a transformation of space planning. In Korean traditional housing, relationships among family members based on the Confucian influence were clearly differentiated and were constantly pursued. By categorizing the Anbang and the kitchen as the woman’s space, the responsibility for child rearing and housekeeping was given to women. However, as the names and arrangements of spaces



<Figure 16> Improved family's nutrition in 1960s (left) and a family around the dining table in 1970s (right).

changed, living spaces were equalized, and both status and roles changed within the family. For example, since the late 1970s, the term 'dining room' appeared. This goes along with the changes in floor plans of housing due to the introduction of western apartments.

As kitchens introduced furniture systems and dining tables, they became the main area of family life. Dining kitchens that are readily found in housing since the 1980s made it possible for family to dine at the dining tables in the same area as the kitchen. As the dining area got closer to the kitchen, the movement circulation of women was reduced. Also, they no longer had to move dinner trays, which eventually eliminated the hierarchy between men and women. Due to the introduction of kitchen furniture, each family member started to participate in meal preparation and dish washing, and eating behavior became much equalized. Kitchens were no longer considered as an unhygienic area, but were considered as a sanitary area as the living area or other rooms.

The development of housing appliances and consumption products, however, did not cause the sharing effect of housekeeping among family members. Home appliance advertisements in which the husband and son operate the washer and the daughter uses the vacuum cleaner instead of the mother, only symbolize the family role relationship (Kim, 2002).

In the 1990s, as women started participating more in



<Figure 17> Kitchen cabinet system and dining table (1990s).

housing planning and furniture design, which were led by men, their needs were recognized more in relation to housing areas. In furniture company advertisements, closets designed by women, and furniture that took into consideration women's needs, was introduced. Such advertisements were enough to gain the support of women, who made the major decisions when purchasing furniture. As their participation in furniture design became more popular, apartment designs also started to include women's needs. The opinions and needs created a different attempt in space planning and equipment installation. For example, a small study area for housewife was placed next to the kitchen. As a result, the current housing became the female's castle, but it also became a target of criticism because of its spatial discrimination between the sexes.

## V. Summary and Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to study the revolution and conflicts in housing by modernization period from a perspective of daily life based on microscopic perspective. In detail, we studied the responsibility and daily lives of women inside/outside the housing based on the changes in family relations and social ideology. For this, we used the literature review method through library surveys, and analyzed from three perspectives of daily life.

From the perspective of symbolic interaction, in a traditional society, Korean women had experienced alienation and isolation in private areas in their daily lives due to familism and male chauvinism. Under the uncomfortable hierarchy system, women showed a weak interactive behavior in relationships with their husbands and parents-in-law. This characteristic was shown through the use of space and daily life filled with housekeeping tasks.

After industrialization, as the female's role as the major consumer was emphasized, and as their role and status changed, living areas were planned equally. The traditional eating style, Babsang, or individual meal trays, changed so that the whole family could now sit around the dining table to eat. This also shows the liberal changes in relationships between husband and wife, offspring and parents. The names of the functional areas that appeared with the introduction of western furniture, such as bedroom, dining room, and bathroom, followed the practicality, rationality, and equality. As the dining kitchen became the space for family interaction, women were able to share the kitchen work with other family members.

From the perspective of phenomenological traditions, the 'modern girls' who appeared during the modernization under Japanese colonial rule, attempted a revolution in the patriarchal traditional society. Through modern education, they openly accepted the functional and efficient housekeeping space, and through the simple meal preparation and kitchen furniture, they

attempted kitchen improvement. As in the Munhwa Housing development, they chose housing that reflected modern living styles and placed space and furniture according to the living style so that the transformed housing could be a suitable area for a modern family. Their housing consciousness and daily lives were not popular but had a new meaning to the modernized women.

In the industrialized society, women appeared as leaders of 'sweet home'. They indulged in feminism with familism and made the housing into a castle. Also, they gave meaning to the housing interior, and led activities for making the living space. Women became the leading consumers of home appliances due to technological developments, and urban women had the motto of leisure and self-actualization due to the socialization of housekeeping. From the phenomenological, traditional daily perspective, however, women are still alienated from the society and the family is considered as women's full responsibility. Such a phenomenon is the reason why women's daily lives cannot contain more variety.

From a Marxist daily life perspective, women became the target of colonization through education, socialization, and the labor market under the colonial social system. The introduction of modern factories and schools increased women's daily lives in public areas. When the ideology of 'sweet home' had the highest value in a modern housing space, the given female's role was family management and housekeeping. Housing space was the living boundary of women. As family activities, reproductive function associated with housing, and housekeeping became a society's common subject, however, the living boundary of females expanded outside the housing space. Under the industrialization and the capital market system, women became leaders of consumption, and their daily lives were characterized by their role as a consumer. The commercial system and marketing that promote consumption caused women to become the major consumer and emphasized the 'beauty of consumption'. Thus, women were admitted into the

public economy as the consumer for the family, and their daily lives were colonized by the consumption system.

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