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Changes in Daily Lives and Housing Consciousness of Korean Women After the Modernazation

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Changes in Daily Lives and Housing Consciousness of Korean Women
After the Modernization 1)

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Abstract

The purpose of the study is to microscopically re-clarify the reality of the renovation and conflicts that females faced within their families since the modernization period. The research method was the literature review. The families have been restructured based on the formation of individual spaces for housing by husband and wife. The study will analyze the changes in daily lives and housing consciousness to understand how such housing areas are transforming. The contents of the study are as follows. From the perspective of the symbolic interaction, in a traditional society, Korean females have been experiencing alienation and isolation in private areas in their daily lives due to the family centrism and male chauvinism. Since the industrialization, the female’s role as the major consumer has been emphasized. Also, in terms of housing space, the symbol of family interaction was influenced more by utility, rationality, and equality than the spatial hierarchy.

From the perspective of the dailiness of phenomenological traditions, the modern girl’s housing consciousness, which appeared during the modernization under the colonial rule, is considered as a revolution from the traditional society. Soon after in the industrialized society, females appeared as the leaders of ‘sweet home’. They also became the main body that creates the space for living by giving meanings to the interior of the housing.

Considering the dailiness from the Marxist perspective, under the colonial social system, females became the subject of colonization through education, socialization, and the labor market. The modern public system presents female as ‘a wise mom and good wife’ or laborer causing the colonization of life world. After the industrialization, the socialization of housing and prioritization of spending caused the daily lives of female to become colonized by the consumption market.

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Purpose

The modernization of housing was accelerated due to the introduction of western culture and modern way of thinking. On the other hand, it was decelerated microscopically due to the reformation of family relationship and changes in daily lives. Due to the patriarchal system of the traditional Korean society, the daily life of female was restricted within the housing area. However, since the liberation and new way of thinking, the revolution began centered toward modern girl and family. Yet, this was not able to totally influence the daily lives of female. Since the industrialization, however, female became the major consumer and the powerful decision maker within the family.

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

The detailed study contents are as follows.

1) From a phenomenological perspective, symbolic interaction perspective, and Marxist perspective, the characteristics of the changes in women’s daily lives and housing and the achievement of progressiveness of ‘modern girl’ and ‘modern home’ will be studied. The conflicts and compromises caused from such procedure will also be analyzed.

2) The changes in terms of housing, life, and housing consciousness related to women’s daily lives caused by the industrialization since liberation will be studied from a phenomenological perspective, symbolic interaction perspective, and Marxist perspective.

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

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

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

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

II. The Japanese Colonial Period since the Opening ports to the Foreigners (1894~1945)

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

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

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

Traditionally, women’s space was concentrated on Anchae and the kitchen, which was located in the west (Research Institute of Seoul, 1994). The reason why the kitchen area was called the ‘Arae, which means ‘bottom’, was because the floor was lower due to the floor heating system. There, however, is another argument that it is due to the status difference between men and women in Chosun. Not only the spatial status, the ideological restrictions also had a huge influence on making the kitchen the space for women and considered men’s entering into the kitchen prohibition. Thus, the kitchen was not just a place to cook but it was a symbolic space connecting role division and interactions between men and women.

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

Women’s daily lives were very demanding because housekeeping was totally women’s responsibility. To the foreigners by that time, Korean women were considered as ‘slaves’ who spend the whole day on housekeeping. Especially, men from upper noble classes, thought little of labor due to their honors. This acted as the symbolic role to others and women were unknown in the patriarchal society.

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

2. The modern girl’s everyday lives and housing consciousness from a phenomenological perspective

The Japanese colonial period was the time when the traditional wife’s image and the modern girl’s new norms faced conflicts. The ‘modern girl’ is the term used to describe the educated women who appeared around the 1920s. They focused on the individuality and attempted liberation and free love from the family’s restraints. They also challenged the women’s obedience that the Confucianism demanded. When more than 90% of the women were illiterate, they studied in Kyungsung and Tokyo and improved women’s status. Therefore, they are considered as women, who tried to live their own lives at that time. However, their open approaches and lives were too advanced that they were
criticized not only by men but also by women. They themselves were also experienced confusion of values and were not able to cause a huge change in the traditional family system (Jun, 2003). Nevertheless, their irrational living styles and behaviors acted as a stimulus in women’s role and life. They are commended for introducing the model of marital relationship.

In the beginning of the 1920s, women magazines were published and newspapers and magazines contained numerous articles on the very few women, who studied abroad in Japan or in the West. In a newspaper in 1924, there was already a separate section titled ‘home’ to attract the women readers. Although there were only 1,465 women in the entire Chosun, who attended the public or private school (current middle school), the power of the 1.9% of women, who had the modern education, was huge. They were the symbol of the society change that they were the target of interest (Chun, 2003). To these modern girls, the family life in Chosun was extremely unfair and the housing was planned discriminatorily against women. They suggested many solutions through writing to develop the housing and daily lives. They often used the terms such as rationalization, improvement, effectiveness, hygiene, health, etc. In terms of daily lives, modern girls were aspired the western style of living as some sort of utopia. The phenomenon at that time can be considered as providing a meaning to the existence of ‘women’, which was hidden under the Confucian social order.

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

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

To the eyes of Na, who experienced the western culture, “compared to the European countries, Chosun was a wilderness with nothing or even a desert.” Through an article titled “The voice of women for the improvement of living (Donga-Ilbo, 1926)”, she stressed the rationality and improvement of living and the relationship with men. She also stated that changes were needed in the Chosun husbands’ attitudes of living on their wives and the daily lives at that time.

Na, Haesuk, who is well-known as the modern girl, owned a two-story western style single-family housing and had her own drawing room. Inside the housing, she had western style spaces such as bedrooms, dining room, living room, and bathroom. Thus, the housing of modern girls was the space to support their social activities. Also, they were envious for having rationality and equality between the genders. However, except for a few modern girls, most of their dream was to meet an intelligent man with a wealthy family and modern living style. Therefore, modern girls were also not able to totally escape the traditional patriarchal relations.

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

In 1932, the article titled ‘The contents of modern home’ on Shindonga shows the substance of a modern housing. According to this article, modern girls were at least high school educated, had a western style wedding, believed in the western religion, and built the ‘Munhwa housing’, which was popular at that time, to consider the hygiene and the utility room.

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

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

3. The colonization of women’s life world from a Marxist perspective
According to J. Habermas, the colonization of life world was the performance of daily lives being threatened and destroyed due to the amplification of complexity and compulsoriness in the economic and administrative system in the process of modernization. In Korea, the capitalization was autogenously preceded before the Japanese colonization period. The actual ‘modernization’, however, was continued in a colonized form by the Japanese. They put forward the military armies and amended government system and established factories and elementary schools. Thus, the ‘colonial modernization’ was implemented (Cho, 2005). Since the beginning of modernization, Korea was under the colonial social system by the Japanese, which eventually caused the colonization of life world.

The emergence of workplaces such as the factories and schools for public educations changed the family members’ areas and styles of living. Especially women, who gained no attention in the traditional society, were able to enhance their area due to the development of the modern public area. Modern systems such as education institutes, public institutes, and service facilities greatly influenced their individual daily lives. Private mission schools for higher educations much as the Ewha Girls’ School and Jungshin Girls’ School led women’s education. Most of the modern girls at that time were the women, who these institutes created. Christianity, which was a religion based on equality and freedom, became the major social ideology for the leading group at that time. It also challenged the ideology of the conservative feudalism and provided the change to revolutionize for women. The establishment of the educational institution for women provided the basis for women to transform into
a member of a society from the housekeeper for a family (Jun, 2003). However, the public education, which was implemented under the colonial rule, had a bilateral feature. It was the free area for psychological and physical experience and was also an area for discipline and regulation. The women’s education under the modern colonial period was initially to create ‘a wise mom and good wife’ than for women themselves (Tae, 1998).

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

On the other hand, for the women from ordinary households, who were coping with financial hardships, daily lives as laborers were given. The colonial government implemented policies to transform the traditional home performed handicraft business into the modern mechanical business. As the industrial revolution in the west, the construction of modern factories required a huge labor force. The characteristic of the modern industrial society was the separation of work and home. Thus, women, who only worked for housekeeping and home performed handicraft, were able to enter the public areas in the society. By the end of the 19th century, industries related to textiles, weaving, rubber, shoemaking and tobacco were initiated. Thus, ordinary women were able to enter a new job market called ‘factories’ and their activity area partially moved to the society from home. Due to such phenomenon, women were able to have economical power with the cheap wages provided for their labor. In 1928, according to Seoul’s female workers’ consensus, at 33 factories, 2677 female workers’ average daily work hours was 13 to 14 hours, and their wage was from 30 jun to 2 won (Mun et al., 2003). The low wages of women was due to the ideology of male earner, in other words the patriarchal ideology that believes that “women laborers work for an additional job that they deserve low wages (Donga-Ilbo, 1933.11.9)”. Women during the colonial period supported the modernization by being considered as payless homemaker or factory workers with low wages. The vacant spaces of women, who started working outside, were replaced with elders, who had no appropriate jobs. Ordinary households, in which the elder and children took care of the housing after the female left for factory work, was a common trend at that time.

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

III. The Economical Development Period after the Liberation (1945~1980s)

1. Women as the leader of ‘sweet home’ from the phenomenological perspective

After the liberation in 1945, the family lives have changed rapidly along with the trend of the equality of sexes. Compared to the rural areas, in the cities, the male’s role in their home was reduced when the female’s role was increased. The reason was because working men spent less time at home.

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

As the men’s living zone transformed to outside, women eventually inherited the initiative of the family. Therefore, home became the base of women’s activities and their role in the family was emphasized even more. Women took control of the home decorations and also the purchase and management of household goods including home appliances. They acquired the economic power and had to take care of asset management. This can be known through the advertisements, which were targeted toward women since the 60s. Women had influence on decision making such as purchasing furniture, interior decorations, and space usage that they became the leader of making a sweet home.

According to the ideals of a ‘sweet home’, the living pattern of women was to simplify the food preparation and to enjoy outings and eating out. The spare time that was caused due to such changes was used for house decoration and leisure. Women’s interest in home decoration and home fashion intended to escape the simplicity of the apartment life and was spread through various classes and magazines. The fact that the housewives can decorate a unique interior space using their own decorations was a huge attraction showed the virtue of women, who spend their daily life to decorate the house for their family.

2. The industrialization of housekeeping and the colonization of women’s life world from the Marxist perspective

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

If the women from the 60s and 70s were the leader of forming sweet homes, the women from the 80s were the leaders, who left the houses for professional lives. As their social activities expanded, they had the financial power and had more influence in decision making to become the major consumer. The purchase characteristics of the household goods also changed. Thus, as the double income households increased, women’s housekeeping got reduced and high-tech equipments, which support the social life and leisure, kept appearing. The electric appliances and equipments brought changes in the housing area such as the kitchen, laundry room, and utility spaces.

Housewives and certain the dual income couples let the society to take care of the housekeeping in order to reduce the working time. Clothing that was produced in factories was easier to fix at laundry places than at home. As the food industry became successful as the value-added business, it became common for the busy urban people to eat out more than a meal per day. Instant food and fast food also became popularized in the urban areas. As the meal preparation became simplified since the 60s, the amount of instant food increased. As the processed foods developed since the 70s, the food industry expanded in the market. Electric appliances for food storage such as refrigerators were displayed at show windows. Furthermore, the supply of kitchen appliances such as the rice cooker, washer, and vacuum cleaner reduced the housekeeping work and changed the quality of labor. However, as many socialists argue (Jun, 2030), due to the industrialization at home, the housekeeping procedure changed but the housewives were still busy. If we analyze changes in the housekeeping time, from 1968 to 1987, the house labor time in clothing got reduced. On the other hand, the time for family management and grocery shopping increased in the 1980s. From 1980 to 1990, the labor time for food, clothing, and housing slightly decreased but the time for grocery shopping and family care increased (Im & Lim, 1992).

The consumers preferred the high-tech housing and purchased more home appliances to reduce the household chores. The electric appliances, however, increased the standard of housework and changed the contents of work but were not able to reduce the work itself. The appliances had to be cleaned, used in certain time periods, and used often to justify the purchase. If we consider the values of housekeeping, the housewives were tired and stressed from the housekeeping labor despite the social classes (Yoon et al., 1995). Barely anyone tried to gain psychological and physical satisfaction through the housekeeping labor. The burden for such time consuming housework, was mostly given to women, although it differs based on the social relationship between the household members. Also, the physical improvement through appliances was unable to change the relationships within the family. Unless there is a fundamental change in the social relationships between men and women, offspring and parents, women still had to operate the dishwasher and the vacuum cleaner for their families.
The industrialization of housekeeping influenced the family function of production and the housekeeping method using appliances. Housing spaces, especially, were decorated by convenient home appliances and high-tech equipments and were introduced. Also, the “functional kitchen”, which had the kitchen cabinet and reduced the moving circulation, was presented. This brought changes in the floor plan of housing and the concept of housekeeping management (Sun, 2000). Many experiments that were performed from the perspectives of feminist end the isolation of housewives and show that housekeeping can also become a social labor. Also, the specialization and professionalism of housekeeping and a better design and installation of housing appliances became possible. The mass media urged the consumption of women under the commercial system and emphasized the image of woman as a consumer. Since the industrialization, women were highlighted as the major consumer, and their daily lives were colonized so that they can concentrate on the ‘consuming life’.

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

Although women became the major consumer and the leader of the family, in the housing space, they were still alienated. In the kitchen, which is the area for women, they had to do housework like maids, when men took over the television, which was the newest cultural appliance.

The metaphor, ‘bowl that contains life’, for the housing space was due to the fact that the changing family life was shown in the space and that it was caused by the transformation of space planning. In a Korean traditional housing, the relationships between the family members due to the Confucian influence were clearly implemented and were constantly pursued. By categorizing the Anbang and the kitchen as woman’s space, the responsibility for child rearing and housekeeping was given to women. However, as the names and arrangements of spaces changed, the living spaces were equalized and the status and roles within the family also changed. For example, since the late 70s, the term ‘dining room’ appeared. This goes along with the changes in floor plans of housing due to the introduction of western apartments.

As the kitchens introduced furniture system and dining tables, the kitchen and dining areas, which were the main areas for housekeeping, became the main area of the family life. The dining kitchens that are easily found in housings since the 80s, made the family possible to dine on the dining table in the same area as the kitchen. As the dining area got closer to the kitchen, the moving circulation of women got reduced. Also, they no longer had to move the dinner trays that eventually eliminated the hierarchy between men and women. Due to the introduction of kitchen furniture, every family member started to participate in meal preparation and dish washing, and the eating behavior became more equalized. Kitchens were no longer considered as a unhygienic area but were considered as a sanitary area as the living area or other rooms.

The development of housing appliances and consumption products, however, did not cause the sharing effect of housekeeping within the family members. The home appliance advertisement, in which the husband and son operate the washer and the daughter use the vacuum cleaner instead of the mother, only symbolizes the family role relationship (Kim, 2002).
In the 1990s, as women started participating more in housing planning and furniture designing, which were led by men, their needs were applied more on the housing areas. In furniture company advertisements, closet designed by women and furniture that took into consideration of women’s needs was introduced. Such advertisements were enough to gain the support of women, who had the major choice in purchasing furniture. As the participation of women in furniture designing became more popular, the apartment designs also started to consider women’s needs. The opinions and needs by women, who spend a lot of time in housing areas, caused a very different attempt in space planning and equipment installation. For example, a small study area for housewife was placed next to the kitchen. The current housing became the female’s castle. Also it became a target of criticism because of its spatial discrimination between the sexes. Recently, as women started to occupy most of the housing area, arguments such as ‘give private spaces for men’ started to appear.

. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

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

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

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

From the perspective of phenomenological traditions, the modern girls, who appeared during the modernization under the colonial rule, attempted a revolution in the patriarchal traditional society. Through modern education, they openly accepted the functional and efficient housekeeping space and through the simple meal preparation and kitchen furniture, they attempted a kitchen improvement. Like the Munhwa Housing, they chose housings that expected a modern living and placed space and furniture according to the living so that the housing could transform into a suitable area for a modern
family. Their housing consciousness and daily lives were not popular but had a new meaning to the modernized women.

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

From a Marxist daily life perspective, women became the target of colonization through education, socialization, and labor market under the colonial social system. The introduction of modern factories and schools increased the women’s daily lives to public areas. However, such public system grew women as a good wife, wise mother, or worker that it is criticized for causing the colonization of women’s life world. When the ideology of ‘sweet home’ had the highest value in a modern housing space, the given female’s role was family management and housekeeping. Housing space was the living boundary of women. As the family activities, reproduction function of housing, and housekeeping became a society’s common subject, however, the living boundary of female expanded outside the housing space. Under the industrialization and the capital market system, women became the leader of consumption and their daily lives were characterized by their role as a consumer. The commercial system and marketing that promotes the consumption caused women to become the major consumer and emphasized the ‘beauty of consumption’. Thus, women were admitted into the public economy as the consumer for the family and their daily lives were colonized by the consumption system.

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