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Anthropology

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INTRODUCTION

Kinship plays an important role in the life of the Koreans. One's life chances, e.g., occupational and educational opportunities, used to depend solely upon his membership in a particular kin group. Matrimony was considered an extremely serious event, not only for the individual, but for the family as a whole. In fact the Koreans believed that the decline or fall of one's family depended on the choice of one's mate. In Korea, marriage has never been the affair of the individual, but of the two families of the parties concerned. The traditional Korean marriage was basically an affair between the heads of the two families who arranged the marriage. Romantic love between a young man and a woman never entered into the parents' considerations. The personal feelings of the parties had to be subordinated to the choice of their elders, based on the objective characteristics of the couple. Uppermost in the minds of the parents, in arranging the marriages of their children, was the "family name" of the prospective in-law. It was not a matter of a woman marrying a man of her choice for her own happiness but of her marrying into the family of a man in order to produce for his family as many male successors as possible. The choice was made by elders of the woman's family who were more concerned about selecting the best possible family than with the man's individual characteristics. The final decision was made by the male heads of the two families without
consulting the parties who were to marry. The opinions of an intermediary, such as a go-between or of the fortune-teller, exerted a more decisive influence on the final decision than the sentiments of the parties. A preliminary family decision, with or without the consent of the parties, used to be confirmed by a fortune-teller as a "lucky" match. Frequently, a proposed marriage would be broken off when there was an unfavorable prediction, however ideal all other considerations might have been. Although sometimes the bridegroom was allowed to see the bride at a distance before marriage, the bride was not allowed to see the bridegroom until after the wedding day. A go-between was called upon to carry out the negotiations between the two families. Approval of the parents of both parties and the fortune-teller's prediction of the marriage were followed by an engagement. A fortune-teller was also consulted to select a "lucky day" for the wedding. Once the engagement was effected, it was considered binding. The engagement used to be regarded as having the same legal and social cohesiveness as the wedding itself. It was indeed an exceptional case when an engagement could be broken, however justifiable the reason might appear. This was especially true for the woman, for the Confucian ethics propounded that "a woman should not serve two husbands." There were many cases of women who were forced to stay single after a broken engagement.

During the past fifty years or more, the introduction of a modern educational system, and of Christianity, the results of the Japanese occupation, the United States military occupation after
World War II, and the Korean War have led to the modification of some aspects of the traditional values, some of the behavior concerning mate selection has also been changed. The opinions of the parties concerned carry more weight in the present pattern of arranged marriage than in the past, especially among the highly educated urban population. In contrast to the traditional system of prohibiting any social intercourse between the prospective bride and groom, the modified form of arranged marriage allows a certain period of premarital acquaintance both before and after the engagement.

Nevertheless, for most Koreans, it is still the parents and other family elders who have the authority and responsibility for initiating mate selection and who have great influence in their offsprings' marital choice. The practice of matrimonial fortune-telling is still of considerable importance, especially among the uneducated rural people. Although there are many variations within the modified form of arranged marriage, the pattern of initial parental selection followed by subsequent consent of the parties is the predominant one even among the highly educated urban youth. While young people in Korea have learned and read about the Western patterns of courtship, and the American pattern of dating, it is still difficult for them to make such a personal choice of a mate because of parental and social disapproval of heterosexual social contacts. Also, there is a lack of opportunity for meeting a potential spouse, and for testing out adjustment in premarital contexts; there is segregation according to sex in public institutions
and facilities and social affairs. The differential degree of modernization between parents and children creates psychological conflict between generations. Moreover, sons and daughters are not allowed the same degree of modernization and emancipation. The Korean youth, especially daughters, have been taught from childhood to depend on their parents and others in making decisions on important matters. Until young people are emancipated at an earlier age and are given more opportunity for making up their own minds enabling them to make reliable decisions about marriage, decisions which will also be satisfactory to their families, free choice in marriage will not be possible to a large extent in Korea.

The present study has two main purposes. First, it attempts to describe kinship organization and mate selection patterns among urban Koreans. The second purpose of this study is to examine the changes which have occurred in the mate selection patterns between two generations of urban upper class women. Since traditionally mate selection occurred within the context of one's family and kinship group, it is necessary to understand kinship organization in order to grasp more fully the significant roles played by various family members in marital choice. We suppose that while there is much overlapping and continuity from the traditional practice of mate selection, the younger generation will deviate more from the traditional marriage rules and mate selection procedure than the older generation. This is due to the introduction of modern education and due to the rapid urbanization and westernization of Korean society in recent years.
Both qualitative and quantitative research methods were employed in this study. Informal participant observation as well as the writer's past knowledge of Korean society by virtue of being a member of it helped a great deal in obtaining an inside view of the institutions of Korean kinship and marriage. On the other hand, having been in the United States for almost a decade and having been raised in a westernized Christian family in Korea made it possible for the author to look at the traditional type of the Korean family and marriage as an outsider. Since the Korean subjects are not very familiar with the self-checking test situation, all the data were gathered by interviews. Intensive and probing interview techniques were used to study individual cases, and more structured and straightforward types of interviews were given to larger samples for the purpose of quantitative analysis of the subjects' own mate selection behavior, as well as of statements and attitudes on Korean mate selection and on the subject of the family in general. Data on kin groups are based on the literature written in the Korean and the Japanese languages, on informal observation, the interviewing of older men and women subjects, and a recent sociological survey of Seoul families. All the interviews were conducted in the Korean language either by the author or by Korean college students.

The data on mate selection patterns were collected by intensive interviews of forty-five college educated young married women and by more structured interviews of one hundred college educated married women between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five years and
another one hundred women of fifty years of age or older, all of whom were residing in Seoul at the time of interview. The intensive interviews were conducted by the writer herself and the more structured interviews of two hundred subjects were done by the Korean college men and women students in sociology. The forty-five subjects were the writer's friends, relatives and colleagues at Korean universities. Although an interview guide was used for general direction, the procedure for the intensive interviews varied according to the individual interviewee and each unique interview situation. Those subjects with whom the writer had had some personal acquaintance had to be approached more casually and were interviewed less extensively since the writer had previous knowledge about their family background and mate selection experiences. Some of these subjects interviewed at their homes had small children or visitors with them so that it was not possible to interview them very extensively. Working wives could be interviewed at their offices in a quiet room without the presence of a third party. Usually, these interviews were started with a very general question such as, "How did you first learn about, or meet your husband?" These interviews lasted about one hour to one hour and a half. The two hundred subjects interviewed by the college students were mothers, sisters or other female relatives of the student interviewers or of their friends. A more general and lengthy interview guide (Appendix A) was used for the intensive interviews of the forty-five young college educated married women and another more structured and straight-forward interview schedule (Appendix B) was constructed for
interviewing those two hundred subjects of two age groups to obtain comparative information on their mate selection experiences and endogamous and exogamous marriage patterns.

The attitudinal data on mate selection and marriage of Seoul housewives studied by a Korean sociologist in 1959 was referred to in this study. The subjects in this investigation were 287 randomly selected Seoul housewives, the majority of whom were between thirty to forty years of age, without formal education and without any religious affiliation.

Because of the rapid westernization of the Asian countries in the present century, many social changes have been brought about in these nations. Especially, the social status of the young women of the Asian countries has been raised by the opportunities for acquiring an education equal to that of the men and also for engaging in many types of professional and social activities. This study hopes to provide additional insights into how changes in a social pattern, i.e., mate selection, have occurred among the young college educated Korean women in comparison with the older generation, the majority of whom did not receive any formal education. Since there has not been any previous work done on this subject in Korea, this study must, of necessity, be primarily exploratory and descriptive. It is hoped that this investigation will encourage subsequent studies in the social changes which have taken place in Korea and other Asian societies.
Throughout this manuscript, following abbreviations will be used for kinship terms:

- Fa: father
- Mo: mother
- Hu: husband
- Wi: wife
- So: son
- Da: daughter
- Br: brother
- Si: sister.

The term "family" is used by the writer in the same meaning as the Korean term for kin group, *kaJulok*, which includes a male head, his wife, his brothers and sisters and their spouses, his sons and daughters and their spouses.
II. KINSHIP AND FAMILY

Descent

In Korea, traditionally the primary function of the family was the continuation of the family line, including its traditions, status, and property. At birth, the Korean child is formally entered into the public registration record for members of a family, called Hohuk. However, a female offspring is removed from her father's record upon her marriage in order to be registered with her husband's father's family members. It is the responsibility of a son to continue his father's family line. In the absence of a son, one adopts a male child from his nearest paternal kin, a child who is one generation below his own, to succeed him. It is customary for a man without a son to adopt one of his brother's sons if his brother has more than one. At present, a daughter can succeed her father if she is the only child of her parents by entering her husband into her father's family record at her marriage.\(^1\) This practice is called Derilsawi, which means a son-in-law taken into a family as a son.

It is therefore not surprising to find that Koreans desire and value sons more than daughters. When a Korean couple does not have a son, they make every effort to have one. They used to consult a fortuneteller or pray to their gods for a male heir. If these

\(^1\) Korea, *New Civil Code* (1958), Art. 87, Sec. 1.
efforts failed, since it was believed that barrenness and the determination of the sex of the child was the wife's responsibility, she was obliged to permit or even encourage her husband to take a concubine in order to have a male heir.

A recent study of 287 Seoul housewives has shown that belief in permitting husbands to have concubines in case of barrenness still exists. Thirty-eight percent of the housewives believed in permitting concubines in order to have children. However, as presented in Table 1, only 19.3 percent of those who had high school or college education said they would permit concubines.

**TABLE 1**

**ATTITUDES TOWARD CHILDLESS MARRIAGE BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitudes</th>
<th>Educational Level</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No Primary Schooling</td>
<td>Primary Education</td>
<td>Secondary and College Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N Per Cent</td>
<td>N Per Cent</td>
<td>N Per Cent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permit concubine</td>
<td>49 48.0</td>
<td>44 47.8</td>
<td>15 19.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adopt son</td>
<td>29 28.4</td>
<td>26 28.3</td>
<td>23 29.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Live without child</td>
<td>18 17.7</td>
<td>18 19.6</td>
<td>36 46.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree to divorce</td>
<td>6 5.9</td>
<td>4 4.3</td>
<td>4 5.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>102 100.0</td>
<td>92 100.0</td>
<td>78 100.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: H. J. Lee, P. 67 (see footnote 2).

The desire to have a larger number of sons than daughters is still firmly felt by the urban population of Korea today. Table 2
shows that 56.5 percent of the Seoul housewives studied expressed their desire to have three sons and 58.5 percent of them considered having two daughters as ideal, making a total of five children.²

TABLE 2

PREFERENCES REGARDING IDEAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ideal Number of Children</th>
<th>No. of Sons</th>
<th></th>
<th>No. of Daughters</th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 children</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>35.2</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>58.5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>55.5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 and over</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 287 100.0 287 100.0 287 100.0

Source: H. J. Lee, p. 31.

Since the infant mortality rate has been high in Korea, they are apt to feel uneasy about having only one child of each sex. Moreover, by having many children, parents hope to see some of them achieve high social standing. Their desire to have many offsprings

regardless of their economic capacity is due to the fatalistic attitudes of Koreans toward childbearing. There is a common saying that a child brings his own blessings and food when he comes into the world.

**Household Size**

Despite the common tendency to think of the Korean household as large including more than two generations, both past and present records indicate the contrary. In fact, the Korean household size has tended to increase steadily within the last few decades. The average size of the urban household in 1925 was 4.68 and in 1959 it was increased to 5.63. According to D. H. Kim's field research in a Korean village in 1934, only a very few households in the Korean village were composed of members of four generations and were as large as ten to fifteen persons per family. Some families were made up of members of three generations, but the majority were nuclear families whose married children had left their families of orientation. Also 66 percent of 287 Seoul families were composed of husband, wife, and their children. The consistent increase in household size as the socioeconomic status becomes higher is shown in Table 3. Accordingly, the lower the socioeconomic status of household the smaller the size of the household.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Size</th>
<th>Social Class</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Upper</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>Lower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N Per Cent</td>
<td>N Per Cent</td>
<td>N Per Cent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 - 3 persons</td>
<td>3 7.3</td>
<td>7 5.6</td>
<td>31 27.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 - 5</td>
<td>8 19.5</td>
<td>39 30.7</td>
<td>48 42.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 7</td>
<td>15 36.6</td>
<td>56 44.0</td>
<td>26 23.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 and over</td>
<td>15 36.6</td>
<td>25 19.7</td>
<td>7 6.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>41 100.0</td>
<td>127 100.0</td>
<td>112 100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: H. J. Lee, p. 27.

This can be explained by such factors as a high infant mortality rate and children's earlier independence from parents through employment or marriage among the lower class families. In short, the typical Korean family is made up of a husband, his wife, and their children. Only a minority of them are in the form consisting of two related families of procreation, i.e., a nuclear family with a son, his wife, and their children, which is called a "stem family" by Murdock.

5Ibid., pp. 29 - 30.

Residence

Traditionally, except for the eldest son, married sons set up new households. Sometimes married sons other than the eldest live temporarily with their parents because of an inability to become economically independent. It is the husband's or his parents' responsibility to furnish living quarters for a married couple. This is even included in the New Civil Code, which states that a married couple is to live at the husband's address. However, it is the responsibility of the oldest, or the only son to live permanently with his parents after marriage. On the other hand, if there is no male child, a daughter is obliged to live with her parents after marriage with the consent of her husband. However, Korean parents feel uncomfortable living with their daughter after she is married.

TABLE 4
PREFERENCES OF RESIDENCE IN OLD AGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preferences of Residence</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Want to live with first son</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>46.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; other sons</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; daughter</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; independently</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>35.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>287</td>
<td>100.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: H. J. Lee, p. 54

7 Korea, op. cit., Art 826, Sec. 2
According to Table 4, no one gave an affirmative response to the item, "Do you want to live with your daughter?" On the other hand, the subjects felt quite justified in living with their sons. The number of mothers who said that they would live with their eldest sons was greater than those who said they would live separately from any of their sons. One of the important reasons for parents' dependence on their sons in old age is an economic one. Table 5 shows the relationship between socioeconomic status and preference of residence in old age. The higher the subjects' socioeconomic level, the less they desire to live with their sons, and the lower the socioeconomic status, the more they prefer to live with their sons in old age.

TABLE 5

PREFERENCES OF RESIDENCE IN OLD AGE BY SOCIAL CLASS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preferences of Residence</th>
<th>Social Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Upper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Want to live with son</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Want to live independently</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 39 99.9 122 100.1 112 100.0


8H. J. Lee, op. cit., pp. 54 - 55.
Because of a desire on the part of some young couples to set up a separate household from their parents, some parents would feel more at ease living by themselves, if circumstance allowed. At the same time, the parents would feel rejected if their sons were to leave them. In one of our interviews, a mother whose eldest son left her, having lived with her for a while after his marriage, expressed her resentment against her son and his wife to her friends:

My eldest son, who moved away sometime ago, now wants to live with me again. I told him that although living together makes me happy when they leave me I feel so bitter that if they did not want to live with me permanently they had better not come back to me again. I would not ask my second son to live with me when he gets married. Why should I ask my younger son to live with me when even the older one, who has the family responsibility leaves me? Since I will be lonely after my young son and daughter will be married, I am looking for an orphan girl to raise as my own daughter.

Even when married sons live with their parents, mothers often are not satisfied with their sons' behavior. One can frequently hear them complaining that their sons behave like strangers or lodgers after their marriage even though living with their parents.

Among the college-educated women studied by the writer there are many types of families where a college-educated daughter-in-law and her husband's family live together due to the fact that college-educated women have the possibility of outside work. If the father-in-law is the main provider for the family and the daughter-in-law is not gainfully employed, she usually does housework with the assistance of house maids, the mother-in-law doing
the management and planning for the family. But in case the son is the breadwinner of the household, and the daughter-in-law has a job, the mother-in-law does the housework and takes care of her grandchildren. In this situation, the daughter-in-law has more freedom and authority in the matter of home management than in the former case. Where both mother-in-law and daughter-in-law engage in outside activities, a housekeeper or a female relative keeps house. In any case, the mother-in-law still has some control and authority over her college-educated daughter-in-law.

The present trend among the college-educated young couples in general is that only when the husband's parents are widowed, disabled, or ill, do they feel obligated to live with the husband's parents. When the husband is economically independent and both of his parents are still healthy and economically self-sufficient, they would rather live apart from the husband's family. It is thus economic and other practical reasons that tend to make two nuclear families merge together into a single household.

Among the forty-five college-educated wives interviewed by the writer, those who lived with their husband's parents or with their own parents had special reasons for doing so. Those who were married to the only son of a widow or who themselves were the only child of a widow, lived with their mother-in-law or mother. Others lived with their parents-in-law only temporarily until they became economically independent or learned their husband's family culture and
housekeeping methods from their mother-in-law. If the mother-in-law is the husband's step-mother, the daughter-in-law and her husband are not obligated to look after her after the father-in-law's death, unless the step-mother had raised her step-son from infancy.

Koreans believe that a widowed mother of an only son is the hardest mother-in-law to live with because she tends to be very authoritarian and possessive toward her son even after his marriage. Since she feels that she has sacrificed her youth and old age for her son, she cannot think of life apart from him. The following quotation is taken from one interview with the young wife of a widow's only son.

My husband and I live with his widowed mother. He is her only child. My mother-in-law lives only for her son. She personally looks after him, cooks for him and gives everything to him. She believes that a woman should sacrifice for her son and husband as she has done all her life. She herself does not eat any special food. Neither does she give me anything good to eat. Once my husband had a big argument with his mother over this and told her that he would not eat special dishes if I could not eat them too.

The majority of Koreans still believe in the daughter-in-law's serving and deferring to their parents-in-law. A newspaper in Seoul carried an article in which neighbors reported a woman to the police because she had driven her mother-in-law and sister-in-law out of her house and also mistreated her husband.
Sung

Since the patrilineal line is more important in understanding the Korean kinship system, it will be worth while to examine the patrilineal kinship organization in detail. The largest patrilineal group is the name group or Sung. Sung is one's father's family name and is inherited from the father as part of one's name at birth for both male and female children. The group of persons who have a same Sung is called Joksok. A Korean woman keeps her patrilineal family name all through her life even after marriage. Traditionally, the Sung group was exogamous but at present marriage within the Sung group is permitted due to the multiplication of members and many subdivisions within a Sung group through the centuries.

Dongjok

A Sung group is divided into Dongjok groups each of which is an exogamous patrilineal sib. It traces its descent from a mythological or a real ancestor and identifies itself with a particular locality of origin. A Dongjok is designated by a patrilineal name called Sung to which is added the geographical origin of a particular Dongjok, which is variously called, Bon-kwan, Hyang-kwan or Bon. Dongjok is thus a group of people having the same Sung name, the same ancestral home, Bon, and the same Dongjok founder.


It is also a group of people among whom the legal adoption of children is approved. According to the traditional Korean social norm, a Korean man without a son is expected to adopt a male successor for his family line who has a Bon and a Sung same as his own. Ancestor worship is one of the most important activities of the Dongjok. It not only strengthens the consciousness of their common ancestry, but also fosters a feeling of mutual dependence and solidarity among the members.

Besides a common ancestry, a common name and a common geographical origin, a Dongjok group has or once had a common place of residence. In a Dongjok village, the majority of the population is made up of people who have the same Sung and same Bon. Some Dongjok groups are still located in the original place where they were first established. However, most Dongjok groups have left their founders' localities. A Dongjok village is a natural outcome of a patrilineal group living in one place over a long period of time.

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13 D. H. Kim, op. cit., p. 61
The descendants of the ruling class members called, Yangban, tended to form a Dongjok village more frequently and for a longer duration than the descendants of the lower class members. The Dongjok members of a Dongjok village who are descendants of those ancestors who achieved fame in either scholarship, government, or war and belong to the elite class called Yangban, consider themselves to be superior to those who are not members of the dominant Dongjok. Consequently, group solidarity, mutual assistance, and cooperation are encouraged only among the Dongjok members and do not extend to the village as a whole.14

Dongjok villages were used to be governed by Confucian ethics. The members had to respect and honor their ancestors, parents, and the aged. They had to observe ancestor worship ceremonies and look after their ancestral grave yard. Through the veneration of their ancestors, they believed that they would be blessed with happiness and prosperity through the spiritual protection of the deceased.15

In regard to public education, a conflict between the older and the younger generations arose. In order to preserve the Confucian culture of the village, the older generation insisted upon a continuation of the old classical educational system in which boys


15. D. E. Kim, op. cit., p. 73.
studied only the traditional Chinese classics with private tutoring.\textsuperscript{16} Not only the young boys but also the young girls wanted to have an opportunity to receive a modern education. The Donzilik group now has lost its power of control over the young members because of the rise of secondary groups, such as centralized government, church, and school.

**Pa**

A Pa is a subdivision of the Donzilik group resulting when one of the members achieves a high governmental position or when the Donzilik becomes too large a group to reside in one locality. It is also formed to differentiate between descendents of legal wives from those of concubines. It is a lineage group of patrilineally related individuals, traced back to a common known ancestor who founded a Pa. The Pa can be founded either among the ruling class people or among the lower class people.

**Dangnae**

A Dangnae is composed of the patrilineal descendents of one's FaFaFaFaFa, and it usually includes up to the eighth shon horizontally, i.e., FaFaFaBrSoSoSo. The literal meaning of the term Dangnae is

\textsuperscript{16}ibid., pp. 90 - 91.
"within a hall" or "within a house." It is a patrilineal consanguineal kin group which performs ancestor worship ceremonies for ancestors back as far as FaFaFaFa. Among its members, social interaction occurs during such events as wedding, mourning, New Year's Day, and at times of emergencies or crises.17

Chinjok

Korean kinship organization is based on the differentiation of consanguineal relatives from affinal relative, and of the father's family from the mother's family.18 In formal terminology, kinship terms for relatives of one's father are prefixed with chin, and those of one's mother are prefixed with og, which means outside. The more general term Chinjok is similar in its usage to the English term "kindred" or "relative" and it may include either father's relatives, Josechin or mother's relatives, Gachin. Koreans count their relatives by a numerical order such as il chon (first degree), ee chon (second degree) and so forth. For the father's side, they usually consider as their Chinjok (relatives) up to pahl chon or eighth degree, and on the mother's side up to sah chon or fourth degree. Second cousin is their yook chon or sixth degree, and their third cousin is pahl chon or eighth degree. The New Civil Code

17J. S. Choi, op. cit., pp. 176 - 177.

Customarily, those who must attend the ancestral rites for FaFaFaFa extend to the eighth chon, and through their common ancestor they have a relatively close association. Terms in the brackets are the formal Korean kinship terms derived from the Chinese.

states the number of degrees the term Chinlok may include. It may include up to the eighth degree of one's father's line (FaFaFaBrSoSoSo), the fourth degree of one's mother's father's line (MoBrSo), the eighth degree of the husband's father's line, the fourth degree of the husband's mother's father's line, the wife's father and mother, and husband and wife themselves.
III. STATUS SYSTEM WITHIN THE KIN GROUP

Sex

Within the Danjas of the Jangban class, one's status used to be determined by sex, generation, and birth order. Sex distinction was made from the moment of birth. The birth of a female infant was not welcomed or celebrated as much as the birth of a son. A girl was told to remember three areas of obedience throughout her life: to her parents as a child, to her husband as a wife, and to her son in old age. She had to observe the distinction between the sexes from childhood. She could not sit with a male member of the house in a room from her seventh year on and should not be shown to male relatives outside of the eighth chon. In case she had to go outdoors, she had to ride in a closed chair called Kama or she was required to cover her face with a sleeved apron called Jangot and be accompanied by a female servant. She should be gentle, obedient, chaste, faithful, and quiet. Moreover, a daughter was usually allowed to learn only the Korean alphabet, so that she was limited to reading books of simple folk stories and to writing letters. The Chinese language used in all the scholarly fields and official documents


was learned only by men who had the right to achieve scholarship. By prohibiting women from obtaining a literary education, they would be kept in a lower social stratum than men. A generation name, which became a part of one's given name, was given only to male children. The birth order was applied exclusively to sons by counting the first son as the first child, the second son as the second child so on. Naturally, they did not have any legal right to inherit family headship or property.

Upon her marriage, a woman was considered a member of her husband's family. She had to regard the home of her husband as her own and should discreetly love and respect her parents-in-law more than her own. She was taught not to express her own emotions, desires or opinions at any time but to obey her parents-in-law and her husband unconditionally. There is a Korean saying that a house will perish if the voice of a woman is heard outside of the house. The honorific style of language must be used by her to all the members of her husband's family regardless of their age or sex. If she could not give birth to a son, her husband had the right to take a concubine for the purpose of having a son. On the other hand, if she bore many sons, her status among her husband's family would be elevated.

After her marriage, she moved away from her family of orientation to live with her husband and often also with his family. Since girls were carefully kept in the house until the day of marriage, they were more dependent and attached to the family of
orientation and to the mother as a love-object than the sons. This prolonged emotional attachment to her parents made it even more difficult for her to leave her familiar environment and adjust to her husband's family.

In case of separation from her husband, he retained custody of the children. In addition, there was no possibility of her becoming economically independent and until recently she was forbidden to remarry after her husband's death or after her separation from him. The divorced or remarried woman was a rarity and she was not even received by her own parents. This left her with no other choice but to stay with her husband for the rest of her life. The remarriage of a woman, even of a widow, brought social ostracism and the exclusion of any children by the second marriage from any government positions.

Sixty-five percent of the Seoul housewives said they disagreed with divorce. There was also a consistent relationship between one's educational level and the attitude toward divorce. As presented in Table 6 only 29.4 percent of the wives with no education in comparison with 37.8 percent of those with secondary or college education agreed with divorce. Sixty-four percent of the Seoul housewives were against remarriage of widows with children. Furthermore, only five percent i.e., 14 out of 287 wives married more than once.23

23H. J. Lee, p. 68.
TABLE 6
ATTITUDES TOWARD DIVORCE BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitudes Toward Divorce</th>
<th>Educational Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No Schooling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: H. J. Lee, p. 68.

An upper class woman did not receive a given name but was called by a "nick name" in her parental home, and called so-and-so's wife after marriage and so-and-so's mother after the birth of her first child. Formally, she was also called by her patrilineal family name, and was listed in her husband's family record. On the other hand, a lower class woman was called by her given name and never by her family name. 24

Confucianism and Buddhism were the theoretical bases of sexual discrimination. However, as Christianity and the Western ideologies have penetrated into the life of the Koreans, the

traditional status of women has been modified. In the new Korean Constitution, it is stated that the sexes must be treated without discrimination.  

According to the Seoul family study, Seoul families are definitely moving toward equality of husband and wife in certain areas of their family life. In response to an item concerning husband and wife going out together, 48 percent of the subjects said they go out together occasionally. As illustrated in Table 7 and Table 8, the younger and the better educated wives go out with their husbands more frequently than the older uneducated wives.

**TABLE 7**

**JOINT ACTIVITIES OF HUSBAND-WIFE BY AGE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency of Joint Activities</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Under 40</td>
<td>Over 40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Often</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>52.1</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seldom</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Total*                  | 186           | 100.0     | 64           | 100.0     |

Source: H. J. Lee, p. 41


TABLE 8

JOINT ACTIVITIES OF HUSBAND-WIFE BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency of Joint Activities</th>
<th>Educational Level</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No Schooling</td>
<td>Primary Education</td>
<td>Secondary and College Education</td>
<td>Primary Education</td>
<td>College Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Often</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>53.5</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seldom</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>71.2</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: H. J. Lee, p. 41.

Forty-six percent of the subjects said that their husbands very often consult with them about their business. Sixty-seven percent of them said both husbands and wives decide matters concerning children. Moreover, most of the management of financial matters is in the hands of the women. Sixty-six percent of the wives said that they have complete control over family expenditures. Forty percent of the subjects made contribution to the family income. It is assumed here that because of the husbands' low income and the husbands' ignorance or indifference toward household-management and housekeeping, the wives must share the responsibility of

\[\text{Ibid., pp. } 38 - 39.\]

\[\text{Ibid., pp. } 37 - 38.\]
managing family expenses. Traditionally, while housekeeping is the woman's sphere of activity in the division of labor, it was the husband who had the right to manage household finances.

Generation

At birth the male child is given a Chinese character for his generation name which is called Dolrim or Hangnyul. A Korean man has besides his family name, two other names, one of which contains one of five Chinese characters indicating generation to which he belongs. These characters are (1) Mok (wood), (2) Hwa (fire), (3) To (earth), (4) Kump (metal), and (5) Su (water). The generation name distinguishes generation and degrees of relationships within a Pa. Since it is prohibited even to pronounce one's ancestors' or parents' given names, those generation names once used for any one of the ancestors are avoided. When names of their parents or ancestors have to be mentioned, they can only be spelled out orally or be written. If a person has a generation name which is prior to one's own, one has to address him in honorific style even when the man's actual age is below that of the speaker. At a wedding, mourning or other family ceremonies, the eldest male among the members of the oldest generation will preside during the ceremony.²⁹ The headship of a Dongjok is held by the eldest man of the oldest generation alive.

²⁹D. H. Kim, op. cit., p. 88.
Birth Order

Within a generation group, one's birth order determines his kinship status. Jongka or "the big brother's house" is where the eldest son of the eldest son called Jongson resides.\textsuperscript{30} The Jongson becomes the head of a Pa group. Within a nuclear family, the eldest son is regarded as the most important of all the sons. He is to succeed his father after his father's death. The eldest son has more rights and responsibilities than the younger brothers. Not only has he the right to inherit family status but he also has the right to inherit most of his family's wealth. Along with these privileges, his responsibilities consist of taking care of his parents in their old age, of looking after other dependent relatives, of observing ceremonies of ancestor worship, and of caring for his family grave yard. For him, the honor and welfare of his family must always come first. He must also marry early a bride of his family elders' choice and have sons to continue his family line.

On the other hand, the middle son has more freedom in choosing his career, in leaving his parental home for education or employment, and in marital selection. He can more freely engage in activities outside his family and can act more independently and spontaneously without feeling obligated to his family. But in the case of the eldest son's absence or inadequacy, he must take the responsibilities of the eldest.

\textsuperscript{30}J. S. Choi, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 176.
The youngest son, as in many other societies, is more strongly attached to his parents. He may later have difficulties detaching himself emotionally from his parents. He is subordinate and dependent on everyone in his family. Everything is decided for him by other members of the family. Often, his father gives him more property than to the middle sons but much less than that given to the eldest.
IV. FACTORS IN MATE SELECTION

There are numerous factors which restrict one's choice of mate in Korean society. The following factors will be considered in this study: (1) Dongjok membership, (2) family line, (3) legal status at birth, (4) birth order, (5) age at marriage, (6) regional origin, (7) marital status, (8) religion, and (9) education. Except for the last few factors, almost all of them are ascribed to a person at birth. Among the ascribed status factors, family line, legal status at birth, and regional origin have in the past been regarded as most important by Koreans. In the past, when marital choices were made by the parents, mate selection was primarily based on ascribed status and competence in task-roles of the prospective mate rather than on subjective qualities. However, Seoul housewives in a recent study put more emphasis on acquired status than on ascribed status in selecting a son-in-law. Factors in selecting a son-in-law and daughter-in-law in the order of their importance as reported by the Seoul family study are as follows:

Son-in-law: education, personality, health, and family line;

Daughter-in-law: personality, health, family line, and education.\(^\text{31}\) It is apparent here that an acquired status, education is considered to be more important than the ascribed status family

\(^\text{31}\)H. J. Lee, op. cit., pp. 64 - 65.
line for the selection of a son-in-law. The reason that Koreans put emphasis on education is that it has traditionally been the most important means of social mobility and achievement, second only to one's family line. However, at present, one still has to have influential relatives or acquaintances to be promoted in any occupational position. It is said that one has to have "pull" with a powerful person in order to get a good job. Since acquiring a good social and occupational status is more important for men, the Koreans put more emphasis on education in selecting a son-in-law than in selecting a daughter-in-law. The frequent remark among Korean parents in selecting a son-in-law is: "The man himself alone counts." The concern about socioeconomic status of men is caused by the unstable economic conditions and prevalent unemployment, even among male college graduates. Still more, a wife whose husband has a good occupation and income would have more authority and freedom in her husband's family than one whose husband has to depend on his father's income to support him and his wife after marriage. Currently, there is a tendency among the well-to-do families to marry their daughters to well-educated and promising young men without relatives in order that their daughters might have freedom and independence after marriage. It is an ideal situation where an able man marries a daughter of a powerful and wealthy family since he would have both his ability and the influence of his wife's family background in acquiring a good position in Korean society.
However, family background is still considered important in selecting a prospective daughter-in-law. This may be due to the fact that one's daughter-in-law becomes a member of his own family who will bear and rear his family offsprings whereas a son-in-law and his daughter belong to the son-in-law's father's family and will not have any affect on the future generation of one's own family. An elderly woman who had had some experience in match-making said:

It is now more important to look for a family whose members are well educated and prosperous than to look for a good family line. But family line and family culture are important in determining one's manners and ethics. Especially in selecting a bride, we have to take into account not only the conduct of her mother but her grandmother as well. I know one case where the bride's father was a well behaved educator but her mother had divorced her husband leaving five children behind. People hesitated to take the bride as their daughter-in-law fearing that the daughter might behave like her mother when she would be confronted with the hardships of married life. While the bride's personality, manners, and appearance are important, we still have to consider her parents' personality and conduct.

While family background is considered more important for selecting a bride than a groom, because of economic reasons, sometimes the economic power of the bride herself becomes an asset. When a husband has a small income and cannot get any economic aid from his parents, it is necessary for both husband and wife to be employed in order to support themselves. Such fields as pharmacy and music have become very popular among college women today since wives with such training can engage in their occupation in their own homes, e.g., by opening a drug store or giving private music lessons to
children, while looking after their housework and their children.

A male college graduate with a small income and no parents said, "I want a wife who can supplement the family income, who has a college degree and can discuss intellectual topics with me, who is also smart looking, with a tall and slender figure." His concept of wife's task role is certainly not that of domesticity but of partnership, companionship, and glamour.

In contrast to the predominantly middle-aged and uneducated Seoul housewives who emphasized objective factors, such as education and occupation, the young college educated women interviewed in the present study emphasized the subjective qualities of men. The following remarks were made by these young wives:

"I wanted a husband with whom I had a common understanding and spiritual harmony."

"I did not care much about a man's financial status, but wanted a man whose ideals and aspirations would be similar to mine."

"I did not look for a man with social position and wealth but I wanted a man with whom I could converse intellectually and live with mutual respect and love."

I was not concerned about a man's social and financial status. I only cared for one who would love me and who had a good personality, and abilities so that we could work together and help each other. I did not like a man who was already successful for such a man would be arrogant.
Dongiok Exogamy

One of the most important rules of marriage is Dongiok exogamy. It prohibits marriage between a couple who have the same family name and ancestral geographical origin. Marriage between Dongiok members is still prohibited by law and is considered to be morally and eugenically undesirable by Koreans. Ninety-three percent of both the mother's generation and the daughter's generation samples studied by the writer were married to persons whose Sung and Bon both differed from theirs. Seven percent of the mother's generation sample and 6 percent of the daughter's generation sample were married to men with Sung the same as their own but having Bon different from theirs. The writer found only one case of intra-Dongiok marriage among the subjects studied. A young college-educated wife met her husband at a coeducational college in Korea where they studied together in the same class. The marriage was opposed by both of their parents at first but was given approval later because it was considered an exceptional case by law. The subject explained that this was exceptional because her family members and her husband's family members were descendants of two different Kings who were not related to each other.

As is shown in Table 9, among the forty-five young college educated wives interviewed by the writer, twenty of them said that they did not think that they would have married men from their own

32 Korea, op. cit., Art. 809, Sec. 1.
TABLE 9
ATTITUDES TOWARD DONGJOK MARRIAGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitude Toward Dongjok Marriage</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Would not marry a Dongjok member due to legal &amp; social prohibition</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>44.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would not marry a Dongjok members due to defective offsprings</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>28.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would marry a Dongjok member</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>26.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dongjok because of the legal and social prohibitions. Thirteen of them said that the union of Dongjok members would produce physically defective offsprings. Twelve of them said that it was all right to marry a Dongjok member if he was not a close relative and the Dongjok in question was one of the largest one. They also said that if the other person had good qualities or if one was in love with him, people should not object to the marriage. Two of them even disapproved of marriage between persons with the same family name with different Dongjok membership. This may be due to the reminiscence of belief in Sump exogamy which once existed in old Korea.

Interestingly enough, the same persons who opposed Dongjok endogamy due to eugenic reasons approved of marriage with a maternal relative if the couple was not closely related. Half of
the subjects said that it was all right to marry a mother's Dongjok member. Since a member of one's mother's Dongjok has a Sung and Bon different from one's own, he would feel less conscious about it than marriage with a member of Dongjok. Those who objected to marrying a member of the mother's Dongjok had reasons similar to those who objected to paternal Dongjok endogamy. They thought it was either morally and socially prohibited or eugenically bad to marry a member of the mother's Dongjok.

It is both customarily and legally prohibited to marry a close maternal or affinal relative. One cannot marry a man who was a former spouse of a paternal relative within the eighth chon.33 If one has an adopted child or sibling, marriage with a close relative of that child is also prohibited.34 Nevertheless, there are some cases where one marries a distant relative of his paternal relative's spouse. A daughter-in-law may introduce her distant paternal relative to her husband's paternal relative or introduce a paternal relative to her husband's maternal relative. A son-in-law may introduce his mother's relative to his wife's paternal relative. This is not because there is any preferential marriage system existing between them but because it gives some assurance and sense of familiarity to

33 Ibid., Art. 809, Sec. 2.
34 Kanwoon, op. cit., p. 137.
to both families. A subject from the older generation said that her husband, her BrWi, BrSoWi, and BrDaHu all belonged to the same Damaag. Most of these marriages were arranged by the subject herself after her marriage. Another subject from the older age group said that she introduced her HuFaBrSo to her SiDa. Her sister wanted a son-in-law with ability and good personality. She and her husband acted as the groom’s parents since he had lost both of his parents in his childhood. There was a case in which a subject’s HuSi and her SiHuFaFlBrSo had been married through her father’s introduction. Her HuBr married a distant paternal relative of her SiHu. Her father and two FaSiSos married three sisters of the same parents. Her family liked the oldest daughter and introduced her two younger sisters to her FaSiSos. All three marriages were arranged by her FaBr. There was one case in the forty-five college-educated subjects studied by the writer where two female maternal cousins i.e., MoSiDas, married brothers of the same family. This young college-educated woman married her MoSiDaHuBr. She did not know her MoSiDaHu before her marriage although she was very close to her MoSiDa. Her mother and her MoSi knew the family well and thought it would be safe for her to marry into his family. But the subject did not like the idea of marrying into the same family with her MoSiDa. Her mother and MoSi liked her MoSiDaHu so well that they felt sure of the man who was his brother. There were eleven subjects in the mother’s generation sample and 6 subjects
in the daughter's generation sample whose relatives had married relatives of their husbands. The general pattern was that those related to wives were closer relatives of wives than those related to husbands. Therefore, from the wives' side they were more frequently wife's own sisters or brothers and those who were related to the husbands were more frequently beyond fourth $chon$ of the husbands. In other words, people who marry those related through in-laws would more frequently marry persons more closely related on the wife's side than on the husband's side.

Marriages between relatives of affines are especially common among the high ranking families of the ruling class who have limited choices of families with status equal to their own. It is called $Kujok$ $Saengpi$ or intermarriage among the few great families. The $Kujok$ consists of families who have produced highest ranking officials for many generations.\(^\text{35}\)

**Family Line**

Although in the everyday life of the urban population in Korea one's family line does not have any significance, it becomes one of the important factors to be considered at the time of mate selection. The consciousness of family line becomes even stronger in villages at this time.\(^\text{36}\) Especially in a $Dongjok$ village, family line is

\(^{35}\text{D. H. Kim, op. cit., p. 67.}\)

\(^{36}\text{M. K. Lee, Hankuk Mongschon-eui Sawhae Kujo (Social Structure of the Korean Village), p. 97.}\)
still one of the most important factors in social identity. In the Dongjok village, when one introduces another to a stranger, the first word of introduction concerns his family line. In such a village, one's family line, i.e., the feudalistic class position of one's family, is stronger than socioeconomic class, and strongest among the ruling class families. Furthermore, the feudalistic class consciousness is stronger among South Koreans than among North Koreans. During the Yi dynasty (1392 - 1910), only South Koreans were allowed to become government officials who formed the upper class called, Yangban, while North Koreans were excluded from government positions and thus remaining in the lower class called, Sangmin. In other words, South Koreans, many of whom are of ruling class origin, are more inclined to preserve their family line than North Koreans who are predominantly of lower class origin.

The feudalistic class position of a family is here used synonymously with family line, that is, ascribed social status of one's family prior to the Japanese occupation of Korea in 1910. In old Korea, if one's ancestors passed the highest civil examination, called Kwak, and was thereby appointed to a high governmental position, all other members of his Dongjok would automatically become the members of the ruling class called Yangban. One's class was determined by social position of the Dongjok to which he belonged.

The feudalistic class system was divided into four divisions: the ruling upper class families of aristocratic origin called Yangban;
the upper middle class families of commoners who had acquired professional knowledge and techniques such as in medicine, astrology, mathematics called Joongin; the lower middle class families who were farmers, merchants, and other free commoners called Sangmin; and the outcast families who were public or private serfs, servants or slaves engaged in household work, hunting, fishing, killing, or tanning hides. Mail deliverymen, immigrants, criminals, actors, musicians, sorcerers, professional entertaining girls called Kisaeng who served and entertained men at drinking parties by singing, dancing or playing musical instruments, courtesans, Buddhist nuns, and monks also belonged to this outcast class. The social position of a man's family affected all phases of his life, e.g., employment, tax-payment, conscription, public servitude, legal punishment, and everyday etiquette.

Although there were four feudalistic class divisions, only the Yangban-Sangmin classes were clearly distinguished. Because of constant discrimination and conflict which had existed between them, the Yangban-Sangmin class differentiation had a social significance. In fact the commoner class and outcast class were not greatly different in their styles of life. Therefore, only those members of the outcase class in greatest poverty identified themselves as outcasts and accepted their lot.

---


38 Ibid., pp. 481 - 482.
Ever since the feudalistic class system has become less rigid because of the increasing number of inactive and poverty stricken members of the ruling class, many commoners and well-to-do outcasts have claimed to be of the ruling class in order to evade public servitude and conscription. Some well-to-do commoners purchased honorary titles and positions from poor inactive ruling class members. Even farmers were ashamed of their profession and wanted to be called by false official titles. In the end, the differences between lower ranking families of the ruling class and commoners gradually disappeared. Consequently, only the active and high ranking families of the ruling class fully enjoyed the status of the privileged class. Those Yangban class families who did not produce high officials for more than four generations, who were in poverty, who had committed crimes, or who married lower class members lost their Yangban status.

The feudal class system was both rigid and flexible since one had to be born of a Yangban to be qualified to take the civil examination, but at the same time the family had to produce high officials or famous scholars continuously to validate the legitimacy of its status. Yangban status gave one the right to pursue high scholarship and achievement in government. In order to be ranked high in the hierarchy of Yangban class families, a family not only

39Ibid., pp. 372 & 397.

40Tomoe Imamura, Chosen Huzoku Syu (A Collection of Korean Customs), pp. 29 - 30.
had to produce high ranking officials, famous scholars, patriots, and heroes but its members also should be descendents of legal wives rather than of concubines and should show examples of ethically high behavior.

The *Yangban* class is made up of a literary class and a class of military officials. The literary class was higher in prestige than the military class. The term "*Yangban*" means "two sides" and originally referred to two districts where members of the literary and military classes lived separately. The eastern district of Seoul, the capital of Korea under the Yi dynasty, was occupied by those who had achieved distinction in scholarship, the western district by those who had achieved distinction in war. Kakshin families were those whose members had continuously been appointed members of the cabinet and who were allowed to marry royalty.41

*Koorin* is a class of families which consistently produced scholars who were considered to be free from worldly desires including government appointment. They were respected for their scholarship and ethically high conduct.42

*Hyangban* consisted of those *Yangban* families who had moved out of Seoul to villages in order to engage in farming. They were


42Tokutaro Tanaka, "Chosen-no Shakai Kaikyu" (Korean Social Classes†), *The Chosen (Korea)*, (1922), p. 373.

inactive Yangban and enjoyed considerable power among the villagers. Frequently widowers among the city Yangban who wanted to remarry, selected their wives from daughters of Yangban families. In Korea traditionally, the second wife, who was chosen after the first wife's death, had lower status than the first wife, but higher status than a concubine.

Sixty-nine percent of the mother's and fifty-six percent of the daughter's sample of the present study identified themselves as of the Yangban class. Table 10 shows that the subjects of both age groups married into families of their own class with the exception of eighteen percent in the mother's sample and fourteen percent in daughter's sample who inter-married with people of other class origin.

**TABLE 10**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Combinations of Yangban-Sangmin Marriages</th>
<th>Generation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mother's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband Wife</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yangban-Yangban</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sangmin-Sangmin</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yangban-Sangmin</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sangmin-Yangban</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

44 Tanaka, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
Among the forty-five young educated housewives in this study, twenty-two said that they approve of *Yangban-Sangmin* intermarriage since it is old-fashioned to insist on one's family line and at present, one's achieved status through education and occupation are more important for securing a high social position than one's family line. On the other hand, they thought that such intermarriage is difficult because of parental disapproval. Some parents still consider family line as one of the most important factors and conflict may occur between parents and children over this. Such conflict may delay the mate selection process. The remaining half of the subjects disapproved inter-class marriage, because they felt that one's class and family background affect personality development. Some of them also thought that similar family background of spouses is important for successful adjustment after marriage. A few others said that since they were of ruling class origin it was important for them to preserve their class status by marrying within their own class.

**Legal Status at Birth**

A factor which applies only to members of the *Yangban* class in their mate selection is legal status at birth, that is, whether one was born of a legal wife or of a concubine, since consubinage was a custom adopted mostly by the *Yangban* class. Among the *Yangban*, many well-to-do high officials had concubines. The descendents of the legal wife were considered legitimate and those of concubines
were considered illegitimate. The Yangban not only discriminated against families on the basis of social class origin, but they also discriminated within the family by legal status at birth. Children born to a concubine were regarded as socially inferior to those born to a legal wife. The offspring of concubines were not eligible to take civil examinations during the Yi dynasty and thus were not allowed to hold any official position in the government.\(^45\)

Concubines and their offspring were not listed as Yangban in the census report during the Yi dynasty.\(^46\)

Legitimacy affected not only one's social activities and employment but also his marriage. A legitimate son was supposed to marry only a legitimate daughter of a Yangban family. Nevertheless, there was some intermarriage between legitimate and illegitimate offspring. In such a case the legitimate party frequently was poor, had no education, or was an orphan. An elderly subject, who was a legitimate daughter of a Yangban family, married an illegitimate son of a high ranking government official. Her family's social position within the Yangban class was lower than that of her husband, she was beyond the normal age at marriage and was too tall for a Korean girl. Another aged woman said:

\(^{45}\) S. Roh, op. cit., p. 42.

\(^{46}\) H. Shikata, op. cit., pp. 376 - 376.
I know one well mannered gentleman of ruling class origin who married a daughter of a former king's concubine, and people criticised him saying that a clean-hearted Yangban should not marry a descendent of a legitimate-illegitimate union even when she was a princess.

Ninety-eight percent of both the mother's and the daughter's group said they were legitimate children. The remaining 2 percent gave no response. Since the question of illegitimate birth is a very delicate one to ask, if there were any offsprings of concubines they would not be likely to say so.

Among the forty-five subjects, thirty-five disapproved of intermarriage between legitimate and illegitimate offspring because illegitimate children tend to have negative personality characteristics. This is explained as due to prejudice, discrimination, and the undesirable moral environment of their family. They also feared that, having unfaithful fathers, the illegitimate sons might also become unfaithful to their wives. Some subjects thought that having a husband of illegitimate birth would also affect their own children's future. There is a tendency in Korea to regard not only the illegitimacy of a person himself but that of his parents and grandparents as having a negative effect on the person in mate selection. The remaining subjects said that it was permissible in case the persons concerned were deeply in love and the illegitimate person had many fine personal qualities. The Seoul family study shows that 59 percent of Seoul housewives were against intermarriage between
legitimate and illegitimate children. The older and less well educated were more conservative in their attitude than the younger and the better educated.\footnote{H. J. Lee, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 65.}

\begin{table}
\centering
\caption{ATTITUDES TOWARD LEGITIMATE-ILLEGITIMATE MARRIAGES BY AGE GROUP}
\begin{tabular}{lcccc}
\hline
Attitudes Toward & Age & & & \\
Legitimate- & Under 40 & 40 and Over & & \\
Illegitimate & N & Percent & N & Percent \\
Marriages & & & & \\
\hline
Disagree & 107 & 55.8 & 63 & 70.0 \\
Agree & 85 & 44.2 & 27 & 30.0 \\
\hline
Total & 192 & 100.0 & 90 & 100.0 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

According to Table 11, 55.8 percent of the younger group and 70 percent of the older group disagreed with legitimate-illegitimate marriage. A steady increase in the number of those who disagree with intermarriage with higher educational level is shown in Table 12.
### Table 12
ATTITUDES TOWARD LEGITIMATE-ILLEGITIMATE MARRIAGES BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitudes Toward Legitimate-Illegitimate Marriage</th>
<th>Educational Level</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No Schooling</td>
<td>Primary Education</td>
<td>Secondary and College Education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>63.0</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>60.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>39.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>103</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: H. J. Lee, p. 65.

**Birth Order**

One's birth order, especially the groom's, influences mate selection because of the varying responsibilities and privileges of sons, according to their birth order in the Korean family. In the old days, people desired to give their daughters to the oldest sons of *yangban* families in order to have a higher status and more privileges among the daughters-in-law of the same family. There is even a Korean saying which goes, "She looks as blessed and capable as an eldest daughter-in-law of a rich *yangban* family." The eldest son's bride used to be chosen from among the most eligible families. She would have prestige and authority over the wives of her husband's younger brothers. She and her husband not only inherited the prerogatives of headship of the family but also many heavy responsibilities and hardships. At the present time when young
girls do not desire to sacrifice their personal freedom and happiness for responsibilities to their husband's family, they prefer to marry men without parents or those other than the eldest son or the only son. For example, a college-educated subject laughingly said that by having given all her three daughters to eldest sons, her mother would surely go to hell after death no matter how well she behaved in other respects. Many well-to-do families give their daughters to men without parents or without younger siblings so that their daughters will be free from responsibilities to their husbands' parents and siblings after marriage.

The girls' birth order affects them in marriage in several respects. The only child, even when it is female, has the responsibility of looking after her parents after her marriage. The following statements were made by only child subjects.

I am the only child, I had to live with my mother after my marriage. My mother and I are very different psychologically and she did not like the man I wanted to marry. She still dislikes my husband. I hope someday that she will change her mind and come to like him. I had a hard time marrying for I had to choose a man who would live with my mother.

There is no one more unfortunate than an only child. I have suffered so much for it. I could not marry the man I wanted if he did not want to live with my mother. As soon as I found a man I liked I had to find out whether he could live with my family or not. He had to be other than the eldest or the only son to be able to live with my parents.
There are other situations where the birth order of female children affects their mate selection. In Korea, an ancient custom demands that twins must marry twins. The older sister has to marry the elder brother and the younger sister the younger brother. Also according to Korean custom, a younger sister should not marry before her older sisters and brothers.48

A subject who was the youngest of three daughters said, "One of the reasons that my parents were opposed to my marrying a man of my choice was that I still had an older unmarried sister. They told me to wait at least until my older sister got married." Another said:

My mother's niece wanted to introduce a man to me. But my mother wanted my older sister to be married first. However, my mother's niece insisted that I fit the qualifications desired by the man. When I had an engagement party, at my house with relatives and friends of both persons, my older sister did not come, saying that she was busy with her work. My parents are very much worried about my older sister still being unmarried because people may think that she must have some shortcomings for not being able to marry before I did.

A mother whose younger son married before her older daughter said, "My son married before my older daughter. My son and I did not have the courage to tell her about his marriage for sometime. Even now, after being married for two years, my son and his wife feel uncomfortable in front of my daughter."

Age at Marriage

Age at marriage also limits the range of marital choice. In the past, parents gave their sons and daughters in marriage even as young as ten years of age. Due to the longing for male heirs, the practice of marrying very young came into vogue. Despite an imperial order in 1907 which set the minimum marriage age for males at sixteen years and for females at fourteen years, there were many who married before their fifteenth birthday. Some lower class families put their daughters away when they were under ten years of age because of poverty. They in turn secured their daughter-in-law early to increase labor power in farming and household tasks. In the Korean family, there is a custom by which only daughters-in-law are put to work, while the mother-in-law and daughters enjoy their leisure. Therefore, in poor families a daughter becomes an economic liability, whereas a daughter-in-law is an economic asset. The very young daughter-in-law who comes into her parents-in-law's house to learn their family customs and methods of housekeeping before actually being married to her husband is called a Mitmyupori or a daughter-in-law on reserve. In case the parents of either the bride or groom were in ill health and or were over fifty years old, marriage was permitted if the person was over twelve years old.

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51 Ibid., p. 50

52 Ibid., pp. 47 - 57.
There was also an age limit on marriage for both men and women during the period of the Yi dynasty. For men the maximum age was thirty and for women it was twenty. One who was too poor to marry until he reached his maximum age was aided by the King. The family head was punished by the King if the family had an unmarried female member over thirty.53

At present, the minimum legal age of marriage for men is eighteen, and for women it is sixteen.54 Minimum legal age of marriage without parental consent for men is twenty-seven and for women is twenty-three.55 For daughters, passing marriageable age is more problematic than for sons. An elderly subject explained:

About thirty to forty years ago, if a unmarried girl passed twenty, people were really concerned. There was no groom for my father's brother's daughter when she came back from Japan at twenty years of age after finishing college. She finally married a man a year younger than herself. He was from a poor Yangban family and had to be supported by her parents after marriage.

For Korean parents, it is encouraging to see sons grow older, but they are uneasy in watching their unmarried daughters grow old.

The changing trend from early marriage to late marriage is clearly shown by the mother's and daughter's samples. While the

53 Ibid., p. 50.

54 Korea, op. cit., Art. 807.

55 Ibid., Art. 808, Sec. 1.
husbands of the mother's age group are equally divided into those who married under twenty, twenty to twenty-five, twenty-six to thirty, 69 percent of the husbands of the younger age group married between ages of twenty-six to thirty as presented in Table 13. Table 14 shows that the subjects in the mother's generation group married either when they were under twenty or between twenty to twenty-five, and 62 percent of the people in the daughter's generation group married between ages of twenty to twenty-five.

**TABLE 13**

**AGE AT MARRIAGE OF HUSBAND**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age at Marriage</th>
<th>Generation</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mother's</td>
<td>Daughter's</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 20</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 to 25</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 to 30</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 30</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Because of the current trend toward late marriage, the critical age for women college graduates is now as late as twenty-five years, only after which they become anxious about being unmarried. The following comments are made by three young housewives.

"At the time of our formal introduction, both I and my husband were determined not to pass that year without being married to someone, for I was twenty-eight and he was thirty-five."
"When people asked me if there was any good news, I jokingly replied that I would get married the next day because that was the kind of news my friends and relatives wanted to hear from me most. They were worried for I was approaching thirty."

Since my older sister did not get married until she was twenty-eight years old, my father was determined to marry me off right after my graduation from college. My older sister wanted to marry a man she loved but my parents did not give her their consent for many years. She refused to marry any of the men my parents selected and she, having become twenty-eight, my parents finally gave their consent to marry a man of her choice.

The trend toward late marriage, especially among urban college graduates, is largely due to economic reasons, e.g., unemployment, low income, lack of housing, and the long period required for higher education. Since many of them desire economic independence and
freedom from parental control after marriage, they purposely evade early marriage which would make them economically dependent on their parents after marriage. Moreover, while men college students are allowed to marry, women students are expelled from college if they marry. Both men and women are almost twenty-three or twenty-four years old when they graduate from college. This is one of the reasons that college graduates usually marry between ages of twenty-five to thirty. Many male college graduates put off their marriage until after they become thirty years old for they are unable to support their wives if they marry before this time. When these older single men finally do get married, they want brides under twenty-five years of age. Many mothers of college-educated daughters express their dilemma by saying that if their daughters get married too early they will experience the hardship of married life early, but if they marry late it is difficult to find husbands for them.

The Seoul family study shows a preference for late marriage among Seoul housewives.\textsuperscript{56} According to the data presented in Table 15 and Table 16, the average age for their own husbands is twenty-four and for themselves is twenty, and the majority of them prefer their sons to marry between twenty-five and twenty-eight and daughters between twenty-three and twenty-six, averages being 26.63 for sons and 22.92 for daughters.

\textsuperscript{56}H. J. Lee, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 58.
### TABLE 15

**AGES OF HUSBAND AND WIFE AT MARRIAGE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age at Marriage</th>
<th>Husband</th>
<th></th>
<th>Wife</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 16</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 - 18</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 - 20</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>31.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 - 22</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 - 24</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 26</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 - 28</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 - 30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 30</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unmarried</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 287 (100.0) 287 (100.0)

Source: H. J. Lee, p. 58.

The younger the subjects' present age, the later was their actual age at marriage. The majority of housewives who married under the age of eighteen had no education and those who married when over twenty-one had either high school or college education. The higher the educational level of the subjects, the later became their ideal ages of marriage for their children. Also, especially for their daughters, the higher the socioeconomic level, the later were their ideal ages of marriage for their children, especially for their sons. The lower the socio-economic level the earlier they wanted both daughters and sons to marry.\(^\text{57}\)

\(^{57}\text{Ibid.}, \text{pp. 58 - 61.}\)
### TABLE 16

**PREFERRED AGE AT MARRIAGE FOR SON & DAUGHTER**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preferred Age at Marriage</th>
<th>Son</th>
<th></th>
<th>Daughter</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 21</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 - 22</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 - 24</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>36.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 26</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 - 28</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 - 30</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 30</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>287</td>
<td>99.8</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** H. J. Lee, p. 58.

The age difference between husband and wife also has changed. In the old days, due to early marriage, brides were often three to eight years older than grooms, the groom's common age being fourteen, so that brides could engage in household tasks and bear children early.\(^{58}\) Especially among the lower class rural people, the bride was two to five years older than the groom. But the bride was almost always younger among the well-to-do ruling class families. An elderly woman of ruling class origin said:

> In our family, wives were always a couple of years younger than their husbands. Even in the past, upper class families chose brides younger than grooms. It was the lower class people who chose older brides in order to let them work immediately after marriage.

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\(^{58}\)John Ross, *Corea, Its History, Manners and Customs*, p. 311.
At the present, it is the ideal for grooms to be one to two years older than brides. One of the younger college-educated subjects met her husband in the United States, and since he was five years younger than she both of their parents objected strongly to their marriage. The reason for their objection was that if the wife was older than her husband, the husband may tend to be immature and dependent upon his wife, thus making his wife the dominant party in the marriage. Furthermore, he may soon find his wife physically unattractive, since she would get old earlier than her husband both in age and appearance.

In the Seoul family study, the actual average age difference between husband and wife was 3.75 years and ideal average age difference was 3.71 years with the man being older party.

**TABLE 17**

**AGE DIFFERENCE OF HUSBAND AND WIFE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Difference of Husband and Wife</th>
<th>Generation</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Mother's</strong></td>
<td><strong>Daughter's</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>husband 1 to 2 years older</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 3 to 4 years older</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 5 years older and more</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; and wife same age</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wife older</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 17 indicates that marriages in which the spouses are the same age and in which the wife is older than the husband are fewer in the daughter's generation group than the mother's generation group.

Regional Origin

The provincial origin of the prospective spouse is also to be taken into consideration at the time of mate selection. The Koreans have regional prejudices and stereotypes about each province, and provincial endogamy was the rule among them for many centuries. There are historical, political and social reasons for regional prejudice and discrimination in Korea. Because North Koreans were not given any government positions during the five hundred years of the Yi dynasty, many of them made their livelihood by engaging in business. Consequently, all North Koreans were commoners during the feudal period. Only the Central and South Koreans were given government posts and could become Yangban. Today Central Korean Yangbans still prefer to choose their spouses from the Central provinces, e.g., Kyungki and Choongchung, where most descendents of ruling class families live, not only because of their similar class background but also because of their belief that they have similar personality dispositions and social customs. However, because of the greater geographical and social mobility in recent years, regional endogamy among the urban people is rapidly decreasing. Seventy-four percent of the subjects in the mother's generation were married to men from their own provinces. On the other hand, only forty-eight percent of the younger generation said their husbands also came from same provinces as themselves.
Each of Korea's thirteen provinces is divided into Koon, Myun, and R1. Within a province, the city people tend to marry city people while rural people tend to find mates outside of their own R1 or Myun but within one's own Koon. Since a woman used to cut all her ties and loyalty to her parental home after marriage it was considered desirable that her parents' home and her husband's home should be quite far away so that she would forget her parental family in a reasonably short period of time. A Korean proverb says that the toilet and a wife's parents' home should be located as far from one's house as possible. Until recently, among Korean villagers, a bride could not visit her family until she had become completely adjusted to her husband's family. It might have taken three or more years and after the birth of one child or two before she was permitted by her parent-in-law to visit or to be visited by her own parents and relatives.

Half of the college-educated subjects said that they preferred to marry men from their home provinces. Their reasons were that they believed that, having a common provincial origin, they would have more common understandings and it would be easier to adjust to one another because of the common cultural background and personality traits. One-fourth of the subjects preferred men from provinces other than their own since they felt that they would have complementary personal characteristics which would make up for each other's deficiencies. For example, South Korean women wanted North Korean men who are believed

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to be industrious, active, broad-minded, masculine, business-minded and liberal in their attitude toward women. On the contrary, the South Korean men were regarded by those women to be generally inactive, rigid, and conservative. "Although I hate North Koreans for their aggressiveness and their desire to overpower South Koreans, we should intermarry with them in order to have superior offspring" said an elderly woman of a Yangban family.

A subject from the younger generation made a similar remark when she said:

I think it is better to marry one who was born in a different province than one's own. For example, the people of my own province are all passive and conservative so that it would be better to marry North Koreans who are more active, progressive and gay.

The theory of those who prefer regional exogamy is that it is eugenically desirable to marry persons from different provinces who have dissimilar characteristics. This belief stems from a common belief that interbreeding between the dissimilar will produce superior offspring.

Those South Korean women who did not like the North Korean men had negative stereotypes about them. They thought that the North Korean men were ill-mannered, uncultivated, aggressive, and shrewd.

There is a tendency among Korean parents to think that a daughter-in-law's provincial origin is more important than a son-in-law's. When selecting a daughter-in-law, it is important to find one from the groom's home province so that she will more easily adopt the manners and customs of her husband's family. On the other hand, for a son-in-law
there are other more important factors than his provincial origin, e.g., education and occupation. A mother of a college-educated son made this point when she said, "I want to overcome provincial preference, but in the selection of a daughter-in-law, I cannot help but consider her home province so that she will not bring different customs to my family." An elderly lady so strongly opposed having women from North Korea in the family that she planned to incorporate a provision into her will banning any alliances of her male descendants with North Korean families. She explained:

My husband's brother's son met his North Korean wife at a store where she worked. She does not know the etiquette of the 

*Yanbian* class and does not know how to use proper honorifics even to her father-in-law. The North Koreans do not seem to distinguish the old from the young, or the superior from the inferior. It is bad enough for a North Korean son-in-law to be ill mannered toward his parents-in-law, but it is even more intolerable of an ill mannered daughter-in-law.

**Marital Status**

Marital status at the time of mate selection affects men and women differently. The Korean tradition demands that once a woman is married to a man she has to stay married to him all her life. In the past, a wife could be renounced by her husband if she was disobedient or barren. Although the Korean women have been given the right to initiate divorce in recent years, many would rather remain married even in the case of a husband's desertion. A divorced woman in Korea usually loses her children to her husband, is socially condemned and ostracized and becomes economically dependent on others for the rest of
her life because she would almost never be able to remarry. If she divorces her husband, her children are taken away by her husband or by the husband's patrilineal kinsmen, if she were to remain with her husband's relatives even after he dies or deserts her, she and her children must be provided for by the husband's family. On the other hand, if she were to leave her husband, she would lose her children and be disowned not only by her husband's kinsmen but also by her own family. Therefore, an unhappy wife usually endures her situation; but if she did seek to remedy the problem she would probably run away from both families and would never be seen by any of her relatives or friends, or she might commit suicide. A young housewife told a story about her mother-in-law whose husband took a concubine:

My father-in-law wanted to divorce my mother-in-law to marry his concubine. But my mother-in-law refused to give him a divorce because she was afraid of her father who might disown her if she got divorced. The concubine who was once one of the best Kisaeng girls, now feels sorry for herself and for my mother-in-law and wants to become a Buddhist nun.

The New Civil Code guarantees equal rights to both husband and wife in initiating divorce. Either party can sue for a divorce in case of adultery, desertion, mistreatment, or being missing for more than three years. Divorce is confirmed when a statement of agreement, signed by both parties as well as by two witnesses, is submitted.
The care of the children of the divorced parents is the father's responsibility unless a provision is made otherwise by the parents. 60

Despite this legal change, sixty-five percent of the subjects in the Seoul family study disapproved of divorce. Their reasons were that divorce was impious and immoral and would bring unhappiness and disgrace to the children, the parents and the families of both parties. The remaining subjects approved of divorce only under the conditions that it did not involve any child and the wife would be economically independent. 61

Not only divorce but the remarriage of a widow was impossible. The Korean widow was legally prohibited from remarriage until 1894. 62 Few who dared to remarry, married men from a lower social stratum than their own. According to Akiba, people in a North Korean province would kidnap a widow and give her to a man without a wife. Since a widow who was in love could not possibly marry in an ordinary way, marriage by capture was the only way to make the marriage possible. 63 Furthermore, the children of remarried widows were treated same as those of concubines.

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60 Korea, op. cit., Arts. 834, 837, & 840.


62 A. H. Lay, op. cit., p. 3.

63 T. Akiba, op. cit., p. 79.
The children were thus socially discriminated against and were not allowed to become government officials. An elderly subject whose sister had been remarried fifty years ago at first did not mention it. When the writer asked her why her sister married at twenty years of age while all her other female relatives of her own generation were married around fifteen, she sighed and whispered:

My sister married a sick man without any knowledge of his illness and became a widow, childless, after a year of marriage. She went to Japan to study and was determined to stay as a widow the rest of her life. But my parents called her back against her will and she was remarried. I wish my sister had stayed in Japan. She had such an unhappy and hard life in her second marriage. For she did not have any children of her own, her husband took a concubine and she had to raise all his children born of the concubine. If a woman is unfortunate in her first marriage, she should never attempt another. It was better for her own sake, and more ethical to marry only once. One of my daughters got divorced when she was under thirty years old. Her only child is now being raised by her husband and his new wife. My daughter has become an evangelist since her divorce. I told her that she should never attempt another marriage but devote the rest of her life to God.

Even the New Civil Code does not deal favorably with women seeking to remarry. It requires a woman to wait six months before she can remarry after separation from her husband while a man is free to remarry any time after separation from his wife. Upon remarriage she loses any legal claim to her children by the previous marriage. Table 18

64 William E. Griffis, *Corea: The Hermit Nation*, p. 255.
65 Korea, *op. cit.*, Arts. 811 & 909.
### TABLE 18

**FREQUENCY OF MARRIAGE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency of Marriage</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Both married once</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>79.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband, more than once</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both married more than once</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife, more than once</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unmarried</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>287</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: H. J. Lee, p. 58.

shows that 15.3 percent of the Seoul housewives studied had remarried husbands. Both husband and wife were remarried in only 4.9 percent of the total cases. There was no case where a remarrying woman married a man who had never been married previously. A total of 87.8 percent of the subjects either agreed or strongly agreed with widow's remarriage if there was no child by her first marriage as shown in Table 19. The younger and the more educated approved of remarriage more frequently than the older and the less educated.\(^66\) Widowed or divorced men always prefer to marry women who have never been married.

Traditionally, a second wife was always from a class lower than the first wife, and also than the husband even though it was her first marriage. Since the second wife had a lower status than the

first wife, daughters of ruling class families did not marry widowed or divorced men. Frequently, the second marriage was a love match marriage rather than the respectable, arranged marriage, with a girl of the lower class whose parents are less strict about their daughter's conduct and who were honored to have a son-in-law from the ruling class. On the other hand, if the first wife died in the early years of marriage without leaving any child, and the second wife bore many sons to continue her husband's family line, she could obtain a status equal to that of the first wife. Even now, upper class parents do not want their unmarried daughters to marry either divorced or widowed men. The mother of a subject who married a divorced man with two

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67A. H. Lay, op. cit., p. 3.
two children said,

Oh, I am ashamed of my daughter's marriage to a divorced man. She was almost thirty years old and there was hardly any single eligible man who was old enough for her, so that she was forced to marry such a man if she wanted to marry an older and economically secure man.

**Religion**

Since the majority of the Koreans do not claim any religion though they are subject to the general cultural influence of Confucianism and Shamanism, religion has not been such an important factor in marital selection. However, it is becoming increasingly important among the present urban population of Korea. Forty percent of the younger age group of the present study were Christians in contrast to only twenty-six percent of the older age group. In the past, among the ruling class people, Confucian ethics, including ancestor worship, had penetrated into all phases of their everyday life so that a foreign religion such as Christianity was not readily adopted by them. But among the women and the lower class people religions such as Buddhism and Shamanism had been eagerly adopted. Even among the converted Christians, their social ethics and everyday behavior were influenced very little by their new religion.

Nevertheless, Christianity played a very important role in elevating the status of Korean women. Although at the present the Christians are drawn from all the classes of people in Korea, in the beginning Christianity attracted women and lower class people more than men and upper class people. It has been a means of social
mobility for the less fortunate and the insecure for it gave them hope and ideas of the equality of all classes and of both sexes. It also gave them opportunities for education, recreation and employment.

According to data which appear in Table 20, religious endogamy is becoming more important for the younger generation than it was for the older generation. Fourteen out of twenty-six Protestants of the older group married Protestant husbands, and twenty-seven out of forty Protestants of the younger group married Protestant husbands. Sixty-five percent of the younger generation group are religiously endogamous while fifty-seven percent of the older generation group married within their own religious affiliations.

TABLE 20
RELIGIOUS INTERMARRIAGES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Combinations of Religious Intermarriages</th>
<th>Generation</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mother's</td>
<td>Daughter's</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-affiliated-non-affiliated marriage</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant -Protestant</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-affiliated-Protestant</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhist -Buddhist</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confucianist -Confucianist</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-affiliated-Confucianist</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Among the college-educated young wives studied, Christian-non-affiliated marriages were considered better than marriage between Christians and those with different religious faith. Half of the Christian subjects said that it was permissible for a Christian woman to marry a man without religion as long as they respected and understood each other's presence or absence of religious faith. The Christian subjects thought that men without any religious commitment were better than those with religions other than Christianity since it is easier for such non-Christians to tolerate or to be converted to Christianity than those with other religions. After marriage, it is often possible for a Korean wife to attend church by herself, for many Korean couples seldom participate in social or public activities together. The Christian subjects who married non-Christian husbands mentioned their desire to convert their husbands to Christianity. The non-Christian subjects who married Christians said that they would eventually follow their husbands' religion. Thus, both Christian and non-Christian women agreed that the party with no religion should follow the Christian party's religion regardless of the sex of the spouse.

Only one-fourth of the subjects approved of marriage between a couple with different religions on the condition that both understood and tolerated one another's religious faith.

Because of the combination of parental arrangement of children's marriage and patrilineal residence, the religions of the parents-in-law are also to be taken into account at mate selection. Especially, if a
woman were to marry the eldest or the only son and would have to live with her parents-in-law, her religion should be the same as the religion of her mother-in-law. A Christian subject whose mother-in-law was a Buddhist said:

Since my mother-in-law is a Buddhist, it makes it difficult for me to attend church. I feel uncomfortable going to church with my mother while my husband's family go to Buddhist temple. It has also been difficult to get accustomed to his family's customs which are different from those of my family because of the religious difference.

The remaining one-fourth of the subjects said that it was desirable to marry men within their own religion. A few of the Christian subjects who preferred to marry Christian husbands were not interested in religion itself but thought that Christian husbands would be more sincere, conscientious, understanding, and liberal toward women and family life in general. Religious endogamy is more strictly observed among the second and third generation Christians, or among the children of clergymen. A Protestant minister's wife refused to give her consent to her daughter who was in love with a son of Catholic parents.

My daughter was in love with a Catholic whose parents were also Catholics. Moreover, he was the only son and my daughter would have to live with his parents if she were to marry him. There was no hope of converting him to Protestantism because of his parents' objection, although he himself was willing to if we wanted him to. How could a minister's daughter marry a Catholic and serve Catholic parents-in-law?
A Catholic subject who married into a Methodist family said:

My parents objected to our marriage because of the religious difference. My husband himself had no strong convictions about his religion and was willing to be converted to Catholicism, but his parents refused to let him change. After our marriage, I attended church, a Methodist Church, because my mother-in-law wanted me to, but I sometimes felt very rebellious about it.

A second generation Christian proudly said that among the ruling class families her family was one of the first to be Christianized and to select the wife of their eldest son from a family of the common class whose members were well educated and good Christians.

North Korean Christian subjects regard religion as more important in mate selection than South Koreans. A North Korean Christian subject described their religious solidarity as follows:

In North Korea, they do not differ much in their family line so that among the Christians religion is more important factor in marriage than the family line. The North Korean Christians in South Korea have a religious solidarity while the South Korean Christians still have Dongjok solidarity above any thing else.

The religious bond is more important for the North Korean Christians in South Korea than Dongjok bond. Many of the North Korean Christians who evacuated to South Korea left their homes and relatives because of religious reasons. Since most of their relatives are still in North Korea, the church plays an important role for the North Korean refugees in South Korea. The North Korean Christians in South Korea have established their own churches and the social ties among them were made through North Korean churches in South Korea.
Education

Education is becoming an increasingly important factor in mate selection among the urban population of Korea. Especially in selecting a son-in-law, his educational level and occupational status are among the most important factors. Osgood pointed out also that the educational level of the family members of the parties is the first factor to be investigated in mate selection procedure.\textsuperscript{68}

Because of the Confucian influence, women formerly were not allowed to have any formal school education. Formal education for women was first launched by foreign missionaries in 1886.\textsuperscript{69} Prior to this, women learned the Korean alphabet at home. Books in the Korean alphabet, especially written for women by queens and noble women, were mainly concerned with so called feminine virtues such as reverence, obedience, domesticity, and chastity. As in the case of the adoption of Christianity, formal education was at first desired more by orphans and girls of the lower class than the girls of the upper class.\textsuperscript{70} Upper class women learned the Korean classics and Korean history at home. According to Confucius, the aim of women should be submissiveness and not the cultivation of the mind. Women are not only of a lower status than men

\textsuperscript{68} Cornelius Osgood, \textit{The Koreans and Their Culture}, p. 103.


\textsuperscript{70} Ibid., pp. 224 & 230.
but are as different from men as earth is from heaven.\textsuperscript{71} The 
\textit{kisaeng} girls, through \textit{kisaeng} schools where dancing, singing and playing of 
musical instruments, manners and literature were taught, became the 
most cultivated class of women in Korea.\textsuperscript{72} "Education is the highest 
pursuit a nation can follow" had been a favorite maxim of the Koreans. 
But it did not apply to women. Only men could receive literary education 
and achieve governmental positions through literary degrees.

Although the first public primary school for girls was established 
in 1908, it was not until 1925 that public primary education for both 
men and women became firmly established.\textsuperscript{73} Therefore, it is not 
surprising to find that thirty-seven percent of the Seoul housewives 
in Lee's study did not receive any formal education.\textsuperscript{74} Even now, while 
education for men is a \textit{sine qua non}, education for women is often more 
of a liability than an asset. Education has been one of the important 
means of social mobility in Korean society, so that in selecting a 
son-in-law the first factor to be investigated is his educational level. 
A father of three women college graduates emphasized the importance of 
men's education by saying:

\textsuperscript{71}H. E. Burton, \textit{The Education of Women in China}, p. 17.

\textsuperscript{72}K. H. Lee, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 220 - 221.

\textsuperscript{73}Ibid., pp. 228 - 229.

\textsuperscript{74}H. J. Lee, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 18.
I don't care about the wealth of the man. I will give my daughters if the men have a good education and a promising future. I was the wealthiest man in my home town, I know now that one can lose his wealth, but his education and personality can never be taken away from him. At the present, a rich, handsome young man has less appeal to women than a well educated and capable man.

While the college-educated men want either high school or college-educated women as wives, college-educated women want men with graduate degrees or degrees from abroad. Women's education is important for the education of children and for supplementary employment. Bachelors with graduate degrees from abroad are sought after by influential and well-to-do families with marriageable daughters. These men frequently look for wives who are much younger than themselves, who are domestic and who have never been abroad. The following remarks were made by two women who had experiences in arranging marriages for foreign-educated bachelors.

My friend wants me to look for a wife for her older brother who has just returned from the United States. He wants a young girl with an high school education who is good in housekeeping and is willing to live with his parents. He does not like girls who have been to the United States for they have higher and different ideas about men and married life than ordinary Korean girls.

I introduced my friend's daughter who had returned from the United States with a graduate degree to a bachelor college professor who had also received his Ph. D. degree from the United States. But he did not like her because she was too old and too intellectual since she herself was also a college professor. He does not think that a woman should be so highly educated and teach such a "masculine" field like political science to men students. He wants a "feminine" girl of under twenty-five years of age.
While it is an ego-enhancing experience for men with higher education from abroad to seek marriage partners in Korea, it is a trying and frustrating process for the women returnees to find husbands in Korea. Some of the reasons that the ambitious and liberal Korean parents send their daughters abroad for higher education are to prepare their daughters for some professional careers and to have them find western educated husbands. This is the reason that the Korean parents are more inclined to welcome the return of their unmarried sons from abroad than their unmarried daughters with western education.
Traditional Joongmae Marriage

Hon-Sang, or marriage and death, are the two great events of one's life in Korea. Marriage is as certain as death and is the most important event in the life of the Korean. It is one's sacred duty to his family and a necessary step for initiation into adulthood. It is a status-giving event in Korea, for adulthood is achieved by marriage and parenthood regardless of one's age. Marriage is thus the man-making rite. A married man formerly was never called by his first name, but by the family name with a title, and addressed with honorifics. The fact that the passage from unmarried to married status is of prime importance is shown by some of the symbolic behavior which the bride and groom have to go through at the time of marriage. Both bride and groom have to change their hair styles just before the ceremony. Afterward, the groom goes to his bride's parents' home for three days, during which time he is tested for his mental ability and physical endurance by means of interrogation, roping, beating, and drinking. Silrangdareum is the physical ordeal given to the groom by the young male relatives of his wife who will go so far as hanging him by the feet to punish him for having stolen a young girl from the family and the community.

75Cornelius Osgood, The Koreans and Their Culture, p. 103.

The parents have the obligation of finding mates for their children when these reach marriageable age. Old and weak parents whose sons and daughters are unmarried try their best to marry them before they die. It is said that if one dies unmarried, the spirit of the dead will come back and hover over the earth anxious to be relieved of his unfulfilled desire. On Chejoo Island of Korea, it is customary for the parents of a dead son and those of a dead daughter, both of whom died unmarried, to join them in marriage after their death. This can be explained by the need of the parents to fulfill their obligation even after the death of their children. It clearly shows the Koreans' belief that arrangement of marriage for their children is one of the most important duties of parents.

Traditionally, marriage was not associated with love. Koreans had utilitarian views toward marriage. A successful marriage was achieved when the married couple had many sons, and when conjugal harmony, long life, wealth, and a general atmosphere of filial piety prevailed. Marriage was an event which concerned two families, and not just two persons. "Getting married" in the Korean language means "entering into the husband's parents' home" or Sillokanda for the bride and "entering into wife's parents' home" or Jangkakanda for the groom. A wife's first duty was to her parents-in-law and only secondarily to her husband and children. Since a husband's needs of pleasure and companionship were not gratified by his wife, he sought the companionship of male friends, entertainment by Kisaeng girls or a
The married couple had to behave with extreme formality in the presence of others in the family. A respondent of the older generation told of pretending to a formal relationship with her husband in front of her parents-in-law upon her husband's arrival from a long absence as follows:

Right after our marriage, my husband went to Japan to study. While he was studying in Japan, we secretly exchanged our love through letters. When my husband was ready to come home, he wrote asking me to greet him in the presence of his family. But I did not want to cause any family dispute over my novel conduct.

Another of the older generation reported:

After three years of marriage, his father died and I was in great sorrow. My husband came to my room and said that he had not cared for me for the first three years of our marriage, but he gradually had become fond of me and was deeply moved by my great grief over his father's death. He then apologized to me for having ignored me and thereafter we were very dear to each other. Since I was only fifteen at the time of our marriage, and we lived in separate quarters, I had not even felt his coldness during those first three years.

Since they married so young and their life was wholly controlled by the husband's parents, they spent years as strangers though living in the same house.

There is no preferential mating system based on kinship in Korea.78 Marriage between relatives, both consanguineal and affinal, is

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77 C. S. Roh, op. cit., p. 69.
78 C. Osgood, op. cit., p. 103.
prohibited. *Saengni* is a sexual crime, incestuous in nature, committed between close relatives and is usually punished by death. In case a daughter of the ruling class committed *Saengni*, her father and brothers were no longer qualified for government positions.

Through the influence of Confucianism, arranged marriage has been the socially acceptable ideal form, while love marriage has been looked upon as bringing shame and dishonor to both the parties and their families. Arranged marriages serve many functions. They are effective in helping to keep family stability, patriarchal family control over married children, and mutual dependency of parents and children. They maintain the pattern of sexual segregation, and make early marriage possible.  

Arranged marriage, which is *Joongmae* marriage, literally means marriage arranged through a go-between. Thus, the original form of arranged marriage in Korea is a marriage initiated and controlled by relatives through a go-between for the actual proceedings, such as investigations and negotiations. Fifty-three percent of the mother's generation group said that their marriages were initiated by paternal or maternal relatives.

The older form of *Joongmae* marriage here will be called "traditional *Joongmae* marriage," in which the parties do not have any knowledge of each other's physical appearance before marriage. This is the type

79T. Akiba, op. cit., p. 85.

80Ibid., pp. 87 & 93.
of mate selection which was experienced by the majority of the older generation group studied here. Sixty percent of the older generation group said that they had not met their husbands before the wedding day. Since parties were not conferred with and their opinions were not considered in the process of decision-making, they were not even allowed to meet each other until after the wedding. Only the male relatives of the groom saw the bride before marriage. A third party's first formal meeting with the prospective groom or bride is called Sun. A subject from the older generation said:

My husband told my parents that he wanted to see me before the family elders reached the final decision. But my family did not let him see me telling him that if he continued insisting on seeing me, my family would refuse to proceed any further with the marriage.

An elderly subject described her experience as follows:

At the wedding, I could not see the groom's face for my eyes were sealed. My husband could look at me at the wedding for the first time. I was only fifteen then. Until three years after we had been married, I did not know my husband's face. I only knew his and his brother's approximate heights for they came from the outer quarter where the men lived into the inner quarter where women of the family stayed only at meal times. But I was not supposed to raise my eyes to see the men's faces. At night, he occasionally visited me but we never looked at each other or talked to each other so that we were virtually total strangers to one another.

After seeing their wives, some husbands did not like them and sought the love and companionship of concubines or Kisaeng girls. The rejected wife had to remain with her husband's family for the rest of her life.
serving her parents-in-law and raising her children. On the other hand, some wives, who could not bear the sight of their husbands, ran away or committed suicide, for no legal separation or divorce was possible.

However, sometimes, the parties were allowed to exchange pictures which were returned if the two families did not agree to the marriage. Thirty percent of the older age group said they had exchanged pictures with their future spouse at the beginning of the mate selection process. Some husbands saw their wives at a distance before marriage, without the knowledge of brides and their families.

Since women of the ruling class were not allowed to go out in the old days, the fathers of the young people met in the men's quarter of either party's house, or a go-between was sent to carry on negotiations between the families. A go-between could be either a man or a woman, a relative or a friend. A professional or semi-professional go-between was usually from a lower class e.g., a servant, or a peddler, who was also an old person. Such a person could move about freely and knew many families with eligible daughters and sons. Therefore, he or she could provide the necessary information regarding family line, wealth, family culture, appearance or ability of the bride and groom. He was needed to carry out the investigating, negotiating and the business proceedings for the two families. In case the go-between was a professional one, both the bride's and the groom's family provided some presents, such as materials for dresses. A sum of money was also given to the go-between by either the groom's or the bride's parents.
who first hired him. But a non-professional go-between is and was only presented with token gifts by parents of both parties. A taboo was placed on any direct contact between the two contracting families unless they had already been good friends. This was to preclude embarrassing situations arising during the mate selection process. In case of selecting a daughter-in-law, either a female go-between or a female servant went to see the potential bride and observed her family culture and the personalities of the members of her family. In the case of the selection of a son-in-law, if the fathers of the prospective bride and groom were acquainted with one another, the father of the bride would go to negotiate with the father of the groom.

The decision-making within the family is and was in the hands of the father. He has the final authority along with other older male members of his family such as his father, his brother, and the girl's older brother. He is responsible for the best interests of the family, their security, and upbringing and for the honor of both the living and the dead. His authority is not to be questioned by the other members of the family. The children must obey and respect him. The relationship between father and son is symbolized by dignity, sternness, respect, emotional restraint, formality, and discipline. With reference to his children's marriage, the father has the authority to

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initiate the process and to make a final decision. As one informant expressed it:

My father decided and my mother and I just had to obey him. I was indeed scared and wanted to know more about the man chosen by my father. My mother asked me how I felt about him after seeing a picture of my prospective husband. But my father did not care about my feelings. My father does not talk to us directly. We can only communicate with him through my mother.

But if the father's father and father's older brother are living, the father has an obligation to obtain their consent also. In the past, it used to be required by law that regardless of age of the contracting parties it was necessary that they obtain the consent of the heads of the families. In case of the absence of a father, the eldest brother acted for the father, maintaining the younger brother and providing him with a wife. Because of the practice of early marriage, the parties were usually too young to make their own decisions.

The decision-maker and the one who controlled the process of mate selection was called Johonja and was usually a father, a father's father, a father's older brother, or an elder brother. Sixty percent of the mother's generation group reported that their father was the main decision-maker in their marriage. The Johonja communicated with the father of the groom by personal calls or by letters sent through a middle man.

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82 K. Kim, op. cit., p. 151.
83 Ibid., p. 138.
84 W. E. Griffis, op. cit., p. 246.
Besides the father, the fortune-teller has been considered to be an indispensable person in the process of selecting a bride or groom. The fortune-teller is one who predicts the probable success or failure of a marriage by matching the birth dates and hours of the parties according to the lunar calendar. This matching of birth dates of groom and bride is called *Koonghap*. The method of obtaining the *Koonghap* is as follows. There are five elements, *Ohae*, in Chinese philosophy. These five elements are *Mok* (wood), *Hwa* (fire), *To* (earth), *Keum* (metal), and *Su* (water) which are also used as bases for selecting *Dolrim* names. According to Chinese philosophy, wood is overcome by fire, fire is overcome by earth, earth is overcome by metal, metal is overcome by water, and water is overcome by wood. These five elements are further divided into ten origins, *Sipkan*: *Kap*, *Eul*, *Byung*, *Chung*, *Moo*, *Ki*, *Kyung*, *Sin*, *Im*, and *Kae*. Of these, *Kap* and *Eul* correspond to Wood, *Byung* and *Chung* to Fire, *Moo* and *Ki* to Earth, *Kyung* and *Sin* to Metal, *Im* and *Kae* to Water. In Chinese philosophy there are also twelve principles called *Sincil*, which consist of twelve different names of animals: *Ja* (rat), *Chuk* (cow), *In* (tiger), *Myo* (rabbit), *Jin* (dragon), *Sa* (snake), *O* (horse), *Mi* (goat), *Sinn* (monkey), *Yu* (chicken), *Sul* (dog), and *Nae* (pig). Each year, month, day, and hour is designated by two letters, one from the ten origins and another from twelve principles such as *Kap-Ja*, *Eul-Chuk*, *Byung-In*, etc. Thus the bride's birth year, month, day, and hour are altogether identified by eight letters each of which is to be matched with the corresponding one of the groom's. The
purpose of matching is to see whether each of the eight pairings is in harmony or in conflict. The matching further indicates the degree of success or failure of the proposed marriage. According to the theory of this matching, the marriage will be successful to a greater degree as the number of the pairings in harmony increases. In extreme cases, some parents did not permit a marriage unless all the eight combinations were in harmony.

There are six traditional ceremonial procedures of marriage. The wedding is not fully valid until all six parts of the celebration are over. These are the Saioo (engagement), the Taitil (selection of wedding date), the Nappae (presenting clothes to the bride), the Hanchye (wedding ceremony), the Sinbang (actual consummation of marriage at the bride's home), and the Sinhaeng (moving into the bridegroom's home).

Saioo. Engagement was formally sanctioned by the groom's parents sending the groom's date and time of birth to the bride's parents. The paper bearing the groom's birth date is called Saioo. It is a white piece of traditional Korean rice paper, twelve inch by twenty inch in size, on which the groom's birth date is written in Chinese letters. Four sets of two Chinese characters are written down, each specifying the year, month, day, and hour of birth according to the lunar calendar. The Saioo is put into a white envelop made also of rice paper. The envelop is tied by red and blue threads, symbolizing the union of the man and women. The envelop is then placed in a small wooden box which

is wrapped in a double cloth, red outside and blue inside. There is usually a ceremony and a banquet held by the girl's parents in the presence of her relatives. When the girl and her parents receive the Sajo, she officially becomes a member of her husband's family from whom she should not be separated until the day of her death. Engagement is almost as final as marriage itself. As a rule, like marriage, it occurs only once in a person's lifetime. If a girl's fiancé had died during the engagement period, she was supposed to remain chaste the rest of her life. Therefore, the engagement period is usually as short as possible in order to prevent anything from happening to endanger the consummation of the marriage.

Takil. The bride's parents reply to the Sajo by sending the date of marriage to the groom's parents, then an exchange of prepared food takes place between the two families. One of the reasons for which the wedding date is selected by the bride's parents rather than by the groom's is that a certain length of time is required by the girl's family to prepare her trousseau. After receiving the Sajo, the father of the bride will select the date of the marriage. This date, which should be an auspicious one, is determined by a fortuneteller and if it is convenient to the bride and groom's family, it will be retained by both families. The fortuneteller sets the date of marriage also from the birth dates of the groom and bride. The fortuneteller was a great influence on the choice of the wedding season. October and November are the most desired months for marriage in Korea. Even
during the fall season, there are some days which interpreters of horoscopes set aside as ominous days. The naming of a lucky day for the wedding is called Taikil. The length of time between receiving the Sajoo and the wedding day ranges approximately from three to six months during which the girl’s parents prepare the trousseau, including dozens of dresses, beddings, household furniture, equipment, and utensils; the boy’s family prepare the quarters for their son and his wife. Seventy-seven percent of the older age group interviewed in the present study waited six months or less after receiving their Sajoo. The death of a relative could postpone the wedding until the mourning period was over. The mourning period for the death of parents is two years; for death of grandparents, and the eldest brother is one year.

Nappea. On the evening before the wedding, the groom’s parents send materials for red and blue skirts to the bride’s home to be worn on the wedding day which is called Honchhi. They were put into a black lacquer chest called Haem on which two Chinese characters, Soo (longevity) and Bok (happiness), are written, encompassed by two legendary long-tailed cranes, symbolizing longevity and the inseparable relationship of the man-and-wife-to-be. In the chest there also is a marriage certificate, called Honseji, written by the father of the groom to father of the bride. He writes his family pedigree and statement that he will take "your daughter" as "one of my family members." A servant of the groom’s family will carry the present to the bride’s house, where he must be treated with much consideration, as otherwise he might jokingly run away with the chest containing the present.
Hanse. The wedding ceremony is held at the home of the bride's parents. On the day of the ceremony the bride and the groom dress up in special robes for the marriage ceremony, which are the robes of the nobility and which may be worn by commoners only on that day. Wearing the wedding hat, the "official belt," and the wedding coat, the groom, accompanied by parents and relatives, starts out on the trip to the bride's house in a brightly decorated palanquin. As he leaves his house, mischievous youths and children send a volley of ashes as a charm against the gods of the plague for the benefit of the groom. After some waiting outside the bride's house, the groom is finally admitted, following the "carrier of the wedding chest," who has been accompanying him together with the groom's relatives. The carrier of the wedding chest usually has his face painted black to play the role of a clown and to elicit laughter from the people, thus making the confrontation of the families a merry occasion.

The waiting bride, with heavy make-up of face powder and rouge, a tremendous silver hair pin sticking out of her hair, dressed in the traditional wedding costume of yellow and blue coat with a red skirt, greets the groom and his family with deep bows. The bride does not wear any veil. Instead, her eyes are sealed heavily with glue. Hemmed in by the best men and bridesmaids, the couple is seated at the central position at a long table, which is loaded with various rice cakes, fruits, meats, and other delicacies. The ceremony takes the form of drinking ceremonial wine by the couple. The bride will bow
twice to the groom, the bridegroom answering with one bow only, to signify that he is the master. A cup of wine is then exchanged between the two to indicate trust in each other and to join their spirits.

Then the wedding feast begins. Mischievous friends tease the couple throughout the ceremony. The bridegroom's parents give the bride two silver or gold bands to be worn on the ring finger of the right hand after the wedding ceremony. The groom is presented with a complete outfit to be worn after the ceremony. The bride will also change her clothes, sent by the groom's family the night before the wedding.

After the wedding is over, the couple accompanied by the bride's relatives will go to the groom's parents' home, where a ceremony called Pibak is held and a feast is given by the groom's family. At this ceremony the bride will bow to each of her husband's relatives. After Pibak, the bridegroom's parents give the bride such gifts as materials and jewelry. An exchange of food takes place between the two families after the Pibak ceremony.

_Sinbang._ The consummation takes place in the house of the bride. Traditionally after the wedding, the newly married will spend three nights at the bride's house. When the new couple are alone in the sleeping room, the bridegroom would undress the bride. Sisters and friends of the bride will peak into the room through holes in the paper door, but then the groom puts out the lamp and with the exception of the more mischievous ones, they all go away.
Sinhaeng. The bride is carried from her home to that of the groom's in a closed sedan chair carried by four persons three or five days after the wedding celebration. Her father accompanies her with her trousseau, which includes furniture, followed by a long train of draft animals carrying the belongings of the bride to her new home. In the case of very rich families, this might be the occasion for a large feast. A celebration will also be held at the home of the groom the day the bride arrives. Upon her arrival, the bride will present food, stockings, and clothes to her parents-in-law, and to the siblings of her husband. She will also bring along beddings for herself and for her husband, dozens of dresses for herself, household utensils and equipments for cooking and sewing, furniture, and her personal maid. The groom's parents will prepare a separate house or a room in their house for the couple. Since the financial burden of the bride's parents is so much greater than that of the groom's, there is an old saying that one will be bankrupted if he has as many as three daughters, and thieves never enter into homes where three daughters have been married off. Even today, in Korean villages, an average loan of 200,000 hwan (about $200) is made by the bride's parents for a daughter's wedding when one third of the villagers have annual income of less than 100,000 hwan. 86

Modern Joongmae Marriage

Modern Joongmae marriage is a modified form of arranged marriage and is most popular among the younger generation of Koreans today. The differences between modern Joongmae marriage and traditional Joongmae marriage are that in the modern Joongmae marriage the parties are given a chance to meet one another in the presence of others and are consulted about their opinions regarding the proposed mate. Although there have been many modifications made in the actual procedures of the traditional Joongmae marriage at the present, the Joongmae marriage in the sense, that the parents initiate and control the mate selection of their children, is still the most dominant type of mate selection even among the highly educated urban population of Korea. Sixty-two percent of the Seoul housewives' spouses were selected solely on the basis of parents' control and decision.87 Thirty-seven percent of the forty-five college-educated women studied by the writer and eighty-four percent of the younger generation group of this study had experienced modern Joongmae marriage themselves.

Although the parents of the young people today have less authority over their children than in the past, they still desire to supervise and control the mate selection process of their children from the beginning to the end, especially in the case of the marriage of a daughter.

TABLE 21
PREFERRED TYPE OF MATE SELECTION FOR SON AND DAUGHTER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ideal Type of Mate Selection</th>
<th>Son</th>
<th></th>
<th>Daughter</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents' decision only</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents' selection with party's consent</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>35.9</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>51.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party's selection with parents' consent</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>35.2</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>22.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party's selection with parents' advise</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party's decision only</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


According to the Seoul family study, as shown in Table 21, the housewives prefer parental initial selection with the child's consent for daughters, while they are equally divided in their preference for sons between parents' initial choice with sons' consent and sons' initial choice with parental consent. The greater liberty given to the sons than to the daughters by the Seoul housewives may be explained by the fact that boys in general are given earlier and more frequent freedom of choice than girls and also that failure of mate selection will affect women more greatly than men. Although in general the Seoul housewives desired greater parental control in case of a daughter's mate selection, the more education the subjects had received, the more they preferred both their sons and daughters to make the initial choice of their spouses, followed by parental approval.
Eighty percent of the college educated women of this study considered that modern Joongmae marriage was the most suitable type of mate selection in Korea. Since many young people realize that free choice in marriage is far from being a practical and successful means of bringing future marriage partners together, they are inclined to fall back on their parents' initiation and judgment in the matter of mate selection. Most of the younger generation subjects were dependent on their parents' judgment because of their lack of experience with men, their inability to make independent decisions and also because of their immature attitude toward marriage. Frequently, they left things to their "fate" and to their parents, who were so eager to see their daughters married to particular men. The following quotations express their feeling of dependence regarding the choice of a husband:

"I did not want to get married and wanted to study further. But when my parents persuaded me to marry this man, I thought that it was my fate to marry him and left things to my mother."

"When I met him for the first time, I thought he was all right, but I could not make up my mind. I just followed my father's and brother's judgment. If it were not for my father, I would never have married."

"I told my mother and my aunt that I did not know whether I liked him or not since I had not had any contact with men in my life, that I would trust my mother's and my aunt's judgment."
Initiation  In a typical modern Joongmae marriage, the bride and her parents first learn about a prospective groom from a relative, a family friend or a go-between. If the introductory information about the man is satisfactory, the parents of the bride will investigate his background through his home town, the highest educational institution that he attended, his place of work or his family. This investigation is usually conducted without the knowledge of the man or his parents. If this preliminary investigation is again satisfactory, a formal introduction of the prospective bride and groom in the presence of members of both families is arranged by the person who had recommended the groom to the bride and her parents. After the initial meeting for the purpose of introducing the young people to each other, after a period of brief association, the bride is pressed by her relatives to give her consent to the marriage.

The introducer first recommends the parties to each other with information concerning their personal and family background. He often not only recommends and introduces the parties and their families to each other but also aids in other functions, such as relaying messages between the families in promoting the marriage or in otherwise helping with the business and ceremonial proceedings which were carried out by a go-between in the traditional Joongmae marriage. Either party's parents may initiate mate selection procedures through a common introducer or two different introducers for each of the two families. The introducer may be a paternal or maternal relative, a friend of either the young man or the young woman, or a friend of the parents,
a teacher or a church officer. Among the thirty-seven arranged marriages found in the forty-five college-educated subjects studied by the writer, thirteen cases had either paternal or maternal relatives as introducers; twenty-four cases had people other than relatives as their introducers as present in Table 22. In contrast to the older generation group, for both the college graduated and the younger generation groups, the number of the introducers who are non-relatives are greater than the number of introducers who are relatives. Paternal relatives who acted as introducers were either brothers or sisters, father's sisters, or fathers' brothers' sons. Relatives of the girl's own generation who introduced prospective

TABLE 22

RELATION OF BRIDE TO INTRODUCER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Introducer</th>
<th>College Educated</th>
<th>Younger Generation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatives of brides</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father's relatives</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother's relatives</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siblings</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-relatives of brides</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father's friends</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother's friends</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own friends</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>27.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers, ministers</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>99.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
grooms included the girl's older brothers, husbands of her older sisters, or fathers' siblings' sons who were a few years older than the girl herself. Older brothers introduce their classmates or co-workers to their younger sisters not because of the absence of parents but because older brothers know more young men personally than older people do. They usually introduce the man first to the bride's parents, then to the bride, since this makes it easier for them to get the approval of their parents. A subject who married her older brother's friend said, "My older brother introduced his classmate to my mother first. My mother liked him and she then introduced him to me. My mother trusted my older brother's judgment and was also satisfied with his choice and recommendation." In another case, although both parents were living, a friend of an older brother made a marriage proposal to the bride's older brother through the mediation of a mutual friend.

Since the father's sister is of the same sex as the bride, the bride has a closer relationship with her father's sister than with her father's brother. Especially, when the bride's father is not living, the father's sister has the obligation to look after the welfare of her niece. Two subjects whose marriages were initiated by their father's sister said that since their fathers died they considered their father's sisters as substitutes for their fathers and consulted them in important matters such as education or marriage. A father's sister can also be substitute for one's mother, especially when neither the
mother nor a mother's sister is living. An elderly subject who had arranged several marriages for her brothers' sons said:

I introduced a daughter of a church friend to my brother's son who had no mother. Since he was old enough to make his own decisions, I let him decide. However, he came many times to me to consult about his marriage as one does to his mother for his mother had died in his childhood. It is usually one's mother who hunts for her sons' brides and one's father who locates his daughters' husbands. A daughter-in-law has to give a good impression to her mother-in-law first since she has to live under the control of her mother-in-law after marriage.

Maternal relatives who acted as introducers were either mother's sisters, mother's brothers or mother's brother's sons. Mother's sisters who introduced men to their sisters' daughters, were socially active and hence knew many eligible young men and were close to both the brides and their mothers. A subject's mother's sister introduced her daughter's husband's younger brother to her sister's daughter for she liked her son-in-law so much that she wanted to share the blessings with her sister by getting their sons-in-law from a same family.

When subjects had no older brothers of their own, their mother's brothers acted as introducers of their spouses if their mothers' brothers were only a few years older than themselves. Thus, mother's young brothers introduced their friends or co-workers to their older sisters' daughters. Other maternal relatives who introduced their friends and co-workers also included mother's brother's sons.

Introducers other than relatives were the girl's teachers, ministers and other church leaders, and friends of the parents and of
the girl. Teachers of girls' colleges receive frequent inquiries by their friends and relatives as to the possibility of finding brides for their sons while teachers of boys' colleges are asked to find grooms for the daughters of their friends and relatives. Besides introducing a bride or a groom, they also investigate the background of the parties through other students, school personnel, school records, etc. Teachers who are also students' personal advisors sometimes help their students find mates. In some instances, it is not the parents but the groom himself who may ask a girl's college teacher to introduce a certain girl to him. One of the college-educated subjects said:

My husband saw me at a birthday party and asked my teacher to introduce him to me. He did not want to meet me directly at once for he was afraid of people's talk and was uncertain as to my feelings toward him. My teacher first mentioned him to me recommending him very highly and wanted me to consider him as my future husband.

Many of those subjects whose spouses were introduced by church leaders were Christians from North Korea who had fewer family ties in Seoul than South Koreans. Marriages arranged by North Korean church leaders assure regional and religious endogamies by introducing Christian men and women from the same North Korean provinces.

A "friend" in Korean is called Chinkoo or Dongmoo. The word includes those of same sex and age with whom one associates on equal terms. A friend is most frequently one's classmate. The married friend of one subject introduced her husband's friend. Said a subject whose husband was introduced by one of her college classmates, "My
college classmate wanted to find a husband for me and introduced her husband's classmate to me. She influenced me most in making up my mind to marry him." Another subject told of a similar situation wherein, "When I visited my classmate's home, her husband saw me and wanted to introduce his friend to me. My friend saw her husband's friend first and liked him and she introduced him to me." Friends of the girl also introduced their relatives, such as a brother or an uncle. A subject who married her classmate's older brother described her case as follows:

My husband's sister who was my classmate told her mother about me. Her mother and my father's sister were members of the same church. My father's sister brought his picture to my mother. My mother then showed me the picture and told me that he was the brother of my friend. I agreed to meet him and liked him.

Friends of the girl's parents also introduced their relatives, employees or friends' sons. Said a subject, "My husband's uncle who was a friend of my father introduced his nephew to my father and also acted as a go-between for the two families."

**Formal introduction.** The first introductory meeting for the prospective bride and groom in the presence of members of both family and the introducer is called *Matsun* in Korean. Sometimes, even before the first meeting, a relative or friend of the bride would go to see the groom to make sure that *Matsun* would not be a failure. In other instances, either groom or bride would see the opposite party from a distance without the other's knowledge before the first meeting.
A subject reported having had informal meetings between the two families before the Matsun. "My mother went to see the groom's mother first by herself. Then his mother visited my mother in order to see me. My mother and my father went with his mother to see the groom at his office before our formal introductory meeting."

By the time the parties are allowed to meet for the first time, the decision is already tentatively made by their parents so that they have little chance for independent decision making. "My parents were determined to make me marry my husband before they permitted me to meet him for the first time," said a subject.

My parents met him before I did. After having found out his family background and a fortuneteller's prediction, my parents further found out about his personality through his classmates and co-workers. We were allowed to meet only after my parents approved of all these factors.

The formal introductory meeting is often considered to be the step before the formal engagement. One cannot very easily refuse the other party after having the first formal meeting. There is a story in which the groom after meeting the bride at the first meeting refused because of her plain appearance, but the go-between told him that he was not supposed to refuse a daughter of a respectable family after a formal meeting.

At the first meeting there usually will be the introducer, the parties themselves, the parents of the parties, and siblings, or close
friends of the parties. The meeting will be held most frequently at a restaurant or at a relative's house. Sometimes, there are so many maternal and paternal relatives of the parties at the Matsun that the pair hardly have any opportunity to talk to each other because of the formal atmosphere and the monopoly of the conversation by the older people. The parents test their prospective son-in-law with various questions. The father, or other male relatives of the bride talk to the groom and the mother or other female relatives of the groom talk to the bride. Many of the subjects interviewed refused at one time or another to be looked at and watched by a strange man and his curious relatives at a formal introductory ceremony.

If the parents and other relatives like the groom at the first meeting, they continuously urge the bride to make up her mind in favor of him. But the prospective bride herself is seldom ready for her decision after such a brief and formal meeting, since becoming adequately acquainted in one meeting when observed by a roomful of one's own and one's prospective mate's relatives is obviously impossible. The very nature of the meeting contributes to the discomfort and embarrassment of the couple, inhibiting any freedom for observing and judging each other. A subject expressed her reaction to the first meeting. "I felt so uncomfortable that I could not feel anything about him. If there was any first impression, it was not very accurate or dependable for I hardly could even see his face. The older people who were there got to know him better than I did." Even if one would be able to get a
clear-cut impression of the prospect, there are other participants with different impressions so that it is difficult for the girl not to be influenced by their impressions of the man.

Courtsch. The courtship period includes the time from the first meeting up to the engagement. In modern Joongmae marriage, this is the period of getting acquainted under parental supervision. The private association between the parties during courtship is carefully chaperoned and is not supposed to be known outside the two families. The parties themselves usually desire to have a longer period of courtship before getting engaged, but from the parents' point of view any premarital contact between the parties should be as brief and formal as possible in order to preserve their daughters' reputation and to prevent anything from happening that might hinder the ultimate marriage between the parties.

As shown in Table 23, fifty-four percent of the younger generation subjects had a courtship period of less than six months. Thirty-two percent of the younger subjects, in contrast to only nine percent in the older generation group, had more than a year of courtship. Those subjects whose marriages were initiated by relatives or friends of their parents had shorter courtship periods than those initiated by the friends of the party. Those subjects who had a year or more of courtship had their own friends as introducers. In marriages which are initiated by friends, the parties have more freedom to associate with or without the knowledge of their parents. On the other hand, it is more difficult
for them and it takes longer to get parental approval than in those marriages which are arranged by relatives or family friends.

TABLE 23

LENGTH OF COURTSHIP PERIOD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Courtship Period</th>
<th>Generation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mother's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than six months</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six to twelve months</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than one year</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the period of courtship, sixty-seven percent of the subjects met less than once or twice a week and the remaining one-third, thirty-three percent met more than twice a week. For the first couple of meetings, the parties were usually accompanied by the introducer, relatives or friends. The expense for the activities during the courtship period are usually paid by the groom-to-be. The arrangements for the first couple of meetings are made by a person such as the introducer. The places where they most frequently met were restaurants, tearooms, theatres, churches, and the homes of relatives and friends, or the home of the girl.
In the modern Joongmae marriage, the parties are given the opportunity to make their own decisions after a brief association. However, they are not allowed to have private and intimate relationships, and their own decisions are frequently influenced greatly by their parents' attitude toward the proposed mate. Some subjects without having had an opportunity to know the man were almost forced to make up their minds by parents' urging.

My mother and brother asked me how I felt about him after seeing him once or twice. I told them that so far he was all right although it was too early to make any final decision. But they said that it was unnecessary to go out with him any longer if I had not found any serious fault with him by then, said one subject. Another told of a similar situation. "My reputation would be ruined if I prolonged our association any longer, I was told. After seeing him only twice people were already talking about our getting married so that I was urged by my parents to make up my mind right away."

Since the opinions of the parents concerning the man influence the party's own decision in a significant degree, let us consider the kinds of roles played by the father and the mother in modern Joongmae marriage.

The father's opinion is still considered more important than the mother's by the subjects. Frequently it is more difficult to persuade the father than mother when there is parent-child conflict over a
marital choice. Some of the subjects who had difficulties with their fathers explained their experiences as follows:

My husband was uneasy since my father had ignored him and he was anxious to get my father's approval. After our first meeting, his family was waiting for my father's reaction and my family was wondering about his father's approval of me. When we did not hear anything from his family, we returned his picture which had been sent to us before the first meeting thinking that his father did not like me. Then, his family later told us, that his father liked me but they were waiting for my father's decision.

When his father came to see my father for setting a wedding date, my father refused to permit the marriage. Then my husband-to-be begged me to do something about it. But after seeing my husband face to face, my father changed his mind. My father wanted a man who was well behaved and economically well established. But there were very few young men with such qualifications. If my father had opposed the marriage until the end, I could not have married him.

My father was opposed to our marriage for my husband was not a scientist. But later he changed his mind through my mother's persuasion. My father was also worried about my reputation for going out with him and made us get engaged hurriedly.

Many fathers of the subjects investigated the man's background by themselves and met him before their daughters. If objective factors were satisfactory and he liked the man at the first meeting, the father would permit his daughter to meet him and they could enjoy a brief courtship.
While the father's opinions and attitude were considered more important by the subjects, the mother had more influence on their children's mate selection than did the father. The subjects had more discussions and consultations with, and advice from, their mothers than from their fathers. In Korea, one has a warmer and more friendly relationship with his mother than with his father. The mother not only has more influence on her children, but can also strongly influence her husband, the father. Among the college-educated subjects studied here, mothers with daughters above marriageable age made great efforts to find husbands for their daughters. Mothers can devote themselves more to their activity because only a few of them have outside interests, and thus can afford the time and energy involved in finding mates for their children. Furthermore, they are also more ego-involved in their daughters' marriages than in their sons' marriages. The mother of a subject whose daughter married in her late twenties said, "Whether I was awake or asleep my daughter's marriage was constantly on my mind. I was more concerned than my daughter; it seemed as if I was the one who was getting married rather than she."

The girl and her father are less emotionally involved with the mate selection process while the mother is very much concerned and anxious about her daughter's marriage.

Factors which mothers consider important are different from those so considered by the fathers. Despite their similar concern over the man's educational level and occupational status, mothers are
more concerned with subtle factors like the appearance or the personality of the man and of his relatives which their daughters must encounter in their daily lives after marriage. The religion of a man and his parents were regarded as more important by the Christian mothers than by Christian fathers. A subject explained the differences in preference between her mother and father. "My father was interested in his family line and other objective factors such as occupation while my mother was concerned about his personality and family culture."

A Catholic subject whose mother objected to her daughter marrying a non-Catholic and who married without her mother's consent said, "My parents objected to our marriage. My mother objected more strongly than my father and never gave us her consent. My father gave me his consent at the end, but we married without my mother's consent."

Sometimes mothers played the role of mediator between father and daughter when there were differences in their opinions about a man. Since many fathers are not as deeply involved as the mothers in selecting husbands for their daughters they leave things to the mothers. Fathers usually got information concerning the man from others and they gave their approval or refusal on the basis of the mother's reports on the man, and those reports are often colored by mother's own opinions and feelings about the man. Especially when the daughter is over twenty-five and nobody else in the family is as anxious to see her married as the mother, the mother proceeds on her own judgment and decision. At other times, it was the mother rather than the daughter
who delayed her daughter's marriage because of her unreasonably high ideals regarding the future son-in-law. These mothers had to see the man first and like him before they would let their daughter meet him. Those subjects whose mothers were trying to find a perfect man for them said, "My mother met him first and told me that she liked him. My mother wanted a good looking, well-earning, and well-behaved son-in-law. But gradually she gave up most of her ideals since I was getting old."

My marriage was delayed by my mother's excessive ideals. If she did not like any man on hearing about his qualifications, she would refuse without consulting me. Many men were mentioned to my mother, but many of them she did not like and the ones she liked, I did not like.

My mother was worried about my getting old and urged me to make up my mind quickly. My mother investigated my husband through relatives and friends and met him before I did. Then she wanted me to meet him. My mother's effort was greatest of all. If it were not for my mother, I could never have married.

It was also the mothers who were concerned about the outcome of the fortuneteller's prediction. Two-thirds of the forty-five college-educated subjects had their Koonghan combinations considered by the mothers in the early stage of mate selection either before or right after the first formal meeting of the parties and their families. Women are more susceptible to superstitions and folk beliefs in Korea. While men are mostly non-religious or believe in and practice Confucian ethics, more women resign their fate to superstition or religion.
Some of more sophisticated women or Christian women with modern education rationalized their behavior by saying that consulting a fortuneteller is not a superstitious action since fortunetelling is based on astrological knowledge which is a science of predicting people's future. In the Seoul family study, sixty-three percent of the subjects said that Koonghap was necessary and fifty-two percent of the Christian subjects also said it was necessary. 88

Even when all the factors are satisfactory, the mothers of the brides would check with the fortuneteller to get final reassurance for their decision. The following quotations are some of the remarks made by the subjects concerning their mother's attitude toward consulting a fortuneteller:

My mother firmly believes in fortunetellers. Before consulting one she was very impressed with the introducer's good recommendation of the prospective groom, her good impression of him and his sincere effort to marry me. She was also anxious to marry me off before I became too old to marry. But she gave her consent only after she got a fortuneteller's confirmation of her choice.

My mother surely would have disapproved of our marriage if the result from the fortuneteller has been bad. We had a relative whose husband had been taken by the Communists during the Korean War. She had married him in spite of a bad Koonghap combination. My mother unfortunately only remembers cases where the fortuneteller was right but ignores those cases which proved to be wrong. I know many unhappy marriages despite the fortuneteller's good predictions. How would the westerners, who never consult soothsayers, have happy marriages also?

88 Ibid., pp. 62 - 64.
Even the Christian mothers felt more secure if the result of Koonsahap was good. One-third of the subjects who did not consult with any fortuneteller were those who expressed strong feelings against it to their parents but were not sure whether their relatives consulted secretly or not. The subject whose relationship with the opposite party was such that it was impossible to break their engagement or those with a firm Christian faith did not consult fortunetellers.

Siblings of the girl also play significant roles in the process of marital choice. In the Korean nuclear family, the sister-sister relationship is closer than the sister-brother relationship. An older brother, who is married and also is the main provider for the family, has authority over his younger sister as a father-substitute. Mothers without husbands would depend upon an older son's judgment and decision. Both older and younger brothers are helpful in investigating a potential brother-in-law's background to inform their parents.

Sisters of the girl more frequently played the role of friendly consultant or of mediator between the parents and the girl. Things which the girl does not confide to her parents or to her brothers are more freely discussed with her sisters.

Friends of the girl sometimes play the roles of investigator, consultant or mediator. The girl would introduce the man to her close friends to judge him and to give her their opinions and their approval, to confirm the girl's own judgment and decision. Since friends come from a same age group and share many common values, their judgment and
opinions are often more welcomed and influential than those of older people and member of the family. They also would tend to be able to judge more objectively than relatives. Friends of the party would look for more subtle things which are not considered important or detected by the older people, e.g., facial expression, attitude toward women, table manners, promptness, dress habit, sense of humor, and other such traits. Married friends ask their husbands to investigate the background of the prospective groom of the party. If there is some conflict or misunderstanding between the parties, often friends would help them settle the problem. It is reported by a subject, who met her husband through her father's sister as follows:

One of my friends was most helpful whenever we had matters to settle. She would explain things from the point of view of an objective but concerned third party while we were too emotional to think rationally. She came to know my husband through me and she did everything to promote our marriage.

**Engagement.** The engagement is announced at a banquet held by the parents of the bride-to-be either at her home or at a restaurant in the presence of parents, siblings, and close friends of both parties. An exchange of gifts takes place between the parties at the ceremony, usually an engagement ring and สาย for the bride and a watch for the groom.

At present, the law recognizes the breaking of an engagement under one or more of the following conditions: imprisonment, incurable disease, double engagement, adultery, disappearance for more than two
years, refusal or delay of marriage without reason by either party. However, the traditional belief in the finality of the engagement is still held by the Koreans, especially among the older generation. The parents whose daughter has had a broken engagement tend to feel it as shameful and think that her opportunities for marriage has been impaired by the broken vow. The older sister of one of the subjects was engaged to an older brother of a classmate but broke her engagement when she found out that his mother was very possessive toward her son and also expected some material gain from her future daughter-in-law's family. Her father made an apology about the fact of his daughter's past to people who wanted to introduce some man to her. Her parents think that she is at a disadvantage by having a history of a broken engagement, and think that the only way possible for her to marry is through a love marriage since it is embarrassing for any respectable introducer to arrange a marriage for such a girl. It is believed by Korean parents that a man with a good family background would not want as his wife a girl who had once been engaged or one who has had love affairs in the past. It is still true that a socially recognized and approved association between the parties can occur only after the engagement.

The betrothed are so much a part of one another's family that each is always invited to the other's family celebrations such as weddings, birthdays, funerals, or seasonal events. It is also customary during

88 Korea, op. cit., Art. 804.
the engagement to refer to the future spouse and in-laws by the kinship terms to be used after marriage. For example, the mother of a girl may refer to the fiance of her daughter as "my son-in-law" or "my daughter's groom."

According to the data of the present study, seventy-two percent of the subjects had engagement periods of less than six months. After the engagement, the parties meet more frequently than during courtship. Fifty percent of the subjects met more than once or twice a week ranging to almost daily meetings. The groom-to-be can now visit the girl at her home and become a regular guest at the table of his future parents-in-law. When he visits his fiance at her home he is entertained by her parents and siblings. But if the couple go out, the boy usually pays for the expenses. More meetings are held at the bride's home than at public places. Some of the reasons for allowing or even encouraging the groom to visit the bride at her home during their period of the engagement are the following: opportunities for bride's relatives to get acquainted with groom, lessening the cost of association by entertaining him at home, and the prevention of the development of any more intimate relationship before marriage through closer supervision by bride's family members. A subject explained the situation. "My mother wanted him to come to my home to visit me in order to be safe and to save money. We played some games with my brothers and sisters. My mother and brother became very close to him during our engagement. But we did not have any privacy for talking alone."
The wedding date is sent to the groom's parents by the bride's parents after the girl's menstrual cycle is considered and after consultation with a fortuneteller who picks a lucky date. However, currently an increasing number of people have their wedding dates selected by the parents or by the parties themselves.

**Wedding.** The wedding ceremonies which were traditionally held at the bride's parents' home are now held at the public wedding halls or at churches. Invitation cards are printed by the groom's and bride's family separately for his or her own relatives and friends. The guests usually bring their wedding gifts to the place of the ceremony where different tables are arranged at the entrance door to receive the gifts from the bride's guests and the groom's guests separately. During the ceremony, the couple will exchange wedding rings. A gift box of cake is handed out to the guests at the door after the ceremony is over. The cost of renting a wedding hall and of the gift boxes for guests is shared by both families. After the ceremony, the couple will set off for their honeymoon trip. The places where the couple spend their honeymoon are resort places like beaches, mountains, or hot springs. The honeymooners in the modern Joonse marriage have more freedom, privacy, and leisure than those in the traditional Joonse marriage who spent their first few days of married life at the bride's parents' home. The expense for the honeymoon trip is usually paid by the parents of the groom. A reception will be held either before or after the couple
starts out for their honeymoon, depending on the train schedule, separately at the homes of the groom and bride in order to entertain his and her wedding guests.

Returning from their honeymoon trip, the newly wedded couple will visit with the bride's parents for a few days before settling down permanently at a new home of their own or at the groom's parents' home. The Pibak ceremony in which the bride bows to the relatives of her husband takes place either before going on the honeymoon trip or before settling down at their new home. The bride's parents also prepare the trousseau, beddings, furniture, household equipment, and utensils for the couple.

Love Marriage

Love marriages are those in which a girl meets a man at school, work, church, or at a social occasion after which she goes out with him without at first having the intention of marrying him. The parties later decide to get married with or without the knowledge of their parents. Usually the parents are asked for their approval after the parties have already made their decision. Only six percent of the younger generation sample and one percent of the older generation experienced such free choice of mate selection. As long as there exists among Korean young people basic unfamiliarity with the opposite sex, because of sexual segregation through the formative years, constraints of spontaneous emotions learned through socialization, and encouragement of an attitude of dependency upon parents' judgment in most matters, free choice in marriage will not be realized to a great extent for some
time. Because of the low opinion held by society of love relationships between the sexes, love marriage is not only discouraged but condemned by the general public. Romantic love is not considered as a legitimate element either as a basis for marital choice or in marriage itself. Marriage in Korea is a matter-of-fact, realistic social and familial event even at the price of individual sentiment. There are many popular expressions which evoke the guilt and shame of the couple in love: "They have been caught by visual lust"; "Their marital relationship began in the bushes"; or "They met under the shadow of wild grasses." This is the reason why the couple in love must keep their love relationship a secret.

In Korea, where a young girl seldom has the opportunity of getting acquainted with young men before she marries and where virginity is still ideally required at marriage, the first love usually culminates in marriage. The young people's ignorance and inexperience with the opposite sex, and the social and parental condemnation of any love relationship are the main reasons for the frequently unfortunate results of such love relationships in Korea. An elderly subject, whose marriage was initiated by her husband in Japan while they were studying there, still feels uncomfortable about her marriage. She told the writer:

Our marriage was neither arranged nor a love marriage. Although people say we married for love, Oh, you can say it is a love marriage. It does not matter now anyway. Let me tell you how it happened. When I was studying in Japan, my husband saw me at the birthday party of my friend and asked my sponsor to make a marriage proposal to me. Although my husband wanted to tell me directly, he was afraid of people's talk. My sponsor wrote to my parents for their approval after I gave my sponsor my consent.
Two young subjects explained their own experiences in getting parental consent.

He saw me during the Korean War when high school boys and girls studied together temporarily in the same tent in Pusan. He began to write to me. But my parents confiscated his letters. So I gave him my friend's address to write to me. I began to be moved by his seriousness and liked him after seven years of correspondence with him. But my father still does not give us his consent to marry.

"We were engaged secretly without parental consent before he and I went abroad. After we left home, our parents found out about it and gave us their consent thinking that it was too late to stop us from marrying."

Among the one-hundred subjects of the younger generation, only sixteen had love marriages. They met their spouses at work, at coeducational colleges, at social gatherings, or abroad. They were either working girls or students at the time of their meeting. Korean parents are reluctant to let their daughters attend coeducational colleges or to get a job in fear they might meet men of whom the parents cannot approve. All of the sixteen cases met parental opposition at the beginning. All but one got their parents' consent before marriage. These subjects were so firmly determined to marry men of their choice that their parents finally consented. Many parents admitted that they were moved by their daughters' firm and eager desire to marry men of their own choice.

Fathers were harder to be persuaded than mothers. The most important reasons for their objection were that it was a love marriage.
Also, they distrusted men whom their daughters met. The reasons for their objections which fathers frequently gave were the supposedly undesirable family background or economic inadequacy of the men. The grooms' parents tended to be more liberal toward a free choice of mates than the brides' parents. Consequently, parents of the groom gave their approval more readily than the parents of the bride.

A groom's parents would come to the prospective bride's home to persuade her parents if they continued to disapprove of the marriage. The daughters would at last threaten their parents by suggesting that they would run away from home or would stay single all their lives. Several subjects reported how difficult it was to get their parents' approval in this way.

My mother met him and liked him. But my father refused to meet him. My mother told my father to give in because the world had changed and that he should not insist on his old ways. But my father said I had brought disgrace to my family and he could not forgive me. My mother further told him that our love relationship was different from others' because my husband was a gentleman. But my father said that no decent man would lure a respectable girl to love him. He apparently presupposed that all love relationships involved physical intimacy before marriage.

A subject who was the only child of a widowed mother lamented:

My mother objected because it was not the man she selected and because he was a poor young man. Since my mother had to live with us after our marriage, she had to like the man I would marry. My mother has sacrificed herself all her life for me and she does not have any hobby or outside interest. She did not have friends in Seoul. I asked her to go back to her home town to be with her relatives and old friends and leave me alone since she cared too much for me. She was so bitter and hurt that she hates
me and my husband for it. She opposed us unconditionally, saying that the Koonghao result was bad. She hated him even more because he had no father and was so poor that my mother had to support us after our marriage.

Relatives, teachers, and friends acted as consultants to the parties and negotiators for obtaining parental approval. Relatives of the party's own generation or their age mates were more sympathetic and understanding toward their love relationships than older members of the family.

I consulted with my cousin and with my mother's sister. My mother's sister said that I would have hardship in marriage for he was poor. But my cousin said that it was worthwhile to suffer with him if I really loved him. My cousin also helped me to get my mother's approval, said a subject.

Many subjects considered the opinions of non-relatives more important than those of their own parents' since they could analyse the situation more objectively and understandably. One subject, who did not listen to her parents' opinions about the man, considered very seriously her teacher's advice regarding her husband-to-be. "My teacher knew both of us well and said that he was not a good provider and had a personality incompatible with mine. For me my teacher's warning was more threatening than my parents' objection for my teacher knew both of us well and spoke the truth."

One subject who never got her parents' approval asked her teacher to act as her father at the wedding by sending out invitations in the teacher's name and giving her away at the wedding.
The length of the courtship period was in most cases one to two years and thus considerably longer than that of the modern Joonmae marriages. It usually required many months to get parental approval. Also, the couples usually met more than twice a week during their courtship. Gifts exchanges and ceremonies involved in love marriages are same as those in modern Joonmae marriages.

Although the older generation feel the inevitability of change in mate selection, they are uncertain as to whether the young people are ready to make correct choices by themselves. Another mother of a college educated son said:

I am sure that mate selection in Korea will eventually become like that of the United States and the young people will marry without parental approval. It is all right as long as one chooses the right person with the right family background. If my children were to select mates who have personalities and family backgrounds of which we can approve, I will give my consent regardless of the way of selection. When they are old enough to make correct judgments, we parents must trust them.

Seventy-two percent of the Seoul housewives disagree with love marriage; 49.5 percent of them approved heterosexual social association before engagement if it was known to family. Another 49.5 percent of them approved association during engagement period only if there is no sexual relationship involved. 32.7 percent disapproved any contact between the sexes before engagement.  

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The college-educated subjects of the present study have mixed feelings toward love marriages. More than one-half of the forty-five college-educated subjects said that they would prefer to marry a man introduced and approved by their parents or other older people; they would wish to marry after a certain period of personal association one of whom they then approved. The remaining one-half of the subjects said that they would want to select their own mates and get parental approval before making their own decisions. Many of these subjects admitted that in reality this would be difficult to realize in Korea at the present. Their mixed feelings are expressed in the following remarks.

"I wanted to choose my own mate, but I was afraid to make my own decision without knowing enough about men. My parents wanted me to select my own husband, but I could not find one by myself."

I don't regret that I married for love. But it is still too early to have love-marriage in Korea. I know from my own experience. If I had not gone to a coeducational college, I would probably have married a man whom my mother selected for me. We have to have natural and healthy circumstances in which men and women can get acquainted before we will be able to select our own mates.

It is ideal to be able to select one's own mate, but one needs extraordinary courage to do it in Korea. It is hard to find mates by ourselves. I know many of my friends who cannot find husbands because they do not have relatives or friends to take care of it for them. Even if we meet some eligible men, we don't have confidence in our own judgment. I know that is an old-fashioned way to marry a man selected and approved by one's parents, but it is the practical and wiser way in Korea at present.
While they say that nothing is wrong with marriage by personal choice, they still believe that it should be approved by parents. Most of today's parents are not ready to accept the idea of free choice of husband for their daughters, also the young people are not socially or emotionally mature enough to make independent decisions. Even when one is capable of making independent decisions, she does not have the courage to make her own decisions for she has to withstand parental objections. Furthermore, most young people are not able to be independent from their parents economically after marriage. Since they have to be partly or wholly dependent upon their parents economically after marriage, and have to live at their parents' home at least for the first few years of marriage, a marriage without parental approval is not feasible. Especially, the daughters, who have been protected and inhibited socially much more than the sons, find it very difficult to cut themselves off from their family ties.
VI. CONCLUSION

The hypothesis made in the introduction which states that the younger generation influenced by modern education and by the rapid urbanisation and westernisation of Korean society in recent years will be more exogamous with reference to traditional endogamous marriage rules and more endogamous with reference to such factors as education and religion than the older generation has been partly confirmed by the present study. The two generation groups did not differ significantly in regard to the traditional marriage rules with the exception of provincial origin. However, they are different in respect to new endogamous patterns which are educational endogamy and religious endogamy.

One hundred percent of the older generation group and ninety-nine percent of the younger generation group married outside of their Sung groups. Eighty-two percent of the older generation group and eighty-six percent of the younger generation group married men whose feudal class origin was the same as their own. Ninety-eight percent of both age groups, who were the offsprings of legal wives, were married to husbands born also of legal wives. However, as to the provincial origin, the two groups were considerably different. Only forty-eight percent of the younger generation group married men from their home provinces, while seventy-four percent of the older age group married within their own province.

The younger age group were more endogamous in reference to new social factors, such as education and religion, which have gained their
importance in recent years due to the introduction of a modern educational system and of Christianity. Because formal education was not allowed for Korean women in earlier times, the majority of the subjects in the mother's generation sample did not receive any formal education beyond elementary school, while men were given the opportunity to attend both high school and college. In contrast to the younger age group, most of whom married men with an education equal or slightly superior to their own, the older age group most frequently married men whose educational levels were considerably higher than their own. Thus women with no schooling married men with elementary or high school education, and those subjects who had elementary education had husbands who attended high school or college.

In regard to religion, the younger age group not only had more subjects of the Protestant faith than the older age group, but they also tended to marry within their own religious faith more than the older age group. Twenty-seven out of forty Protestants of the younger generation group married Protestant husbands, whereas only fourteen out of twenty-six Protestants of the older generation group married Protestant husbands. Moreover, those Protestant subjects of the younger age group who married outside of their religious faith married men with no religion rather than with different religions, while the Protestant subjects of the older age group who intermarried, husbands with religions other than Protestantism, such as Catholics and Buddhists. The younger Protestant subjects thought that men without any religious commitment
were better than those with religions other than Protestantism, for they would be more easily converted to Protestantism or would be more tolerant of their wives' religion than those of other religious faiths.

The hypothesis that the traditional Joongmae marriage will occur more frequently among the older generation while the younger generation will be predominantly found in the modern Joongmae marriage is well supported by the study. The mother's generation group is clearly distinguished from the daughter's generation group in respect to the type of mate selection procedure. The traditional Joongmae marriage which involves no direct association between the parties before marriage was the most predominant type among the older generation subjects. On the contrary, the majority of the younger generation subjects experienced the modern Joongmae marriage in which the parties will have a brief association period both before and after the engagement under parental supervision. Furthermore, the introducers in the mother's generation group were mostly relatives of either one's father's or mother's side who only introduced the parties to both families and let a go-between take care of the negotiations between the two families. On the other hand, the introducers of the subjects of the daughter's generation were more frequently composed of non-relatives such as friends of the girl or of the girl's parents as well as teachers or church officers who also frequently played the role of the mediator between the families. The two age groups were further differentiated with respect to the making of the final decision. Among the younger age group, the girls themselves were given the right to make the final
decision as to whether they would like to marry the man recommended and approved by their parents. But for the older age group, the parents, especially the fathers, were the main decision-makers in selecting their children's spouses.

The significance of this research is that it is one of the first detailed study of the Korean kinship and mate selection patterns in regard to the changes in the status of upper class Korean women involving westernization. The topics of mate selection and kinship behaviors are the most popular subject of conversation among Korean women especially those mothers with marriageable sons and daughters. Many of the subjects studied here did not conceive of scientific value in studying everyday behavior like kinship and mate selection patterns. Furthermore, they were ashamed to tell the western readers that the Korean parents had been very authoritarian and superstitious in respect to their children's marriage. They thought that it was inevitable that Korean youth would follow the American way of courtship in the future and Korean parents were losing their control over their children. They felt that the marriage based on love was good for the young people and was essential for marital happiness. However, many of them were against a free trial-and-error type of courtship which put emphasis on physical attraction and sensuality. They also thought that the young couple should consider the happiness and well being of their parents as equally important as their own marital happiness. The areas which they felt to be sensitive were presence of illegitimacy, undesirable geographical origin, low educational level, low feudal class origin, concubinage.
Suggestions for further research include intensive studies of changing beliefs and norms in regard to kinship behavior and mate selection behavior on a large scale than was possible in the present study. Changes in Korean mate selection patterns on the level of concrete and overt behavior are easily observed; however, changes in regard to the beliefs and norms concerning such behavior are more subtle and gradual and therefore more difficult to measure. The present study is concerned with the experience and attitudes of women; a complementary study from the men's point of view would be in order.
APPENDIX A

Interview Guide
(in translation)

Used with forty-five young college-educated women.
I am Alice Chai from the Department of Sociology, Seoul National University, and I need your help in a research project I am doing for my dissertation. Through this research I would like to study the mate selection processes among the college-educated Korean women residing in Seoul. I would appreciate it very much if you would answer my questions concerning mate selection procedures. Your answers will be used only for the purpose of gathering the necessary data for my dissertation.

Please answer honestly and completely. Ask questions if anything is not clear.

There are two parts of the interview guide which I have in my hand. The first part consists of specific questions on your social background, such as age or birth order. The second part consists of more general questions concerning your attitudes and experiences in selecting your spouse.

Thank you for your help and cooperation.
BACKGROUND DATA

1. Name  
   Self  ___________  Spouse  ___________

2. Date of Birth  
   Self  ___________  Spouse  ___________

3. Date of Marriage  

4. Length of Marriage  
   1 year or less ___  2 to 4 years ___  
   5 years or more ___

5. Occupation at Marriage  
   Self ___  Spouse ___  Hu Fa ___  
   Hu Mo ___  Wi Fa ___  Wi Mo ___

6. Parents Living  
   Dead  Lost  Separated  Divorced  Others
   Hu Fa ___  ___  ___  ___  ___
   Hu Mo ___  ___  ___  ___  ___
   Wi Fa ___  ___  ___  ___  ___
   Wi Mo ___  ___  ___  ___  ___

7. Siblings and Birth Order among Sibling of Own Sex  
   Self  No. of Brothers ___  No. of Sisters ___  
   Spouse  No. of Brothers ___  No. of Sisters ___
   Self  Oldest ___  Middle ___  (which)  Youngest ___  Only Child ___
   Spouse  Oldest ___  Middle ___  (which)  Youngest ___  Only Child ___

8. Place Ancestors Lived (hondak)  
   Self  Province ___  Koon ___  Eup ___  Myun ___  City ___
   Spouse  Province ___  Koon ___  Eup ___  Myun ___  City ___

9. Address at Marriage  
   Self  Province ___  Koon ___  Eup ___  Myun ___  City ___
   Spouse  Province ___  Koon ___  Eup ___  Myun ___  City ___

10. Place of Origin of Family Name (hong)  
    Self ___  Spouse ___
11. Education | Keulbang Elementary | Middle High | College | Abroad | Other
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<td>Spouse</td>
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<td>Wi Mo</td>
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12. Religion | Buddhist | Catholic | Protestant | None | Other
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<tbody>
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<td>Wi Mo</td>
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13. Family Line | Incheon | Sanchun
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<td>Husband's Family</td>
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<td>Wife's Family</td>
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</tbody>
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14. Legitimacy | Legitimate | Adopted | Illegitimate
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spouse</td>
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15. Primary or Secondary Marriage | Primary | Secondary
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Husband</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Wife</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
16. Type of Mate Selection

Arranged ___

Parents ___

Relative

Paternal ___ Maternal ___

Other (who) ___

Love ___

With Parents' Consent ___

Without Parents' Consent ___
Attitudes toward Endogamous and Exogamous Rules:

1. What do you think a girl with your provincial origin would prefer her husband to be with reference to his provincial origin? Why do you think she would prefer a man from X province?

2. What do you think about a girl marrying a man with the same family name and place of origin (bop) as hers? Under what circumstances do you think it is permissible (or not permissible)?

3. What would you think a girl marrying a man with family name and place of origin (bop) the same as that of her mother's family? Under what circumstances do you think it is permissible (or not permissible)?

4. What do you think of a girl brought up in a Christian family marrying a man outside of her religion? Under what circumstances do you think it is permissible (or not permissible)?

5. What do you think of a girl from a nobility family marrying a man from a commoner family? Under what circumstances do you think it is permissible (or not permissible)?

6. What would you think of a legal wife's daughter marrying a concubine's son? Under what circumstances do you think it is permissible (or not permissible)?

Attitude toward Types of Mate Selection:

7. Which type of marital selection did you prefer at the time of your mate selection, arranged marriage or love marriage?

8. Which type of marital selection did your parents prefer for selecting your mate, arranged marriage or love marriage?

9. What do you think about American marriages?

10. What do you think about the marriages of Korean students in the United States?

11. What do you think the future trend of mate selection in Korea will be?
12. How do you think your marriage procedure differed from that of other classes of people in Seoul?

13. How do you think your marriage procedure differed from that of rural people in Korea?

14. How do you think your marriage procedure differed from that of your mother?

Exploratory Questions:

15. How did you happen to get married to your spouse?

16. How was the choice arrived at?

Initiator:

17. Who introduced your spouse first?

18. What did you (or your parents) think about your spouse upon the initiator's introduction?

19. What was the relation between the initiator and your husband?

20. Why do you think the initiator introduced your husband to you?

21. How did the initiator introduce your spouse?

22. Did you consult with anyone or try to learn more about your spouse before the first meeting with your spouse?

23. Did your parents consult with anyone or try to learn more about your spouse before the first meeting with your spouse?

24. How did you happen to meet your spouse first?

25. Who arranged the first meeting?

26. Who were present at the first meeting?

27. Did your parents or other participants see your spouse before you met him?

28. Why did they see your spouse before you did?

29. What did they think about your spouse?
30. What did you think about your spouse after the first meeting?
31. What did the others who accompanied you think about your spouse?

Go-Between:
32. Was there anyone who played the role of a go-between for the two parties?
33. Who selected him as a go-between?
34. Why did you need the go-between?
35. What relation does the go-between have with the two parties?
36. What did you think about using a go-between?

Roles of Parents:
37. What did your father do in selecting your spouse?
38. What did your mother do in selecting your spouse?
39. What kind of person was your father looking for as his son-in-law?
40. What kind of person was your mother looking for as her son-in-law?
41. What did your father think about your spouse?
42. What did your mother think about your spouse?
43. What kind of husband were you looking for?
44. What did you think about your spouse when the choice was made?

Other Participants:
45. Whose opinions and consent were sought, other than your parents?’
46. What did they think about your spouse?
47. Why were they consulted?
Fortuneteller:
48. Had anyone in your family or your spouse's family consulted a fortuneteller?
49. Why did they consult (or not consult) a fortuneteller?
50. What did the fortuneteller say?
51. What did you think of consulting a fortuneteller?

Courtship:
52. How many men did you consider besides your spouse?
53. How did you happen to know them?
54. What were the reasons that you did not marry them?
55. How often did you and your spouse see each other before the engagement?
56. How often did you and your spouse see each other after the engagement?
57. Who arranged the meetings?
58. Did anyone else join you and your spouse at the meetings?
59. Where did you go most often?
60. What did you usually do?
61. What do you think were some of the effects of seeing each other before the engagement?
62. How long did it take between the time you first met your spouse and the time of the engagement?
63. How long was the engagement period?

Relationship with Husband's Family:
64. How was the relationship between your parents and your husband's parents?
65. How was the relationship between you and your husband's family?
66. Had any of your relatives or friends married relatives or friends of your husband?

67. Which one do you consider to be higher in social status, your or your husband's family?

68. Why do you consider this family to be higher than the others?

69. Were either your or your spouse's parents or any other relatives planning to live with you after your marriage?

70. What did you think about living with his family?

71. What did your parents think about you living with his family?

72. Who live with you at the present?

73. Why do they live with you?

74. How long have they been living with you?

75. How long will they live with you in the future?

76. What terms do you use when you address them?

77. What terms do they use when they address you?
APPENDIX B

Interview Schedule
(in translation)

Used with One-Hundred Mother's Generation Group and
One-Hundred Daughter's Generation Group
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

I am from the Department of Sociology, Seoul National University, and I need your help for a research project in marital selection patterns of Korean women. I would appreciate it very much if you would spare your time answering questions concerning marital selection. Your answers will be kept confidential and be used only for the purpose of gathering the necessary data for this study.

Please answer honestly and completely. Ask questions if anything is not clear.

Thank you for your help and cooperation.

Alice Y. Chai

1. Age at Marriage: How old were you and your husband at marriage?
   Husband ___  Wife ___

2. Length of Marriage: How long have you been married?
   ___ years  ___ months

3. Primary or Secondary Marriage: Have you or your husband been married before your present marriage?
   Husband  Not Married Before ___  Was Married Before ___
   Wife  Not Married Before ___  Was Married Before ___

4. Family Name and Its Place of Origin: What are your and your husband's family names and places of origin?
Husband Family Name ____ Its Place of Origin ____

Wife Family Name ____ Its Place of Origin ____

What are your husband's father's and mother's family names and their places of origin?

Husband's Father Family Name ____ Its Place of Origin ____

Husband's Mother Family Name ____ Its Place of Origin ____

What are your father's and mother's family names and their places of origin?

Wife's Father Family Name ____ Its Place of Origin ____

Wife's Mother Family Name ____ Its Place of Origin ____

5. Regional Origin: What are your regional origins, and those of your parents and your husband's parents?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Koon</th>
<th>City</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Husband</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wife</td>
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<tr>
<td>Husband's Father</td>
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<tr>
<td>Husband's Mother</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wife's Father</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wife's Mother</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

6. Address before Marriage: At the beginning of your courtship, where were you, your husband, and the parents of both living?

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Koon</th>
<th>City</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Husband</td>
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<td>Wife</td>
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<tr>
<td>Husband's Parents</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wife's Parents</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
7. **Parents:** At the beginning of your courtship, were your and your husband's parents living?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Living</th>
<th>Died</th>
<th>Separated</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Husband's Father</td>
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<tr>
<td>Husband's Mother</td>
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<td>Wife's Father</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wife's Mother</td>
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</table>

8. **Birth Order among Siblings of Own Sex:** What are your and your husband's birth order among the siblings of own sex?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Only Child</th>
<th>Oldest</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Youngest</th>
<th>Only Son or Daughter</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Husband</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wife</td>
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</table>

9. **Educational Level:** What was your educational level and those of your husband, and of the parents of both at the time of your courtship?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Keulbang</th>
<th>Elementary</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>College</th>
<th>Graduate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Husband</td>
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<td>Wife</td>
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</table>

10. **Occupation:** What was your occupation and those of your husband, and of the fathers of both at the time of courtship?

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Husband</td>
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<td>Wife</td>
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<tr>
<td>Husband's Father</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife's Father</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
11. Religion: What was your religion and those of your husband, and of the parents of both at the time of courtship?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Buddhist</th>
<th>Confucianism</th>
<th>Catholic</th>
<th>Protestant</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Husband</td>
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12. Initiator: Through which of the following person did you learn of your husband for the first time?

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Father's Friend</th>
<th>Paternal Relative</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mother's Friend</td>
<td>Maternal Relative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self</td>
<td></td>
<td>Own Friend</td>
<td>Teacher or Minister</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sibling</td>
<td></td>
<td>Other (specify)</td>
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13. Role of the Initiator: Did the initiator just introduce your spouse to you or did he play the role of a mediator?

Introduction Only __________ Mediation __________

14. Decision Maker: Who made the primary decision about your marriage?

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Self</th>
<th>Other (specify)</th>
<th>Father &amp; Mother</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Husband's Side</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wife's Side</td>
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15. Type of Mate Selection: Which of the following types represents your mate selection category?

___ 1. Parents' Choice Only
2. Parents' Choice with Child's Consent

3. Child's Choice with Parents' Consent

4. Child's Choice with Parents' Advice Only

5. Child's Choice Only

16. First Meeting: How did you meet your spouse for the first time?
   By Third Person Only ____  By Self at Distance ____
   Direct Meeting by Self ____

17. Picture Exchange: Did you and your husband exchange pictures at the beginning of courtship.

   Yes ____  No ____

18. Consulting a Fortuneteller: Did you or your family consult a fortuneteller about your marriage?

   Yes ____  No ____

19. Length of Courtship Period: How long was the time between your first meeting and your engagement?

   ____ years ____ months ____ weeks

20. Length of Engagement: How long was your engagement period?

   ____ years ____ months ____ weeks

21. Frequency of Meeting before Engagement: How often did you and your husband see each other before your engagement?

   ____ Less than Once a Month
   ____ Once or Twice a Month
   ____ Once or Twice a Week
   ____ Three or Four Times a Week
   ____ More than Four Times a Week
22. Type of Meeting before Engagement: How did you usually meet before your engagement?
   ___ Usually with People other than Ourselves
   ___ Usually by Ourselves

23. Frequency of Meeting after Engagement: How often did you see each other after your engagement?
   ___ Less than Once a Month
   ___ Once or Twice a Month
   ___ Once or Twice a Week
   ___ Three or Four Times a Week
   ___ More than Three or Four Times a Week

24. Type of Meeting after Engagement: How did you usually meet after your engagement?
   ___ Usually with People other than Ourselves
   ___ Usually by Ourselves

25. Engagement Date: Who decided the date of your engagement?
   Husband and Wife ___ Husband's Parents ___ Wife's Parents ___
   Parents of Both ___ Other (Specify) ___

26. Wedding Date: Who decided the date of the wedding?
   Husband and Wife ___ Husband's Parents ___ Wife's Parents ___
   Parents of Both ___ Other (Specify) ___

27. Length of Residence in Seoul: How long have you and your husband lived in Seoul?
   Husband ___ years ___ months
   Wife ___ years ___ months
28. Marriage Between Affinal Relatives: Have any of your relatives married a relative of your husband's family?

Yes ____ No ____
Relation with Husband ____
Relation with Wife ____

29. Type of Courtship: Which of the following types of courtship did you have?

____ 1. No Direct Meeting or Association
____ 2. Few Times of Formal Meetings Only
____ 3. Few Months of Personal Association
____ 4. Casual Dating into Courtship

30. Family Line: What are your and your husband's families' class position in Yi dynasty period?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yangban</th>
<th>Joongin</th>
<th>Sangmin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Husband's</td>
<td>____</td>
<td>____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife's</td>
<td>____</td>
<td>____</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

31. Status at Birth: What are your and your husband's statuses at birth?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Legitimate</th>
<th>Illegitimate</th>
<th>Adopted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>____</td>
<td>____</td>
<td>____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>____</td>
<td>____</td>
<td>____</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
GLOSSARY OF KOREAN TERMS

Bon: a geographical origin of a Dongjok and also is called Bonkwan or Hyangkwon

Bonkwan: same as Bon

Bongchi: gifts and the marriage note sent to the bride by the groom's parents on the night before the wedding

Chin: prefix used for kinship terms of paternal relatives

Chinjok: equivalent to the English term "relatives" and includes both father's and mother's relatives

Chon: unit used for counting the numerical order of one's paternal or maternal relatives

Dangnae: a patrilineal group which includes descendants of one's FaFaFaFa vertically and FaFaFaBrSoSoSo horizontally and is sometimes called Chinjok or Yoobokochin or Huyulok

Derilsawi: a son-in-law taken into family without a male heir as a son

Dongjok: an aristocratic exogamous patrilineal sib which identifies itself with a particular locality of origin

Dolrim: generation name and is also called Hangnyul

Dahm: a chest in which groom's parents send gifts to the bride on the night before the wedding

Hangnye: wedding ceremony

Hangnyul: same as Dolrim

Hoju: public registration record for members of a Kajok

Hon-Sang: marriage and death

Honsuji: marriage note which the groom's father sends to the bride's father

Hyangkwon: same as Bon
Jangot: a sleeved apron to cover face of women on the street

Jangkakmanda: "a boy gets married" and it literally means "entering into wife's parents home"

Joksook: the group of persons who have a same patrilineal family name

Jongchin: father's relatives

Jongka: the big brother's house where the eldest son of the eldest son of a Danmae group resides

Jongson: the eldest son of the eldest son who becomes the head of a Danmae

Joohonja: decision maker in mate selection, usually FaFaFa or the eldest Br

Joongin: a division of the feudalistic class system which prevailed during the Yi dynasty (1392 - 1910) and includes the upper middle class families of commoners who had acquired professional knowledge and techniques such as in medicine, astrology, or mathematics

Joongmae: a go-between

Kajok: a male family head, his wife, his brothers and sisters and their spouses, his sons and daughters and their spouses

Kakshin: those families whose family members had continuously been appointed to the cabinet and who were allowed to marry royalty

Kama: a closed chair used by the ruling class women for going out

Kim: a family name which is one of the most common names like Smith or Jones

Kimhae: a geographical origin of the family name, Kim

Kisaeng: professional entertaining girls who were trained at Kisaeng schools where dancing, singing and playing musical instruments, manners and literature were taught and who served and entertained government officials at official parties

Koon: a political subdivision which is equivalent to county in the United States

Koonghap: matching of birth-dates of groom and bride to predict the probable success or failure of marriage
Kujok: great families within the ruling class

Kwaku: the public service examination which was formally inaugurated in 958 A. D. which stressed Chinese prosody and literature

Matsun: the introduction meeting of the prospective groom and bride

Mitmyunoori: the very young daughter-in-law who comes into her parents-in-law's house to learn their family customs and housekeeping method before being married to her husband. It literally means "a daughter-in-law on reserve"

Myun: a political subdivision of Koon (county) which is made up of a group of Ri_(township)

Nappae: the ceremony of presenting gifts to the bride by the groom's parents on the night before the wedding

Oe: prefix used for kinship terms of maternal relatives

Oechin: mother's relatives

Pa: a lineage group of patrilineally related individuals being traced back to a common known ancestor who achieved fame in government

Pibak: the ceremony in which the bride bows to husband's relatives

Ri: a political subdivision which is equivalent to township

Saengpi: a sexual crime incestuous in nature committed between close relatives and is usually punished by death

Sajoc: the paper bearing the groom's birth year, month, date, and hour which is sent to the bride's parents to sanction the engagement

Sangmin: the lower middle class of the feudalistic class system which prevailed during the Yi dynasty whose family members were farmers, merchants or other free commoners

Sijipkanda: "A girl gets married" which literally means "entering into husband's parents' home"

Silrangdareum: the physical ordeal given to the groom by the young male relatives of his wife.

Sinbang: actual consummation of marriage which takes place at the bride's parents' home
Sinhaeng: the ceremony by which the newly weds' move into the groom's parents' home to live

Soo: longevity

Sun: first meeting of the prospective bride or groom and relatives of the opposite party

Sung: name group, consisting of one or more Dongjok groups

Takil: the naming of a lucky day for the wedding

Yangban: descendants of those ancestors who achieved fame in either scholarship, government or war

Yi dynasty: the last dynasty of Korea which reigned from 1392 until the Japanese occupation of Korea in 1910

Yoorim: those Yangban families which consistently produced scholars who were free from the worldly desires including government appointment
BIBLIOGRAPHY


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I. Alice Yun Chai, was born in Seoul, Korea, on July 10, 1928. I attended primary and secondary schools in Seoul, Korea. During the Korean War, under the sponsorship of the American missionary of the Methodist Church, the Reverend William E. Show, I was able to come to the United States in 1952 to receive my undergraduate education at the Ohio Wesleyan University, majoring in Sociology. A scholarship was awarded to me by the university from 1952 to 1955 which enabled me to study without being employed. I was granted the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1955 from the Ohio Wesleyan University. I then studied at the Ohio State University, where I received the Master of Arts degree in Sociology in 1957. I returned to Korea in 1959 to collect data for my dissertation after being admitted to candidacy for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology and Anthropology. While I was receiving my graduate education, I was a research assistant to Professor Robert P. Bullock of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology between 1955 and 1958. From June 1958 to January 1959, I was employed as a research assistant at the Social Research Section of the Research Division, Columbus Psychiatric Institute, the Ohio State University, under the supervision of Dr. Salomon Retzig. While doing the research for my dissertation in Korea, I have been a lecturer in the Department of Sociology of the Seoul National University and Ewha Womans University of Seoul, Korea, from April 1959 to December 1961.