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A Comparative Study of Korean and Japanese Family Life.

Chang Shub Roh
Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF KOREAN AND
JAPANESE FAMILY LIFE

A Dissertation
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Sociology

by
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ABSTRACT

The family is a social institution which is basic in the life of all societies. The objective of this study is to make a comparative analysis of the family life of two oriental countries, Korea and Japan. Special reference is made to historical developments, characteristics of family life, familial cultures, family functions, and changing family life. This study aims to contribute to the knowledge of human relationships in family life and to provide stimuli to scholars in Western cultures to analyze further the forms of family life in Japan and Korea because there is a gap in the knowledge regarding family structure and function in both of these countries. Furthermore, this study purports to discover sociologically significant generalizations about society and its family institutions in Korea and Japan by synthesizing history, logic, meaning, observation, and systematic analysis.

Data for the study came from the literature on family life and personal experiences as a participant observer. The library materials analyzed consisted mainly of family life reports related to Korea and Japan. Supplementary
documentary materials were secured from each country. Personal experiences, both as a native of Korea and as a student in Japan for several years, were, moreover, fundamental to this study. Because the study is a "pioneering" one, and because the aspects and relationships of family life are so complex and so varied, multi-disciplinary approaches were employed depending upon the nature of the subject under consideration.

The analysis brings to light certain similarities in family life in the two countries, especially in the family organization, but certain variations which occur are significant sociologically to the family life of each of these countries. The differences rest on the degree of emphasis on the particular country's historical background, in its way of thinking, and in the societal definition of the situation.

Indeed, family stability characterizes family life in both countries; the family certainly is the basic social institution and occupies a position of strategic importance in the Korean and Japanese cultures. However, the influence of Chinese culture upon Korean family life is profound, and Korean family and social structure are influenced as a result. Chinese influence upon the Japanese family, on the
contrary, is less significant than upon the Korean family.

The differences are equally significant between the two countries in the relative position occupied by the family in the total social structure of each country. The Japanese family shares its position with other major social groups and institutions in the society. Consequently, extra-familial activities and identity of individuals with groups outside the family are a marked characteristic of the Japanese people. The Korean family, on the contrary, is the dominant institution upon which the society is constructed and other social institutions are subordinate to the family and are not strongly developed.

The process of family change in both Korean and Japanese families has been slow, although in different degrees dependent to a large extent on regional factors—namely rural and urban areas. The gradual industrialization and urbanization, as well as the new education and the Western cultures, contributed to the changing family life in both countries simultaneously. These influences have led to changes in traditional family organization, in the authority of elders and heads of families, and in the status and degree of economic and social emancipation of women and youth. Other effects on family life are the reduced size of households and the lessening of close kinship ties.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I. GENERAL STATEMENT

Professor Zimmerman states that "no problem is more interesting and vital to us than that of the family."\(^1\) Indeed, the family is a social institution which is basic in the lives of the members of all societies. All of us are here as the result of the family; all human beings are products of families, and most people create families of their own.\(^2\)

Cooley also asserts that the family as an intimate primary group is a nursery of all human nature.\(^3\) It is a primary group in its early effect on the individual's socialization process, in its simplicity of structure, in its importance in affecting personality, and in its effect on the civilization of each country.


\(^2\)Ibid., p. 16.

On the other hand, the family is a relationship sanctioned by the large society, and its forms and customs, values and characteristics are largely determined by each country's social heritage. For example, there are notions about the origin, development and function of the family. They are subjected to varied explanations and interpretations. Indeed, various scholars analyze the family differently according to their respective fields of interest. Whatever else may be said, the family began at a particular time and place and operates under particular social conditions.

Need for the study

Although there has been a great deal of writing about family in general, no thorough analysis is to be found of the family life in the two oriental countries--Korea and Japan--in the English language. In other words, there is a gap in the knowledge regarding family structure and functions in both of these countries.

In both Korea and Japan the family is still characterized by stability and remains the central institution in

each country. A complete understanding of the family in either country, however, depends upon one's viewing it in relation to its total structure and socio-historical setting.5

The study is needed not only to understand the general family life prevailing in either country, but also to discover the universal characteristics of the two family systems and the variations from one country to the other.

Furthermore, as Kingsley Davis indicates, in sociology every effort must be made to overcome the tendency toward a detailed picture of localism and to appreciate the fact of cultural relativity.6 By comparing family life in Korea and Japan, the students of social sciences may gain perspective as to the possible variety of family patterns.

The above need for the study requires answers to these basic questions: What constitutes Korean and Japanese family life? What are the similarities and dissimilarities between the two? What are some of the important implications resulting from the unbalanced population pattern in both


countries? And, finally, what valid sociological conclusions may be drawn from a comparative study of these forms of family life?

Purpose of the study

In order to understand the general and particular characteristics of the family in both countries, the study is devoted to a description and analysis of broad concepts of family life in Korea and Japan. Attention is paid to the comparison of underlying historical developments, the characteristics of family life, the way of family living, and various functions of the family, including social control and socialization patterns, and to changing family life.

More specifically, objectives of this study are:

1. To describe and compare the historical background of the family developments in Japan and Korea;

2. To investigate and compare the characteristics of the family system;

3. To present the ways of family life in relation to housing, food habits, clothing, and other ceremonial activities;

4. To determine the various functions of the family life;
5. To investigate the growth of industrialization and urbanization and consequent changes in family life, and to evaluate the new education and the influence of Western cultures and consequent changes in family life.

The purposes of this study, therefore, are to assemble in convenient form comparable data about the two family systems in order to fulfill the above objectives.

The writer, moreover, as a native of Korea, desires to contribute to the knowledge of human relationships in family life and to provide stimuli to scholars in Western cultures to analyze further the forms of family life in Japan and Korea.

Finally, the author aims to discover valid and significant generalizations about human society and its family institutions in both countries by synthesizing history, logic, meaning, observation, and systematic analysis.\(^7\)

II. DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

Several terms which appear extensively in the study need explanation.

\(^7\)Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-20.
Korea

Throughout this dissertation the word "Korea" is used with two different meanings. In discussion which relates to any period prior to liberation in 1945 the term denotes total Korea; in discussion which relates to the period beginning with the liberation of Korea on August 15, 1945 the term is used to apply to South Korea.

Japan

Throughout this dissertation the word "Japan" also has two different designations. In discussion which pertains to any period prior to August 15, 1945 the term refers to Honshu (Japan proper) and four main islands--Karafuto (Saghalien), Hokkaido, Shikoku and Kyushu islands; in discussion which relates to the period after World War II the term applies to Honshu (Japan proper) and the three other main islands excluding Karafuto island.

Family

The concept of the family is based on the compendium of laws in each country. The term family is used to refer to "a unit consisting of members related to the head of the
family by kinship or marriage and living together." Furthermore, kinship in Korea and Japan consists of three main streams: (1) the father-line, (2) the mother-line, and (3) the couple-line. These are also referred to as three-party family lines.

**Extended family.** "Extended family" is interpreted as having the following characteristics: (1) Three or more generations live together and constitute a family. (2) This extended family functions as an economic, social, religious, and ceremonial unit. (3) The control of familial affairs is in the hands of the head of the household.  

**Patriarchal family.** The term "patriarchal family" is used to refer to a close-knit interrelationship between the members of the family—an inclusive system in which most authority (in principle) belongs to the paternal side of the family. More specifically, the term refers to a family type in which the male head not only possesses extensive powers over the religious and ceremonial activities

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of the household, but also represents the guardian of the family members.¹⁰

**Ancestor worship.** The term "ancestor worship" is interpreted in two different ways. In the Korean family, the term "ancestor worship" refers strictly to the memorial service for deceased consanguineous ancestors, whereas in Japan the ancestor is merged with other gods in a concept of family deity.

**Filial piety.** The concept of "filial piety" has the characteristics of a high ethical law in both countries. The term implies a load, an indebtedness, and a responsibility which one carries as best one may. However, each country interprets the duty differently: The Korean is indebted to his parents and ancestors, while the Japanese is indebted to his parents and the nation.

**Familial culture.** Familial culture is used to refer to the "way of life" of either country and the various designs for family living. Throughout the discussion, attention is given especially to such designs for living

as, where they live, what they eat, and what they wear as well as to certain customs and other ceremonial activities. Other terms used in the study will be defined in context.

III. METHOD OF THE STUDY

Scope of the analytical material used

In terms of both objectives and supporting material, the present study is best described as descriptive, analytical and comparative research. Data for the study come from two major sources: (1) the literature on family life, and (2) personal experiences as a participant-observer.

The library materials analyzed consist mainly of family life reports related to Korea and Japan. Supplementary documentary materials were secured from both Korea and Japan. Personal experiences, both as a native of Korea and as a student in Japan for several years, were, moreover, fundamental to this comparative study.

Various approaches for the study

Because the study is a "pioneering" one, and because

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the aspects and relationships of family life are so complex and so varied, the following multi-disciplinary approaches are employed, depending upon the nature of the subject under discussion.

**Historical approach.** According to Pauline Young, "the use of historical data assumes that the past life of any group and its social institutions has a causal relationship to the present life of the group and its institution."¹² Thus, the historical approach helps to look backward to forms of family experience which occurred in each country. It helps not only to understand the family itself but also to relate the family to other major social institutions in each country at different times.

The author examined the history of each country in order to understand the family processes in relation to other broad social conditions. Thus history is brought into the study, not as isolated and meaningless events, but as integrated interpretation of the why and wherefore of Korean and Japanese family life.¹³


¹³Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
Interrelation of family and society. This approach is utilized to interrelate and compare the Korean family institution with the Japanese family institution, especially in reference to relative position occupied by the family in the total structure of each society. This method is also employed to understand societal expectations affecting the members of each family. For example, did the Korean family members expect to be loyal toward their nation as did the Japanese?

Statistical approach. In many instances throughout the study, statistical techniques are employed for the purpose of establishing confidence that empirically obtained findings did not occur by chance, and for substantiating the degree of mutual numerical relationships\(^{14}\) which exist between Korean and Japanese families.

The statistical method is utilized to analyze the demographic characteristics of Korea and Japan. Special attention is paid to size of the family, age-sex composition, sex-ratios, birth and death patterns, and other important

numerical facts in each country. The knowledge of these quantitative aspects secured through the Korean and Japanese statistics, along with United Nations statistical information, is fundamental to an understanding of the family life in each country, and is essential in supporting generalizations.

**Functional approach.** The author analyzes the activities of the family as they prevail at the present time in either country. For the analysis and comparison of the family life, the following functions and activities are presented: economic activities, courtship and marriage practices, orientation and socialization of the children, and religious as well as ceremonial activities.

**Pictorial presentation.** Some of the interesting customs and family functions in Korea and Japan are presented pictorially in the study to show the actual phenomena in operation.

**Other types of approaches.** Besides the various methods described above, the descriptive, the psychological, and the personality and cultural approaches are employed alternately, depending upon the nature of the subject under consideration.

Since the aspects of family life are so varied, the
relationships so complex as indicated earlier, it is impossible to confine the study to too narrow an approach. It is for this reason that many approaches are used throughout this study.

IV. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Thomas and Znaniecki in their classic study of The Polish Peasant in Europe and America emphasize the "objective-matter" of social theory. Among other things, they point out two concepts important to sociological analysis: (1) The objective-matter of social theory must be the actual civilized society in its full development and with all its complexity of situations, and (2) many cases of sociological analysis can best be apprehended through the comparative study of civilized groups, societies, or institutions.16

In addition, Thomas and Znaniecki emphasize the necessity of taking into account the whole life of a given society, instead of isolating beforehand certain particular groups of facts.17


16 Ibid.

17 Ibid., p. 18.
In recent years, Max Weber has also emphasized the importance of a comparative study of different societies. More specifically he undertakes an extensive study of comparative religions in both Western societies and China and India.\(^\text{18}\)

In this dissertation the author attempts to follow the procedure so clearly outlined by the aforementioned pioneers in comparative sociological research.

It is generally recognized that the family is related meaningfully to all other institutions. While the primary purpose of this study is to compare the family life of two oriental countries, Korea and Japan; nevertheless, other major social activities such as economic functions, religious and ceremonial activities, and government institutions are included in the analysis. Thus, through the family institution one looks into the entire society. In either country there has been an intimate web of interrelationships between the family and other institutions because the members who make up the family are also participants in

the economic, religious, and other social activities of a village, a community or a nation.\textsuperscript{19}

V. ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

This study analyzes the family life of Korea and Japan in a comprehensive manner. The research does not attempt to describe all details of the family life in either country. It deals rather with the whole cultural milieu in which both families developed and have their contemporary being. Each chapter deals with a broad segment of the Korean and Japanese social patterns in their interrelationships with the family. The purpose of the comparative study is to suggest some of the principal and characteristic ways in which the family derives its structure, system, functions, and values from its cultural setting in each country.

Throughout, there is an endeavor to present material clearly, yet comprehensively, and with factual evidence. It is purported to present, realistically and objectively, all data pertaining to religion, the ways of thinking, and other implications regarding family life. This study

\textsuperscript{19}Truxal and Merrill, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 29.
attempts to provide a bridge in the gap of the knowledge concerning the two family systems.

In the organization of the subject matter about the family, the author attempts to make his approach meaningful to the Western scholars.

Chapter one is an introduction to the study. It presents the general statement of the study, need for the study and the purpose of the study. It also clarifies some of the concepts used throughout the dissertation. Furthermore, it introduces some of the methods employed in the study, and presents the theoretical framework.

Chapter two considers the family systems, introduced by a fairly comprehensive account of the historical and cultural development of Korea and Japan. This is to serve as a framework for the study of the progressive development of the family systems within the two countries.

Chapter three analyzes some characteristics of the family life. Special attention is paid to family structure, organization, interrelationships between the members of the family, filial piety, ancestor worship, and other important aspects of the family system. Some facets of demographic characteristics of two countries are also investigated.

Chapter four presents some ways of living and designs
for living in each country. The various familial customs and celebration patterns are described.

Chapter five indicates some of the most important family functions in meeting the societal need for continual replacement and in maintaining the family as a major social institution. Marital customs, social control, and socialization patterns are discussed.

Chapter six purports to explain the growth of industrialization and urbanization, and consequent changes in family life, and how the new education and Western cultures affect family life.

Chapter seven presents a summary and conclusions of the study, and indicates some implications of the family organization in each country.
CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS OF KOREAN AND JAPANESE FAMILY SYSTEMS

The Korean and the Japanese family systems, like other social phenomena, represent an order which has developed historically. Therefore, they can be fully understood only in terms of their history and the cultural developments of their countries.

Hence this study of the family systems will be introduced by a fairly comprehensive account of the historical and cultural development of Korea and Japan. This will serve as a framework for the study of the progressive development of the family systems within Korea and Japan.

The following historical account considers Korea and Japan side by side in four different stages: (1) to about the 7th century; (2) from the 7th to the 14th century; (3) from the 14th to the 19th century; (4) from 1868 to 1945.
I. TO ABOUT 7TH CENTURY

Korea: Shi-ryok

Tradition places the founding of Korea in 2333 B.C. Although there has yet been found no definite evidence to substantiate this claim the historians and archeologists generally accept it on the basis of researches made from various legends and written records. In mankind's history, it is known that many different groups of primitive tribes moved eastward in Asia. Among them were some peoples, like the Kunlun and the Chinese, who headed southward on their way, but others, including the Tungus, turned to the north in their course of migration and some presumably settled on the Korean peninsula. While the exact origin of the Korean people, like that of other old nations, is obscure, its traditions, folk-lore, customs, and beliefs, together with recent archeological discoveries in the shell-mounds, grave-sites, and monuments, throw light on ancient Korea and afford some information about the ancestors of the present inhabitants of Korea.¹

The original Koreans were nomads. They lived by hunting and fishing. They were the wandering people. However, as soon as they entered into the period of farming life, they settled down and here and there developed villages. The members of the village originally belonged to a tribe. The clan village apparently had a chief who controlled the economy and governed the people. Each clan village, moreover, possessed its own portion of common land in primitive society. The villages worked together and shared their crops in common.2

During the primitive clan village period in Korea, one household contained many families, and there appeared no strict class systems except simple class distinction between the chief of the clan and the members of the clan. There also seemed to be no division between the poor and the rich among the clan members.

The economy was more or less communal. There was no private property and no slavery. A rudimentary form of democratic organization can, moreover, be detected in the habit of deciding serious issues on basis of the approval

of all members of the clan.\textsuperscript{3}

In matters of social organization, the original blood clan or group of kinsmen formed the clan village; the villages were part of a tribe; the collection of tribes represented society.\textsuperscript{4} These organizations were explained in religious terms. The Sun was considered the Heavenly Lord and the ancestor of all. High mountains were supposed to connect with mankind.

A primitive belief thus composed of Sun-worship, mountain-worship and ancestor-worship became the guiding principle of their lives. Into this basic religion were later blended many elements of polytheism and nature worship, and there developed a kind of Shamanism, which was prevalent among the ancients of the Orient. Only negligible traces of this ancient religion are to be found in rural areas of Korea today.\textsuperscript{5}

It is doubtful whether the modern concept of family life existed in this primitive society. The clan rather than the family was the organizational group. Members of the clans worshipped their common ancestors together and adored the power of nature. The chief of each village and tribe administered religious ceremonies and was the political leader at the same time. This was, in reality, a form of theocracy.\textsuperscript{6}

\textsuperscript{3}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 15-16. \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{4}\textit{Karl, op. cit.}, p. 45.

\textsuperscript{5}\textit{Ibid.} \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{6}\textit{Lee, op. cit.}, p. 17.
Japan: The Uji; the Tribe of the early ages

According to the Japanese legendary interpretation of history, the first bearer of Imperial sovereignty, the Emperor Jimmu or War-like-Spirit, began to reign in 660 B.C. He is considered the first of the unique line of sovereigns who have for a period of more than 2600 years governed Japan, 7 the present Emperor, Kinjyo, being the hundred and twenty-first link in the Japanese Imperial chain.

After the forefathers of the Japanese had established themselves in Yamato near the eastern end of the Inland Sea and had gained control of all but southern Kyushu, an account of the political life of the country in the early fifth century can be given. 8

Japan at that time was governed by a number of clans, a type of government ideally suited to a country made up of small, self-contained communities.

The clan located in Yamato in this early period of time was recognized by others as the imperial clan from which the present Japanese Emperor can trace his descent.

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The known history of Japan dates from shortly before the Christian era. At this time the tribal system was the basis of the social, business, and political structure of the Japanese people. The whole nation was divided in Oouji or large tribes, which were subdivided into Kouji, smaller clans. These clans were made up of several Ie or houses.9

The tribe constituted a business, military, legal, political, and religious union of a kind similar to that of the early Korean clan. However, at its head was a Uji-no-Kami, a tribal chieftain, who united the tribe and ruled it, led it in wars, was the representative of the tribe before the tribal god and, finally, represented the tribe in its relations with other tribes and with the nation at large. At the head of the individual clubs or houses stood the Iegimi, the house-king or house-chief.10

According to reliable sources the clans in Japan were not united by blood ties as was the case in Korea. They included, on the contrary, people of different blood and of


10Ibid., pp. 11-12.
different ethnic and tribal stocks. Griffis writes:

Even in our own days two unrelated families in Japan may coalesce to form one, making a 'family' in the eye of Japanese law, not in the Western or Christian sense. So, also, in ancient times, a clan was not a body held together by a blood tie. The name, the legal entity, was the main thing. One after another these clans were overcome by one powerful family, the Soga. 11

The religion of the Japanese was Shinto, a union of hero-worship and nature worship. Shintoism conceives of the supernatural as dwelling in all the objects and forces of nature. "Supernatural beings were called Kami and the religion came to be called Shinto, the 'way of the Kami!" 12

The individual tribes were united religiously in the worship of the tribegod or Uji-gami. In addition, they all worshipped the ancestral god of the leading tribe, the sungod, Amaterasu-o-mi-kami. This tribe, later the imperial tribe, was considered a descendant of the sungoddess Kamuyamaoto-Ihare-Biko, later called Jimmu Tenno. Its chieftain even from the first held a certain superiority among the other tribes. 13


13 Tappe, op. cit., p. 12.
It seems clear that the Korean and Japanese social orders before the seventh century were based on the clan and tribe concept, respectively. In early Korea the clan was the basic social unit. The Korean clans eventually merged into tribes, but in many aspects the clan and the tribes were similar social units. The character of both the primitive clan and the tribe was that of a more or less free association for mutual protection between rulers and their members. They were guided rather than ruled by the most capable members and by those who had acquired prestige through age.

Carl N. Starcke asserts that the clan and tribe were formed primarily for the protection of the individual even in early European civilization.

Economic interest first led to the formation of such groups. We can readily understand that many different circumstances had their effect on this development; it would be unwise to ascribe to one or other of them, taken singly, the power of producing such a compact organization. It was an organization of which the stability depended upon the manifold ways in which its members were useful to each other: their common share in matters pertaining to attack and defense; the impressions to which they were subjected during their common growth; that thorough community of spirit which arises from living together in one place,—all these things had their influence on the formative process, and, as I have repeatedly said, primitive
consciousness is able to maintain the idea of the interdependence of individuals.\textsuperscript{14}

The family was an altogether independent formation which flourished within both the Korean clan and the Japanese tribal system. The family was not a group which obeyed a leader, but a collection of individuals which belonged to another individual. The head of the family was originally regarded as its owner, and he (or she) appealed to the clan and tribe when his (or her) rights were endangered.\textsuperscript{15}

It is generally believed that matriarchy was the rule in early Korea and Japan—in contrast to some parts of China, where patriarchy was established from the first. Nitobe, for example, writes as follows:

If we have no means of knowing how or in whose house the couple lived, we have some reason to suppose that some six generations later, at the time of the so-called Sun Goddess, the ancestress of our Ruling Family, matriarchy was well established.\textsuperscript{16}

Property and power as well as right were inherited by the female and not by the male line. Such being the


\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., pp. 276-77.

case, marriage was matriarchal—that is to say, the bride stayed in her parents' house and the bridegroom left his parents' home to live with his wife.

Nitobe goes on to say that in a matriarchal family women enjoyed a favorable status:

The way she was courted and the way she responded, as shown in the oldest songs, A Myriad Leaves, gives us an impression that she enjoyed a great deal of freedom. Even in historic times, we have had a large number of female rulers. . . .17

Lee asserts that in early Korea also matriarchy continued alongside group marriage and intermarriage between members of the same clan. In Korea matriarchy lasted, especially among King families, until about 700 A.D.18

Lee points to the custom of derisau (the coming husband) as a vivid illustration of matriarchal practice in early Korea. After the engagement had been established, the bride's family would prepare a hut for derisau, the incoming husband. "He bowed his head three times, asking to live with his bride; then the parents of the bride

17 Ibid., pp. 194-95.

18 Lee, op. cit., p. 16.
approved it. Derisaui stayed there until his children grew.\textsuperscript{19}

In Japan there was a similar practice. Irimuko, the incoming husband, married the daughter of the house to which he succeeds in the wife's family name. However, his place was not apparently an honored one; it is said even today in Japan that if a man possesses one go--0.18039 litres of rice--in his house, he should not become an incoming husband.\textsuperscript{20}

\textbf{II. FROM 7TH TO 14TH CENTURY}

\textbf{Korea: Korye Dynasty}

From the fourth century on, Korea was exposed to such Chinese cultural influences as the inscriptions and teachings of Confucius, Chinese script, and Chinese handicraft. However, through the influence of Tae-Cho, the first king of the Korye dynasty, Confucianism was not practiced until much later. Korye's ruling power had, indeed, from the beginning of 918 A.D. been greatly

\textsuperscript{19}Ibid., p. 48.

influenced by the Buddhist priesthood, which encroached on the rights of state and assumed more and more political power. The Buddhist culture eventually attained such power that it was necessary for the king to become a Buddhist monk to reign, and the third member of every family also had to take the cowl. In short, Korye was a Buddhist state under the dominant power of military leaders.

Nevertheless, the unification of Korye about 918 A.D. had two far-reaching effects: it not only saved the nation from disintegration but also enabled the Koreans to defend their territory from others. Tae-Cho was not only diligent in national defense, but during the early days of his rule great advances were made in all fields of human activities.21

The administrative system, including the civil service, was completely renovated. Society and the family were to a great extent stabilized. Although he had to endure a rather rigid measure of social control, the head of a farming family was given a certain plot of land during his lifetime. Furthermore, various social security measures were introduced to alleviate the lot of those

21 Karl, op. cit., pp. 28-29.
families who suffered because of lack of rice or because of famine or because of wars.\textsuperscript{22}

The structure of society during the early stages of the Korye dynasty was distinctly feudal. A numerous class of noble families, comparable to the Daimyos of Japan, owned the land in the name of the King. In return, they were obliged to render the King military service.\textsuperscript{23}

As in Europe, the structure of Korean society to this day is derived from feudal family ranks and divisions. The status and political power of the few remaining noble families have their foundation in feudalism.\textsuperscript{24}

During this period, social class was indissolubly connected with the status of the family. The class of an individual was determined by the family to which he belonged. Broadly speaking, these early Korean families fall into a four-fold hierarchical division.

(1) The Upper Class Family--Members of such families were of aristocratic lineage. They belonged to

\textsuperscript{22}Ibid., p. 29.


\textsuperscript{24}Ibid., p. 238.
the Yangban class.  

(2) The Middle Class Family—Members of such families consisted of educated people who were often rulers of villages and small towns.

(3) The Low Class Family—Members of such families were comprised of soldiers, farmers, merchants, technicians, and free people in general. They engaged in many important occupations. They performed military service and they engaged in common labor duties. They were, however, so subordinate to the ruling groups that they never developed distinct educational and cultural traditions of their own.

(4) The Outcast Family—the Chun-in. The members of such families were private or public serfs who engaged in hunting, fishing, playing music, and delivering mail. They occupied the lowest position in society. A child was considered a member of this class even though only one of his parents belonged to it. Many members of this class were born in servitude to ruling families. Others, however, were

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The term Yangban means literally "both sides or classes." The term refers to the two districts where the nobles were wont to live. The eastern district was occupied by nobles who had achieved distinction in scholarship, the western district by nobles who had achieved distinction in war.
enslaved by judicial writ in punishment for debts, while others were enslaved as a result of military conquest.26

According to the law of Korye, the family was already recognized as an absolute unit in the control of property. It was recognized as a basic social unit. The organization of the family was considered the prerequisite for social order, and there was a rigid law governing the behavior of all family members. The following law passed during the Korye dynasty illustrates the extent to which the family was controlled by the government.

The law recognized four felonies: (1) Rebellion against the government; (2) Insulting behavior toward the king's family or the king's graves; (3) Striking grandparents and parents; and (4) Undutifulness towards parents. These cases are treated as grave criminal offenses.27

From an early history of Korea one learns that the man who was guilty of offenses against his family was subject to more than the heavy arm of the law. Anyone, apparently, was entitled to beat the undutiful son or grandson.28

28Ibid.
The inheritance of family property was also regulated by the government. Only the eldest son was entitled to inherit family property. The law on this subject was not, however, absolutely rigid, and it was possible for others beside the eldest to present their claims and receive a hearing.\(^{29}\)

The family embraced all the kindred, even to the fifteenth or twentieth degree, whatever their social position—rich or poor, educated or illiterate, officials or beggars. All of these members had mutual interests to sustain according to their social class and situation. The law recognized this by levying on the family as a whole the imposts and debts for which an individual member of it was responsible, and holding the group responsible for the individual. To this the family submitted without complaint or protest.\(^{30}\)

The social and economic aspects of Korean family life were carried on without the direct intervention of the government. There was, nevertheless, a high degree of organization within the family itself. The family exercised

\(^{29}\)Griffis, Corea: The Hermit Nation, p. 230.

\(^{30}\)Ibid.
control over virtually all the activities of its members. The government itself exercised the minimum of actual power. The official system was simply grafted onto the family and was supported by the people.

In every small village there were leaders who formed the connecting link between the rulers and the common people. This extra-political system of government was in certain respects democratic, and it certainly, as the conservator of local custom, helped to modify autocratic features of the official system.  

The land belonged to the family rather than the individual. Children lived with the parents as members of the family. They shared its property, its privileges or its lack of privileges. They considered themselves part of a family rather than as individuals in their own right.

Japan: The Ko, the House of Taika reform

In the middle ages the tribes began to disintegrate gradually, and households took their place. As in Korea, 


about the fourth century the cultural endowment of China came to Japan. Confucianism and many other aspects of Chinese culture entered by way of Korea. Buddhism was introduced in the second half of the sixth century. Gradually the Chinese pattern imposed itself on the entire political, business, social, and family life of Japan.33

The turning point of this process took place during the Great Reform—the Taika—which took place in 645 A.D. The Taika was the work of the Yamato tribe. As was mentioned earlier, the Yamato tribe finally achieved ascendancy in Japan. Through force of arms they imposed political unity on the country. They elevated their simple ancestral cult into a national cult and this ensured uniformity of administration.

In the interests of a centralized monarchy, they attempted to erase the various tribal traditions and to impose linguistic unity on the country.34

Instead of the tribal system, which had been weakened through wars, disagreement, and intrigue, the reform imposed an imperial central government after the pattern

33Tappe, op. cit., p. 12. 34Ibid.
of the Chinese nation of the T'ang-dynasty.\textsuperscript{35}

In consequence of this reform, all people were declared direct subjects of the emperor, and all family property was declared state property. This property was to be subdivided and returned to the subjects of the state at six year intervals—later this was changed to twelve year intervals.

In the place of tribal unions new social entities were organized with regional boundaries and these were governed by imperial officers.\textsuperscript{36}

On the other hand, Ko, the House, was the absolute unit governing the use of the property and of delivery by the tribe of taxes. The House or Ko, received a specific assignment of land per capita, and in return had to pay tribute and give public services. It was comprised not only of blood kin but also bondsmen and slaves, and comprised a number of families in a narrow sense. At the head was the Koshu, the housemaster. He was probably the leader of the farm or of the industry.\textsuperscript{37}

During the period of 700 A.D. till 13th century,

\textsuperscript{35}Griffis, \textit{The Mikado}, p. 18.

\textsuperscript{36}Tappe, \textit{loc. cit.}

\textsuperscript{37}Ibid.
powerful Houses, former tribal chieftains, former imperial princes, and imperial officials, created landed estates and independent manors for themselves which eventually took in the greatest part of the land. The Mikado ruled his subjects until the twelfth century. Then through the pride and ambition of the military tribes, who had subdued all the other tribes to his rule, the monarchy was weakened and feudal barons controlled the land.38

It is difficult to determine the precise time when the patriarchal system replaced the matriarchal in Japan. During the feudal age, however, the matrilocal system in both Korea and Japan was entirely supplanted by the patri-local system. Women married strictly for reasons of economic necessity, and were often subjected to domestic tyranny.39

III. THIRD PERIOD: 1392-1910

Korea: Yi Dynasty; Recent Korea

The basic principle of the new kingdom was Confucianism. Buddhism had previously been dominant, but the

38 Griffis, Corea: The Hermit Nation, p. 237.
39 Reuter and Runner, op. cit., p. 89.
Buddhist priests fell into disrepute because of their political activities. They had, indeed, contributed in no small measure to the downfall of the monarchy during the Korye dynasty. In consequence, the Yi dynasty vigorously suppressed Buddhism and stressed Confucianism. Land owned by Buddhist temples was distributed to farming families. 40

Under the influence of Confucianism, more stress was placed by the ruling classes on general moral precepts than on rigid laws. The administrators were trained in Confucian ideas, which they applied in the execution of their duties. They tended to appeal to the axioms of Confucius rather than to any formulated codes of law.

McCune writes as follows about Korea during this period:

The services which the government provided were the usual ones of preserving law and order. It also fostered education through the examination system and the maintenance of libraries and study centers. Taxation to cover government costs consisted almost wholly of a primary tax in kind on agricultural production, but there were often extraordinary taxes to pay for the building of public edifices or maintenance of defenses . . . .

Within their local area the village people had a form of democracy. The village elders were chosen by the position of respect in which they were held by their fellow villagers rather than by any kind

40 Karl, op. cit., pp. 34-41.
of elections. These 'informal leaders' guided the affairs of the village and the official government.\(^{41}\)

Because of the autocratic nature of the government during the 14th century, most Koreans felt that the less they had to do with government, the better off they would be. To them the government provided only a very minimum of services, even though taxes were relatively heavy. The people also associated with the government a considerable amount of what appears to Westerners as graft and corruption; yet to the Korean this was an accepted part of government.\(^{42}\)

The Yi dynasty encouraged Koreans to study the Chinese character, and a Korean literature sprang up in imitation of Chinese models. The people were made to believe that no intellectual life was possible for them but such as sprang from Chinese ideals.\(^{43}\)

Confucianism provided a standard of behavior for the individual, for the family, and for society. Its principles of conduct covered man's life from the cradle to the grave.

\(^{41}\)Shannon Beyd-Bailey McCune, Korea's Heritage (Rutland, Vt., C. E. Tuttle Co., 1956), pp. 43-44.

\(^{42}\)Ibid.

The five following principles regulated the life of the individual and the family.

1. Blessed is the child who honors his parents, for he in turn shall be honored by his children.

2. Blessed is the man who honors his King, for he will stand a chance of being a recipient of the King's favour.

3. Blessed are the man and wife who treat each other properly, for they shall be secure against domestic scandal.

4. Blessed is the man who treats his friend well, for that is the only way to get treated well himself.

5. Blessed is the man who honors his elders, for years are a guarantee of wisdom.\(^{44}\)

The above beliefs were formulated to promote the organization of the family units and to promote reverence of elders.

During the period of the Yi dynasty, filial piety was considered to combine the virtues of loyalty and reverence. Hence filial piety was regarded as beneficial not only to the family but to the state.\(^ {45}\) Indeed, the emperor-subject relationship, formulated in the second of the five principles and regarded in Confucian thought and Korean practice as the

\(^{44}\)Ibid., p. 374.

key-relationship in life, simply extends the idea of filial piety to the emperor. Chung writes:

It (filial piety) is the source from which the emperor-subject relation evolved and on which the whole structure of filiality is based. The father is in the position of a superior, being with absolute authority over the son, while the son looks up to and honors the father with unquestioning loyalty and obedience. Although in practice there may be a great deal of warmth in the relationship, it is based on an austere fundamental attitude serving to bind the younger generation to the domination of the elder.  

Thus at the beginning of the fourteenth century Confucianism was the highest code of family and national morality. During the Yi dynasty, Confucianism was the rule of life and standard of conduct in the government, in education, and in family life. Cultural development during the same period was naturally rooted in the riches of Confucian philosophy and learning. A thousand products of the arts and sciences poured into Korea from China and were eagerly adopted by the people and were responsible for that rapid advance that is sometimes referred to by historians as "the enlightenment." 


47Karl, op. cit., p. 46.
There is no doubt that Confucianism helped in many ways to raise the moral as well as the cultural standards of the Koreans, as there is also no doubt that the Confucian attitude of *laissez-faire* in matters of government encouraged decentralization and indirectly encouraged tendencies toward local self-government.

In certain respects, however, the influence of Confucianism was baneful. It encouraged great conservatism in matters of social class. During the Yi dynasty, the four basic social classes--upper, middle, low and outcast--became more rigid and more crystallized.

The authorities not only discriminated amongst families on the basis of social class; they made invidious discriminations even within the family itself. Children born to a concubine, for example, were considered socially inferior to those born legitimately. The off-spring of a woman who had remarried were ineligible to take civil service examinations and were unable to hold any official position in the government. Discriminations were made on the basis of occupations also. Scholars, for example, were regarded more highly than soldiers. Leather-workers, fishermen, and trunk-makers were considered to belong to the lowest social class, and even when they acquired their
freedom in 1440, they were still regarded as outcasts and settled their own communities near the corners of large cities.\textsuperscript{48}

Residential limits were imposed according to the status of the family. Discriminations were even made against women who were required to cover their faces out-of-doors if they were unaccompanied by a member of the family or relative.\textsuperscript{49}

The village autonomy that flourished during this period, however, represented a positive gain. Few officials were dispatched from the central government to local villages and communities, and their main function was to act as liaison officers between the central government and the local community.\textsuperscript{50}

In consequence, the village took care of its own affairs. The village elected a chief from amongst its most outstanding elderly men; the chief was responsible for keeping the central authorities informed of the number of households in his village, for the general welfare of those under his jurisdiction, and for keeping social conditions

\textsuperscript{48}Lee, op. cit., pp. 361-62. \hspace{1em} \textsuperscript{49}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{50}Ibid., pp. 349-50.
in order. There was a great sense of joint responsibility and social solidarity in the village. The villagers were always ready to fulfill their duties to the government when they were called upon to do so. It should be emphasized, nevertheless, that the basic social institution during the Yi dynasty was the ka-iyok or family.51

Japan: The Ichimon; the Family Union in the Feudal Period; 13th to 16th Century

In 1156 A.D. a fight for the throne in the imperial family caused the two great houses of the Taira and the Minamoto to take up arms against one another. The war ended in 1185 with the victory of the Minamoto and the annihilation of the Taira in the sea battle of Danoura close to Shimonoseki, one of Japan's southern ports. The victor, Minamoto Yoritomo, now became the ruler of the Japanese nation. He erected his residence in Kamakura, south of the present Tokyo.52

The epoch referred to as the Kamakura-period, lasting from 1192-1333, is named after this residence. This epoch is characterized by the development of feudalism in Japan.

51 Ibid. 52 Tappe, op. cit., p. 14.
Yoritomo let the manor lords exist, but under a new legal title: investment through the emperor, in whose name the shogun (military-general) sent the letter to the grantee or patron. The shogun and other territorial lords invested for themselves their own patrons and they in turn probably other vassals.

The emperor nominally remained the ruler of the land and chief liege lord. In reality the power henceforth lay in the hands of the military government, Bakufu, namely, "government before the curtain."

This government was overthrown in 1335 by the imperial commander-in-chief, Ashikaga Takauji, in an attempt to restore imperial power. In the next year, Takauji grasped the government of the country in his own hands and established the shogun within the Ashikaga house (1336-1573).53

The new shogunes, the Ashikaga, provided fifteen rulers from 1338 until late in the sixteenth century, but most of them failed in the attempt to give the nation unified, secure government. Dissident military families fought against the shogun for control of territory. Rarely were more than the central provinces under the shogun's

53Ibid.
control. In addition, there were continual disagreements in the imperial family itself. These constant fights between other larger and smaller territorial lords led the country to civil war. This period is referred to as the sengoku-jidai, the "Period of War."^54

With the downfall of the land-division system of the Taika Reform and the rise of feudalism, the ko, the House responsible for the Taika Reform, lost its significance.

The house of the Ichimon, a group of kinsmen who owned wide feudal holdings, became dominant. Katoku was the head of this Ichimon whose function was to render military and other public services connected with the feudal holdings. In other words, Katoku practiced military-feudal dictatorial power over the kinsmen of the Ichimon, and they owed him defense, support, and protection.55

The Ie: the House of Tokugawa Period, 1605-1867. While the House of Tokugawa ruled Japan, the external forms of feudalism were preserved. Japan went, however, through

54Webb, op. cit., p. 16.

55Tappe, op. cit., p. 15.
a significant social and political transition. The feudal system became more subject to central control. Honjo refers to this period as a period of centralized feudalism.\(^56\)

Possibly because of early contacts with Chinese, Indian, and Southeast Asian cultures, Japan also accepted Confucianism. The national academy organized by Tokugawa Ieyasu became a center of Confucian studies. It was believed that Confucian teachings would provide the state with a new moral basis. In consequence, Confucianism became the controlling philosophy of life of the knightly classes and of the family. As in Korea, Confucianism encouraged conservatism. The Japanese came to consider that everything existing should remain in continuous, unchanged, and absolute stability.\(^57\) In order to accomplish that aim better, the country was cut off from every contact with the outside except Confucian thought from China.

During that time, the people were divided into four distinctive social and family classes: (1) knights, (2) peasants, (3) craftsmen and (4) business people. Membership


\(^{57}\)Tappe, op. cit., p. 16.
was in the respective families and vocations were unchangeable and inherited, although exceptions were made, especially through adoptions and marriage in family. The economic foundation of the knightly house, or upper class in Korea, of the Tokugawa time depended on the knight's fee or the feudal wages which consisted of rice. The existence of the house was based on fee. The formation of a branch house was possible only if the feudal lord of the new house was assured a distinct fee or a separate feudal wage. This fee, or the feudal wage, was given to the House chieftain as representative of the House. From it he had to provide for all belonging to the house.  

Even then the ideal of the time was the maintenance of the family, the preservation of its property, and the enhancement of its prestige according to each family's status in the society. Here the word "family" means not the proliferating clan but the small household . . . Supreme over each 'family' group was a powerful warrior, usually the constable of a province, and attached to him for protection were less powerful families holding land within the territory which he ruled, but not necessarily related to him or to one another. The business of the overlord was to consolidate his power for offense and defense against other overlords, by conserving the strength of each

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Ibid., pp. 16-17.
Therefore, on the one hand, there was constant interference by the overlord in the family affairs of his vassals, and on the other hand a sacrifice of the individual to the interests of the family. One of the difficulties experienced by the Tokugawa, and one that was to continue to trouble the rulers of a reformed Japan, was the effective transfer of much of this loyalty from the family and kinship to the state. The knightly class exercised rigid control over family life, determining for example whom retainers should marry.

As shown above, the basic difference between Korean and Japanese family life during this period may have been Japanese feudalism itself, for it inevitably placed strong emphasis on legal rights and obligations. With his feudal rights, a Japanese man inherited his feudal obligations, which normally made his relationship to his lord sometimes more important than his relations with his immediate family members and relatives. On the other hand, in Korea, because


60 Ibid.
of their local autonomy, the villages were considered as a social unit based on strong family institution.61

IV. MODERN STATUS

Korea: 1910-1945

In the decades before and after the opening of the twentieth century, Korea, after long isolation, became part of the international world. Many Korean customs and institutions remained the same in character as they had been in medieval times. From the beginning of that era Korea was involved in continuous international entanglements. The subsequent occupation of Korea by Japan for thirty-five years brought more changes in political, social, and economic conditions.62

Conditions differed in different parts of the country, but in large parts of Korea, people in many villages were members of the same clan. Sometimes several clans lived in a village. Over a whole area, however, all people may be exclusively of one clan; in addition, families living in


far-away cities are their clan fellows. 63

In addition, most families had a prepared genealogical record. The record was made of two parts: first, diagrams of names; second, biographies. The genealogical record was revised generally every sixty years, so that new names and biographies might be added and the record kept up-to-date. After the revision, the record was printed and distributed among the families in the village or far-away. 64 The functions of a genealogical record at that time in every clan were manifold. Francis L. K. Hsu states:

On the one hand, it will show all outstanding cases of loyalty, filial piety, freedom from corruption (integrity), and chastity (of widow), which will serve as forces of persuasion or punishment; on the other hand, it will clarify the propinquity or the distance between different lineages, which will enable future descendants to comprehend the importance of repaying what they have taken from those sources and of honoring their remote ancestry, as well as respecting their elders and loving their parents. Moreover, such a record will provide material for future district gazetteers and other volumes. 65

Different records were arranged in different ways. Here again there was a distinction between the rich family,  

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64Reuter and Runner, op. cit., p. 169.

on the one hand, and the poor, on the other. There was also distinction between higher classes of families and the lower classes of families. The lower classes and the outcast family did not have the genealogical records. Therefore, their ancestral lineage was obscure. However, most of the records include the following items in addition to the plain genealogy:

1. Introduction (purpose of the records, various efforts expended on them throughout the past generations, changes concerning the clan temple, the remoteness of the ancestry and its authenticity, etc.);
2. Ancestral edicts (various virtues to be observed by all);
3. Plans of the clan temple and the ancestral graveyards;
4. Outstanding literary gems connected with the clan, (including those written by members of clan, past and present), condolence sentiments presented at the funeral of outstanding members of the clan, imperial edicts, and edicts from other government officials which had special significance for the clan; (5) records of outstanding ancestors and their achievements.

Family solidarity was strong during the early part of the twentieth century. However, in the course of time and Japanese occupation, significant political developments took place. The Korean royal family, by edict and indirectly by marriage, was amalgamated with the Japanese royal family. More important, the Japanese Government-General reached down into all facets of Korean life. Education

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66 Ibid., p. 230.
along Japanese lines was introduced, and the Korean traditional customs were discouraged. 67

Near the end of World War II, the Japanese changed Korean family names according to their own. The Japanese also tried to change the religious activities of the Koreans. Strong pressure was applied by the Japanese authorities on Chungdo-kyo, Confucianism, Christianity, and Buddhism, and the people of Korea were forced to participate in various observances of Japanese Shintoism. 68 Korean families accepted these policies superficially and temporarily because of Japan's political pressure, but no permanent changes occurred in Korean family life and individual philosophy. Family life had to face dual living during this period: maintaining the traditional family life on the one hand; and coping with political pressure on the other.

Japan: The Reform of the Meiji Era and Period of Development from 1868-1945

The Japanese socio-political situation was sharply in contrast to that of Korea during this period. In 1868, 67 McCune, op. cit., p. 38. 68 Karl, op. cit., p. 89.
the young Emperor, Meiji, issued his restoration prescript.69

The Meiji reform changed the Japanese Empire into a modern statehood. The feudal system was officially eliminated on June 17, 1869.

In 1871, in the place of the old territorial lordships were organized three city districts, Tokyo, Osaka and Kyoto, and 72 provinces which were ruled by imperial officials. This new system of government, which was declared in 1889, made a constitutional monarchy of the Japanese empire.70 The titles Kuge---court nobles---and Daimyo---feudal lords---were abolished, and the people were divided into three classes. Both court nobles and feudal lords were transformed into Kazoku or flowering families. Clan Samurai---warrior---was given the class name Shizoku---knights---and the common people, the name Heimin.71

The nobility still enjoyed certain privileges; however, Shizoku and Heimin were legally equal. In 1938 the Shizoku system was eliminated. Membership in the individual family classes continued to be by inheritance.

69 Linebarger, Chu, and Burks, op. cit., p. 347.
70 Tappe, op. cit., p. 18.
Marriage and adoption of children between different family classes were allowed. In 1873 the prohibition of Christianity was discontinued and freedom of faith and religion was based on the Constitution of 1889. The legal and educational systems were newly organized and patterned for changing conditions of Western civilization.

Japan also saw unusual change and progress in the economic area after the Meiji reform. In a few decades a modern industrial and trade state, open to the world, grew, out of the feudal agrarian state, [which had been] closed to the world. With the industrialization came a growing urbanization of the population. . . .72

After the first covetous acceptance of the European-American culture and civilization there was instituted a reaction and a backward glance or a retrospection of the traditional and native characteristics. Foreign and domestic political factors demanded this movement. The military results of the Japanese-Chinese War (1894-1895), the Japanese-Russian War (1904-1905), the Korean subjugation and the First World War (1914-1918) increased Japanese national consciousness. They gave great influence in civil affairs to the conservative and reactionary military circles, in whom the feudal tradition still existed.73

72 Tappe, op. cit., p. 19.  
73 Ibid.
After the Meiji reform the house-system began to lose its force and the individual, not the household, began to form the unit of the State. This transition may be illustrated by the history of the law which may be divided into three epochs:

1. The Epoch of Clan-registration, A.D. 415-761.
2. The Epoch of House-registration, A.D. 1898.
3. The Epoch of Personal registration, 1915.

In contrast to the keeping of genealogical records in Korea, in Japan only the upper classes kept genealogies. Also, unlike Korea, Japan, in the first generation to the twentieth century, quickly adjusted itself to the Western civilization. The feudal and decentralized political organization of Japan was gradually replaced by a more modern and centralized government under the leadership of the Meiji Emperor. Members of a family were obligated to two different loyalties; loyalty for parents in the family, loyalty for the emperor in the government.

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CHAPTER III

CHARACTERISTICS OF KOREAN AND JAPANESE FAMILY SYSTEMS

I. DEFINITION OF THE FAMILY

People define the concept of the family differently according to their respective fields of interest. A definition of the family sufficiently broad to cover examples from various primitive, preliterate, historical, and contemporary cultures is, indeed, difficult to make.¹

Theoretically speaking, a definition of the family must include what is common to the great variety of human groups to which the term "the family" has been applied. Burgess and Locke list four characteristics of the family which are more or less common to human groups in all times and all places. The characteristics which they mention are: (1) "The family is composed of persons united by the ties of marriage, blood, or adoption";² (2) The members


of a family live together under one roof and constitute a single household; (3) It is a unity of interacting and intercommunicating persons enacting the social roles within a family circle; and (4) It maintains a common culture, derived mainly from the general culture, but possessing some distinctive features for each family.\(^3\)

According to the Korean and Japanese civil law, the term "family" refers to "a unit consisting of members related to the head of the family by kinship or marriage and living together."\(^4\)

Kinship is further defined by both laws as the following relationships: (1) Within the sixth degree of patrilineal line (see Figure 1); (2) A spouse; and (3) Within the third degree of matrilineal line.\(^5\)

Thus the concept of the family in Korea and Japan has a much wider meaning than is understood in many countries of the West. Persons temporarily absent are also

\(^3\)Ibid.


included in the family. Strictly speaking, however, the family does not always coincide with the household as may hold true in the lower classes. In other words, servants, boarders, or distant relatives staying temporarily with the family are members of the household but not of the family.

Kinship in Korea and Japan, therefore, consists of three streams; (1) the father-line, (2) the mother-line, and (3) the couple-line. They may also be called three-party family lines. It is obvious from the above definition that the father lineage has much broader coverage than the mother lineage.

As presented in Figure 1, the relationship between one's self and his father is considered analytically as the first degree of kinship, and the relationship between brothers as the second degree of kinship. The relationship between one's self and his father's brothers, namely one's uncles, is calculated as the third degree, and the relationship with the uncle's children as the fourth degree. Thus until the fourth degree of kinship is reached, relatives are under the same grandfather but separated at the father level.

The sixth and the seventh degrees of kinship are separated in this manner at the grandfather's level although
A. Great-great-grandfather

B. Great-grandfather

C. Great-grandfather's brother

D. Grandfather

E. Grandfather's brother

F. Father (1)

G. Uncle (3)

H. Brother (2)

I. Self

J. Son of the above

K. Grandson of the great-grandfather's brother (7)

L. Son of the above (5)

M. Cousin twice removed (8)

N. Cousin (4)

O. Cousin once removed (6)

First collateral

Second collateral

Third collateral branch

Fourth collateral branch

FIGURE 1

DIAGRAM OF THE PATRILINEAL FAMILY LINE

relatives are descendants of the same great-grandfather. This calculation can be extended to the twelfth or even sixteenth degree of kinship, but closeness no longer exists at that point. However, as opposed to the Japanese, the Koreans still think customarily that they are in close kinship within the eighth degree of relationship. Therefore, in many instances, the Korean family consists of much more than the nucleus family members. The eldest son brings his wife to the home of his parents, whose parents are also living. Thus within the same establishment might be found a great-grandfather, grandfather, father, and brothers, all under the control of the oldest male.

In the Japanese family the degree of kinship has become much narrower than that of the Korean family. In recent years, for example, marriage practice in Japan interprets only the third degree of kinship as a direct blood relationship and prohibits marriages within this group.

The matrilineal line of kinship in both countries is considerably limited compared with that of the patrilineal family line. According to the definition of kinship, the mother's brother is the only source of a legal kinship. However, mention should be made of the fact that the legal
definition of kinship does not always coincide with the actual practices of family life in both countries.

II. FAMILY SYSTEM

Structure

Although there are many similarities in family functions in both countries, there are distinctive differences in family structure between Korean and Japanese families. Because of the changes which have taken place within the framework of special historical and social conditions in each country, going back to antiquity, these differences are considerable. The comparison of such an institution as the family has less significance if it is treated separately from the broad social structure and the main institutions of which it is a part. One can reach a broad understanding of the family by a study of the way in which it is influenced by the total social structure, and how the family affects the rest of society.6

Historically, the Korean village family unit very often occupies a single household. The sons' wives, who

6Kizamon Ariga, "Introduction to the Family System in Japan, China and Korea," Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology, IV (August, 1956), 199.
are from another clan, become a part of the family unit. The patrilineal family is tied to other families by this process, and it is these groups of interconnected families which make up the clan. Clan members usually have the same family name or surname. It has been estimated that there are 1,072 clans in all of Korea, though there are only 326 surnames.\(^7\)

Though clans occupy whole villages or parts of villages, they may have connections with other branches of their clan who sometimes live a long distance away. Traditionally, within the village there is an informal structure designed to benefit the allied families.

In general, therefore, the social organization and structure is based on this family and clan loyalty. It is an obvious fact that there is less loyalty to districts outside of the family and village groups. Even less is the loyalty to the province and to the nation. Actually, the Korean people are themselves more closely identified as members of the immediate family or members of the clan than as citizens of the country. Despite the fact that in the modern era the family life of many Koreans has to a great degree been changed the old philosophy and living within

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the family has been remarkably persistent.

As indicated, historically the structure of the Japanese family is very different from that of the Korean family. Although Japan also has adopted much of the social structure of China, there are many basic differences between Korea and Japan. One of these differences is the genealogical system. As pointed out already, in Korea all individuals with the same surname are considered to be clan relatives. In Japan there were no family names for the great majority of people until the Meiji restoration in the middle of the nineteenth century. Among the four social classes--nobles, peasants, craftsmen, and business people--in Japan before that time, only the noble class maintained their family names and genealogy. Even the genealogy of this class was quite different from that of Korea. They traced ancestry, not downward in the line to include all individuals of a given kind who come from an original ancestor, but backward from a living individual. Because Japan was a strict feudal state, ties of loyalty were not to a clan or distant relatives but to a fief and to the noble lord who ruled and protected the family. This situation limited reverence among the masses to remembered ancestors. Queen and Adams state:
The grave-markers of ancestors beyond the grandparental level were often allowed to remain uncared for, and gradually their names would sink into oblivion.

The clan, in other words, had grown too unwieldy and had split up into smaller units which was not the case in Korea. This split is a development which follows naturally from the growth and movement of population, together with the diversity of interests brought about by increased numbers and a more complex social structure. These changes were at the same time a cause and an effect of the partition of Japan into a number of self-growing territories whose occupants were bound together no longer by the blood-tie but by community ties of interests and proximity. In Japan the family certainly is a basic social institution and occupies a position of strategic importance, but unlike in Korea, it definitely shares its position with other institutions in the society. In turn, this creates in the society a possibility of overriding or manipulating various aspects of the family patterns for other purposes.

In Korea this possibility of manipulating family patterns in terms of other aspects of the society is much

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more limited because the family structure of Korea is to a much greater degree the major focus of the total society than is the case in Japan.

Interrelationships within the family

The family head. Both Korean and Japanese family members have strong attachments to each other within the family as compared to such relationships in Western countries. The family head has the highest status duties of supporting the family. His role is that of general manager of family affairs.

Although the power of the Korean family head may be stronger than that of the Japanese family head from the historical view, it is difficult to make a generalization. It cannot be satisfactorily explained by the fact that there are many enterprises which are operated as family undertakings. The power of the family head is better understood in connection with the social structure of the whole nation. There are differences in the strength of control by the family head and in the ways control was exercised in the feudal age and in the age of the capitalistic economy. Differences will also be found in the two countries during the two periods.9

9Ariga, op. cit., p. 205.
Therefore, the explanation is complex. But attention is called to the fact that all through these different historical stages the head of the family in both countries is greatly respected and has a final authority within the family. Furthermore, he is considered to be the symbol of the family as an integrated whole. He is equivalent to the family itself. For example, though an occupation might belong to an individual, the occupation managed by the family head is considered as the family's. In other words, his occupation is regarded as the real occupation of the family. Accordingly, in many instances, the members of a particular family are called "a son of so-and-so teacher" or "a wife of so-and-so teacher" instead of calling each person's name. The father is responsible for the best interests of the family; he is responsible for the family's security, upbringing, and honor, not only for the present members but also for their ancestors and descendants.

Even with the effects of rapid social changes accompanied by industrialization and urbanization weakening the family head's control, the authority of the family head over the members is recognized because of his position as

\[10\text{Ibid.}\]
the manager of the family affairs as long as the family is maintained and continues to operate as a major social institution in a society.

The mother. The principles underlying the kinship system are lineage, generation, sex, and seniority in the family lives of both Korea and Japan. However, the mother's status is difficult to define in both societies: from the lineage and sex point of view, the mother has a lower social status; from the generation and seniority basis, she holds higher prestige and special prerogatives in family affairs.

Although Confucianism does not list the mother-child relationship among the five most important social relationships, the mother occupies the first place in the child's mind. The son responds spontaneously to his mother's love, and customs encourage him not to hide his inner feelings and conflicts as unworthy of a man but to display them. The mother is the source from which a son receives natural love and encouragement and gains personal confidence.

Although respect is due mainly to the father, the dominant feeling of the son for his mother in family lives in Korea and Japan is love and affection. Nitobe explains:
The mother is the central figure around which the family gathers and from which it draws its inspiration. If a son disagrees with his father, it is the mother who reconciles. If brothers quarrel, the mother brings them together. If a daughter disgraces her father's name, the mother hides her shame. If a house goes to ruin, the mother props up the last pillar. She does all this, not because she had education or wisdom, tact or sagacity, but because of her unselfish devotion, because she has no desire for herself, because she has slain self that her progeny may have life.11

Actually, a mother who has children exerts a strong behind-the-scene influence, which may be exercised indirectly through the father and husband. Both the Korean and the Japanese families are described as based on the patriarchal system, i.e., having the father as the sole source of the authority with each member submitting himself without question. This definition may overemphasize the power of the father; it is an inadequate description and needs qualification. In theory as well as practice to a certain extent the father of the family is supreme in his authority. However, the mother, in many practices of family life is the center of domestic life: she manages daily minor expenditures of the home, cares for her children, cooks, washes, and even directs all social relations with friends and kin. Therefore, it is very far from the truth to imagine that in

11Inazo Ota Nitobe, Lectures on Japan (Tokyo, Japan: Kankyusha, 1936), pp. 200-201.
the life of both countries the position of the mother is low.

Although it is hard to make a distinction between the Korean mother and Japanese mother, differences in status do exist. In the Korean family if a wife gives a birth to the family, her status is enhanced more than would be true in Japan. In Korea, at an individual's birth the family gains a new potentially valuable member. The family system of ancestral worship, with the consequent need of maintaining the family line, is quite enough to account for all the honors to the mother. The more children she has, the higher her status climbs. She now becomes more interested in bringing up her children than giving love to her husband. In Japan, the mother still bows to her husband showing obedience and gives equal attention to her husband and her children. Mention should be made of the fact that the Japanese mother is not too highly appraised now if she has too many children because of the birth control movement in recent years.

Husband-wife relationship. Traditionally, in both countries, the double standard in sexual affairs existed. Although a husband could associate with women of doubtful
morals, a wife was expected to maintain chastity. Any affairs she might indulge in would have to be secret, and secrecy is well nigh impossible under the intimate conditions of the Korean and Japanese families. However, the Korean wife seems to be faithful in this respect much more so than the Japanese wife because of close family interaction between her and the rest of the family members.

Concubinage, however, is an institution as old as history. Although prohibited legally, it is accepted in Korean society in middle and upper social classes. There are two major causes for it: (1) when a man has no son by his wife to continue family lineage, in which instance the wife would show sympathy towards her husband because of her own failure to give a birth to the family; (2) when the wife became an invalid or a cripple.

In the Korean family, as a whole, the wife's first duties are to her husband's parents, showing to them her respect and faithfulness; only secondarily is she responsible for her husband and children. On the contrary, in the Japanese family, the wife gives more attention and affection to her husband while she serves secondarily to her parents-in-law, if she lives with them. This circumstance also contributes to the fact that more Korean males
associate with women of loose morals than Japanese. The Japanese wife shows unconditional obedience and submissiveness to her husband so that her husband usually gratifies his needs at home.

**Father-son relationship.** As described previously, in both countries the status hierarchy in the family takes into consideration generation, age, and sex. People of the elder generation are superior to those of the younger; even within a generation, the eldest has the preference over the youngest; the men are superior to the women.

The relationship between father and son is, therefore, the symbol of dignity and sternness. The first thing inculcated in a son's mind is respect for his father. It is much more so among Korean children than among Japanese. All insubordination is immediately and severely repressed. Custom dictates that a father be restrained in his attitude toward his children, and he often appears coldly distant whatever may be his real feelings. The father also becomes the symbol of the disciplinarian and is apt to be strict in practice. Children show utter respect regardless of how
they really feel. The Korean family has many restrictions in its behavior in front of the father. For instance, children can not smoke or drink in front of their father during their father's life time even if the children are old enough to do so. Thus, although filial piety prevails in both countries, the degree to which the practice is carried on is different. In Korea, everything pertaining to children's behavior is more or less regulated and has become institutionalized; all that is needed is to practice these regulations. This practice is favored in a static society, in which all change is undesirable. Once regulated, it is desired to endure forever. This has worked out for the Koreans, who in the course of centuries have worked it out to suit their particular cultural demand, but it has no permanent use to the Japanese. Neither by tradition nor by temperament nor by economy were they suited for static conservatism with rigid discipline. Japanese youth are in an early stage of rapid development, so that they are likely to borrow Western cultures more easily, and the


father-son relationship is weakening faster in Japan than it is in Korea.

The parent-daughter relationship. The parent-daughter relationship, although Confucius does not consider it important, comes closer to the ideal of respectful and tender love than does the father-son relationship. Daughters are, as a rule, somewhat more affectionate toward their fathers than are the boys; they have more love and less fear of them. Daughters are also less often afraid of their fathers than of their mothers, because the mothers are directly responsible for their daughters' learning and disciplining in both Japan and Korea. However, fathers do not allow their daughters' love for them to be expressed as freely as their love for their mothers.

Relationship among the siblings. The siblings of the household, too, are arranged in a very definite order according to their ages in both countries. The older son receives respect from the younger, as well as from all of his sisters. Although some brothers like some more than others within the family, their sense of mutual responsibility and cooperation almost certainly is high. To be an eldest son is to be both fortunate and unfortunate, for it is he who inherits the headship of the house and all of the
privileges and social status that go with it. On the other hand, he has to serve and take care of his parents all of their lives. Benedict also states:

_Proper station means not only differences of generation but differences of age. When the Japanese want to express utter confusion, they say that something is 'neither elder brother nor younger brother.' It is like our saying that something is neither fish nor fowl, for to the Japanese a man should keep his character as elder brother as drastically as a fish should stay in water. The eldest son is the heir. Travelers speak of 'that air of responsibility which the eldest son so early acquires in Japan.' The eldest son shares to a high degree in the prerogatives of the father._

In the old days younger siblings would have been inevitably dependent upon the eldest son in time especially when their parents died early. In modern days still, it is he who stays at home in the old house while his younger siblings will perhaps press forward and get more education and a better income. But old habits of hierarchy according to age are not greatly changed in either Korea or Japan. Siblings do not live for themselves alone. They are still the children of their parents, the descendants of their ancestors, the potential father of children. Their efforts toward literary distinction or official position are not

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directed merely for personal ends or personal reputation. Their strivings are for the good of their brothers, parents, ancestors, and their descendants.

Although the relationships in the family are very intimate and both Korean and Japanese families are exercising the extended family life, the protection within each family is somewhat different. For example, the Korean family usually rallies to protect one of its members who is under criticism so that the family reputation is maintained. Under this protection, a member of the family can face the rest of the community and the village with the assurance of full support in case of need or attack. On the contrary, in Japan it appears that the reverse is the case: a member of the family can only be sure of support from individual family members as long as approval is given by other families or groups in a community. If other people disapprove or criticize, one's own family will turn against him and act as the punishing or disciplinary agent, until the other people withdraw their disapproval.15

15Ibid., p. 274.
Filial piety

Both the Korean and the Japanese languages have many words meaning "obligations." The term unhe in Korean and on in Japanese are similar, but have slightly different connotations. In Korean usage unhe is translated into English as obligation, kindness, or favor. In Japanese usage on has a connotation of obligation, loyalty or affection. Both imply in all their uses a load, an indebtedness, a burden, a responsibility, which one carries as best one may, but each has a different direction: the Korean is indebted towards his parents and ancestors while the Japanese is indebted towards his parents and the nation.

Filial piety is, of course, a high ethical law which Japan shares with Korea; Chinese formulations of this law were early adopted in both countries. However, the character of filial piety has been modified to suit the different social structures of the family in Korea and Japan. In Korea, one owes loyalty to one's parents and relatives as well as to distant clans. Each family keeps track of dispersed members and publishes elaborate genealogies which are brought up to date to show the relationship of the relatives, not only immediate but also far distant. As was previously stated, this procedure is different in Japan. Surnames are
fundamental in the Korean clan system and without these, or some equivalent, clan organization cannot develop. In Japan only the upper classes maintain genealogies. They are not kept by the masses of the people there. Besides, formerly Japan was a strong feudal country. Loyalty was due, not to a great group of relatives, but to a feudal lord who protected them. Benedict describes this phenomenon as follows:

Another way of institutionalizing clan is through the worship of remote ancestors or of clan gods at shrines or holy places. This would have been possible for the Japanese 'common people' even without surnames and genealogies. But in Japan there is no cult of veneration of remote ancestors and at the shrines where 'common people' worship all villages join together without having to prove their common ancestry. They are called the 'children' of their shrine-god, but they are 'children' because they live in his territory. Such village worshipers are, of course, related to each other as villagers in any part of the world after generations of fixed residence, but they are not a tight clan group descended from a common ancestor.16

Under the above circumstances, in Japan, filial piety does not, as in Korea, encompass the line of ancestors for centuries back nor the vast proliferating living kinship descended from them. In other words, the Japanese do not value piety except to those remembered in the flesh, and they concentrate on the here and now.

16Ibid., p. 51.
Many writers have commented on their lack of interest in disembodied speculation or in forming images of objects not present, and their version of filial piety serves as another instance of this when it is contrasted with (Korea's).17

Obligations in Japan are differentiated, and for each particular kind of relationship a particular degree of obligation, both as to amount and duration, is prescribed. The limitless gimu or duty is restricted to two main types of obligation: payment of one's indebtedness to parents, which is filial piety; and repayment of one's indebtedness to the Emperor, which is loyalty. Although loyalty towards the Emperor has weakened since 1945, Japanese loyalty to their country has never weakened.

If one quotes from the treatise on filial piety, one of the canonical works attributed to Confucius himself, it will throw some light upon its nature:

The law of filial piety is that one should serve one's parents as one serves Heaven. At every step he takes, the pious son should remember what precautions filial piety requires of him. So long as one's parents are living, no enterprise must be undertaken without their counsel and approbation. Parents must be obeyed during their lifetime, and after their death their son must do as they did. Living, they must be served as the Rites exact. Dead, they must be buried as the Rites exact. After death they must be given the offerings which the Rites exact.18

17 Ibid., p. 122. 18 Sansom, op. cit., p. 115.
The concept of filial piety is also a dynamic one. It moves from the original sacred polar to the secular polar as in any other religion.

In summary, although it is very difficult to compare the degrees of various types of obligation or obligations between the members of a Korean family and a Japanese family, as presented in Table I, this writer feels that the Korean has a strong indebtedness to the immediate family and his ancestors and teachers, while the Japanese has a strong obligation toward his parents and outsiders, namely: emperor or the country, teachers, and friends.

Ancestor worship

Though it is evident that until the 18th century, the influence of Chinese culture upon Korea and Japan was very great, the degree of Chinese influence was not the same. As a whole, the influence of Chinese culture upon Korea was more profound, and its family and social structure were altered significantly as a result. The Chinese influence upon Japan was less significant, and in the deeper aspects of social structure less influence can be observed. As far as ancestor worship is concerned, Korea was under the influence of China from antiquity, and has come to have the
# TABLE I

SCHEMATIC TABLE OF KOREAN AND JAPANESE OBLIGATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Obligation</th>
<th>Korea</th>
<th>Japan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unhe or on</strong> Received from Emperor</td>
<td>Weak</td>
<td>Very strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unhe or on</strong> Received from Parents</td>
<td>Very strong</td>
<td>Strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unhe or on</strong> Received from one's Teacher</td>
<td>Very strong</td>
<td>Strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unhe or on</strong> Received in all contacts in the course of one's life</td>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>Very strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unhe or on</strong> Received from one's Lord in the past</td>
<td>Weak</td>
<td>Very strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unhe or on</strong> Received from Ancestors</td>
<td>Very strong</td>
<td>Weak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Unhe (Korean) and on (Japanese): obligations passively incurred. One "receives an Unhe or on"; "one wears an obligation" i.e., Unhe or on are obligations from the point of view of the passive recipient.
same pattern of worship as China. Ancestor worship is very important in Korean families even today. They memorize the day of each ancestor's death, offer them food, and mourn for them. In the Korean system, the ancestor must be strictly consanguineous for the present family members. On the contrary, this is not always the case with the ancestor in the Japanese form of ancestor worship. This arises from the differences in the nature of the lineage of the Japanese family from that of Korean families.

In Korea, the main family is called jongka, and the family head of the jongka carries on ancestor worship. In Korea, unlike China, equal distribution of family property did not occur. Therefore, the first son would take the bulk of the family property, and the rest of the sons establish branch families with quite small properties which were given to them. Therefore, the jongka retained a large share of property, and enjoyed a higher status than the branch families.19 At the same time the family head owed especial devotion to the family lineage and succession including such an important rite as ancestor worship.

The meaning of the ancestor worship in Japan is

different from that in Korea. In Japan, the ancestor is merged with other gods in a concept of a family deity; worship of the family deity in Japan compares with ancestor worship in Korea. Ariga describes this matter as follows:

The Buddhist altar was established in the family for ancestor worship only after the introduction of Buddhism into Japan. A new branch family was permitted to establish an altar of its family deity as a branch altar of the main family's guardian deity, for the family deity of honke (main family) was, at the same time, the guardian deity and the object of common worship of the whole dozoku. The altar of the honke's ancestor was built separately from that of the family deity, and was worshipped jointly by the families in the dozoku, and this was also true of the case of the grave-site of the honke.20

From the above description, it is apparent that there coexists ancestor worship with the family deity in Japan although the nature of ancestor worship is different from that of Korea.

On the other hand, ancestors in Japan are not necessarily consanguineous with the family members as is required in Korea. Ariga also explains his view as follows:

This was because the lineage in Japan did not mean the kinship of an individual itself. The lineage of the family was manifested in an incessant succession of positions of the family head, who as its representative, was regarded as the bearer of the family

20Ibid., p. 203.
continuity. And the succession used to be borne by one of the sons of the family head. When he had no sons, he adopted a spouse for his daughter from another family and appointed him as the successor.21

If the head did not have any child at all, in Japan, he customarily adopted a boy and a girl from other families, making them a married couple, and appointed the husband as the successor to continue the family lineage and conduct limited ancestor worship.

Succession and adoption

Succession in Korea is classified into three categories: (1) Succession to the family informal priesthood22 conducting ancestor worship. This succession is considered to be very important, and every effort is made to carry it on incessantly from father to the eldest son. (2) Inheritance of property including movable and immovable properties. This means inheritance of property left behind by the deceased. When the deceased happens to be the family priest, the property inheritance takes place at the same time as the succession to the priesthood. However, persons eligible for


22 Priesthood does not refer to any formal position. It simply means the person who is in charge of the memorial service for deceased ancestors in the family.
the inheritance are not limited to the successor to the
family priesthood, but other descendants also are able to
inherit a portion of the property. (3) Succession to the
family headship. When a married man dies, a person is
appointed to take care of memorial services for the deceased
even if he has been only a member of the family and not the
family head; his property is inherited by the man in charge
of the memorial services and other descendants. The lineage
of a family is carried on by the person holding the priest-
hood.23

As stated above, succession includes not only mere
property but also duty and status in Korea. Accordingly,
adoption becomes a very serious consideration if there is
no one who can succeed within a family.

The adoption of a son takes place when the family
head has no male offspring, or when he dies and no child is
available to conduct the religious service in honor of the
ancestor and to continue the family line.

However, there is a distinctively different practice
of adoption between the Korean family and the Japanese family.

23Eisuke Zensho, "The Family System in Korea,"
Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology, IV
(August, 1956), 224.
In Korea, brothers of the family head and their offspring are recognized as bang-ke, or those outside the family line, and when the family head has no heir at all, he can adopt a boy from among bang-ke relatives and appoint him heir. As soon as he is adopted, the boy acquires a status equal to the real son of his foster-parents and develops the same relationship as those of a real son in the new family. The adopting family is usually happy to have a new successor as a protection for old age and for family continuation. However, there are many emotional difficulties for the adopted son when he separates from his former family.

In Japan, when a family does not have sons, the family head usually adopts a spouse for his daughter from another family and appoints him as the successor as indicated before. If he has no child at all, he adopts a boy. An important difference between the two countries' practices exists in the fact that in Japan whether the adopted son or girl is a relative of the family head or not does not matter, and whether the adopted child belongs to his clan or not is unimportant. However, the family head is concerned with the social status of the boy's or girl's original family which

24 Ibid., pp. 224-25.
is expected to be almost the same social status as that of the adopting family. In Korea, it is customary to adopt a child within a kinship with the same surname as the family successor.

However, in both countries, the continuity of the family is believed to be necessary for the welfare of family members, and contributions from family members to supporting the continuity of the family are recognized as one of the highest moral obligations.

**Main family and branch family**

In Korea, *Jongka* refers to the eldest brother's home with his parents. Generally, people also call it *kkun-jyp*, "large family" which refers to the main family and *zyakun-jyp*, "little family" which denotes the branch family. In Japan, *hon-ka* is synonymous with Jyongka of Korea and means the main family, and *bun-ka* refers to the branch family.

Historically speaking, in the Korean family, the head retains his position up to the day of his death, and a branch family is seldom established while the head, the senior, is alive. It is considered family disorganization if a branch family is established while the family head is
living. Thus, a composite family, or the living together of three or more generations, including wives and children of brothers in one household under the headship of the great-grandfather, frequently occurs in every part of Korea. The position of the main family is highly respected. The family head of the jongka is called jongson; he is charged with many special responsibilities as described previously.

Besides the central main family which was established by the founder of the jongjung, secondary main families, which were established by brothers of the heads of the central main family, appeared with the passage of time, as the nuclei of subgroups of the jongjung, and in the same way, tertiary main families with their own subgroups came into existence. Being the founder of the jongjung, the central main family was regarded as most important among all the families of the jongjung, but in some cases, branch families became influential and prosperous on account of outstanding personages or wealth.25

In Japan, historically, the first son succeeds to the headship of the family, and the rest of the sons establish branch families. As the children grow up, the father makes them start new independent homes as branch families. Even with this situation, the extended family appears although the cases are less frequent than in Korea. Thus, there are resemblances between the two countries in so far as existence of the main family and the branch family is concerned.

However, mention should be made of the fact that in other aspects of the branch family there are considerable differences between the two countries in so far as their family descendants are concerned.

That is, in Korea, a branch family must be connected with the jongka through patrilineal descent. That is to say that a jongka and a branch family belong to the same family name through the relation of patrilineal descent. In other words, strict consanguinity is maintained from the beginning. In Japan, on the contrary, there exist non-consanguineous as well as consanguineous branch families. As it has been revealed earlier, the relationship between the main family, honke, and the branch family is not necessarily combined by the same blood relationship from the beginning. We cannot consider, therefore, it as a pure consanguineous family relationship. In Japan, for instance, a wealthy or powerful family has a servant, who is not consanguineously related but who can establish a branch family with the approval of the family head. Such a branch family has a lower social status compared to that of the original consanguineous branch families. But, they count him as a member of the dozoku or the same family group. He has also close relationships in various
aspects of life as a member of the dozoku.\textsuperscript{26}

The fact that such a non-consanguineous relationship is involved in the Japanese dozoku system means that the dozoku is based on different criteria from the Korean jongjung—the central main family—a pure consanguineous relationship. This may be one of the explanations why the Korean family maintains stronger family relationships with a sense of belonging to the large entity of the jongjung. Thus, mutual aid and cooperation in Korea are stronger than that of the counterpart in Japan.

**Family property**

When the collateral relatives of the family head live together, they hold the property jointly which later is distributed differently among the sons. As may be seen already, the family system in the two countries has a great responsibility in varying degrees for securing the welfare of family members, so that family property is a matter of great importance in both countries. However, family property does not mean all possessions of individual members of the family as is the case in China. Traditionally in China, for example, the portions of the joint

\textsuperscript{26}Ariga, op. cit., p. 204.
property were divided among brothers by the rule of the equal distribution of property.

In contrast, neither in Korea nor in Japan are the family possessions the joint property of the family members. In Korea, possessions are the property of the family head, and in Japan, possessions have been thought to belong to none of the family members as in China, nor to the family head as in Korea. Possessions belong to the family itself. Therefore, idealistically speaking, both in Korea and Japan all family property preferably cannot be distributed. However, in reality this institutional practice is very difficult to maintain because most of the brothers except the eldest customarily establish their own families as branch families. As soon as they establish a branch family, it is considered necessary to give a portion of the property of the main family which in most cases, is the father's, to the new family as the basis of its living.

As pointed out, in Japan family property is the property possessed by the family itself and controlled by the family head. Ariga states:

All members of the family endeavoured to contribute to the maintenance and increase of family property, for the continuance of the family was possible through its maintenance. And without and outside of the family,
the welfare of family members could hardly be protected.27

He goes on to explain some items considered as family property which are almost identical with family property in Korea:

Dwelling houses, house sites, cultivated fields (paddyfields and upland), woodlands, hayfields, ponds, swamps, furniture, agricultural tools and machines, domestic animals, cash, negotiable papers, grain, the right to tenant land and the co-ownership of land possessed by village community, etc. No statement will be made about the fisherman's family, the merchant's family and the craftsman's family, but obviously the special items needed for their occupations were included among the family property.28

Although it is common in both countries for the main family to give the branch family a minimum economic basis to start with, some differences in branch family-conventions exist between them. In Korea, since family property belongs to the family head, it is customary practice that a small amount of property is given by the family head to the branch family and the bulk of the property is inherited by his eldest son.

On the contrary, in Japan, because the personal earnings of each child are put at the disposal of the household, the family head has to give a fair amount of property

27 Ibid., p. 216.
28 Ibid.
to them at the beginning of their new households. It is more or less true that in Japan the head of the family encourages his son's independent life as founder of a branch family while in Korea he maintains his authority even though his sons leave the parental household. However, the amount of support depends largely upon the wealth of each family, so it is hard to make any simplification.

It may be said that, in general, economic considerations are at work, as is true in most countries. Wealthy families can give their children considerable advantages in the way of education and social contacts rather than property itself. On the other hand, in low income families where the father's earnings are not sufficient to maintain the family, children are forced to go out and establish their own families without any financial support.

After World War II, both in Japan and Korea, there were many reforms in the legal aspects of family life. In the abolition of the traditional family life, the most important points are: (1) equality of husband and wife, and (2) equal distribution of parents' estate among children. From the pure legal standpoint the concept of family property was abolished in the latter half of the 19th century in both countries, and the family property came to be regarded as
the personal property of the family head. However, the traditional concept has not changed completely. Even the Land Reform, which was carried out after the War in both countries, has many implications affecting traditional family property.

In Japan, farmers are strongly opposed to the new law which provides for equal distribution of the parents' property among children. One of the reasons for this opposition is that the family property, particularly land, is too small to divide further. Consequently, sons who are to inherit a part of the parents' estate usually abandon the right voluntarily. Ariga gives another reason why children abandon this right: children trust that if they happened to lose their jobs or they find themselves in difficulty after they leave their parents' family looking for a new life the source of help will be the family in which they were brought up as is true in Le Play's concept of the stem family.29

III. NAME SYSTEM

Although there are similarities in general family

29Ibid., pp. 218-19.
organization between the two peoples, there is a sharp distinction in so far as name is concerned. Koreans, as a rule, have three names which are: first, the clan name or surname such as Kim, Lee, Pak, or Chung, etc.; second, the personal name; and third, the generation name following a particular character which can be identified as a certain generation in the large kinship group. Furthermore, the personal name is seldom used after childhood, except by a close friend. Even within a family, after a certain age is passed members do not use personal names. For example, parents say "first son," "second daughter" or "the last son" instead of calling the real names. Among and between the siblings, they call each other "elder brother" or "younger brother" or "elder sister" according to a definite age and sex status.

In Japan, people as a whole have four or five Chinese characters in their names in contrast to three in Korea. The first two characters represent the family name such as Ike-gai, or Naka-shima. The rest of the two or three characters denote their personal name. For example,

\[ \text{30 According to Korean practice the author's name is Roh Chang Shub; to conform to custom in the United States the order has been reversed with respect to the family name.} \]
Kats-0 or Zen-no-suke are personal names. However, the personal name does not follow any identification of the generation in a large kinship group as it is true in Korea. Japanese also use their personal names within a family until they marry. Also there is no particular surname predominant in all Japan. This situation is partly due to the fact that before the Meiji restoration the masses of the Japanese did not have family names. The majority of people made their own family names and registered them in accordance with the law. Therefore, the multiple family names appeared and the names Kim and Lee, which are as common in Korea as the well-known names Smith and Jones are in the United States, cannot be found in Japan.

IV. DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF THE FAMILY

Size of the family

In spite of the growth of industry and cities in both countries, the size of the average household is larger that in European countries. The size of the family under the patriarchal system is influenced by the fact that the patriarchal family strongly desires to continue the family permanently. In order to accomplish this aim and to avoid the discontinuation of the family line, not only the father,
the mother, and the eldest son, who are the important elements for the transmission of the family, but also the other children and even some of the close relatives live together.

Table II shows the relationship between the average size of the household in Korea and Japan. On the whole, Korea has an average of 5.7 members while Japan has 5.0. The Korean urban area's average household has 4.8 members as compared to 4.5 in Japan. The Korean family has an average membership of 6.4 persons in rural areas, in contrast to 5.4 persons in the Japanese rural family.

From this observation, one can say that among the Japanese, there is less difference in size between rural and urban families than among Korean. From the above data, several brief generalizations can be reached.

1. Korean families are larger than Japanese families, on the average. This is true of the total, urban, and rural population.

2. Rural family size in Korea is much larger than that in Japan.

3. The size of the urban family is almost the same in both countries.

4. The difference between urban and rural family
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Korea (1951-54)</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan (1950)</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

size in Korea is more strikingly apparent than that of Japan.

5. Both Korea and Japan exhibit large families which are characteristic of Oriental countries.

In the United States, for example, there were 3.4 persons per family in 1950. An average family size of 5.0 or more persons can be observed historically from 1860 to 1880 in the United States.\(^{31}\)

**Age-sex**

The age distribution and the proportions of the sexes are important factors in the family life. These factors influence the family age composition, sex variation in different age groups, the marriage pattern, the birth rate, and the death rate. They are also related to the ratio of producers to consumers, the percentages in school, the ratio of dependency in the family, the percentage in the military ages, and almost every other significant item of social policy and family planning in a given society. Therefore, similarities or differences in the age and sex profiles in different societies are of significance for the students

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of the family because in them are to be found some of the principal factors and characteristics initiating family changes or operating to make one country different from another.32

Figure 2 is an illustration presenting the age-sex pyramid for both Korea and Japan. This pyramid is a very easily understood device for portraying age-sex composition not only for population analysis but also for a better understanding of the essential demographic characteristics as they relate to Korean and Japanese family life.

The age distribution of the population of Korea differs in a striking manner from that of Japan. As compared with Japan, Korea contains higher proportions of persons under 20 years of age. In the productive years of life between the ages of 20-30, there are larger proportions of the population in these ages in Japan than in Korea. In other words, there is a very small proportion of the Korean population in these ages. However, at the age of 30, especially in the male line, the pyramid diminishes sharply in Japan as a result of World War II. The age-sex pyramid

Figure 2. Age-sex pyramid for total population, Korea and Japan: 1953.

for Korea is much broader in both sexes at the base until 19 years of age and then it narrows strikingly at the ages 20 to 29 on the male side due to the Korean War and uncounted military personnel which are not included in this census. In any rate, this configuration of the age and sex pyramid is pronouncedly affected by the Korean War. Most obvious, of course, is the fact of deaths or military service among males ages 20 to 29. In this particular age group, Japan has twice as many young males in home life as has Korea.

This nature of the age distribution in Korea seriously affects its family, social, and economic life in a great many ways. Most obvious is the fact that, in comparison with Japan, Korea has very few persons in groups who are dependent on account of old age but considerably more who are in need of care during the tender years of life and of education during the formative years. The nature of the age distribution in Korea indicates that the average producer in the Korean family has more mouths to feed than is the case generally in Japanese families. In contrast to the Korean dependency ratio\(^ {33} \) of 837, the ratio in Japan

\(^{33}\)The dependency ratio is calculated by the number of children under 15 and people over 65 in the population per one thousand population in the productive years of 15 to 64 years of age.
is only 647.34

Thus economic difficulties bring about a tremendous impact on Korean family life. In reality, in Korea more women are supporting families, and more older people are working, than ever before in Korean history. It is important to consider that the effects of war will continue during the life span of the generations under consideration. One of the important effects is the manner in which war influenced the proportion of children under 5 years of age in Korea; the normal trend of the birth rate was broken and a relative decline appears.

In Japan, there has been no marked change in the birth rate or in the death rate except among males aged 30 to 45 years. Except in this age group, the proportion of the population in each age group declines gradually as one passes from the bottom to the top of the pyramid. The above variations in the age profiles of both countries, indeed, reveal a century of societal experience which directly affects family life.

Sex-ratios

In a further analysis of the demographic characteristics of Korean and Japanese families, some insight into the respective sex-ratios of these two countries is apropos.

Table III reveals that in 1953 the sex-ratio in Korea was 93 as compared to 97 in Japan. Thus, both countries have a relatively low sex-ratio. However, as is expected, the sex-ratio for the 0 to 19 age group is high. For the age group 20 to 24 years, there is a strikingly low sex-ratio of 51 in Korea in contrast to 101 in Japan. Undoubtedly, this low sex-ratio in Korea is explained by the fact that military personnel are not included in this statistical tabulation and by the Korean War. Hence, the Korea population is characterized as having almost twice as many women as men in the civilian population for this particular age group. It is apparent that this highly disproportionate sex-ratio has marked implications with respect to marriage and family life in Korea. A similar situation may be observed in Japan in regard to the 30 to 34 year age group.

In Korea and Japan there is a tendency for a low sex-ratio to exist for the populations in the 25 to 44 year age groups. However, there is a higher sex-ratio in
### TABLE III

**SEX-RATIOS FOR TOTAL POPULATION ACCORDING TO AGE GROUPS, KOREA AND JAPAN IN 1953**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Sex ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Korea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 - 4</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 9</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 14</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 19</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 24</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 29</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 34</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 - 39</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 44</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 - 49</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 54</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 - 59</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 - 64</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 - over</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Korea's 45 to 49 year age group, while Japan is slightly higher in the 50 to 59 year age groups. With the 60 to 64 and 65 and older age groups, there is a tendency for the sex-ratio to progressively decrease in both countries.

Births

The rate of reproduction is one of the primary factors which operates to determine family numbers. The comparison of the fairly well-established present and past statistics will show the reproduction patterns in Korea and in Japan. This comparison will bring also the following understanding: (1) how rapidly the population is reproducing; (2) how the rate of reproduction varies from one country to another; (3) the nature and extent of the differences between the two; (4) how culture influences the fluctuation or stability of the birth rate.

According to data in 1953, the fertility ratio


36The fertility ratio is calculated by the number of children under age 5 in the population per one thousand women in the childbearing years of 15 to 44 years of age.
in Korea was 639 while in Japan it was 518.\textsuperscript{37} This fact indicates that Korea has a considerably higher fertility as compared with that of Japan. This is further evidenced through the crude birth rate for which data are available, however, only for the years 1936-1943, as presented in Table IV.

The data show that in the early years, during 1936 and 1937, Japan had a slightly higher crude birth rate than Korea. Japan maintained approximately the same crude birth rate from 1936 to 1943. After 1938, Korea had a higher crude birth rate than had Japan. Although the rate fluctuated from 28.8 to 42.0 in different years, the continuing increase in the Korean population did not reflect any unique failure of the reproductive pattern to change in response to the altered conditions of living, working, and thinking that accompanied industrialization and urbanization. The high birth rate of Korea compared with Japan may be directly traceable to early marriage practices, social pressures for large families, and possibly a lack of any

TABLE IV

BIRTHS PER 1,000 INHABITANTS, KOREA AND JAPAN
1936-1943*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>1936</th>
<th>1937</th>
<th>1938</th>
<th>1939</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1941</th>
<th>1942</th>
<th>1943</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>34.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>30.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

tradition or methodology for birth regulation. Culturally speaking, neither abortion nor infanticide have been admissible in Korea as they were in the late Tokugawa period in Japan. 38

The sex pyramid for 1953 indicated a declining birth rate in Korea, due largely to effects of the Korean War instead of changes in the reproduction pattern itself.

Deaths

Like the rate of reproduction, the death rate is another primary factor which determines family numbers and distribution of a given population. The rate at which people die is one of the principal determinants of the number of the family members living and whether the size of the family is on the increase or the decrease. This means that the death rate is one of the decisive factors influencing the number of people. It also determines life expectations of the family members in a given country. Moreover, from analysis of the data on death comes the most useful information on such matters as social policy in the control of particular sicknesses affecting family life, the

trend of deaths, the reduction of hazards during infancy, and the changes in the risks of maternity in the family life. Comparing the two different countries provides some understanding of measures of health and the degree of sanitation in each of them.39

Although it is not possible to bring the data on Korean mortality up to date, the Japanese mortality rate was 8.9 per 1,000 population in 1953.40 However, the fairly well-established information regarding the crude death rate 1940 to 1950 will provide some light in an understanding of the two countries.

Table V reveals that the mortality rate of the Koreans during the period between 1940 to 1943 was higher than that of the Japanese. Korean mortality was high then by the standards of the West, but it was relatively low by the standards of the Eastern countries, such as China and India. It is very interesting to notice the fact that in Korea, since the liberation of the country in 1945, the crude death rate has dropped more than 50 per cent compared

39Smith, op. cit., p. 233.

# TABLE V

**DEATHS PER 1,000 INHABITANTS, KOREA AND JAPAN**  
1940-1950*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

with that of the early 1940's. The amount of the decrease was more pronounced than that of the Japanese death rate. The decline in the crude death rate in Korea can be explained in many ways--projected programs for better diet, rising standards of living, advances in medical science, growth of medical facilities, availability of health services, improvement in sanitation, prevention of acute infectious diseases, and sharp declines in infant and maternal mortality. These factors which affect mortality indicate further that in Korean families there is a trend toward increasing longevity.

Japan also shows that the crude death rate has declined sharply; between 1940 and 1953 it declined nearly 50 per cent. The same factors accounting for the decline in the Korean death rate would account for the Japanese decline.

From the forementioned analysis the following brief summarization can be given:

1. Crude birth rates and death rates in both countries are still high.

2. Korea as a whole has a higher birth rate and death rate than does Japan.
3. Due to the sharp decline of the mortality rate after 1945, Koreans and Japanese have a greater life expectation than before. This means there will be more elderly people.

V. FAMILY STRATIFICATION

The concept of family stratification

Various people define social stratification differently. Whatever else it may mean, "stratification" refers to some way whereby some kinds of units are arranged in some kinds of strata.41

Parsons states that social stratification means the ranking of individuals on a scale of superiority-inferiority-equality, according to some commonly accepted foundation of valuation.42

In Japan and Korea, social status is more or less identical with family status. In other words, the ranking of individuals is largely based on family groups instead of the achieved status of individuals. However,


theoretically speaking neither Korea nor Japan has strict ascribed status like a caste system in India or more or less achieved status like in the United States. Moreover, family stratification is a dynamic concept and varies in different times and in different locations. Therefore, a generalization for the total society can not be made.

**Rural family stratification.** Traditionally, family stratification in rural areas is closely related to possession of the land and to other factors such as family background and the name of the family. Ownership of land and long and continued residence in a particular community or village have been the determinants of social prestige and power in both countries. Although the amount of land possessed may not be exactly correlated with the amount of the family prestige, there is a high correlation between the two. This can be explained by the fact that in Korea, according to the old concepts, the educated person occupied a special position in the community, for he was equipped to pass the government examinations called kage and to secure an official position. As a government official he had the power to acquire wealth, usually in the form of paddy fields, lands, and other grain-in-kind. The
situation in Japan is similar to that of Korea. This, however, was done in Japan not through governmental officials but through feudalism. Traditionally then in both countries, social stratification in rural areas can be generally divided into the following categories: (1) Landlords. These families did not work in the fields and did not hire laborers to work their fields, but leased all their family lands to those who had none of their own, or not enough of their own, and in return received rent of 40 per cent of the yearly crops. These family groups maintained the highest prestige in a rural area. After the land reform in both countries, this particular class was eliminated so far as lease land is concerned. However, their long duration of family prestige and close superiority and inferiority relationships with other families in a village have not changed drastically.

(2) Farmer-owners. These families own their homes and land, and farm independently. This group may be considered a middle class in rural family stratification. Members of the family are deeply attached to their native soil and in their relationship with other families in rural areas they command respect.

(3) Farmer-owner-tenants. These are families whose family lands were not sufficient to be independent and they
were compelled to lease some land from landlords. These families were still respected but not evaluated highly as they were dependent on someone else.

(4) Agricultural laborers. In these families the main earnings come from wage-labor even if they rent a miniature plot of land to cultivate for their own use. Because available land is limited, families in this category in both countries, in different degrees, are unable to live by farming alone. They work on somebody else's farm or supplement low cash income by many other undertakings such as selling, handicrafts, et cetera.

Thus in rural areas of Korea and Japan social immobility is implied. It means that once family status had been established in certain hierarchical arrangements in a community, either by land possession or by traditional family name, it remains relatively unchanged. In Korea, however, in addition to economic status, family stratification is mainly based on multiple factors such as number of children, length of residence, name of the family, genealogy, and education of the children. In Japan, family stratification is more related to economic factors such as amount of

money and possession of land, although the status of the family is also related to the amount of children's education.

In both countries the rural village headman and village schoolmaster as well as schoolteacher are included in the highest statuses along with the old families.

Below the top ranking social class are found the farm-owning families as well as farm-owner-tenant families who were promoted to independent farm owner status through land reform. As a consequence of the land reform in both countries, sponsored by each government, this class has been expanded considerably in size and presumably in influence. Local shopkeepers, the Buddhist priest, and the village clerk also belong in this middle social class.

The lower levels of the hierarchical arrangement in the rural class system are composed of agricultural laborers; craftsmen, such as stonemason, blacksmith, carpenter; and small traders.44

**Urban family stratification.** Social stratification in urban life in both countries is different than in rural areas and is complex. It is not easy to draw a clear-cut

family stratification picture with any implication of precision, largely because it is highly complex and also because it is changing. Furthermore, there is no current and complete information contributing to the understanding of the family and social stratification in both countries. A clue, however, to the way in which people feel about family distinctions is given by a recent survey undertaken in six large Japanese cities, in which 2,000 men, age twenty and over, were asked to rank thirty occupational categories in order of their importance. Attention should be called to the fact that Korean stratification does not exactly coincide with that of Japanese society. But on the whole, because the two countries are located in the same geographical area and are both limited in urban area and influenced by similar economic structure, the Japanese class structure has basically remained the same as that of Korea. As pointed out already, the occupation of the family head largely determines the family status; accordingly, the analysis of such urban occupations will supply some understanding of the family stratification.

Table VI shows an interesting form of social

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stratification characteristic of both countries. As a whole, scholars are valued very highly. The ranking of families in urban Korea and urban Japan is not primarily based on monetary income but on the social contribution that each profession makes. For example, although medical doctors receive more income than university professors, their social status is not as high as the latter due to the fact that they receive monetary reward in proportion to their contribution.

From Table VI one can derive a general idea of the way in which the two countries are stratified with respect to urban families. As a whole, those who have important positions in public service are ranked highly. Also Table VI indicates that people who own or control property are ranked highly. Furthermore, people who have specialized skills involving use of intellect are in general esteemed. People who perform manual labor are considered low ranking people. This can be clearly seen by the ranking of coal miners, coal stokers, road repair men, owners of street stalls and shoe blacks. It also implies that the family head who receives salary instead of daily wages is esteemed highly.
TABLE VI

THIRTY OCCUPATIONS AS RANKED BY 2,000 JAPANESE MEN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Prefectural governors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. University professors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Judges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Directors of large firms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Medical doctors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Section chief of government's bureau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Architects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Owners of factories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Labor union leaders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Journalists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Elementary school teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Chief Buddhist priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Owners of retail stores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Officials of ward office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Company employees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Land-owning farmers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Policemen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Tailors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Department store clerks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Insurance agents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Carpenters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Barbers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Bus drivers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Lathe workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Fishermen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Coal miners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Coal stokers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Road repair men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Owners of street stall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Shoe blacks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHAPTER IV

FAMILIAL CULTURES

Culture sometimes refers to learned behavior, sometimes--as in the phrase "continuity of culture"--to the social heritage, and other times to the superorganic. Each one of these references shows and emphasizes a particular characteristic of a broad meaning of culture. On the other hand, culture also refers simply to the "way of life" of a particular society or their various designs for living.¹

According to Kluckhohn and Kelly in their concept of culture,

A culture is a historically derived system of explicit and implicit designs for living, which tends to be shared by all or specially designated members of a group.²

The above definition of culture is very useful in comparing one country with another. In this chapter, the


emphasis is given to comparing the familial cultures in Korea and Japan. Attention is given especially to such designs for living as where they live, what they eat, and what they wear, as well as customs and other ceremonial activities prevailing in family life.

I. HOUSING

Physical settings

In their physical aspects Korean and Japanese houses vary greatly not only between the two countries but also among various localities even within the same country. In urban areas of both countries, houses have tiled roofs and expensive whitewashed walls with interior woodwork decorated by talented artists. In rural areas, the roof is usually covered with a thatch of rice straw, made in long rolls and laid so as to overlap and constitute a solid roof. The walls are filled with clay, mud, stone, or wood. Even within a country, the types of the houses differ greatly from one locality to another. In Japan there are several different types of houses adapted to different climates in different localities. Some of them are of modified Chinese architecture; others are adapted to their indigenous architectures to provide convenience for the large farm family.
There are houses modeled after shrines and special types for the nobility.

As a whole, houses in both countries are well adapted to their country and to the life of the people there. However, there are a number of basic traits of all Korean and Japanese domestic houses; the dwellings are usually of one story--sometimes of two in Japan--and are of plain unpainted wood or clay walls. They usually have three or four rooms with courtyard or garden in front of the house. The houses are constructed of materials readily available.

In Korea, the foundations of the houses are made of large stones put at each corner of the rooms after pressing the ground in order to harden it. Walls of earth, usually mixed with clay and stones or broken tile or straw, are built up to the height of the main foundations. Frames of large timbers are laid along this foundation of rock, clay, and straw. The uprights are set according to the shape of the houses such as L-shaped or U-shaped structures. Again the spaces between the frame construction are filled on the outside with a mixture of stone, mud, and straw, and the walls inside are plastered. This structure is so solid that it cannot be removed. The roof is usually covered with a thatch of rice straw in rural areas; the thatch is
changed in autumn each year. In urban areas, the roof is made of tiles, the tiles being decorated with geometrical figures or elaborately written Chinese characters such as "more happiness" or "many children."

In Japan, the basic foundation of the dwelling is almost the same as that of Korea. However, because of the danger of frequent earthquakes in Japan, the houses are not built solidly with dirt and stones. Usually, houses are built with more paper and wood so that the dwelling can be flexible enough to withstand minor earthquakes. The ordinary houses are of one story, sometimes two stories in cities, with interior partitions consisting of sliding screens with here and there a bit of mud wattle. Walls with wood, instead of the mixture of rock, straw, and clay used in Korea, are not painted on either the outside or the inside of the wall. This reveals the natural beauty of the structure.

The differences between Korean and Japanese dwellings, then, lie not in the fundamental structure, but on the shape and form and use of different materials. Another difference is the fact that in Japan practically every house has an amado, a wooden shutter which can be pulled across the outer edge to form a temporary but fairly good firm wall. This
FIGURE 3

KOREAN THATCH-ROOFED HOUSES IN A VILLAGE

Source: Shannon B. McCune, Korea's Heritage (Rutland, Vt.: C. E. Tuttle Co., 1956).
FIGURE 4
KOREAN THATCH-ROOFED HOUSE

FIGURE 5
KOREAN TILED-ROOFED HOUSE
FIGURE 6

VARIOUS TYPES OF JAPANESE HOUSES

protects against outside cold and severe rain, and it is used as a protection against burglars and as a means of assuring privacy. The amado is closed for the day when the family is absent in the fields or while the family visits relatives for all day long. In both countries there is a courtyard in front of the house, and beautiful flowers can be seen depending upon seasonal changes, especially in Japan. In rural areas, this courtyard is a large sun-baked area of bare earth in which the grain is dried, and in which other household activities such as work, play, and conversation are carried out; in the summer time meals may be served here.

One of the differences in household conveniences is that in Japan most households, including farm families, have two or three drop bulbs of low wattage lights whereas in Korea only dwellers in cities can enjoy the privilege even for brief periods due largely to the lack of electric power. In Japan, also, more than one-half of all households have radios. Raper states:

Most of the current is generated from hydroelectric plants which are numerous and scattered, located as

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they are on the many relatively short and steep rivers that flow out of the extensive wooded mountain areas."

**Bedroom.** As a whole, in Korea and Japan, there is no clear-cut division of rooms such as bedroom, dining room, and living room, sharply defined as in the United States. Although there are particular rooms assigned for the purpose of sleeping, eating, cooking, and entertaining other people, they are not used exclusively for that particular purpose. This is mainly due to the lack of adequate space. Therefore, in many families, a room may be used for eating during the day time while it is also used for sleeping during the night time.

In Korea, the floors of the rooms other than the kitchen are usually made of pressed earth with smoothed stones and are covered with several layers of oiled paper. Sleeping rooms differ in size, but six feet by six feet square is common. In Japan, on the contrary, the floors of the rooms other than the kitchen are covered by **tatami** which consists of thick straw mats one by six feet.--

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called itch-jyo, one jyo in size—and covered with closely woven rush matting. The size of a room is calculated by the number of one by six feet mats it will hold. Japanese bedrooms range from three and one-half jyo to twelve jyo in size. Thus there is a distinctive difference both in room size and composition of floors between the two countries.

In both countries bedrooms do not contain beds, and when night comes quilts are brought out of a closet and laid on the floors. There is no particular sleeping room for any individual. The parents are most likely to sleep with the youngest one, two, or three children. Older brothers, 14 years of age or older, maintain their own room for both studying and sleeping. When a girl becomes about 12 years of age she usually does not sleep with her brothers but shares a room with her sisters. If there are grandparents, they usually sleep together with one or two of the grand-children. However, in both countries a newly married couple has their own separate room regardless of crowded conditions in the home.

**Living room.** As a whole in Korea, there is no specific living room for entertaining a guest alone except in the homes of upper class families in cities or wealthy
families in rural areas. Guests are, then, usually invited into a bedroom. While guests are visiting, they feel as free as in their own home, and strains are not involved. However, a few wealthy families in rural areas have a separate part of the house called sarang. This is the gentleman's reception room which may be opened for guests. This room is also used for informal gatherings of the neighbors. During the evenings, older people gather together and talk among themselves about other people in that area. This sarang then is used not only as the individual's living room, but also serves as an important place for social intercourse. This place also serves as a medium for exchanging the news.

In Japan, there is a living room, called tokonoma, in each household. The tokonoma is in the best part of the house and is the place where honored guests are seated. By observing which guests are seated in the center of the wall of the tokonoma opposite the entrance, and which below or at one side, one can estimate their relative social rank as defined by age, sex, or authority.

The tokonoma is decorated by a scroll painting and by carefully constructed flower arrangements appropriate to the season or the special occasion. There is often hung
a picture scroll of the ancestors, emperor, or of some Shinto or Buddhist deity.\(^5\)

**Dining room.** As has been pointed out, there is no room used exclusively as a dining room. With a minimum of household rooms, the family members must sleep, entertain their friends, and eat in the same room. Eating takes place usually in the bedroom after the bedding has been removed from the floor each morning. During the summer season, eating is also done in the *maru*, the wooden floored courtyard in Korean homes. Thus, dwellings are highly functional in the two countries. For eating, the meals are served on low *sang*, or little tables. In some parts of rural Japan, sleeping and eating are also done in the *cha-no-ma*, the house’s tea room. In its center is a square fire pit, *cha-kama*, with an adjustable hook over which water for tea is boiled.

**Kitchen.** Although the purpose of cooking is the same, striking differences exist between the kitchens in Korean and in Japanese houses in so far as structure of the kitchen, especially the fireplace, is concerned.

\(^5\)Ibid., pp. 157-58.
In the Korean home, the foundation walls of the kitchen are made of rocks put together with clay, although concrete walls can be seen occasionally. The kitchen floor is about two feet lower than the floors of the other rooms. The fireplace is on the side toward the next room, and is made of a square structure about eighteen inches high, into which two or three iron pots are fixed, and plastered with either cement or mud. The square frame of the fireplace, with a square hole in the middle, is also constructed of rocks cemented together with clay. There are square fire holes under the pots. This fireplace in the kitchen is also connected with the floors of the other rooms in the house. Whenever there is a cooking, flues--four or five of them--run from the fire in the kitchen under the entire length of these rooms, and the heat is carried through them to a chimney at the back side of the house. It is called an ondoll, warm chimney, and is one of the most popular heater systems in Korea. Chung writes:

For centuries Koreans have heated their homes by placing flues under the floor, a method recently adopted, with modification, by leading architects of the West. This heating system consists of pipes

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running underneath the stone floors from the kitchen stove to a kind of chimney which is erected partly inside and partly outside the house. Heat rising through the floors from the pipes keeps the house at an even temperature.7

Thus, the heating system utilizing the kitchen fireplace is very practical and economical because the fire can be used not only for the cooking but also for warming the floors of the living rooms at the same time. People also think that the ondoll system is good for health and makes people's homes very comfortable.

Kitchen structure, especially the fireplace, in Japan is quite different from that of the Korean ondoll system. Although urban Japanese kitchens are equipped with modern conveniences such as sink, water-pipe, electric light, and oil or gas stoves, the majority of people still use wood or charcoal in their stoves. In the kitchen, which is dirt-floored, are found many kitchen utensils. Stoves, baskets, wooden water buckets, pots, and jars of various sizes containing supplies of foods, rice, and soy bean paste are found in the kitchen. Because the Japanese do not have the firepots connected with the floor of the other rooms as in Korea, they use stoves made of bricks. This stove

FIGURE 7

JAPANESE TEA-ROOM

is not built in and may be moved. This is fixed separately from room to room; it burns wood, paper, and charcoal. Accordingly, rooms are heated during winter time by a fire pot, called **irori** or **hibachi**, a portable charcoal heater. One of the most popular heating systems in the Japanese families is the **kotatsu**, a pot filled with hot water and wrapped with cloth. The kotatsu is placed under the quilt where their feet can reach it while they are sleeping.

**Bathroom.** Bathrooms are not common in rural Korean houses although there are many public and private bathrooms in urban areas. Bathing is not so important in Korean family life as it is in the Japanese family. This is mainly due to the climate and people's custom. In Japan the air is so damp that one needs frequent baths--at least on alternate days. In Korea the air is so dry that one does not feel humid for several days. Besides, Koreans are reluctant to expose their nudesness not only within the family but also in public such as in a public bathroom.

The Japanese bath, **ofu-ro**, has its own etiquette. The usual family time for the bath is in the early morning in cities and early evening in rural areas. Rural families get back from the weary work in the fields and completely
FIGURE 8

VARIOUS FORMS OF JAPANESE KITCHENS

relax themselves in the bath. The head of the family enters first, then the children, and finally the wife. When there is a guest, the guest takes first turn together with the head of the household. In cities, there are large public baths with separate facilities for males and for females. Wooden walls stand between the two sections. Physical privacy is not too important for the ordinary Japanese people, and their nudeness in the public bath is accepted with indifference.

Toilet facilities are not included in either public or private bathrooms but are provided in outhouses.

II. FOOD HABITS

Food, indeed, is the most important item to meet basic human need in both countries. Because the average Korean and Japanese family has limited financial resources, anxieties are essentially centered around meeting this basic need. Necessarily, in both countries, the food habits are well adapted according to what each country can produce.

Basic foods

Basic food habits within the two countries do not differ extremely. As a whole, the Korean food is more
complex and varied in kind than the Japanese food. The Korean is fond of rice, meat, and vegetables as well as fruits, whereas the Japanese diet basically consists of rice and fish as well as varieties of vegetables.

In both countries, rice is the single important basic item in foods. People in both countries eat rice three times a day—breakfast, lunch, and supper. Although barley, noodles, and other foods can be substituted, the families who eat rice all the year around are considered to be wealthy families. Rice is so precious that in normal family life, usually, a mixture of rice and barley is eaten. Even today there is a rice ration per individual in Japan so that the government assures the equal distribution of this major food of which there is a shortage.

Although rice, kimchi—pickled vegetables—, beef, and rich delicious hot soup form the standard Korean diet, Korean families seldom enjoy all of these foods. Other foods are millet, beans, barley, potatoes, radishes, dried or fresh fish, or corn. However, the basic Korean foods, regardless of whether families are rich or poor, or whether they live in urban or rural areas, are boiled rice and famous Korean kimchi. Kimchi is a highly seasoned pickled combination of various vegetables such as turnips, Chinese
cabbage, onions, red peppers, garlic, ground ginger, as well as a little ground fish. Because there is no refrigeration in both countries, this kind of food which can be preserved for a year around is a very important item. In Korea, usually the latter part of October or early part of November, after the busy harvest is over, each family makes kimchi. This food is prepared in several different ways and must last the family from October until the following spring when new vegetables are available.

In preparing this basic food, enough Chinese cabbages are obtained to allow an average of fifty heads per person for the winter. All the washing of the vegetables and the preparation of necessary ingredients constitute a busy job for the household women. After complete preparation, kimchi is placed in a large jar, called tok, and buried beneath the ground before the first frost, preserving freshness during the winter time.8

Another kind of special food in Korea is a duk, rice cake. This is comparable to Japanese mochi and is made as a special treat for holidays, birthdays, weddings, memorial services, and for special guests. It is a kind of

8Ibid., p. 50.
steamed bread made from rice flour made by the women in the family.

It may be pounded in the wooden mortar or in a stone mortar with a heavy stone mallet, and it is very heavy work for women who do the grinding. Koreans have a special pottery jar made with holes in the bottom that just fits into the large iron pots used in the fireplace.9

Thus the fire is burned under the iron pots so that steam can go through the rice cake and cook it.

Wheat is used in making a kind of noodle both in Japan and Korea. This is considered to be another major food in both countries and is prepared for regular meals as well as for special occasions. Noodles are often used for the various ceremonies because they are simple to serve for many people. They are served either hot during winter or cold in summer time with pieces of boiled fish, leeks, vegetables, and little slices of meat. Hot pepper in Korea and chili pepper in Japan are added.

Food materials are secured mostly at markets especially in urban areas of Korea. Even in rural areas marketing is carried on by means of periodic fairs or markets called jang-nal, at which rice and other foods are exchanged and

9Kim, op. cit., p. 81.
sold. Many rural people bring their surplus vegetables, eggs, and grains to sell in the market. To urban markets the above items are carried by means of train, truck, and even by ships. Different villages have different market days, although town and city markets are open six days a week so that a family can buy necessary food including fish and meat anytime in a week. In rural areas market days are in regular sequences, usually every five days.

In Japan there is no market day as there is in Korea. The regular food stores are like grocery stores in the United States and are open every day except on Sunday. This grocery store is an agency for purchasing foods directly from the farmers as well as selling their products to the customers. However, fresh fish are sold by peddlers who travel through the rural areas on bicycles.

Food habits of Japanese families are basically the same as in Korea. Japanese families eat rice and are heavily dependent on fish and vegetables. Takuwan, a vegetable pickling in Japan, is as popular as kimchi of Korea. Takuwan and tsukemono, two relishes, appear at every meal from breakfast to supper. These are prepared differently from Korean kimchi, although Chinese cabbages and turnips are used. The vegetables are washed and dried in the sun, then
FIGURE 9

KOREAN MARKET DAY EXCHANGING THE FRESH VEGETABLES AND GRAINS

FIGURE 10

OTHER NECESSARY MATERIALS ARE ALSO FOUND IN THE MARKET

Source: Shannon B. McCune, Korea's Heritage (Rutland, Vt.: C. E. Tuttle Co., 1956), Figures 41 and 42.
placed under pressure in a cask with a mixture of rice-bran and a moderate amount of salt. The pickles are placed in a wooden cask for two months or longer before the winter time. These are also prepared during the summer so that the family can eat them at any time of the year. This does not contain any hot pepper so that the taste of the pickles is more or less sweet and salty instead of highly seasoned like kimchi. Another basic item in the Japanese diet is soy sauce, *shoyoo*. It is almost an indispensable item to put into any kind of side dishes in both countries. It is sprinkled and mixed with vegetables, meat, fish, and any other side dishes so that the desired taste can be achieved.

Soy sauce is mostly prepared at home except in large cities. It is generally prepared during the hot days of June after the bean crops are harvested. The principal ingredients are boiled soybeans which are mixed with yeast and fermented, a great amount of salt, and water. It is placed in a large pot and placed under the sun for a year or so; the longer the preservation, the better it tastes. Some wealthy families in Korea keep it for five or even ten years before they start to use the sauce.

A fermented paste of rice and soybeans' residuum with salt, called *miso* in Japanese and *dyezang* in Korean, is an
important item for preparing daily soup. This miso is used to give flavor and body to soup known as miso-silu which is particularly common for Japanese breakfast. Thus, the Japanese breakfast is very simple—a bowl of rice, soybean soup, and slices of pickles. Besides the above basic Japanese foods there are dried seaweed, dried small sardines, herring roe, fish roll, and bean-cakes. For special occasions such as for guests and festivals, the rice cakes, mochi, comparable to Korean duk, are prepared. These are sticky white cakes which are toasted over the fire in winter time and eaten with honey, sugar, or even with sweet soysauce. Sake, rice wine, comparable to takju in Korea, is also prepared for the festivals and used for the various ceremonial activities. Sake is very weak compared with other wines in Japan and is very cheap so that people in rural areas or poor men in urban areas find it readily available and can enjoy themselves.

One of the strikingly different food habits between families in Japan and in Korea lies in the habit of drinking tea. Strange as it may sound, the Koreans do not drink tea

although they are living between the two great tea-drinking countries, China and Japan. In Japan tea is as popular as coffee in the United States. Boiled water is always ready in a tea pot so that tea can be served at any time to any guest in Japan. In Korea *sunnyang*, hot water with burned rice, is the most common drink. Each meal, after cooking rice, the water is poured over rice which has been burned in the bottom of the pots. This is served only at meals in the Korean household; when guests call *takju*, a Korean rice wine, is served.

Another difference between the two countries' foods lies in the fact that the food in the Korean family is much more complicated to cook, consuming more housewife's time and energy and requiring more skill to prepare. On the other hand, the taste of foods differs considerably in different households, according to the housewife's skill in cooking. There are also many varieties of foods, whereas the Japanese foods are relatively simple not only in cooking but also taste itself. Korean foods are salty and highly seasoned whereas Japanese foods are rather sweet and plain. However, families in both countries use a great deal of elements of soybeans in side dishes. From the nutritional viewpoint it is said that soybeans are comparable to milk.
Table manners. Eating, like sleeping, is both a relaxation and satisfaction of one's need; certain manners are observed during meals. In both countries, family foods are cut into small pieces in the kitchen; necessary utensils are simple. For example, in Japan, only chopsticks are used for the adult although children are allowed to use little spoons. Using a spoon in Japan is a sign of one's immaturity. Starting from age six or seven, the child begins learning how to use chopsticks not only for rice but even for soup. Japanese sit in a ritualistic manner and one heap of food is brought in at a time and the food is blessed. However, children are encouraged to eat as fast as possible so that the eating will be as brief a business as possible.

In contrast to the custom in Japan, the Korean family uses various utensils. Implements differ according to season. Brass dishes--rice bowls, soup bowls, and other utensils--are used in wintertime so that they can keep the food warm. Earthpots are used for summer time so that they can keep the food cool. As in Japan, no forks or knives are used. Instead a spoon for soup and chopsticks for other foods are used. What is different from Japan is that spoons are used at every meal in Korea.

In both cultures, the meals were traditionally served
on little tables. Nowadays, meals are more often served on a large table for all members of the immediate family --usually five or six. But if a father-in-law or mother-in-law should happen to be present, he or she is given a separate small table, called sang in Korean, jen in Japanese. Guests and the head of the family sit together at the small table. However, if there is a special guest or elderly person, one small table for each guest is provided. Thus offering the food table differs according to the status and relationship of the guest. As a whole, a separate table is considered the more polite way of treating other people.

Customarily in Korea, to eat much is an honor to one's host and the merit of a food consists not only in the quality but in the quantity of the food served. Japanese refrain from eating excessively to show their politeness. In Korea little talking is done while eating. Especially, young members of the family are expected to be quiet as their parents sometimes give them interesting short news and talk about family events while they are eating. This time is also devoted to brief family planning and instructing children as to behavior. In any event, children refrain from talking back, and etiquette requires them to keep silent.
III. CLOTHING

The use of Western-style clothes has increased perceptibly in both countries, especially in cities. Even in rural areas most young men have one or two changes of Western clothes, and some women also wear Western clothes. As a whole, adult Koreans wear white clothes and adult Japanese wear dark colored clothes.

As in many other countries, Korean native dress differs in cut and color according to age and sex. Previously, officials dressed according to rank and status in the government, and clothing of the high class family and common people differed. Such practice no longer exists. Differences in dress are now based primarily upon sex, and age, and according to seasonal variations. Traditionally, Korean men wear a jyukori, a form of waistcoat shirt; bazi, voluminous trousers secured about the ankles with cords; and turumaki, an overcoat which extends to about eight inches off the ground. At present, this uniform is not worn by young men except for ceremonial occasions or

\[11\] Chung, op. cit., p. 41.
ancestor's memorial days. Among old men these garments are still worn, and that fact shows their significance as a symbol commanding respect for elders. They wear this traditional clothing when they visit their old friends or when attending various important occasions such as weddings, funerals, and family and social gatherings.

As in Korea, most Japanese men wear Western-style clothes. It is more true than among Koreans. However, old men still wear Japanese kimono, a native costume, for important occasions. This is more or less equal to the turumaki of Korea, a long overcoat type of garment. It is easy to put on and take off. Men wear dull hues at all ages, usually materials with a very small pattern. Clothing changes according to season. Usually, the summer kimono is of light cotton, and winter clothes are made of thick-padded material. Although silk is produced in rural areas, it is too expensive to wear for normal occasions, and so is reserved for formal gatherings.

Women's traditional Korean dress strikingly persists even today. This is worn not only by women in the rural areas but also in urban areas except by professional women. The women's dress consists of jyukori, a blouse, and a tchima, a skirt. The skirt is more or less bell-shaped,
wide and shirred, and reaches the ankles. The women's
dress is made of white cotton or silk and differs depending
upon the seasons. Japanese women wear also the traditional
kimono. It is more or less similar to the Japanese men's
kimono in appearance. But, the women's kimono has a large
sash with colorful decorations. More subdued browns,
blues, and grays, as well as blacks, are worn by old
Japanese women.

The clothes of children in both countries are very
colorful, but when people reach the age of thirty they are
considered old, and white is the proper color for the Korean
and gray or dark brown for the Japanese. Most school boys
and girls have their school uniform especially in Japan.
From elementary school to the university, Japanese boys and
girls generally wear a prescribed school uniform. In Korea,
children do not have a special school uniform until comple-
tion of elementary school. However, starting from high
school both boys and girls are obliged to wear a school
uniform possibly with prescribed badges and insignia. High
school girls in both countries wear a Western-style middy
blouse and skirt bearing the seal of the school they attend.
However, university girl students in both countries do not
have a prescribed school uniform so that they can wear
FIGURE 11
AGED-KOREAN WOMEN'S DRESS

FIGURE 12
A YOUNG KOREAN GIRL'S DRESS
FIGURE 13

A JAPANESE WOMAN'S KIMONO

FIGURE 14

A JAPANESE YOUNG GIRL'S INFORMAL (WESTERN) DRESS
FIGURE 15

KOREAN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILDREN
FIGURE 16

KOREAN SCHOOL GIRL'S UNIFORM
either traditional dress or Western clothing. In Japan, Western clothing is more popular among girl university students than is true of Koreans. Young women feel that Western dresses are more comfortable and convenient than their traditional clothing. Therefore in any family in either country, there may be a mixture of traditional clothing as well as Western clothing. In both cultures, among young people except for Korean girls, there are definite trends toward wearing Western costumes. In both countries, clothing differs in accordance with age and sex. Moreover, the color of the dress is also selected carefully according to respective ages. In both countries, the seasonal variations in dress exist, especially in the materials.

IV. CEREMONIAL ACTIVITIES

In Korea and Japan there are various customs of celebrations and ceremonial activities. Some of them are the same while others are celebrated differently. Some traditional feasts are gradually fading away whereas others remain as an intrinsic part of the customs in each individual family or country.
Birthday celebration

Both Korean and Japanese families celebrate births, marriages, and deaths. Ceremonies are held at these three important occasions, and in each case it is the event that is important not only to the individual but also to the family. Because of the particular economic structure of both countries, and the traditional concept of family continuation, at an individual's birth the family gains a new potentially valuable member. As pointed out already, the family systems of both countries--maintaining the continuation of the particular family line--are quite enough to account for all the congratulatory ceremonies customary on the birth of sons. Families need a son to perpetuate the family line through the succeeding generation and to preserve the family property and name. Especially in Korea the family needs a male descendant as much as the young son needs his father.¹²

In Korean culture, although the birth of an individual is socially significant, the focus of attention, however, is not on the child but directed to the adult, that

is the mother, whose status is markedly changed. The ceremonial life of each child, whether boy or girl, begins at the end of the first three months. Exactly on its hundredth day, the family holds a big ceremony for the newborn. Relatives and intimate friends in the community are invited to the house. The invitations are issued orally, and the guests bring gifts of money in an ordinary envelope. The parents, for their part, serve glutinous, various forms of rice cakes--duk, kimchi, and rice wine--takju. They are served on the wooden floor during the summer time, and the warmed floors of the house's interior in the winter time. The purpose of this party for an infant is to rejoice in the continuation of the family and the good fortune for the child. Traditionally, because infantile mortality is so high in Korea, the celebration of the hundredth day almost assures the child's survival, so that the rejoicing of the family is great. In this celebration, girls are also honored as being essential to the process, even though their role will be played in another family in the future.

In the Japanese family, however, celebrations are held two months after a child's birth. They believe that the soul of the child comes from kami, native god of Japan.
Therefore, instead of a family-centered celebration, they take the child to a nearby Shinto shrine and dedicate him to their god, and give thanks to the native god. This practice is prevailing predominantly even today, as a part of their traditional habits, and has become secularized. For those who do not take a child at the age of two months, the child is taken at one hundred days after the birth. It is also customary to go to the shrine on the First Fall Festival following his birth; on each occasion the child is dressed in new, very gay clothing for his pilgrimage. The priest at the shrine gives the child a wooden nameplate, recites a prayer over him, and enters his name in the shrine register of parishioners.13

"Second birthday" celebration

In addition to this first birthday celebration, there is an equally important or more important celebration for the "second birthday" in both countries. According to the lunar calendar sixty years constitutes a cycle. In other words when people reach the age of sixty-one years, they consider that they enter into the second birth. In Korea this

13Cornell and Smith, op. cit., p. 72.
this celebration is called hankap. In Japan, inkyo, the family retirement starts. This party is usually small in the Japanese family. They invite close friends and serve sake—rice wine—and various rice cakes. However, the social significance lies in the fact that starting from this point, at sixty-one years in Japan official family retirement starts. A family head and usually his wife resign as active members of the family. Unlike the custom of Korea, the retired persons may either dwell in a separate room in the same family home or even a separate small house free from the active duties and responsibilities of running a household. They, however, maintain their advisory capacity for the eldest son regarding family matters. The old couple then participate only in various family ceremonies and community entertainments; they relax during the inkyo period.

In the Korean family hankap, the sixty-first birthday celebration, is the biggest event throughout one's life. By that time, usually their children are full grown and their grandchildren are numerous. Indeed, the old couple can be proud of their accomplishments. For this event, the direct descendants start to plan together about a year before the celebration. For this event, one of the
FIGURE 17
KOREAN SIXTY-FIRST YEAR CELEBRATION

FIGURE 18
KOREAN RELATIVES ATTENDING THE HANKAP CELEBRATION
sons will take care of all rice needed, or noodles; another son may be responsible for all the cash expenditures; still another son may be willing to provide new clothing and quilts for their parents. Other close relatives may provide all the meat necessary for the event. In this way all the necessary provisions are assured. A week before the ceremony, all daughters-in-law visit the main family, helping with the necessary cooking. Various rice cakes, rice candies, different kinds of fruits, chicken, meat, and all possible foods are prepared. A beautiful folding screen, called pyungpung, to be used for decorating purpose, is prepared.

Traditionally, it is considered that the more people who participate in the event the greater is the sign of success on the part of the celebrating sixty-one year old man or woman. The more foods that are provided, the greater is the sign of prosperity in the family. Therefore, all the descendants and their close relatives do their best for this occasion according to their situation.

For this celebration, naturally all immediate children and their families come from wherever they may be. During the feast and after it, all the people at the celebration come to greet the aged man or woman, and drink is served abundantly. Guests are expected to drink much and
to dance in couples and, for the old dances, in groups. They usually enjoy the feast.

After this ceremony, in contrast to that of the Japanese retirement, inkyo, the Korean old man still remains at his own home with his eldest son. Although he may not be able to participate actively in physical work, he still remains as the representative of the family and all his authority continues until his death. Regardless of the son's age, the son shows his utmost respect and shows more consideration for his parents than for his own dependents. Even if the son may face unusual economic difficulties, he always makes sure that his parents are well fed and clothed before his own needs are met.

**Various festivals and customs**

In both countries, there are specific feasts and customs that prevail throughout the year. Most of these feasts are especially preserved by the people in the rural areas, while people in the urban centers may celebrate major holidays only.

Although both governments have urged the use of the solar calendar, this has been practiced by only a small segment of the total population. Feasts are, therefore,
retained according to tradition and are, for the most part, reckoned by the lunar calendar. This calendrical system is identical in Korea and Japan. The lunar calendar is based upon phases of the moon, while the solar calendar is calculated by the sun. A month in a lunar calendar is one moon, the character for month and moon being identical.

The number of days in a month is intended to correspond to the number of days which it takes the moon to make one complete revolution around the earth; and one such revolution requires between twenty-nine and thirty days. It follows that the number which indicates the age of the moon at any particular time also denotes the day of the month, and that the moon on the same day of successive months from one year to another always presents the same appearance. For example: on the fifteenth of every month the moon is full, on the first there is no moon; the first quarter ends about the evening of the seventh, the third quarter ends about the twenty-second of every month.14

In both countries farmers use the lunar calendar most effectively. For example, they know when the seed has to be in the ground; how long it will take before the plant comes out from the ground; when the season comes, such as the first day of spring, called ipchun in Korean and litshun in Japanese. This calendar also provides some information

regarding the weather. For example, it indicates when the
days of little heat and great heat will come, or when little
cold and great cold will come. This lunar calendar originat-
ed in China, and each month is designated with a zodiac of
twelve animals: "These are in order: rat, ox, tiger, hare,
dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, cock, dog, and boar."15
Also, the days and years are each named after these animals
in order, so that every twelve days or every twelve years
they repeat.

For centuries, Koreans have used the lunar or
farmer's calendar, and their crops seldom have
frozen or failed because of weather conditions.
The calendar is counted in cycles of sixty years,
with an extra month added to a year every few
years.

The second year I was there was thirteen months
long, with two months of March. The month doubled
before that was May. The only month never doubled
is November. The sixty-year cycle is divided into
five smaller cycles of twelve years each, and each
of these years of the smaller cycle is named for an
animal. . . . During the sixty years these names are
repeated five time.16

A person born in a rat year is called a rat, in hog year a
pig, and so on.

The reason that old men celebrate on their 61st
birthday is based on five cycles of this twelve-year period

15Ibid., p. 198.  16Kim, op. cit., p. 68.
according to the lunar calendar; it takes sixty years for particular day, month, and year designations to fall on the same date. The lunar calendar is also significant in marriage practices as well as feasts. The combination of the animal of the day, the number of the month and the animal of the year in which each partner was born is of great value in judging suitability of marriage partners. For example, a woman should not be a tiger while a man is a hare, etc., because the tiger can overpower the hare that is the husband. Therefore, this lunar calendar plays an important role not only in farming and various festivals, but also in human interrelationships both in Korea and Japan. The system prevails more in Korean family life than in the family life of the Japanese.

In Korean family life, the new year according to the lunar calendar is regarded as the most important day throughout the year. The name of this holiday, called sull, means discretion. In the morning of sull the program for the year begins. At around eight o'clock in the morning the ancestor worship starts. This occasion is designated to worship all the ancestors for four or five generations. Following this, the younger members of the family offer a New Year's greeting to their elders, relatives, and neighbors, as well
as old people in the community. The head is bowed deeply, depending upon whom one is greeting. Usually, greetings to parents are considered to be the most courteous ones, and parents in turn will say "full with happiness for the new year." Much food is prepared and shared among the neighbors.

Korean people visit the graves of their ancestors on hanshik day, which falls sometime in February. The third day of March, on which spring begins in the lunar calendar, is the date on which the swallows are supposed to return from the Southern Seas, and farmers start to keep busy planting seed in the field; no special festival is held.\textsuperscript{17}

The eighth of April is the birthday of Buddha, which Buddhists of Korea celebrate by hanging paper lanterns in front of their houses. Some Buddhists also visit the local temple and stay there praying for the night long. The fifth of May is a holiday on which young girls spend the day swinging, and young men hold wrestling tournaments. They group together for this enjoyment, wearing colorful garments. The sixth of June, called yoodoo, is the day set aside for

\textsuperscript{17}Chung, op. cit., pp. 37-39.
women to wash their hair with a particular fish's head called myungtae.

The seventh day of July is the date, according to legend, when the two stars Altair, the husband, and Vega, the wife, meet once a year as they cross the Milky Way. People enjoy the romantic implications of the stars by watching the stars moving. The fifteenth of August is the second most important holiday of the year throughout the country. It is the full moon night on the one hand, and the harvest time on the other hand. On this date people hold a large ceremonial party for ancestor worship again, serving food from their new harvest of crops. Attention should be called to the fact that in Korea whenever there is a happy occasion such as New Year and chu-suk, the full moon day, the family members not only rejoice themselves but also honor their ancestors. Although many people in the cities do not practice each month's feasts, they certainly memorize those important occasions and the celebrations are, indeed, country wide affairs. At this occasion there are many visits among relatives throughout the country.

The third day of September is widely celebrated as kae-chun-jull, which commemorates the founding of Korea, 4,291 years ago (2333 B.C.).
In the early days of October (which is November according to the solar calendar) rice cakes and rice grain wine are made and offered at a community sacrifice to the heavenly spirits and to the spirits of departed ancestors. The winter solstice falls in November or December, at which time people eat red bean soup, called patchuk. There are tiny balls of rice in the red soup and each member of the family should eat twice as many tiny rice balls as his age in years.

On New Year's Eve members of the family remain up, expressing their gratitude to their elders. All members of the family are encouraged to stay awake but children are likely to fall into sleep before the new year strikes.18

In Japan, all the major festivals according to the lunar calendar, such as New Year, which will be sometime in January and bon, full-moon on 15th of August, are also characterized by visits among relatives; banquets and gay drinking parties are held.

New Year's day is the greatest celebration of all; pine and bamboo decorations are displayed in front of most of the Japanese houses; people exchange their greetings,

\[18\text{Ibid.}, \text{pp. 39-40.}\]
bowing their heads deeply. They also prepare mochi (rice cakes) and sake (rice wine) and offer them on altars at the Shinto shrine or Buddhist temple; they do not celebrate to honor the distant ancestors as in the Korean family. On New Year's Day, people of all ages and both sexes dress in their best. The New Year festivals last for several days in Japan.

Traditional festivals are designated in each month as in Korea but with different names and sometimes different purposes, and they are celebrated in a different manner. For example, Japanese people visit the oinari shrine, pay honor to the god, and present rice and sake to the shrine in February. The third day of March is Girl's Day, called sangatsu no osekku. A family to which a girl has been born in the past year invite relatives in to have a feast. The eighth of April is the Buddha's birthday and celebration is held at the temple; as already described, Buddha's birthday is celebrated in Korea.

The fifth of May is the gogatsu no osekku, the boy's festival, all over Japan. A carp flag is raised by those families who have had a boy baby born in the last year. A boy is symbolized by a carp because the carp is so energetic and can climb waterfalls. On the fifteenth there is a
segoki kuyo at the Zen temple, a memorial service. It is a service for all the dead of the community and is held under the priest.\textsuperscript{19}

The seventh day of July is the Romance of the Milky Way as it is in Korea. The fifteenth of August is the full-moon, jugoya, the second most important holiday of the year as in Korea. Instead of going to the shrine for worship, the Japanese cook many sweet potatoes and offer them to the moon. At the same time, they have various games and dancing.

The ninth day of September is the Shrine Day. Many people visit the shrine, and sekihan, red rice, which is a mixture of red beans and rice, is cooked at home and served. About the twentieth is an ebisu-san (the god of wealth) day celebration; the date differs locally dependent upon the custom. About the seventh or eighth is torikoshi. On this day the priest from the temple goes to certain houses in a community and prays for the ancient ancestors.\textsuperscript{20} The end of the year, called bonenkai, is held to bid the old year goodbye.

Mention should be made of the fact that there are


\textsuperscript{20}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 292.
numerous other small and large festivals dependent upon the particular locality. Thus most Japanese festivals are more or less a combination of religious rites and holiday celebrations at the same time. They afford ample opportunity to keep folk-lore alive and to allow especially the people in rural areas to enjoy agreed-upon holidays scattered throughout the year.

However, these yearly traditional festivals are generally discouraged by the Korean and Japanese official governments which have introduced the national holidays, all of which are calculated by the new sun calendar. Although people in rural areas are encouraged to celebrate the national holidays in either country, they still have their festivals and rest days according to their traditional way due largely to respite in the busy farm seasons. The people in the urban areas in both countries conform more or less with the national holidays, and there is a trend toward the national holidays according to the solar calendar.

There are four national holidays according to the Korean law:

March 1, Independence Day (*Sam-il Jull*)
July 17, Constitution Day (*Je-hyun Jull*)
August 15, Restoration Day (Kwang-bok Jull)
October 3, Founding Day (Kae-chun Jull)²¹

Japanese national holidays are:

January 1, New Year's Day (O-shogatsu)
January 15, Adults' Day (Seijin-no Hi)
March 21, Vernal Equinox (Shumbun-no Hi)
April 21, Emperor's Birthday (Tenno-no Tanjo-bi)
May 3, Constitution Day (Kempo-no Hi)
May 5, Children's Day (Kodomo-no Hi)
September 23, Autumnal Equinox (Shubun-no Hi)
November 3, Culture Day (Bunka-no Hi)
November 23, Labor Thanksgiving Day (Kinro Kansha-bi).²²

As indicated earlier, both in Korea and Japan, each month is designed for a different festival. Some of them are, indeed, the same occasions such as New Year's Day and Full-moon night. But most of them are celebrated for different purposes in the two countries. For example, most of the major Korean festivals always include ancestor worship whereas the Japanese festivals are celebrated for the shrine gods or community as a group.

Death and funeral practices

Attitudes toward the death. Attitudes toward the death of an individual vary somewhat with the social status of the individual and the age of the deceased in both


²²Cornell and Smith, op. cit., p. 93.
countries. As a whole, a very young child is mourned, but his funeral procedure is simple. The death of young people before marriage is considered to be the most sad, although in this case the funeral is very simple as it is for a very young child. The aged are also mourned, but the feeling is that they can be expected to die, having lived a full life. However, the folkways and mores of death and funeral differ between the two countries, and even differ by families. Although one can not make a generalization, Japanese are more or less afraid of the dead and funeral procedure is carried on quickly. The Korean family is far from being afraid of the dead and from being anxious to remove the body from the house. They keep the dead body for three or four days at least in the house and express their sadness formally. Furthermore, in Korea, the relationship of the living to the dead is maintained, through the ritual of ancestor-memorial worship.

Funeral procedures. Funeral procedure is strikingly different in the two countries. As a whole, the Japanese procedure is more simple than that of Korea. Differences also arise in the fact that in Japan a priest, either Shinto

23Ibid., p. 85.
of Buddhist, is the main conductor for the funeral whereas in Korea the family head and the close kinsfolk are the main conductors for the whole procedure. There is more ritualistic formality in Korean funerals than those of the Japanese.

Funeral customs are not uniform throughout each country. This is especially true in Korea, for the poor and the low-class families omit many of their ritualistic procedures due to inability to meet the extreme expenses.

In the Korean family, when a person dies, the immediate family send a notice by letter or messenger to close relatives, neighbors, and friends. As soon as the notice is received by close kinsmen, they immediately come to the funeral. The mourning lasts for about three days before the body is sent to the graveyard. During these days, the close relatives wail periodically. To express this sorrow publicly is considered in Korea not only as the duty of the immediate children and the close relatives, but also a socially approved custom. As a general rule, the closer the kinship relationship, the greater is the expression of this sorrow; the larger and more prominent the family, the more wailing is carried out. It is in sharp contrast to that of Japanese custom. Although sorrow is expressed by the Japanese, they seldom wail in public. After the first day is over, on the
second day the professional undertaker comes and arranges
the clothes of the deceased with great care. In rural areas
of Korea this is still done, not by the professional under-
takers, but by the close relatives of the deceased. During
this day, more relatives come from distant places and join
in the wailing. The wailing is not permitted for everybody
at the funeral. It is restricted to six degrees of kinship.
Close friends may show their sorrow but are not allowed to
wail formally. On the morning of the third day, the family
brings the casket or coffin. The quality of the coffin is
of as much importance as is the quality of a suit of clothes
or a house. By this time, the Korean family has prepared
foods, artificial flowers for the funeral decorations, as
well as mourning uniforms for the burial procession. The
burial procession takes place on the fourth day after the
death occurred. Again there are different procedures
dependent upon the family situation and the locality.

Korean families do not prefer cremation, even in the
urban areas. The body is generally buried. However, there
are certain instances when cremation is preferred, as when
death is a result of communicable disease or leprosy.

On the fourth day, there is a farewell for the
deceased. This is the day when the dead is to be buried in
a prescribed graveyard. On this morning, all the wailers again assemble near the dead body before the farewell procedure takes place.

After all arrangements are made, such as people for carrying the coffin—about twenty or thirty people—the burial procession starts. On this occasion only the members of the immediate family of the deceased wear mourning uniforms. The funeral procession is carried out with great ceremony. In front of the sanghi, catafalque, a bell is rung and the funeral dirge is sung loudly. Along either side of the sanghi walk a number of banner carriers, each banner recording the name of the deceased and his merits. Immediately behind the sanghi comes the chief-mourner, the eldest surviving son. The other members of the immediate family follow in single line. Besides, there are many people attending the ceremony and many people who watch the burial procession. Although it is not respectable to laugh, the noise is ceaseless during the whole process.

The selection of a proper site for a Korean tomb is an important affair for the descendant. It is considered an important part of filial piety among the Korean people. Although a public graveyard is usually available and is less expensive, this is not considered desirable by self-respecting
families. Many of them have a private graveyard so that they can be assured that their ancestors are safe. The burial place is most desirable where there is good sunshine and good scenery with soft dirt. If the burial is not done properly, the Korean family has deep belief that trouble will arise. If this is done properly, they believe that fortune and happiness will spread among the descendants. The tomb is periodically visited by the descendants—at least once a year—especially in February, on hanshik day. The family brings some food with them and serves it for the ancestors. They also clean up around the tomb and straighten things up.

The funeral procession in Japan is strikingly different from that of Korea. As pointed out previously, the whole procedure is more simple than that of Korea. Although the immediate and close relatives of the deceased are assembled and participate in the funeral ceremony, the master of ceremony is not the head of the household, but the Buddhist priest. In fact, the chief source of income for many Buddhist priests in Japan is from funerals and memorial services. The funeral ceremony begins as soon as the priest arrives. On this occasion, relatives and very close friends
arrive in formal Japanese garb, usually black kimono, and watch the procession. The priest prays and recites a Sutra before the body of the deceased. At this time, in contrast to Korea, none of the members of the immediate family participate in the prayers and ritual activities. They are more or less observers as the priest prays, although the necessary foods and the coffin will have been prepared by them. Furthermore, there is no weeping or wailing officially except some sobbing among the immediate family members. There is no noise like that of a Korean funeral procession, but everything is calm and silent as an expression of seriousness. Neighbors also talk in low voices if they have to speak.

The second part of the funeral, called the kokubetsu-shiki, the farewell ceremony, is held in a wide flat place where a large number of people can stand and pray, bowing their heads for a while. At this time, the body has already been placed in a wooden coffin, and the priest offers a number of prayers for the deceased. The coffin is decorated also with artificial flowers, and the lid is closed before leaving the house. Usually, seven or eight people carry the

\[24\text{Ibid.}, \ p. \ 86.\]
coffin to the burning place. There is no grand scale funeral procession. There is no funeral song like that of Korea. No banners of the deceased are carried and no bell is rung.

Another striking difference between the two countries is the common practice of cremation in Japan. As opposed to burial which is common among the Koreans, the Japanese prefer cremation. Although this custom may vary according to local traditions, a large proportion of the Japanese population cremate their dead. Accordingly, the Japanese do not have to look for the best place to bury. In large cities, there are crematories. In most rural areas, this cremation is done in a very simple manner. They dig a big hole six feet in diameter and from two to three feet deep. The coffin is placed in the bottom of the hole and burned with the pile of wood and straws. It takes ten or twelve hours to cremate a body; immediate family members stay as long as they can and someone watches all night long to make sure the fire is continued.

The next morning, when the corpse has been burned completely, the family arrives at the crematory. The ashes are collected and carried back to the home and placed in
front of butsudan--altar--for a period of forty-nine days. At the end of this period, the jar of ashes is taken to either a public or a private graveyard and buried. The Japanese also visit once a year and clean the graveyard but this duty is not regarded as seriously as in Korean families. The Japanese do not believe in the mystical ancestral power over the descendants' fortune and misfortune which is accepted in the Korean family.

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25Ibid., p. 89.
CHAPTER V

THE FAMILY AS AN AGENCY OF SOCIALIZATION
AND SOCIAL CONTROL

This chapter is devoted to a description of some aspects of family functions both in Korea and Japan. Various people define family functions differently. For example, Ogburn and Tibbitts interpret the primary functions of the family as economic, protective, recreational, educational, religious, affectional, as well as cultural.\(^1\) Kingsley Davis asserts that the family as a major social institution has the complex function of meeting the societal need for continual replacement of the societal membership; it includes the physical reproduction of new members, the maintenance of these members during infancy and childhood, and the placement of these individuals in a particular system of social interaction or socialization of the youths.\(^2\) According to Truxal and


Merrill, socialization of the child and the satisfaction of desires for response, recognition, and new experience, as well as a series of other functions are fundamental. Wilson and Kolb assert that the family still maintains the functions involving the care of children, the satisfaction of emotional needs, and the regulation of sexual behavior.

As in many classifications of the above type, the functions of the family are used quite often in a variety of ways according to the individual interpreter's respective fields and interests. Furthermore, different cultures emphasize different aspects of the family functions. Like any other organized group the family in any given society will be found to fulfill, at least in part or wholly, other functions such as economic production, care of the aged, political control, and physical protection. For the analysis and comparison of the Korean and Japanese family life, the following functions are under consideration: economic activities, courtship and marriage practices, orientation and socialization of the children, and religious

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practices in each country.

I. THE ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

Each Korean and Japanese family engages to a certain degree in activities which are related to economic life. The purpose of this discussion is to compare the economic activities of the Korean family with those of the Japanese family. This comparison will bring about some understanding of family solidarity; other things being equal, the more homogeneous the activities in which the members of the family engage jointly, the greater will be their interdependence, the stronger and more stable will be the family structure. 5

Table VII is an occupational distribution chart showing the percentage of persons engaged in various occupations in each country. Since most of the family members are working in one way or other, these data provide some general understanding of the family occupation in a given society. It is true that certain occupational changes have occurred during the past eight years. However, Table VII indicates that Korea is still an agricultural country, and

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Korea (1949)</th>
<th>Japan (1950)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture and Forestry</td>
<td>78.8</td>
<td>46.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fisheries and Aquiculture</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing industries &amp; Construction</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce and Finance</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation &amp; Communication</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government employees</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclassifiable</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

family livelihood appears mainly based on farming in rural areas. The figures for Japan also show that 46.4 per cent of the total labor force is engaged in agriculture. However, it is notable that the difference between the two countries is a rather striking one. That is to say, the table obviously indicates that Japan has moved toward industrialization and urbanization. The difference between fisheries and aquaculture in the two countries is slight. In Japan, the percentages of mining, commerce, and finance exceed three or four times those of Korea, and the manufacturing industries of Japan, indeed, surpass those of Korea more than six times. It is interesting to note, however, that Korea has proportionately more government employees than does Japan. Attention should be called to the fact that differences in economic functions are not as great between the two countries as they are between the urban and rural areas in each country. Furthermore, even the migration of people to cities does not necessarily mean that their customs, values, and family organization can be changed drastically. Basically both rural and urban families still maintain their traditional way of life. The difference between rural and urban characteristics lies also in the degree to which the family life has been modified.
In Korea, there is a considerable occupational homogeneity. A majority of the people live in a farm economy. There appears naturally a high degree of economic self-sufficiency. In this kind of society, as one can expect, members of the family produce, maintain and consume their goods. Division of labor is applied in accordance with sex and age. As a whole, men are working in the fields. Women stay at home doing the expected household jobs--washing, sewing, cooking, and taking care of children, as well as helping with minor work in the fields. Thus, the basic family needs such as food, clothing, and shelter are met predominantly within the family. The mother is the center of the domestic economy. The children also, in and about the home, are within range of the mother's observing eye, within reach of her tender care. Under these circumstances the supervision of the children is carried on more or less in an informal yet effective way. When children become big enough, they also help their parents at home or in the fields. Whatever the division of labor may be, the Korean family as a whole is an economic partnership with all members having an interest and working toward the welfare of the family. Work naturally brings the family together not only during the busy summer time, but also all year
around work keeps the members at home. Thus, the economic functioning of the family is intimately bound up with the division of labor among the family members who make up the economic unit. Members of the family also feel a strong sense of belonging in a family and considerable integration of individual activities exists for the protection and security of the family. Members of the family also feel that land, money, and other material goods do not belong to one individual of the family but to the family head who is identifiable with family property. Thus there still exists considerable willingness to sacrifice oneself for the protection of other members if another member or close kinsman is under crisis. However, there also appears a negative side to the coin. Members of the family under such an economic function may maintain a prolonged sense of dependency even after one reaches adult age. The individual's self interests, identity, and will are considerably fused with the objectives and aims of the family. Because there are close primary relationships not only within a family but also with outsiders, social stratification, family traditions, customs, values, and skills remain almost the same from generation to generation.

The above general characteristics regarding the
economic function of Korean rural family life apply almost equally to the Japanese families in rural areas. However, as pointed out already, in Japan, because of rapid industrialization and urbanization and heterogeneity of various modern occupations, the economic function, as well as social organization, is not so simple as that of the Korean society. Partly, in Japan, occupational reallocation and geographical redistribution were achieved through the cityward movement of the young people from the countryside. At the same time, many agricultural families had to have income outside agriculture to survive, and so members would work in nearby factories or on a piece-work basis within the home. While some members might go elsewhere temporarily during the slack season in rural areas, many other people with their branch families might leave permanently for the cities and non-agricultural employment.\(^6\)

In general, it may be said that the familial group in urban Japan and Korea has become a small primary group, relatively independent of extended kinship ties. The urban family is not as important an economic productive unit as

is the rural family. The trend in these urban societies is for family members to earn a living rather than make a living. The family members engage in non-household production to produce an income in terms of generalized purchasing power with which the necessities of life and other goods and services may be purchased. Thus, urban families work in many different places in many types of endeavors. Although the basic family relationships may be almost the same in urban and rural areas in both countries, certainly urban economic conditions disturb the bondage of the family members. For example, within a rural family, the father is the institutionally designated source of all authority, and a man is always the person responsible for the family and the behavior of its members toward other relatives and to the outside world. Because of the change in the family from an economically productive to a nonproductive unit, and the housewife's new job opportunities, the father's power is declining in city life from an absolute to a relative position.

Closely allied with the decline of the family as an economic unit is the economic insecurity of urban living. As a whole, except in the higher classes, the wage earner has to work long hours with notoriously low wages. When a
daily wage earner is not at work, he is without income. Since both countries' wages are low, he has little chance to save against slack seasons and other emergency cases, such as sickness, and family crises. At the same time, because the wage is so low, and the cost of living is relatively expensive in urban life, housewives have to work in order to maintain their living.

Although exact urban family incomes and expenditures cannot be calculated for Korea and Japan, due partly to the difference in usage of the money units, there is about a 5 per cent surplus income left from all family expenditures in both countries. In other words, families in urban areas of both countries barely meet their basic economic needs through wages.

Table VIII indicates that there are considerable similarities in expenditures for food, clothing, and shelter in urban Korea and Japan as a whole. More specifically, in food expenditures, Japan expends 6 per cent more than Korea, and 2 per cent more in clothing. However, the table shows that expenditure for a place of residence in Korea appears

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7 per cent greater than in Japan proportionately, whereas fuel and light are almost equal. In miscellaneous expenditures are included such items as hygiene and sundries, culture and amusement. In non-living expenditures are included money for earned income tax and other taxes.

As a result of the above economic conditions, there appear to be some changes going on in the urban family of both countries. One of the changes in the urban family lies in the fact that children and women are working in the labor forces. According to recent statistics, Japanese women make up about 38.8 per cent of the total labor force.®

The question may be raised as to why urban mothers and housewives work outside the home. One of the main reasons is the fact that family income is too low to maintain family life; they do not work because they are interested in work, professional experience, or higher prestige.

Consequently, there are some changes in role differentiation on the basis of sex in urban areas, although in actuality these changes, like all the others, have not gone far in the country as a whole.

®Japan Statistical Yearbook, ibid., p. 60.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expenditure</th>
<th>Korea (1955) Per Cent</th>
<th>Japan (1953) Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residence</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuel and light</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous including non-living</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the woman's earnings are turned over to her husband or to her father who distributes the money as needed, she learns the power that earning carries with it. She gradually demands and gets a special status and considerable freedom in her personal conduct as compared to that of rural women. Thus, for the working women in urban areas of Korea and Japan, their primary contribution is not what they contribute in terms of cooking, sewing, caring for the children, and participation in the economic production as a family unit as in rural areas of each country, but in terms of money income.

Viewed from the standpoint of the economic function, the differences are not as great between the two countries as are the differences between urban and rural areas in each country. Families in rural areas still maintain themselves as major productive units producing for family use, which function is an integral aspect of the self-sufficient family. Members cooperate in the pursuit of family security and welfare of the members in the family with close interrelationship with their close relatives. In families in urban areas, much more so in Japan than Korea, there appears some shift of locus of economic activity from the home to other agencies, namely factories, commerce, or business.
The family as a whole has lost the sense of participation in the productive process. However, the experience seems to reduce the family as a unit only slightly. Industry's demand for concentrations of labor means that the people and their families have to live in towns and cities. This necessitates the reduction of productive facilities in the home. There is little or no space for gardens, livestock, and other implements of family production, and the family has to rely largely upon the market for necessities. Furthermore, the development of manufacturing makes family production uneconomic even for family consumption. Therefore, more and more necessities are bought from the market. Coordinate with this process, because of low wage scales in Korea and Japan, economic difficulties arise simultaneously which also affect other family relationships. In spite of such economic conditions as those arising in urban life, traditional concepts of filial piety and taking care of elders have not changed drastically.

II. COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE PRACTICES

Traditionally, the aim of marriage is regarded in both Japan and Korea as the procreation of children and thereby the assurance of the continuity of the family line.
It is primarily a family matter, and marriage is to insure the future perpetuation of the family name in its proper social class. Although free marriages and love-marriages are coming in with urbanization, and marriage practices differ from individual to individual, still the old custom of arranging the marriage by families continues in both countries.

Since the joining of two different families in marriage involves many delicate issues of family background and social status, as well as personal behavior, great reliance is placed on a jyung-mae-in, "mediator" in Korea and nakodo, "middleman" in Japan. Professional go-betweens no longer exist except in rural areas of both countries. But, when a young man's or girl's family feels that the time for marriage has arrived, the matter will be discussed with some close friends or relatives who may act as the go-between.

On this occasion, a man's family shows the more positive attitude in looking for a suitable mate and a girl's family plays the passive role. Regardless of who may act as a go-between, the final decision goes to the father with the help of the mother and possibly the consent of his son.
Age of marriage

According to Korean civil law, a marriage cannot take place under age 17 years for males and 15 years for females, whereas 18 years for males and 16 years for females are the minimum marriage ages in Japanese civil law. Both laws also assert monogamy as a basic marriage practice.

Traditionally, in Korea, regardless of sex, those who were married were recognized as fullfledged adults even though they were not yet mature, and they were no longer treated lightly. Social discrimination in treatment along with many other cultural patterns encouraged early marriage, and the majority of Koreans were married when they were still in their early teens or at the middle of their teens. Moreover, during those days wives were, as a rule, older than their husbands; the difference being as high as nine years. Older wives were to be found particularly prevalent among the poor families who wanted the woman to be useful in the household. On the other hand, older people thought they could have their grandchildren earlier by bringing in


an older daughter-in-law. The above circumstances also appeared in Japan in former times.

Recently, however, in both countries, the spread of school education and the increase in the number of working women contributed to lessen the number of such early marriages. Nitobe estimates that the average age of marriage is about 20 to 22 years for women and 26 to 28 years for men in Japan. Korean marriage starts at age 19 to 21 years for women, 22 to 25 years for men. The main reasons why age at marriage has gone up in both countries are economic insecurity, abundance of unemployment especially in the male side, and the increased value of the feminine economic contributions to the family, especially in urban areas. The situation in both countries is similar to that in China, of which Levy asserts:

The delay of marriage creates all sorts of economic possibilities which did not formerly exist. Formerly the delay of marriage was costly to the girl's family. Now if she can find work, the delay of her marriage may even provide a method of improving the family's general economic position.12


Thus the traditional pattern of early marriage seems to be disappearing in both Japan and Korea.

**Marriage practices and mate selection**

In both countries, marriage concerns the whole family. The duty of arranging marriages for children is one of the most conspicuous expressions of the authority of Korean and Japanese parents. Family strength undoubtedly enters the picture more strongly than the individual's physical attraction in the marriage arrangement. However, there are many different practices in mate selection between the two countries. Generally, Korean marriage does not take place between two persons having the same family name. Socially, marriage between all blood relatives is forbidden although the law is not rigidly enforced. However, Koreans can marry if the origin of each is different even though they have the same family name. For example, among persons with the name of Kim, there are many different families in different parts of Korea, so that marriage between them is possible so long as they do not have the same family origin, even though their surname is the same.

In Japan, on the contrary, marriage is permitted between relatives excluding three degrees of kinship. As
pointed out already, because there are not so many families who have the same family name, marriage between relatives in Japan is not so rigidly prohibited as it is in Korea. Until very recent times in Japan one was allowed to marry a cousin. Furthermore, when a brother died the younger brother should marry his wife in order to assume family responsibility.

Another difference between Korean and Japanese families in so far as marriage practices are concerned is the fact that in Korea one usually checks on four or five generations of a prospective mate in order to determine the cleanliness of the family. If an ancestor has practiced concubinage, the family assumes that the prospective mate may also pattern himself after his ancestor’s behavior. This belief naturally will put him in an unfavorable position. Thus, a marriage in Korea which puts a great deal of emphasis on the family background involves a good deal of careful investigation of past history for leprosy, tuberculosis, criminal records, general moral character, and individual behavior, as well as evaluation of other relatives and neighborhoods.

In Japan, although basically the same as Korea, emphasis is put not on the past but on the contemporary
family social status, economic conditions, and individuals concerned. Intermarriage between the different social strata appears not so difficult as it is in Korea. Ariga explains this fact historically:

As the ranking of the individual family fluctuated with the changes in its political and economic power, family rank was not fixed. A family which had enjoyed authority for a long period, however, occupied a relatively superior position, even after it had become less influential; on the other hand, it took a fairly long time for a newly rising family to attain a higher social rank. At any rate, through such vicissitudes family rank was re-evaluated, so that the class system in Japan was essentially different, for example, from the Indian caste system in its greater possibilities of change.  

With the development of the modern economy, new classes have formed on the one hand, and the recent land reform has resulted to a certain extent in the downfall of the old landowner class. Thus, in both countries the upper families of the prewar periods have been demoted, and the newly rich have risen out of the postwar confusion and the growing modern capitalistic society. In other words, a few old families have retained their positions in these thirteen postwar years, but most of them have fallen by the wayside, and remarkable changes in interfamily relations by marriage.

are to be seen in both rural and urban Japan. Thus, rigid control of marriage in the same family class has become weakened in Japan and more emphasis is put upon economic status of the present day.

Thus, problems of courtship and marriage are reduced to a minimum where the roles of expected behavior are more or less defined in both family lives. The parents or the go-between makes necessary arrangements with the possible consent of their children for marriage. Although the word "date" has been introduced in urban life, the majority of young men and women do not undergo the experiences of dating and courtship.

At the present day, the young people see each other before marriage after verbal agreement between the two families. Unless there is a striking dislike between the man and woman, they usually proceed toward marriage. It seems as if in the Western societies one marries the girl he loves while in oriental countries one loves the girl he marries.

After their engagement and consent between families, the bridegroom's family renovates their house in preparation for the new bride, and the bride's family busy themselves with the wedding preparation. A lucky day is
decided upon for the marriage. Early in the morning of that day relatives begin to arrive at the bride's house bringing festive clothes, which are worn later, and gifts for the couple. In large cities in both countries, marriage ceremonies are held at the public open house for marriage ceremonies, but most country weddings are still performed in the native style. In Korea, the ceremony is held at the bride's home at first, then later another ceremony is performed at the groom's home when the couple arrive at the groom's home to stay. In Japan, the most popular custom at present is to be married in a Shinto shrine by a priest, who considers weddings peculiarly befitting his profession, in as much as the history of Japan began with the meeting of the God and Goddess on the high plain of Heaven. Japanese carry on such practices not because they believe in the sacredness of the priest in Shinto, at the present day, but because such marriages have been more or less accepted as a custom for a long period in Japan's history.

A large banquet is served following the marriage. It is especially conspicuous in the Korean family. At the banquet, which is held at the bride's home, all friends of the groom and the groom's family and all relatives as well as the neighbors are served the wedding meal, and a continuous stream of people comes until late in the evening. The
FIGURE 19

TRADITIONAL KOREAN MARRIAGE CEREMONY
FIGURE 20

KOREAN KIN-FOLKS RALLY FOR THE MARRIAGE
bride's family prepares the meal for all of them and tries to satisfy them and make them happy. One can imagine the amount of cooking that goes on beforehand to feed all those hundreds of people. On the bride's table there are, in addition, at least forty or fifty kinds of food, including many kinds of meats, fruits, and rice cakes skillfully prepared with many variations. The loaded table is taken as a symbol that the young couple will be prosperous, but as a matter of fact elaborate weddings in Korea usually so deplete the family finances that the family is anything but prosperous for some time afterwards.

Contrary to Korea, in Japan at the present day, because most marriages are performed in a Shinto shrine by a priest, the expenses usually are not too great. However, the Japanese have moderate celebrations according to their own financial situations.

After marriage in Korea, the bride is later brought to the groom's home. The new bride comes under the direct instruction of her mother-in-law, who trains her in various aspects of the husband's family life so that she can learn and adjust herself in a new situation. The mother-in-law teaches the new wife not only the family philosophy and history, but also teaches her the son's likes and dislikes.
in food habits, style of clothing, and other behaviors. This form of informal training period differs greatly depending upon the family situation. This orientation applies not only to the eldest son's wife, but also to the younger son's wife before she assumes the responsibility of running the branch family independently. As a daughter in her new household after marriage, she must be submissive to her mother-in-law, listening intently and carrying on effectively. During this period of time, her husband and father-in-law do not give her any instruction but show their affection and acceptance of her in the new household.

In Japan, except for the eldest son's wife who goes through the same learning processes as in Korea, the younger brothers' wives do not necessarily go through such training. In fact, Japanese parents more or less encourage them to establish independent branch families of their own. A new Japanese couple appears to have more freedom of their own in establishing a new home without much interference by their parents than is the case in Korea.

As can be easily understood, in both families a wife wants children, not only for her emotional satisfaction, but also because it is only as a mother that she can promote herself and gain status within the family and outside of the
family as well. Because women are expected to be good child
bearers, a childless wife in both countries has an insecure
position. This fact is especially true under the particular
economic structure in Korea where an increase in children is
regarded as an increase in family property.

One of the striking differences in marriage practices
between the two countries arises from the fact that in
Korea, even after the marriage, the bride keeps her original
family name to identify the family from which she came
originally, whereas, in Japan, at marriage a girl symbolically
leaves her family of birth, and her name is blotted out of
the registration of her parents and is entered into that of
her husband. Despite all of this, however, the Japanese
bride usually maintains close ties with her parents, going
home the first New Year's after her marriage to visit them.
In the Korean family, however, the bride's original parents
do not encourage her to maintain close contact with them in
order that she can become a complete member of the new
patrilineal family.

Marriage rate

In both countries, families encourage marriage when
a young man or woman reaches marriageable age. Although
recent statistics do not show the exact number of marriages
in Korea as compared to those of Japan, comparative data from 1920 to 1944 will give us some understanding of the nature of the crude marriage rate in both countries.

Table IX shows the crude marriage rate, the number of marriages per 1,000 population, in Korea and Japan. According to this table, there appears not too great a difference in the crude marriage rate between the two countries, even though slight differences exist in various years. More closely, there were 1.4 more marriages during 1920 to 1924 in Korea than in Japan. However, during 1935 to 1939, marriages in Japan exceeded by 0.5 those in Korea. Considerable differences, however, are observable during the war years of 1942 and 1943. Korea exceeded Japan by 4.6 in 1942 and 3.0 in 1943. Although recent data are unavailable for Korea, right after World War II the marriage rate decreased a great deal due to economic difficulties. As soon as the normal marriage rate was resumed, the Korean War again hit the situation, and discouraged marriage for the time being. The effect of the Korean War upon the marriage pattern in Korea presents an opportunity for interesting research. After World War II, Japan continued at a higher marriage rate until 1949 at which time the crude rate was 10.3. Since that time the rate has become stable
TABLE IX

CRUDE MARRIAGE RATE*

(Rates are the number of civil or religious marriages per 1,000 persons in the total population)

<table>
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<tr>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Divorce

Formerly, in Korea divorce was not permitted at all, whereas in Japan the law recognized divorce even in early days. Although the exact date is obscure, according to the House Law of the Taiho Code in Japan, the famous Seven Grounds of Divorce are enumerated as follows: "For abandoning a wife, there must be one of the following seven grounds of divorce." It lists such causes for divorce as: (1) sterility; (2) adultery; (3) disobedience to the father-in-law or the mother-in-law; (4) loquacity; (5) larceny; (6) jealousy; and (7) bad disease. The law states, if any of these conditions exist, the wife may be abandoned, the husband signing the necessary deed, which also required countersignature by the nearest ascendants.

Since the turn of the century, Korea also recognizes divorce. According to the present law in both Korea and


16Ibid.
Japan, two basic methods for divorce are recognized: divorce under the agreement of both parties, and divorce on judicial judgment.

Divorce conditions under judicial judgment are divided into the following major grounds according to Korean law: (1) bigamy, (2) adultery, (3) criminal offense, (4) excessive cruelty or insult, (5) wilful desertion, (6) excessive cruelty or insult from the immediate family, (7) excessive cruelty or insult to the immediate family, and (8) missing for three or more years.\(^\text{17}\)

According to the Japanese law at the present time, under the following conditions, a partner can appeal for divorce: (1) unchastity, (2) wilful desertion, (3) missing for three or more years, (4) incurable insanity and mental illness, and (5) other serious conditions preventing continuous marriage.\(^\text{18}\)

Superficially, from the above laws, the two countries appear to be different in divorce grounds. However, basically they are the same for the last ground for Japanese

\(^{17}\text{A Korean Compendium of Laws, 1957, Clause 813.}\)

\(^{18}\text{A Japanese Compendium of Laws, 1958, Clause 770.}\)
divorce can be interpreted broadly. However, differences between the two, according to both laws, exist in the fact that in Korea still a negative relationship with the immediate family can cause divorce whereas in Japan this condition is not a cause for divorce. Furthermore, Korea seems to be more conservative, whereas Japan appears to be more progressive in divorce law.

Table X indicates the crude divorce rates for Korea and Japan during 1936 to 1944 and two consecutive years after World War II. It is interesting to note the fact that the divorce rates in both Korea and Japan are far below those of the United States. However, comparing only Korea and Japan, the latter shows a strikingly high divorce ratio in each year. In 1936, the Japanese divorce rate exceeded more than twice the rate of Korea per 1,000 population. This fact was true for 1937 although there were less striking differences during 1938 to 1943. Two years of the post war period indicate that Japan increased her divorce rate more than ever before. Another observation which can be made from Table X is the fact that in Korea, the divorce rate fluctuated little between 1936 and 1944. After the war, more surprisingly, her divorce rate decreased to 0.1 per 1,000 population. From the theoretical viewpoint, the
TABLE X

CRUDE DIVORCE RATE*

(Rates are the number of final decrees per 1,000 persons in the total population)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

separation of the husband and wife generally precedes divorce. This separation actually constitutes the disruption of the marriage. Divorce is significant evidence of the extent of marital unhappiness and family disruption for one reason or other.

As seen from the above analysis, in the Japanese family, divorce appears frequently compared with that of Korea. The marriage bond may be dissolved at the will of either husband or wife. Many men are married and divorced several times in succession, and a divorced man may marry a second or even a third time. The reason for this greater divorce rate cannot be easily explained. There appear to be multiple factors which possibly account for Japan's situation. The post war increase can be explained partly by the legalization of divorces between soldiers presumed dead and wives who had remarried. The right of the wife to sue for divorce was granted by the revised Civil Code, and this fact seems to have affected the divorce rate to a certain extent.

Divorce as an extreme crisis for family members would be theoretically related with a situation in which there is strong community opinion against divorce. In Japan, there is no religious sanction against divorce, and
it seems as though divorce is not a sign of moral weakness. Although the major cause of divorce in Japan seems to be incompatibility between the couple, their more liberal and independent thinking about marriage as compared to that of Korea might be another reason. Although Japanese practice the institutional family pattern, the size of the family is smaller than the Korean family and their relatives' social control may not be as great as it is in Korean family life. For example, in the Korean family a divorce is hard to secure, though not from the legal standpoint. The Korean always feels that he belongs to his family, relatives, and community. Unless he has a remarkable reason for a divorce, he usually keeps quiet as his wife's family can easily stir things up for him, and immediate family disapproval is often too great for him. From the community point of view, by securing divorce, he loses all good faith placed in him by the people as a whole.

Although it requires further study to understand the causes of the high divorce rate in Japan among oriental countries, the following hypothesis can be suggested. One motive for divorce may be a form of protest against one's parents. Although a couple do not like each other, because of strong traditional family control they cannot refuse
family wishes at the time of their marriage; however, the unhappily married person might then seek divorce, possibly related to feelings of loyalty to a former boy or girl friend. Another possible reason may be the greater acceptance of Western ideas in this respect than has occurred in Korea. One also should not ignore the economic factor of poverty as well as social and moral impacts upon the marriage. Above all, marriage is a conflict between dream and reality. Japanese are people with an abundance of dreams without foundations. They are extremely sentimental and simple in their thinking. In all these possible reasons of divorces, it seems that the individuals must have considerable courage and will-power and be in a state of high rather than low morale which situation is more or less difficult for foreigners to understand.

In view of the fact that divorce is relatively accessible to Japanese women, it is interesting to note that suicide is common among Japanese women. According to a recent issue of Time magazine, during 1957, 3,000 Japanese girls between the ages of 15 and 24 killed themselves, and furthermore, it states that "1,000 of these died in suicide pacts with their lovers."  

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Status of widows

In Korea, it is not proper for a widow to remarry, at least in the middle and higher classes. Among the common people, second marriages are forbidden neither by law nor custom. In the former case, the husband's family is glad to take care of his widow. At the same time, the widow also carries the same social and family status as her husband. This is true even at the present day.

In the Japanese family, the situation appears somewhat reversed. A widow possesses a peculiar social and family status. Her husband having died, she no longer really possesses his status, so that unless she remarries her exact social position as well as family status becomes uncertain. In Japan family and relative responsibility is less functional as compared with the Korean family. The widow is rather encouraged to marry another in order to reduce family responsibility. If she stays at her husband's home, as is the practice in Korea, aid is given without welcome. Her position is a difficult one in terms of her existence in the home. On the other hand, she has quite a bit of freedom as to what she will choose for her later plan and life.

Although one cannot draw a clear-cut line between
the two countries, Japanese women fall in love easily and are rather sentimental as well as romantic in as far as married life is concerned, whereas the Korean women are traditionally more repressed and static.

III. ORIENTATION AND SOCIALIZATION OF CHILDREN

When a system of ordered relations among people is present, one may say that society exists. Without such a system of ordered relations, chaos would ensue, for there would be no regulation or channeling of human actions. No individual would know what to expect of other individuals, and therefore, social action would be well-nigh impossible. 20

The primary responsibility for inculcating socially accepted ways of behavior lies in the family. It is in the family that the process known as socialization takes place. It is there that a child learns to conform to the ways of the group by discovering that certain kinds of behavior will be expected while other kinds will be unexpected or even punished. MacIver comments that this situation is found "wherever the family exists--and it exists everywhere

in human society." The family, indeed, is an agency for socialization of children and social control for the particular cultural goal.

Although it is not possible to categorize different stages of child growth and development between the two different countries, the following stages are established for convenience: (1) oral period, from birth to about two years old; (2) anal period, from age two to four; (3) latent period, from five to seven; (4) school period, eight to fourteen.

**Oral period**

The arc of life in both Korea and Japan as a whole is plotted in a great shallow U-curve with maximum freedom, indulgence, permission, and tolerance allowed in early childhood and old age. Restrictions are slowly increased after babyhood until having one's own way stops at adolescence.

The children in the early years of babyhood, in both countries regardless of sex, are the favored ones in the family. They do not have any rigid restrictions as to time of eating or sleeping. At any time the baby may drink milk

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from his mother's breast, and whatever he cries for will be given him. Child psychology in Korea especially is a very natural and simple one. The parents lavish love on their children, spoil them, and enjoy them fully. No matter how poor a family may be, the first thing upon which the parents pride themselves is to have a mother with plenty of breast milk to feed the baby well. In both countries, cow's milk has not been introduced, and the mother's milk is the only source upon which the baby can rely. Therefore, the importance of mothers' good health with sufficient milk cannot be over-emphasized.

There is usually no special training or schedule regarding children's growth and development. There is a love that is sprung from the natural mothering and affection. In general, babies come into contact primarily with their mothers. If their mothers are busy, their older sisters, aunts, or grandmothers will tend to their needs. Seldom are males found caring for children at this particular stage. Up until this period Japanese and Korean family lives remain almost the same. However, there is a different weaning practice in the two countries. Of course the time of weaning varies depending upon the individual family. However, in Japan, the nursing period is shorter than it
is in Korea. Recently, the Japanese government and many magazines advocated the shortening of the period. The child who nurses long is considered weak, and eight-months weaning has become widespread. In Korea, most children are not weaned until shortly before a new baby is born and the duration of nursing is longer than that in Japan. For instance, if there is no younger sibling, a child may be fed at its mother's breast for two, three, or even four years. This fact might have important bearing on the child-mother relationship in future time. Another reason why the nursing period might be longer in those countries compared with other Western countries may arise from the fact that in the two countries there are no foods prepared especially for infants. If he is weaned earlier than usual, he is fed the water in which rice has been boiled. It is ordinary practice that the child passes directly from his mother's milk to the usual adult food with moderation.

The difference in the nursing period between the two countries may contribute significantly to the child's growth and development. In a society which emphasizes direct participation, the older a child is when weaned, the older

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it will be when initiated into the adult world. In other words, in Korea, it seems as though the dependency period between parents and children is prolonged even in the adult life as opposed to considerably early independence in Japanese life.

**Anal period**

During the first few months of early childhood, the baby wears diapers, a heavy cloth pad in winter time and light cotton in summer time. When the baby is three to five months old, the mother begins his toilet training. She anticipates his needs, holding him in her hands outside the door. This process is done with very natural form without special tension or time schedules. No punishment of any sort has been observed to be inflicted on children in this respect until the youngsters are two or three years old. However, a difference exists in this respect between the two countries. In Japan, toilet training is started earlier and is more rigid, whereas in Korea rigid control does not start until three or four years later. The reason for the not so rigid control of Korean children is due mainly to the structure of the house itself. In Korea, the toilet is far distant from the living room, and children are afraid of going out in the dark night. Thus, the toilet
training appears to be later than that of Japan.

During this period, children in both countries are beginning to learn how to speak. In Korea, parents teach them simple words such as "papa" and "mamma." Children are encouraged to talk whenever they can, and admiration is given. In Japan, on the contrary, the baby's acquiring of language is not left to chance imitation. Parents try to teach the baby words and even some grammar and language of respect. If a child of three or four years does not use correct language with respect, he is blamed and rejected momentarily.

Another difference between the two countries during this period of socialization is the fact that in Korea the mother treats the child as a very dependent person and uses a low level of language according to age, whereas in Japan, the mother uses very respectful language toward her child even though he is very young. In this manner, Japanese as a whole, learn politeness earlier than the corresponding age group of Korean children. "Good child" and "bad child" are important conditioning factors for Japanese children even during this period of time. Japan puts emphasis primarily on the approval or disapproval of neighbors or society as opposed to the family in Korea. Although the child is taught to acquire certain general
virtues, the emphasis is on winning specific approval and praise. His family's devoted admiration serves as a substitute for the approval of society only during this period of time. Worse than the phrase "bad child" in Japan is the more explicit statement, "People will laugh at you" which restrains his behavior consciously.23

Thus, there appears considerable freedom in this period in Korea without too much restraint on children's behavior whatever they do, while in Japan, learning is a more serious matter, either gaining social approval or disapproval.

Latent period

The latent period covers ages from approximately five to seven years. The girl's training in both countries up to this point does not differ in kind from the boy's, although different in detail. She is taught more to restrain her behavior than are her male siblings in the home. In the latent period, girls are taught that they must play a role less privileged than that of the males.

At this time are added more home duties such as taking care of her younger brothers as well as helping her mother. In many respects the two sexes are trained for different roles and to assume different attitudes toward life and each other.

In the Korean family, the father trains the son and the mother teaches the daughter. Children are encouraged to imitate the ways of the family rituals. The son has to learn respect for his father, how to behave and talk, as well as obedience to the elders. After this period, the son is to sense the importance of the father, kinship continuity, worship of the ancestors, big-family ideal, and ideals of harmony with members of the family. Furthermore, within the socially approved framework and under the impetus to glorify his parents and ancestors the individual desires a strong achievement toward success for the family.

In the Japanese family, so far as division of labor for children's training is concerned, it remains the same as is true in the Korean family. When the children are young, it is mainly the mother who teaches them. When they are older the boys are disciplined by their fathers, the girls by their mothers. From this point on, however, the fear of ridicule is integrated with the normal lesson of living. The Japanese are taught to feel shame before
society and to fear it. This emphasis on the judgment of society makes the individual Japanese a very self-conscious person in later times. Instead of "What do I think of them?" "What will they think of me?" is his first thought.24

School period

At the age of eight most of the children go to elementary school. Home training, however, remains an important matter. The main emphasis on the Korean children during this period of time is to be obedient, to be devoted to their family affairs, to work hard at school or in the home, and to live peacefully with their sisters and brothers and with the neighboring children. Traditional virtues of filial piety for parents cannot be overemphasized. Children are taught to be courteous, to behave with good manners, and not to lie, to steal, and not to be noisy. They are asked to listen carefully to what the teachers say and to learn as much as they can. They are expected to respect other elders as well as the members of their own family.

In this type of socialization pattern found in Korea there are several kinds of positiveness and negativeness.

24Ibid., p. 143.
On the one hand, children do not have to grope for their future. The individual encounters comparatively little insecurity in life and experiences relatively positive and prolonged relationships with his parents. On the other hand, there is an inability to create or to enter a new and untried way of life. People are not equipped to meet new situations or strange conditions. They possess no means for seriously challenging the existing scheme of things. They certainly have a lack of dynamic and changing qualities in their lives. Furthermore, if and when the existing scheme of conditions has been broken down, they will merely try to build up a new series of schemes in accord with the existing forms, principles, and social order approved by the traditional concept. 

Although public school stresses the new educational ideals imported from the West--the importance of developing the children's ability to think independently and act dynamically--in their homes children are not educated as citizens. They are more or less taught to think of the family and the importance of conforming to existing mores and values in the society. Therefore, Korean children are debtors to their family--

ancestors as well as parents. They tend to have the single objective in their mind of glorification of their family names. They may dedicate themselves for the public or even for the country, but deep in their minds is the concern for their families and their prestige.

Socialization in Japan differs sharply from that of Korea. That is to say, the place of responsibility and expectation for children is different between the two nations. In Japan, subordinating one's own will to the ever-increasing duties to family, neighbors, and to country is required. The child has to restrain his behavior according to the expectation of others, and furthermore, he has to recognize his indebtedness not only to the immediate family members but to others as well.

The Japanese also ask a great deal of themselves. To avoid the great threats of ostracism and detraction, they have to give up personal gratifications which they have learned to save for their family and country. On the other hand, to avoid laughter and shame and win approval, they must preserve the face of self-respect. They consciously avoid errors, and they have to fulfill all their obligations according to the situation. They are taught to feel shame before society and to fear it if they fail in their expected
behavior. The result is a self-consciousness which borders on an inferiority feeling. With the approval or disapproval of society the ultimate criterion by which one judges himself, Japan is a highly competitive society.

Another characteristic of the Japanese family in the socialization process is that it serves as a solid phalanx of accusation of the children's behavior instead of protection. Benedict also writes:

By the time he is eight or nine his family may in sober truth reject him. If his teacher reports that he has been disobedient or disrespectful and gives him a black mark in deportment, his family turns against him. If he is criticized for some mischief by the storekeeper, 'the family name has been disgraced.'

IV. RELIGIOUS FUNCTION

Almost all societies have their own forms of religion. Religion is also an important family function. The child learns in the home his attitudes toward the supernatural. In both countries, the priest does not teach him at a particular institution as does the church in the United States. Therefore, the child generally learns religious service through his early childhood experience at home. For

example, in Korea as a whole, the child watches his father's memorial service for his ancestors. In Japan, also, the child's constant and most deep-seated experiences with religion are always the family observances that center around the Buddhist and the Shinto shrines in his own home. Therefore, in both families, religious life starts and is basically centered in the family. However, the two countries practice different religious faiths. The Korean family as a whole practice a rather rigid form of Confucianism as well as other major religions such as Buddhism, Chondokyo, Shamanism, and Christianity. On the other hand, the Japanese family as a whole practices Shintoism, Buddhism, and Christianity.

It is sometimes stated that the Korean family does not have any religion. It is very true that the majority of the people make no pretense of any sort of formal religious observances. However, one should not forget the fact that the traits of a historical religion, in conglomeration with the ethics of Confucius and the precepts of Buddha, are firmly established in the life of the Korean family. One of the characteristics of the Korean's religious faith lies in the fact that in every Korean mind there is a mixture of the different kinds of religion. That is to say, there is no antagonism or rejection between
the different religious faiths. For example, one can have a Confucian philosophy combined with Buddhism and even with Christianity. Therefore, one can believe in his favorite religion without ignoring the rest. One also needs not hold exclusively to any one religion. This inclusiveness of other religion cannot be seen in Japan as much as it can in Korea. However, in Japan, a combination of Shinto­ism and Buddhism is very common practice among Japanese families.

Shamanism

Animism or Shamanism is the most ancient religion known to Korea, its origin having been lost in the mists of antiquity.

Shamanism is a superstitional belief and has never been common among Japanese families. In Korea, not many decades ago devil posts or good gods along the sides of the Korean rural roads leading into the villages bore witness to the universal prevalence of evil-spirits and good-gods worship and its wealth of superstitions. Small shrines and cottages may still be seen on the hilltops and near villages. They have primitive yellow or red pictures and wooden tables, though regular meetings are not held.27

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Even today, in rural areas and in parts of the cities, people believe in Shamanism or evil-gods. When a member of the family becomes sick, the family calls the mudang, a professional evil driver, to chase the evil spirits from the sick man. The mudang, usually a woman, visits the sick family begging the evil spirit to go away. She also beats a drum and sings as well as dances while she prays. The ritual may last for a day. Sometimes she continues three or four days straight, so long as the family has the ability to pay a certain amount of money for the service. Recent trends, however, show that this kind of practice is decreasing in the Korean family.

Buddhism

Buddhism is very common in both countries. Especially in Japan, Buddhism is followed along with Shintoism. Chung describes the origin of Buddhism as follows:

According to legend, in the fifth century B.C. a young prince, Gautama Siddhartha, lived in India. He saw that the world was filled with sadness and misery, but believed that life is a continuous process of death and rebirth. He taught that salvation could only be worked out by the individual alone, through a cycle of continuous rebirths.28

28Ibid., p. 53.
To the Japanese both Shinto and Buddhism are necessary and in a sense inseparable. For example, they look to Buddhism as a means of soul salvation and to the Shinto gods for protection in present life. Buddhism is more important to the individual's future, and Shinto is more important to the community and the country.

Buddhists in both countries believe in individual immortal souls, in a vicarious salvation through Buddha, in reincarnation, in confessional, and in a hell as well as heaven or paradise achieved through continuous faith and prayer. From the religious viewpoint, they believe in the six virtues of charity, morality, patience, energy, contemplation, and wisdom. These virtues should be attained in order to pass from this world of misery to the land of happiness of the Buddha heaven. Many different forms of sacrifice or of recognition of these spirits are practiced among the Buddhists. For example, in Korea there is no Buldan, or Buddhist alcove in the house. But every morning and whenever they find the time, the Koreans sit in a particular place in the room and voice the formula "Nam Ami Ta-bul," the greatest Buddha, repeating it often

29Ibid., p. 54.
enough so that they can forget the present world misery and get to the heaven. In Korea, since they do not have the Buddhist alcove, rice or any other foods cannot be served at home as is the practice in the Japanese family. However, believers go to the temple which is usually located in the high mountains and on the hill-tops. They visit these shrines once a month and pray at the temple with the priest. Buddhists in Korea then serve foods and give money, along with other forms of sacrifice.

In Japan in nearly every house, often in a good and clean room near the living room, is a sacred corner where one finds the Butsudan, the Buddhist alcove. In the Butsudan, one finds the memorial tables of the family ancestors, pictured scrolls, even Shinto Kamidana, Shinto house shrine, if the family believes in both faiths. Each morning the head of the family or his wife bows before this alcove and prays. The wife also places flowers, rice, and tea, as well as money in the alcove. This money will be taken to the temple which they visit occasionally.

One of the interesting sorts of offerings in Japan which is unfamiliar in Korea is the "kitchen-god." Along with many images of other pagan gods and saints the little wooden images of Ebisu and Daikoku, both symbolizing the
gods of wealth, are to be found in almost every Japanese household kitchen. They are all protections of the home and are expected to make the home wealthy. However, Ebisu and Daikoku are not prayed to like Butsudan, but they are given rice each morning. The Japanese believe that these gods bring good fortune to the house in which they are kept. Thus, the Japanese house is used not only as a dwelling, but also as a place where various informal and formal family religious practice is carried on.

Confucianism

Confucianism in Korea is as popular a religion as is Shintoism in Japan. Strictly speaking, Confucianism is partly a philosophy based on rational ethics, rather than a religion itself. It is a code of morals which is responsible for shaping and reshaping Korean family life for generation after generation, and which still constitutes the main moral law of the people there. It is the source of cherished ideals and Korean traditions. Although Japan once practiced strict Confucianism in her history, this belief was never carried out as intensively as in Korea. As pointed out already, the ancestor-worship in Korea is the heart of Confucianism.

On the subject of death and immortality, the doctrine
indicates that bones and flesh return to earth as is appointed, but the noble soul in its energy can go everywhere. 30

Although Confucian shrines exist in rural areas, the people do not pray to them as they do to Shinto and Buddhist shrines. Once a year in memory of the dead Confucius, people visit the shrines and bow their heads. However, practice at home is significant. The main family memorizes the days of their ancestors' deaths for approximately four or five generations. Foods are well prepared for the service. At midnight before the domestic fowl begins to indicate the morning, the service starts. All the male members of the household join in the service. The eldest male or the head of the household reads the deeds and contributions of the memorized ancestors. Everyone in the family bows his head and waits for twenty or thirty minutes until the ancestor's soul has finished his foods. The whole service lasts for forty or fifty minutes.

As soon as they finish the service, the members of the family join together and eat the food. At this moment they should show sincere thanks to their ancestors, and

30 Ibid., p. 55.
laughing or coughing is prohibited. This has become a more or less prevailing custom of Korean family life today.

If the family faces any troubles or difficulties, they think that their ancestors are not giving favor to them because of a lack of sincerity they have paid. If the family is fortunate to have a lot of children, they believe their ancestors are taking good care of them. Therefore, even though the family does not have money, they always provide their best for the memorial service both materially and spiritually.

Besides the above ancestor worship, Confucianism is also favored by practical conservatives. Under this code the day's duties and the individual's behavior in life are more or less prescribed. Confucianism, both as a religion and philosophy, has much in common with Buddhism in its emphasis on compassion and gentleness. The differences between the two, however, lie in the fact that in Buddhism there are precise teachings about the future life with its heaven and hell, while in Confucianism there is nothing about a hereafter except for recognizing the existence of the soul after death.31

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Shintoism

Although Japanese families have practiced various religions in different degrees, the Shinto religion is deeply rooted in the soil of Japan and is as old as the country itself. The basis of an appreciation of Japanese morals and customs as well as religion is an understanding of Shinto, the "Way of the Gods." In the early nineteenth century, Shintoism was identified as the national religion. It influenced the national spirit, patriotism, and expansionism. In an original sense, Shintoism was started by Japan's first emperor, Amaterasu-oh-mi-kami. The emperors of Japan are asserted to be the direct lineal descendants of him, and people until recently believed them to possess divine attributes. People believed that they were directly related to the kami, the god. As other religious sects possess a theogonic myth, Shinto is also unique in its insistence upon the sacredness of Japanese people and the imperial family. 32

Therefore, the Japanese family believes that the Shinto god is the protection of life not only for the

individual but also for the country. Like the butsudan, each household has a Shinto shrine, the kamidana, which is merely a small wooden box. Each morning all the members of the family with bowed heads show their gratitude for being chosen as a sacred race. However, foods are not served at the kamidana. Besides the informal family service, there is a jinjya-maili, the visiting of the public Shinto shrine where people gather and worship their kami. During World War II, there was an attempt to enforce the Japanese Shinto religion in Korea. Although the Korean family set up kamidana in each household, the religion did not gain popularity among Korean families. It was presented as a symbol of loyalty to Japan rather than as a religion. Since the Korean liberation, Shinto has become a negligible factor in Korea.

After World War II, the people in Japan also began to wonder about Shintoism as a religion. It was a strange union of religion, patriotism, politics, and racial superiority. Many Japanese are sensitive to the religious weakness in their culture. They are aware of the lack of any absolute religious or moral criteria in Japanese society. An interesting trend has been occurring among the Japanese people. Before World War II, about 99 per cent of the
total population were Shinto. After the war, the number of believers decreased considerably, and then the trend was again revised.

As Table XI indicates, Shinto membership made up 53.6 per cent of the religious memberships in 1948. Interestingly enough in 1953, Shintoism among Japanese families increased not only in absolute number but also in proportion to other religious organizations. The future trend will probably be toward increases both in number and ratio.

Such a trend is complicated to explain. However, the following explanation can be given. People no longer believe in Shintoism as a sacred religion. It has moved from sacred polar toward secular polar as any other religious institution. For example, even today, marriage ceremonies are held under a Shinto priest in rural areas. When the Japanese baby is born, he is taken to a Shinto shrine for purification. People continue to believe in Shintoism because it has been a custom and habit for so long a period of their history. After World War II, especially under the supervision of the United States Government, Japanese people were frustrated not only politically and religiously, but also in many other aspects of family life. As soon as she recovered her independent sovereignty, the people in
**TABLE XI**

TOTAL NUMBER OF JAPANESE PEOPLE CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO MEMBERSHIPS IN RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Organizations</th>
<th>1948</th>
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<th>1953</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Membership</td>
<td>86,845,468</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>129,400,070</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shintoism</td>
<td>46,558,891</td>
<td>53.6</td>
<td>77,780,324</td>
<td>60.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhism</td>
<td>39,419,826</td>
<td>45.4</td>
<td>47,714,876</td>
<td>36.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christianity</td>
<td>329,536</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>485,399</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>537,210</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>3,419,471</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Japan Statistical Yearbook: 1954 (Tokyo, Japan: Bureau of Statistics, Office of the Prime Minister, 1954), pp. 484-85. Number of memberships excluding overseas exceeds whole population because figures for members of temples and porteges of shrines are sometimes doubly compiled.
Japan started to build up according to their own wishes. It is evident that her State religion, Shintoism, became more popular among Japanese families as a symptom of nostalgia.

Christianity

Christianity was introduced first to Japan and then to Korea early in the 18th century. Early in the 18th and 19th centuries, Christianity was practiced by a small segment of the population, especially among the upper and educated families. During the 20th century, however, this religion has been repressed because of the contradiction to the Japanese Shintoism. Until World War II broke out there was a considerable number of Korean intellectuals who believed in Christianity. The considerable success with which the new doctrine was accepted may be attributed not only to the religious nature of the Koreans but to the fact that Christian ethics placed great emphasis on justice, self-respect, and love, as well as personal freedom. During the War, it was strictly prohibited in both countries. After 1945, there was much missionary work in both countries. As Table XI shows, in Japan, there were 329,539 believers in 1948. This number increased to 485,399 in 1953. Interestingly enough, although the absolute number was increased by
155,860 in five years, the per cent of the total religious membership remained the same--0.4 per cent. According to Korean Annual issued in 1957, there were 849,604 Protestants and 166,732 Catholics, for a total of 1,016,340 Christians.33 While comparable statistics are not available, the fact that in 1956 there were more than a million Christians in Korea (roughly 5 per cent of the population) seems to point to readier acceptance of Christianity than has characterized Japan where over a period of years, up to 1953, the percentage of Christians was only 0.4.

CHAPTER VI

CHANGING FAMILY LIFE

It has been generally observed by sociologists that the family mores tend to lag in social change--changing more slowly than other major social institutions such as economic organization, political structure, educational system, and religious institutions.\(^1\) The picture of family life in modern Korea and Japan also supports the above view.

The process of family change in both countries has been slow in different degrees dependent to a large extent on regional factors--rural, urban, and national boundaries. There is no group which has escaped change completely nor any group which has been drastically revolutionized in family life.

Nevertheless, the Korean and Japanese family life has changed slowly. Even though there are multiple factors contributing to the various changes, the major changes have come in two streams: as a result of the gradual industrial-

ization and urbanization in both countries; and consequences of new education and the Western cultural influences. This is coming mainly through the medium of modern schools and partly through direct contact with the West.

However, it should not be forgotten that the process of family change is slow; the traditional family mores have persisted predominantly in each country. At the same time, the industrialization has been slow, especially in Korea, and new agricultural machines have not been introduced to a great extent in either country. As a whole, people in the rural areas in both countries have changed very little, but those who live in commercial and industrial cities, especially those who work in various factories, have seen their family life and relations changed by the process of urbanization and industrialization.

I. INDUSTRIALIZATION AND URBANIZATION AND CONSEQUENT CHANGES IN FAMILY LIFE

The cities in Korea are by no means highly industrialized by the standards of the major cities of the highly industrialized parts of Japan. However, both countries are becoming industrialized to a sufficient degree to manifest the effects of industrialization although in different
degrees. The economic structure of both countries has begun to change. Although agriculture has continued to be the mainstay of the economy, modernization has been slowly driving out the old self-sufficient home economy.

Closely allied with industrialization, the process of urbanization is also characteristic of the two countries. As pointed out earlier, occupational reallocation and geographical redistribution are being achieved predominantly through the cityward movement of the people from the countryside.

Most important, Korea still remains overwhelmingly rural, though the twentieth century has been a period of accelerated urbanization. From the brief historical view, in Korea, an urban population of 850,000 or approximately 4.4 per cent of the total population in 1925 has increased to 2,821,000 or 11.6 per cent by 1940. Furthermore, South Korea's urban population in 1949 reached around 4,000,000, or approximately 20 per cent of the total population.\(^2\) The refugee movements from North Korea that began during the Korean War have swollen more intensely the number of the urban population in South Korea. Before 1935 the growth of

Korean cities was slow and hardly exceeded that of the rural population, but the program of so-called "industrialization" carried on in the 1940's greatly stimulated the movements toward the city.³

The recent cityward movement in Japan is a less striking phenomenon than that of Korea. According to available statistics, an urban population of 12,369,210 or 21.9 per cent of the total Japanese population in 1920 had increased to 13,711,120 or 22.7 per cent by 1925, and to 19,444,300 or 24.0 per cent by 1930. After 1935 the urbanization in Japan was more intensified as a result of war preparation. Thus, the urban population which was 22,666,307 or 32.7 per cent in 1935 increased to 27,578,000 or 37.7 per cent by 1940.⁴ According to recent statistics taken in 1950, the absolute number of urban population increased 3,625,191 over the number of urban population in 1940, even though the ratio between urban and rural remained almost the same as in 1940.⁵

³Ibid.
Thus in less than 30 years after 1920, the urban population in Korea increased nearly 400 per cent, while during the same period in Japan, although involving more persons, the urban population increased only from 21.9 per cent to 37.7 per cent of the country's population.

The above figures indicate sufficiently that there has been constant movement toward urban areas in both countries, in different degrees. In a broad sense, therefore, industrialization and urbanization are characteristic of our modern states. Understanding of the relationships between these movements and culture, as well as consequent changes in family life, becomes an interesting subject, although it is a complex one: movement is proceeding from the self-sufficient family economy to a monetary economy; from the integrated family to the differentiated individual functioning; and from rural to urban areas. In transition there is a diversity of pattern that is at once not only related to the economic life of the people but also to traditional family mores and cultures in each country.

Attention is, however, primarily focused in this discussion upon such changing matters as: how have the new trends changed the composition of families, and how have the traditional family interacting patterns changed in both
countries as a result of industrialization and urbanization?; what kind of relatives and how many now live in a family unit as compared with previous years?; are people in the country and the urban groups organized into the same sort of families as before?; and, finally, how land-reform has changed family stratification in both countries.

**Interacting patterns of family members**

As pointed out in previous chapters, before the modern industrialization and urbanization trend the work of the family members normally centered in and about the home. Thus, at one time the family was a small factory of production. At the present time in urban areas of Korea and Japan this no longer holds true. The loss of this particular self-sufficient function alone profoundly affects the attitudes toward the authority of the husband or the head of the household, toward mate selection among the young people, toward the working of women outside of the family accompanied by their increasing social status, and reduction in the size of the family in Korea and Japan.  

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The position of the head or husband. The main reason for the reduction of economic production in general households is the development of the factories in cities. The characteristic of factory employment in a city is the separation of place of work from the home during the daytime. Thus, urban factory life and commerce, accelerating the reduction of the self-sufficient family economy, has not only deprived the family of its role as a productive unit, but also the family head or husband has gradually lost control over the children's daily behavior and domination over his wife. This loss of control and power over members of his family is increased when the husband or father is unable to provide sufficiently for his family's needs with his earnings.

A gradual decrease in patriarchal rule is also inferred from other changes such as increased job opportunities for women outside of the home, young people's new education and changing cultural values, as well as constitutional equality between husband and wife in both countries after World War II.

The position of the mother or wife. The mother or the wife is also confronted by interesting change as a result of urbanization and industrialization in both countries. In
the rural family life economy, her economic contribution is so defined as to permit her to combine her work with her traditional mother's role or wife's role, such as bearing and rearing children, sewing, and cooking, as well as minor help for her husband's work in the fields. The new developments change this situation to a certain extent. For example, if she works in a textile factory or any other industry or engages in sales work, she is no longer able to stay at home taking care of her children. She has to ask for someone else to do her intrinsic job--caring for children--and for this she may turn to one of her relatives who lives near her home. Regardless of her motives for working, her increased value in economic contributions to the family is naturally appreciated by her husband due largely to the economic insecurity prevailing in both countries. More important, she also achieves a "strong voice" in the family financial matters as well as other activities.

During the Korean War, many Korean women had to work due to lack of economic means to survive. Many of their husbands were away from home, and so they had to combine the roles of breadwinner and homemaker. On the other hand, the war provided new opportunity for their employment with the increased demand for military goods on the one hand and
the reduction of the labor force of young males on the other hand. Because of the scarcity of labor power and lack of other means to survive, there was a general tendency to accept women's working outside of their homes, and respect has increased toward the working women.

In Japan, as in Korea, because of prevailing economic difficulties, many young women and housewives in the cities work in factories. Moreover, there are many who commute from their homes in suburban areas to Tokyo, Osaka, Kobe, and other large cities by means of a government tramcar, railway, or bus.

The attitude of working women toward their new position in the family merits a comment. Actually many of the working women who have improved their status in family life in both countries do not feel that their position is different from that of their mothers and grandmothers. However, those who are conscious of their changed situation know that the factory as a resource for employment and their financial contributions have promoted their status in the family.7

The changing position of youth. Consequences of the industrialization and urbanization have also affected the rural family life of Korea and Japan. The surplus of Japanese farm labor and the new opportunities for industrial employment or professional job placement have influenced an ever-growing number of farm families to send their sons and daughters to the cities. Japanese farm households supplement low cash income either by handicrafts or by wages obtained from off-farm work in an accessible town or city. According to Raper, about one-third of the Japanese farm household income is from these two sources.8

Korean youths who have been brought up in rural areas and who have been discharged from the army after several years of military service are not likely to go back to their rural homes and work faithfully as they used to do. While in service, most of them learned some kinds of skills—driving, operating machines, or even office work. They saw many different ways of life in city areas and also heard many new ideas while they were traveling. They are no longer satisfied with their traditional family life, but rather they

are longing to move to the cities to look for possible new jobs.

Previously, most children followed the occupations of their fathers, predominantly agriculture, in both countries. In the urbanized family this no longer holds true. Where industrialization and urbanization prevail in both countries there is a breaking up of the traditional concept of choice of occupation. For example, the son of a father employed in modern industry or in modern commerce cannot count on learning an occupational role from his father. His father may help him get an education to find a job, but even this cannot be counted upon. Thus the element of stability involved in the early days of the Korean and Japanese family by virtue of the fact that its members by and large followed the same occupational roles as their predecessors does not exist for the urban family.⁹

Many working youths seeking emancipation are beginning to regard their earnings as their own and not as the property of their families although they share family expenditures while they are living with the members of the family. Some of them are showing a negative attitude toward

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their parents either because their parents are unable to support them or are unable to send them to school. They also protest against harsh treatment by their parents. Some young people also try to choose their own mates through association in factories or recreational facilities such as public parks or theatres. Such feelings among Japanese youths are more directly expressed while among Korean youths they are as yet less explicitly pronounced. This difference is largely due to difference in social control patterns prevailing in the two countries. In city life in Korea the next door neighbors are still concerned with whether the behavior of youths is socially approved behavior. This concern of other people in their young neighbors in the Japanese cities has decreased to a certain extent.

**Decrease in size of the family**

With the growth of industry and cities the large family household in Korea and Japan has been gradually disappearing for a long period of time. The decline in the size of the household is a fact that can be demonstrated especially in Korea.

The study of the Korean middle school students of 9,933 households in 1934 indicates that there were 75,060
members—an average of 7.6.\textsuperscript{10} According to a census conducted in 1955, there were 3,801,947 households in (South) Korea with the total number of 21,502,386 persons or an average for the household of 5.7 members.\textsuperscript{11}

As was shown in Table II, the average size of the urban households is also strikingly smaller than that of the rural households in both Korea and Japan.

According to available Japanese statistics, in 1935 there were 13,504,364 households in Japan, and the average size of the Japanese family was 5.1.\textsuperscript{12} According to a census conducted in 1950, there were 16,580,129 households in Japan with 83,199,637 members\textsuperscript{13}—an average of 5.0.

The above data show that households in both countries are getting smaller; however, although Korean households continue to be larger than Japanese units, the dominant rate of reduction in average size of the Korean household greatly


\textsuperscript{11}Annual Economic Review: 1956 (Seoul, Korea: Research Department, Bank of Korea, 1956), p. 11.


\textsuperscript{13}Ibid., p. 27.
exceeds that of Japanese household. The present trend is for young married couples to establish branch families of their own, except for the eldest son. Matsumiya also asserts:

One of the effects of the industrialization of Japan is to create problems of nonfamily population. Economic depression induces young men in rural districts as well as members of proletarian families to leave their homes and live independently in other places. Although the tendency for rural dwellers to leave their villages for cities is worldwide, it is particularly fateful for Japan, which has been chiefly dependent upon agriculture. For the proletarian families in the cities the economic pressure is so strong that they always try to keep to a minimum the number dependent upon the family income.  

Thus modernization has brought an increased proportion of small families in urban life. Both economic and ideological factors are responsible for the dissolution of traditional large families. On the one hand, the high cost of living and economic insecurity in the cities discourages factory workers and urban dwellers from bringing their old people or close relatives with them. Thus, the head of the household brings only his immediate family members--his wife and children--to establish a new conjugal family in an urban

area. This newly established unit is not only small in family composition but it has progressively less and less of the interaction with other kinsfolk which it has had in rural areas. Another change as a result of urbanization is found in the fact that in city life one is more or less required to deal with individuals regardless of their family connections. Individual personal behavior, competency, skills, positive interpersonal relationships, and education become much more important factors for the identity of a person than the name of the family and genealogy.

Decrease in kinship ties

Through industrialization and urbanization in both countries, there have developed many aspects of change in family life as described above. One of the changes, although suggested above, deserves note. As a result of the modernization, families not only become smaller in size but also their interrelationship with other relatives becomes less. Friends have become important in urban life. Korean people sometimes refer to a neighbor as "neighbor cousin," indicating a close relationship with the next door family. There are signs that the social life which used to center
in the kinship group is shifting gradually to non-kin groups, namely private or public organizations. This is even true for the recreation pattern in both countries. Previously visiting one's relatives was considered as a duty of kinsmen and regarded as a part of recreation as well. Today, recreation is sought within the conjugal family, as by going on picnics or to public parks where conveniences can be found for enjoyment.

Weakening of the family ties is a consequence of the separation or scattering of kin geographically; some live in the country and others live in a city or in cities.\(^{14}\)

The shrinking economic functions of the traditional family, the pressure for space, and the high cost of living in cities have made it more difficult to support and care for relatives except one's immediate family members. Thus the extension of the protective family covering to various kinsfolk is limited by these reality factors.

**Changes in traditional family stratification**

Historically, the people of both Korea and Japan are very class conscious due to particular socio-economic and cultural backgrounds. Although rural areas of both

\(^{14}\text{Ogburn and Nimkoff, op. cit., pp. 23-24.}\)
countries are still influenced by the previous landowning households, the very foundations of the traditional feudal system have been changed, and traditional family distinction has become less. This was stimulated by the increasing population shift from rural to urban areas. More important, however, was the result of the land reform conducted in both countries after World War II. As pointed out earlier, the status in rural areas of both countries depended largely upon possession of land. Families remained on the land and became identified themselves with the amount of land they possessed; the degrees in which they could establish relationship with other families who did not have enough land of their own to cultivate were conditioned. Therefore family connections become important for each individual's status.

In 1954, enactment of land reform programs in both countries, while assuring no less amount of economic stability in a long range view, contributed to lessening traditional family distinctions based on ownership of land.

For example, in Korea this situation was described by Chung as follows:

In 1948, under the American Military Government, 686,965 acres of vested farm lands, formerly owned by the Japanese, were sold to 587,074 tenant farmers for 3.75 times the value of one annual crop, payable
at the rate of 25 per cent of the yearly crop over a period of fifteen years.

On June 21, 1949, the National Assembly passed a land-reform law providing for the sale of all tenant farm land to its occupants, which law was brought into effect on March 25, 1950. In April, 1950, the Government inaugurated the distribution of ownership of a total of 1,470,000 acres affecting 1,200,000 farmers.

By March 1, 1951, 1,029,000 acres of land under the law has been distributed to former tenants.15

In Japan, Raper's study of twelve rural areas indicates:

Landlords and owner-cultivators made up 36 per cent of all farm households in these villages in June, 1947 and 56 per cent in December, 1948. Pure tenants accounted for 26 per cent of all farmers in June, 1947 and eight per cent in December, 1948.

The number of owner-cultivators increased 112 per cent in the 18 months, and pure tenants decreased 70 per cent. . . . Landlords disappeared completely during the period of observation except in one village.16

Thus, in both countries, the land reform has contributed to the breakdown of formerly important family distinctions between landlords and tenants. Although the traditional power of landlords persists to a considerable extent, the people do not now have to pay over-elaborate respect and show obedience to the traditional landlords.


16Raper, op. cit., p. 65.
The shift in urban areas from status based on family name and prominence to status related to individual personality and achievement has already been discussed.

II. NEW EDUCATION AND WESTERN CULTURES AND CONSEQUENT CHANGES IN FAMILY LIFE

Historically, related to the household economy, vocational education for boys and girls was on the farm and in the home. The teachers were the parents, and there was no independent educational institution.\(^{17}\)

Although Korea has always been a land of scholars, little provision was made for obtaining practical knowledge. Early education centered in the study of Confucianism and the Confucian philosophy and principles. Moreover, this opportunity was also limited to a certain social class, namely the children in the upper class of families.

In Japan, modern education was introduced much earlier than in Korea; the public school system was established after the Meiji Restoration around 1868.

During the early years, the educational objectives in both countries were centered around cultivation of one's

\(^{17}\) Ogburn and Nimkoff, op. cit., p. 139.
personality, filial piety, motivation for perpetuating the existing family mores and contributing to the social adequacy of one's country, and rituals appropriate in each country. In other words, the main aims of education were primarily intended to mold young members of the family after the pattern of their parents and ancestors and to perpetuate the familial mores. They emphasized the loyalty of youths to the family and clan as well as the village or community. Therefore, there was no idea of helping any individual to develop according to his own ability, interest, and philosophy.

Since the turn of the century, public education has been accelerated by the influence of Western cultures, development of technology, and cultivation of scientific knowledge. In order to cope with the Western civilization, both countries, but especially Japan, swiftly shifted their main focus of education from the family and personality theme to the modern technological knowledge. This shifting to scientific and technological education was done, however, within a frame work of nationalistic ideology so that the Japanese basic culture and mores were still predominant as a

firm foundation.

However, after World War II, the above circumstances have been changed considerably along with other major socio-political changes in both countries. Since the liberation of Korea, a great deal has been accomplished in education -- expansion and establishment of new public elementary and secondary schools, and establishment of numerous private and national colleges and universities. The enrollment of these schools has increased strikingly since 1945. For example, in 1937, there were in the primary schools of Korea 901,200 students\(^1\) and in 1954 in South Korea alone the number climbed to 2,708,224.\(^2\)

In Japan, although the absolute number of primary school students has not changed compared with 1940,\(^3\) the facilities and length of compulsory education have improved. For example, after World War II, the Japanese compulsory education was extended from sixth grade to ninth grade.


More important change, however, has occurred in the public educational system which is directly related to changes of family life. It is a coeducational system which now prevails in both countries; this is new in secondary schools and institutions of higher learning. Women's educational opportunity has increased strikingly in both countries, but the rate of such increase in Korea greatly exceeds that of Japan.

Available statistics show the following ratio between the sexes: In 1954, 41.3 per cent of all Korean primary school pupils and 48.8 per cent of all Japanese primary school pupils were girls. In the secondary schools of Korea and Japan, respectively, 24.8 per cent and 48.3 per cent of students were girls. In the colleges and universities, 11.7 per cent of students in Korean and 16.8 per cent of students in Japanese institutions were women. The above figures sufficiently indicate that there are marked advancements in the education of girls, although in different degrees, in Korea and Japan.

From the above data, it is understood that there are

many young people who are learning in a new educational system which would naturally bring about some changes in the traditional family life. It is in this institution that many young people acquire not only new knowledge but also new ideas and values. How these have affected family life in both countries is an interesting subject although it is complex, and precision in reporting and evaluation cannot be achieved.

Value differences between two generations

Educated youths are inspired with modern ideas as to their occupational choice, individualism, self-respect, choice of marriage partner, and personal advancement and success. These new ideas are foreign to the traditional family mores, and disagreement may be aroused between the younger and the older generations. In the rural areas of both countries, where social changes are infrequent, the traditional family values, such as respecting one's elders, are maintained. Members of the younger generation depend upon their elders and wise men for training and advice in various aspects of young people's life. 23

23 Ogburn and Nimkoff, op. cit., p. 207.
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\[23\] Ogburn and Nimkoff, *op. cit.*, p. 207.
In urban areas of both countries, especially in Japan, conditions are not the same as those in static rural areas. Various new occupations are opening to young people who have the new education, skills, and competent personality. They can also move ahead into political careers, business, or one of the professions. In spite of the elders' disagreement, the young people make and carry out plans according to their own choices, interests, and abilities. Furthermore, young people feel that they not only have various duties to the family but also the right to determine their own fates on their own responsibility. There may be disagreement with parents regarding political views or family planning. Obviously, the above circumstances imply the possibility of drastic conflict between the younger and older generations among the educated people. Sometimes conflicts arise, but on the whole children even in urban areas do not act overtly against their parents' advice. The parents also do not hold to their judgment entirely based upon their own traditional values. It is observable that in both Korean and Japanese family life, among educated people, there are compromises between the two generations; the young people still respect their elders who have different values than their own, and the older generations also
recognize the inevitable changes which have taken place during the past years.

Although it is evident that traditional familial cultures have changed in respect to marriage practice, religious and ceremonial activities, and increased status of women, as well as different ideas of young people, this does not necessarily contribute to family disintegration as is frequently assumed. There appears, rather, growing intimacy between the generations and growing incidence of friendly consultation between the children and fathers who have received a modern education. However, it is evident that the older generation is more attached to the traditional family system than the younger generation.

**Position of women has improved**

The status of women in Korean and Japanese families, even in urban cities, is lower than it is in Western countries. Regardless of how the economic condition has changed in urban family life, real social and political equality with men is not publicly accorded to women in present day Korea and Japan. Although new legislation affecting the rights of the individual in the family has been enacted in both countries, these legal changes have
had little effect upon family life. Changes in family ties have related less to new laws than to broad social and economic changes.24

Nevertheless, women's position has improved in the home due largely to an increase in educational opportunities for them. The old-fashioned training made girls regard themselves as humble instruments of their husbands; the educated women feel that they have a right and duty to perform their own feminine role in the family.25 In the traditional family life, a couple did not consider themselves to be a partnership but were more or less in superior-subordinate relationship. In modern days, most husbands in both countries appear in public with their wives, going to see movies and participating in social functions. There appear more intimate and close relationships between men and women within a family. A wife can help not only financially as required by economic insecurity but also consults with reference to family planning. She has more influence on her children's care and rearing as well as training, and she is


less subject to rigid control by her mother-in-law.

Among educated young people a husband is courteous and considerate in the manner in which he addresses his wife. This is an indication not only of his self-respect but of respect toward his wife, and is an attitude fostered by modern education.

Changing marriage practices

Although arranged marriage—by parents or go-between—is the predominant marriage practice in both countries, there is a gradual tendency toward individual mate selection among educated youth or people who live in urban areas. The yunae-kellhon in Korean or renai-kekon in Japanese, the love marriage, is becoming popular. This is largely due to coeducational experiences and more opportunity for association among young people which was disapproved behavior before 1945.

Korean and Japanese young people are influenced by Western ideals of freedom, individualism, and self-choice of marriage partner. They no longer feel absolutely constrained to accept the unconditional judgment of their elders in matters of marriage. Parents, on the other hand, do not compel their child to marry a spouse toward whom he or she feels active dislike. Traditionally, parents were anxious to
find a mate for their child and arrange an early marriage in order to have their grandchildren early. Because of economic uncertainty and requirement of long period of educational training before a young man becomes independent, the marriage age for men has been delayed in both countries.

On the other hand, the increased value of the feminine economic contributions to the urban family and the relative possibility of female employment are, as mentioned earlier, easing the uncertainty felt by girls as they approach maturity, for their families are no longer so anxious to marry them off and turn them from a familiar to a strange environment. In traditional times, especially in rural areas of both countries, it was the common practice to encourage marriage at an early age so that the women's families would not have the worry of taking care of them. As a result of women's wage earning potential and the new education of girls, the marriage age of girls is also increasing.

Formerly, multiple factors were considered in the marriage. The more nearly comparable the status of the two families, the more favorably would a marriage be regarded. Although it is more true in urban than in rural societies, there are trends toward more emphasis upon personal qualities and educational level in the choice of a mate.
Thus, there is emphasis on self-determination in the choice of a mate among upper class families with approval of parents.

**Lessening of religious activities**

Ogburn and Nimkoff state:

Religious beliefs are a great cluster of what is currently called ideologies, and ideologies are a covering set of influences that are changing the family as are technological influences. Ideologies are important ideas that are widely accepted and integrated into guiding forces of social life.²⁶

Thus religious beliefs are influenced by the technological and educational changes. Of the features which have characterized the Korean family, ancestor worship is still rigidly maintained. However, due partly to economic difficulties, and partly to the new education, the traditional extravagant foods for the memorial service are gradually being reduced. At the same time, intrinsic parts of Confucius' principles such as absolute filial duties to parents and rigid hierarchical family status according to age and sex are declining gradually although the basic values are still predominant in Korean family life.

In Japan, although the membership of the various

²⁶Ogburn and Nimkoff, *op. cit.*, p. 262.
religious organizations has increased, as shown in Table XI, the nature of the sacredness and the participation in Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples have declined since 1945. At the same time, various festivals in rural areas have been reduced not only in numbers but also in the quality of the celebration—they have become brief, simple, and less expensive. Raper also states that in Japan religious organizations find themselves in financial difficulty to operate due largely to inflation which has reduced the value of customary money and to less active participation on the part of each membership.27

In families in both countries there are tendencies toward a general secularization in religious activities. Although explanation of the secularization movement is complex, it is affected in many cases by scientific achievements which added knowledge that was different from the ideas held in previous times. For example, among Korean Shamanists, mudang, professional evil drivers to chase the evil spirits from the sick man, have gradually decreased not only in terms of numbers but also social function relative to curing sick men through supernatural power.

27Raper, op. cit., p. 95.
The preceding analysis has not purported to describe the predominant family life in Korea and Japan. Discussion has, rather, been limited to the family life which is significantly influenced by industrialization or the new education in both countries. It has sought to aid in the understanding of the possible effects of modernization upon the family in urban life today. Urbanization has reduced the traditional power of the family as a social institution. As a whole, in both countries, the traditional family pattern has been gradually modified while the effects of education, industry, and government have increased. The extension of the educational system has also operated to change existing family values and relationships in both countries.
CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study is a general comparative analysis of the family life of two oriental countries, Korea and Japan. Underlying family historical developments, characteristics of family life, familial cultures, and various functions, as well as changing family life in both countries, have been presented. Most of the data support established findings produced in other family studies, but certain variations which occur are significant sociologically to the peculiar family life of each of these particular social and historical milieus.

Although there are many similarities in family life in Korea and Japan, there is a distinctive difference in family structure between the two countries. Because of the changes which have taken place within the framework of the particular historical and social conditions in each country, some of these differences are considerably pronounced.

As a whole, the influence of Chinese culture upon Korean family life is profound, and the Korean family and
in social structure are influenced as a result. Chinese influence upon the Japanese family, on the contrary, is less significant than upon the Korean family, as can be observed in various family practices in Japan.

Another significant difference between the two countries is the relative position occupied by the family in the total structure of each society. Although family stability characterizes family life in both countries, and the family certainly is the basic social institution and occupies a position of strategic importance in the Korean and Japanese cultures, the Japanese family shares its position with other major social institutions in the society. Consequently, extra-familial activities and identity of the membership not only within the family but also other groups are a marked characteristic of the Japanese people. The Korean family, on the contrary, is the dominant institution upon which the society is constructed and other social institutions are subordinated to the family and are not strongly developed.

Although filial piety and the concept of passive obligations are accepted in both countries, there are notable differences in the values and applications of these principles. The Chinese formulation of filial piety is
adapted and expressed differently by Korean and Japanese families. For example, in contrast to the Japanese practice of filial piety which limits the obligations to living persons and within a limited face-to-face relationship, the Korean family expresses deification of parents after their death and the devotion of the descendants to the ancestors.

In spite of the growth of industry and cities in both countries the size of the average household in either country is larger than in European countries. Large families are characteristic of family life among oriental peoples. In comparing the two countries, the average size of the Korean family is greater than the Japanese family regardless of the regional differences--total, urban, and rural areas.

In these two countries, the Korean family is characterized by high mortality and fertility rates whereas the Japanese family reveals comparatively a long life expectation and less waste of human resources in early childhood.

The age and sex compositions of the populations of Japan and Korea have important social implications for public planners in each of these countries. The population of Japan is more concentrated in the productive ages than the population in Korea. The age-sex pyramid reveals
significantly that the civilian population is short of men in the productive years which is a result of the Korean War and military conscription, while Japan's inhabitants constitute a relatively younger, more masculine population. In the population of Korea there is a larger proportion of children than in Japan, reflecting the higher birth rate in the former.

The nature of the age distribution in Korea seriously affects its family, social, and economic life in a great many ways. Most obvious is the fact that, in comparison with the Japanese family, the Korean family, as a whole, has fewer persons in groups who are dependent on account of old age but considerably more who are in need of care during the tender years of life and of education during the formative years. The nature of the age distribution of the Korean nation furthermore, indicates that the average producer in the family has more mouths to feed than is the case generally in the Japanese family, although the latter is also faced with economic difficulties as a result of prevailing unemployment. The dependency ratio in the Korean society is greater than that of the Japanese society.

The populations of both Japan and Korea are characterized by low sex ratios in their productive age groups. It
is apparent that the consequence of this highly disproportionate sex-ratio has marked implications with respect to marriage and family life in both countries, especially in Korea.

In the two countries' family patterns, the way of living is basically the same although designs for details of living such as housing, food habits, clothing, and ceremonial activities are different between Korean and Japanese families. Generally speaking, in both countries, dwellings are highly functional, with a minimum of household rooms—the family sleeping, entertaining, and dining together.

In relation to wearing apparel, clothing differs in accordance with age and sex. Color of the dress is also selected carefully according to respective ages in each country. Moreover, the seasonal variations are differentiated, especially in materials.

The various familial customs and celebration patterns have strikingly persisted, especially in the rural areas of each country. Of the various festival activities, birthday, wedding, second birth day, and funeral ceremonies are important family celebrations along with other local festivals in a village or community.
The family as a major social institution has the complex functions of meeting the societal need for continual replacement of the societal membership in the Korean and the Japanese family life as in the various other cultures.

While both countries are still more agricultural than industrial nations a higher proportion of Korean workers (79 per cent) are engaged in agricultural occupations than is the case in Japan where 46 per cent of workers are so employed. Furthermore, this study indicates that there is considerable occupational homogeneity in the Korean family whereas the Japanese family is characterized by occupational heterogeneity. This fact sufficiently establishes that in Korea there is a high degree of interdependence among the members of each family. Thereby, there is a stronger and more stable family structure among the Korean family due to the more homogeneous activities in which the members of the family engage jointly.

Viewed from the standpoint of the economic function, however, the differences are not as great between the two countries as are the differences between urban and rural areas in each country. That is to say, families in rural areas operate as self-sufficient productive units as opposed to urban families whose members work for income and in turn
purchase goods and services.

In both familial cultures, the aim of marriage is regarded as the procreation of children and thereby to assure the continuity of the family line characteristic of patriarchal family life. Marriage in both countries is a family matter rather than an individual affair. Although there appears not too great a difference in the crude marriage rate in Japan and in Korea, the Japanese family shows a strikingly high divorce rate as compared to that of the Korean family. The relatively high Japanese divorce rate, indeed, is a significant evidence of the extent of marital unhappiness and family disorganization as compared to that of Korea.

Furthermore, of these two oriental cultures, the extent to which protection is provided to individuals within each family is somewhat different. Whereas in the Korean family the widow is protected by her family and maintains her established status, in the Japanese family a widow not only loses her previous status but is also encouraged to remarry.

As in other family cultures, in both Korea and Japan the primary responsibility for inculcating socially accepted ways of behavior lies in the family. It is in the family
that the process of socialization takes place. The social-
ization pattern is different according to the societal
expectations of the individual.

The main emphasis in the socialization process in
Korea is to teach children to become obedient, to be devoted
to their family affairs, and to think of the family glorifi-
cation and the importance of conforming to existing mores
and values in their society, whereas in the Japanese family,
children are taught to subordinate their own will to the
ever-increasing duties to family, community, and to country.
The Japanese family also serves as a solid phalanx of
accusation of their children's behavior when that behavior
is disapproved by the society.

In both countries, religious life starts and is
basically centered in the family even though they practice
different religious faiths. As a whole, Confucianism
constitutes the major socio-religious doctrine in Korean
families. Shintoism composes the primary Japanese religion.
Buddhism ranks second in both countries. The religious
beliefs are influenced by the technological and educational
changes. In both countries there are tendencies toward a
general secularization in religious activities as is common
among other major religious institutions in the world.
The process of family change in both Korean and Japanese families has been slow and in different degrees dependent to a large extent on regional factors, namely rural and urban areas. The gradual industrialization and urbanization, as well as the effects of the new education and the Western cultures, contributed to the changing family life in both countries simultaneously. These influences have led to changes in traditional family organization, in the authority of elders and heads of families, and in the status and degree of economic and social emancipation of women and youth. Other effects on family life are the reduced size of households and the lessening of close kinship ties as branch (conjugal) families have been established at distances from relatives.

Class distinctions in both countries have been affected by all these forces, and land reform programs in both Japan and Korea have diminished the land monopoly with resultant diminished economic and social power of the old landlord group.

In both countries, as a result of modern education and the coeducational experience, the status of women has improved not only within the family but also outside of the family. There are more job opportunities open to them
and their financial help in the family is a phenomenon of increasing importance, with significant implications both for the economic security of the family and for modifications in the patterns and balance in family life.
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. BOOKS


**B. GOVERNMENT AND LEARNED PUBLICATIONS**


**C. PERIODICALS**


D. ARTICLES IN COLLECTIONS


E. MISCELLANEOUS

The author was born on September 13, 1929, Hamyang, Kyung Sang Nam Do Province in Korea. He attended middle school in Tokyo, Japan for four years and in 1945 was graduated from Chin Ju Middle School in Korea. He attended Dong A University in Pusan, Korea where he received his B.A. degree in political economics in 1952.

The author served as a civilian supervisor of Korean employees attached to the United States Army during the Korean conflict. In 1954, he had the opportunity to come to this country to do graduate work and selected Louisiana State University.

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