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**CONSUMING MODERNITY:
Women, Food and Promotional Culture
in Contemporary Korea**

by

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**A Doctoral Thesis Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of Ph.D.
of Loughborough University**

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ABSTRACT

The process of modernisation has created tension and confusion in self-identity in spite of its various new opportunities. This impact of modernity is more intense in a non-western society. Korea is experiencing a unique pattern of the dynamics and dilemmas modernity has presented. Korean women are experiencing clashes between modernity and tradition, capitalism and Confucianism, and Western and Korean cultural values. The gap created from these tensions is widely mediated by the logic of consumerism. This process is clearly revealed in women's values and attitudes towards food and eating. Although rapid economic development and social changes have considerably modified people's eating habits, women's roles and expectations in regard to food and eating are much more ambiguous and confusing than in the past. Korean advertising displays sharp contradictions of these aspects. While advertising reflects and actively reshapes the prevailing images of women, women constantly reconstitute their identities by selecting, rejecting and negotiating with the public messages in their everyday lives.

This thesis aims to examine the changing female identities in contemporary Korea in the process of modernisation and Westernisation by exploring the tensions and contradictions in regard to women's values and attitudes towards food and eating, through the examination of the representations of Korean advertising and women's everyday experiences and negotiations.

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GLOSSARY OF KOREAN FOODS

Doenjang	Bean paste
Jang	Essential sauce made of beans or chilli
Japche	Noodles mixed with various seasoned vegetables
Joggi	Asian fish
Jon	Savoury pancake
Kimbab	Riceball rolled with seaweed
Kimchi	Pickled cabbage side dish
Kimjang	Annual Kimchi-making for a large quantity for winter
Mandu	Dumpling
Namool	Seasoned vegetable side dish
Pap	Rice
Songpyon	Special Rice cake for the full-moon festival
Ttok	Rice cake
Tzige	Korean stew

INTRODUCTION

When I was hosting a radio programme, 'Women's Hour', an ardent listener asked me at a personal meeting 'If you - all the broadcasters and women's programmes in the mass media - encourage women to get out of the home, who is going to keep up the homes that desperately need us women everyday?' This listener, a university graduate, who once was engrossed in her own self-achievement, had given up her career on her marriage, but confided to me how much she had had to strive to find her own identity in her daily life while at the same time eagerly trying to be a good mother, a good wife and a good daughter. As a media practitioner who always advocated women's personal growth and individuality, I did not have an appropriate answer. In fact, it was a question for all we women in Korea, who live with the strict dichotomisation between work and home, public and private, and are thus constantly constrained to choose between collective identity and the individual-self. It has been a fundamental question and everyone's issue. And yet, it has not been asked in an audible voice since it has been continually trivialised as an individual's problem needing a personal solution. This was the germination point of this research.

In fact, the search for identity by women, who have always been characterised by their multiple relationships with significant others, is now a universal theme. The majority of debates around this issue have been made under Western conditions. Women in Korea, however, have been

caught up in their own unique structural dilemma, which modernity has created.

The rapid progress of modernisation in Korea over recent decades has been a paradoxical process. Celebration of rapid national economic development and immense accompanying social changes has resulted in a powerful cultural dilemma. Korean society has maintained a strong tradition of group ethos and family solidarity, and the virtue of femininity and motherhood has been largely understood within a collective context. Women today, however, are facing a dilemma caused by the interplay between tradition and modernity. There is a fundamental gap between rapid economic achievement ensuring social modifications, and the long cherished values and attitudes which have determined personal and national identity up until now. While modernity is to be welcomed, it is fraught with danger; tradition is to be preserved, but it is burdensome. Women in Korea are caught up in the gap between structural transformations and their continuous search for viable self-identities.

The tension between traditional values and modernity has been largely mediated by waves of Westernisation. The sudden influx of Western values and ideas has created enormous anxiety and confusion. Encountering modernity in a non-western society is a severely wrenching experience as Dallmayr has noted (1993). Westernisation is the most remarkable feature of modern development in Korea, deeply penetrating into every sector of the society. The previous stability of an individual's identity has been challenged by the multiple new possibilities modernity has presented.

Today, the world is experiencing cultural globalisation under the process of increasing Westernisation. The way in which modernity is entwined with the unique Korean cultural tradition has been strongly influenced by

the mode of Western development. The structural transformation of Korea poses a question of identity. Korea is now experiencing increasing cultural diversity which Westernisation has introduced in the name of modernity. Even if the distinction between a cultural 'centre' and a 'periphery' in the global context (Hannerz 1991) may be over-simplified, studies of the world's cultural flows have clearly revealed that the cultural balance between the West and the rest of the world is asymmetrical. If modernity is distinguishable from Westernisation, and if there is any possible counterforce in a non-western society despite its cultural vulnerability, exploring the patterns of the new cultural hybridity under modernisation might provide us with a positive starting point.

The process of Westernisation in contemporary Korean society has actively incorporated consumerism. But the logic of consumerism offers a largely superficial resolution to the confused modern self. Advertising, as both an economic and cultural agency, plays a central role in mediating modern self-identity. Advertising relentlessly celebrates the novel aspects of modernity. And yet, it also firmly upholds the embedded virtues of motherhood and femininity, on which traditional female identity has been constructed. The rapid transformation of food and eating habits in Korea over the last few decades clearly reveals the dilemma posed for women by the processes of Westernisation and modernity in this newly emerging consumerist society. This research will tackle these issues by looking at women's complex relationship with food.

This study does not aim to provide a novel theoretical contribution to the issues of female identity and modernity. It does not even aim to employ a particular theoretical hypothesis and to test its fit. Rather, the aim is to explore in a grounded way, the plurality, multiplicity, and variation in the values, expectations and images of women generated by the modernisation and Westernisation of contemporary Korean society. This research is an

attempt to open up empirically what is happening everyday, and to illuminate the problems of women who live there. The results of this investigation will hopefully provide the grounds for more solid theoretical debates and discoveries in the rapidly growing area of globalisation. This research therefore aims;

1] to examine the changes to female identities in Korea generated by the ongoing negotiation of tradition and modernity in the process of modernisation and Westernisation by exploring:

- a) women's roles and expectations with regard to food and people's eating habits,
- b) the ways in which Western values and ideas have permeated Korean culinary culture,
- c) the ways in which this process has produced contradictions, tensions, fragmentation and diversity.

2] to attempt to trace the forces creating and reinforcing such tensions, contradictions and ambiguity.

Broadly, two types of original data will be drawn upon:

1] Analysis of the discourse of advertising as a central site of public cultural representation. This will provide insights into changes in public images of women and public cultural flows.

2] Women's speech and writings about their own lives. By looking in detail at the ways women accept, reject, and negotiate contemporary currents of change in their daily lives, it is hoped that the present cultural dynamics of Korean society will be better understood.

Part I consists of three chapters.

Chapter 1 will discuss the ways in which people experience modernity in a consumer society. The ambiguous nature of modernity, and the way in which self-identity is constructed and reconstructed in the process of modernisation, are discussed. In the light of debates on cultural globalisation, the nature of the cultural dynamism in a non-western society which has held on to its own cultural heritage will be explored. The shifting nature of women's identity, their roles and expectations, particularly in Korean society will be also examined.

Chapter 2 discusses the ways modernity is visualised within public culture. It begins with the review of the nature of promotional culture, the role of advertising in the formation of cultural identity in a consumer society, and the implication of women as consumers in this process. It then turns to the unique context of Korea promotional culture in relation to other Asian countries.

In Chapter 3, the current issues surrounding food and women, and the tensions and contradictions in these relationships are delineated. Recent shifts in Korean food pattern are then examined, paying particular attention to the movements from the traditional food culture towards new food trends and eating habits, and to women's changing roles and expectations are discussed.

Parts II and III present the results of the original empirical enquiries.

Part II, which consists of two chapters, explores public images of women and food through a detailed examination of representations in television and magazine advertising.

Chapter 4 presents to a content analysis of advertising, which aims to explore the most commonly portrayed relations between women and food

in promotional culture. It looks at gender relationships, generational differences, and women's roles and activities in public and domestic locations with regard to food.

Chapter 5 explores the dominant images of women in promotional culture in more detail, focusing on the contrasts between women in the public and private domains. Advertising discourses on women's body images and food habits are also investigated employing qualitative analysis.

Part III has three chapters which explore women's private cultures. Their everyday food habits, relationships with food, daily negotiations, tensions and conflicts arising out of the interplay between tradition and modernity will be examined. The analysis is based on letters which women have written, and open-ended interviews in which women talked about their own food habits and their own lives.

Chapter 6 explores the roles and expectations of women at home. It is largely based on the experiences of women who are married and take responsibility for their family's eating. The way they cook, distribute food to the family, and perceive the meaning of food will be discussed. The cooking and eating habits of women before marriage are also examined.

In Chapter 7, women's concerns with diet, body images and eating habits are examined. Additionally, their anxieties and guilt in relation to food and eating are explored.

Chapter 8 focuses on the interplay between the multiple sets of traditional and modern values which coexist in women's everyday lives in contemporary Korea. It focuses particularly on the contradictions and conflicts in women's attitudes, beliefs, and daily food habits. This

exploration will be accomplished by looking closely at the ways in which the meanings of traditional festive occasions are perceived and practised, and their associated food customs maintained and celebrated. Women's tensions and their negotiations with external social changes, and their own choices and resolutions in relation to festival food practices are discussed.

Chapter 9 summarises the issues and discoveries of this thesis. It also points to the limitations of the current research, and suggests possibilities for fuller studies that take the findings offered here as a starting point.

PART I

CHAPTER 1. EXPERIENCING MODERNITY: GENDER, IDENTITY AND SOCIAL CHANGE

1.1. ASPECTS OF MODERNITY

One of the most distinctive consequences of Modernity is unceasing change. People in modern societies are constantly confronted with new modes of life. Traditional norms, values and customs are continually questioned and re-examined. Modernity is also characterised by diversity. Traditional and modern ways of life, and multiple cultures coexist, generating clashes both within and between societies. The uncomfortable coexistence of traditional order and contemporary multiplicity has been defined as the 'ambivalence of modernity' (Bauman 1991:4).

It can be argued that two central axes in the dynamics of modernity are the centrality of individuality on the one side, and materialism of capitalist society on the other. Consequently, contemporary experience and identity can be seen as mediated by the constant interplay between these two forces.

Self-identity

In modern societies, unlike traditional societies, the individual is emancipated from the strong bonds of family, group and community. They are 'free to move from social collectivities to self-determine his/her own actions and even to choose her/his own membership at will' (Sztompka

1993:73). The uniqueness of the individual self is acknowledged and celebrated. However, while individuality is of central importance in modern society, people experience tensions between its pursuit and social being. This is because identity has become progressively more mobile, multiple, personal, self-reflexive, and subject to change and innovation (Lash and Friedman 1992). It has become a focus of personal anxieties.

Zygmunt Bauman has argued that the problem of ambiguity in modernity is resolved through the emphasis on individuality. According to him, problems and uncertainties move from the public to the private sphere, and become by and large personal affairs. He calls this process, the 'privatisation of ambiguity' (Bauman 1991:197). The crisis of self-identity in modern capitalist society is in turn, largely resolved through consumerism. It becomes the most effective solution to the individual's problematic experiences. Bauman further argues that the privatisation of ambivalence creates a systematic dependency on consumerism, which is often misrepresented as freedom of choice and a triumph of individual autonomy. This has important consequences for social and political action.

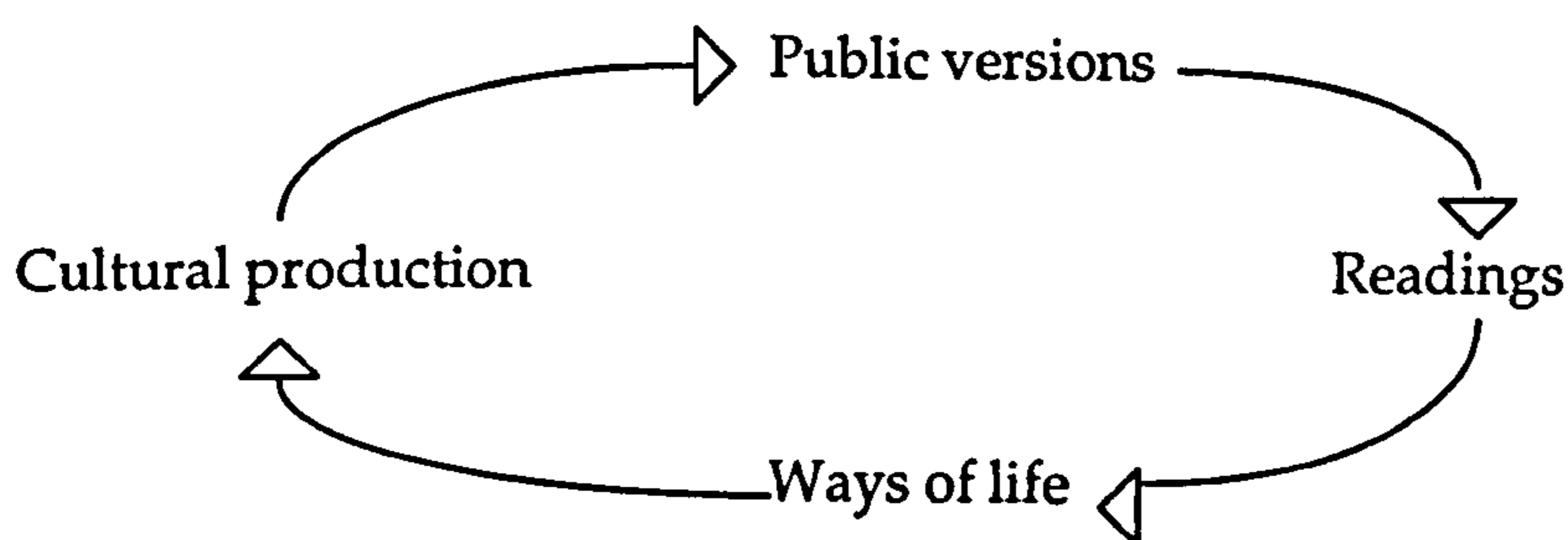
All possible dissent is therefore depoliticized beforehand; it is dissolved into yet more personal anxieties and concerns and thus deflected from the centre of societal power to private suppliers of consumer goods... The gap between desirable and achieved states of happiness results in the increased fascination with the allurements of the market and the appropriation of commodities; the wheels of the self-perpetuating mechanism of the consumer-oriented economy are thereby lubricated, while political and social structures emerge unscathed and intact. (Bauman 1991:262)

Consumption becomes the key to personal happiness, and success is evaluated not only by work and career but also by lifestyle, with consumer goods and material possessions becoming important indices of achievement and social status.

Individuals in modern capitalist society largely construct their sense of self-identity either in comparison to others, or from the reflection of other people's opinions. And since the central means of self-presentation is the body, people are particularly conscious of how they look. Body maintenance and self-presentation become central concern. The body is proclaimed as a 'vehicle of pleasure' which must correspond to idealised images of youth, health, fitness and beauty (Featherstone et al. 1991:179). This process is principally orchestrated through a consumer system in which advertising plays a pivotal role.

Public Culture and Private Life

The inter-connections between representations in public culture and people's everyday lives is intricate. Cultural identity is continually constructed and re-constructed through the complex interplay between public and private experiences. For a clearer understanding of these dynamics, Richard Johnson's diagram can be usefully borrowed. Public version of identity and the enormous variety of ways of life in a certain society are seen as 'two moments of an identity circuit, which feed on each other' (Johnson in Larrain 1994:163) as follows:



The base represents a cultural formation characterised by plurality and multiple ways of life. Cultural institutions such as media, schools, religious organisations and political apparatuses select, interpret and reconstruct these grounded practices and ideas to produce generalised public versions. These public versions of identity influence their ways in which people see themselves and behave through the active processes of reading, viewing, and interpreting. These constructions may take a variety of forms, from acceptance and negotiation to resistance and struggle.

These complex links between public messages and private lives have been further explored by Roger Silverstone in his approach to the 'politics of everyday life' (1994:176). According to him, experience is constructed out of the 'uneven relationship' between the public and private spheres. Since people's daily lives and their relationships to public culture have multiple dimensions, there are inevitably tensions. These appear as frictions between anxiety and security, activity and passivity, creativity and addiction, the public and the private, dependence and independence, and consumption and production (ibid.: 159-60). He goes on to argue that the way in which audiences handle these tensions is located largely in their consumption activities.

.. consumption is seen, both literally and metaphorically, as one of the main processes by and through which individuals are incorporated into the structures of contemporary society... It involves both activity and passivity, competence and incompetence, expertise and ignorance. But it also throws into some relief, and gives some expression to, the particular dynamics of structure and agency - and especially the role of the media in articulating those dynamics...(ibid.: 109)

Therefore, the commonest solutions to the problematic experience of modernity is often found in the sphere of consumption, and people's incorporation into its structures. One of the pivotal roles in this process is carried out by the media, and more particularly by advertising.

To recap; we have so far noted the vulnerability and ambiguity of self-identity in modernity, its crucial link with consumption, and the key organising role of promotional culture. However, this perspective raises further questions. Modernity has been widely understood as the 'modes of social life or organisation which emerged in Europe from about the seventeenth century onwards and which subsequently became more or less world-wide in their influence' (Giddens 1990:1). But if Europe is seen as the originating centre of modernity in the world scene, its experience by countries outside the West must be seen as not only different, but as involving questions about the integrity of traditional cultural formations and identities. The interaction between their own cultural traditions and the dynamics of capitalist economic progress, understood largely in Western terms, therefore needs to be scrutinised carefully.

The rise of Western inflected modernity in the East has generated a high degree of change in people's identity. The ways in which individuals in the East resolve the ambiguities, anxieties and tensions confronting them within everyday life is therefore dissimilar to those in the West. In addition, the ways that the various political and cultural relations to the West are negotiated within public culture in the process of modernisation is vital for a full understanding of changing identities.

To provide insights into the constituents of modernity and the transformations of cultural identity in the non-western world, it is necessary to ask how public culture in the East is being reconstructed in the course of modernisation; what new patterns are forming, how people interact with these emerging systems of representation, and to what extent people comply or resist in the process of coming to terms with them. These questions have recently emerged as central to discussions around the notion of cultural globalisation.

1.2. CULTURAL GLOBALISATION

Cultural Homogenisation

The argument begins with the unexceptional observation that the countries in the world are becoming increasingly interdependent, and coming to constitute a global system. As has been widely argued, since modernity is 'inherently globalising' (Giddens 1990:177), globalisation has become a 'virtually unavoidable problem of contemporary life' (Robertson 1992:409). As part of this process, a number of the countries which were considered 'underdeveloped' in the past, are now experiencing modernisation with its accompanying social and cultural changes.

It has been frequently argued that the powerful forces of Western capitalism have resulted in cultural homogenisation at a global level. In the international context, cultural flows have been predominantly understood in terms of the increased hegemony of Western countries. This paradigm dominated during the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s. Its main concern was with its global domination of Western culture, the uncritical fetishisation of the West throughout the rest of the world, and the growing cultural homogenisation at the global level. Those who warn of 'cultural imperialism' argue that the highly asymmetric international flows of cultural products and communication technology eventually result in cultural imperialism (Schiller 1976, Mattelart 1979). Additionally, it has been warned that cultural synchronisation will eventually obliterate national, ethnic, cultural differences (Hamlink 1983).

There is considerable force to this argument. Multinational capitalism has resulted in a substantial degree of cultural homogenisation on a global

level, rapidly absorbing the specific characteristics of the developing countries or underdeveloped countries despite their rich and original, ethnic cultural traditions. American and West European ideas, values, lifestyles have spread rapidly through consumer products and popular culture in particular.

Whether this process creates the conditions for dominant elites to exercise global cultural hegemony, and whether the ideological messages embedded in popular culture eventually work to serve existing relations of power are crucial political questions with regard to cultural identity. However, in recent years, an alternative perspective has begun to emerge, which sees the relations between Western and indigenous cultures as more complex, less predictable.

Cultural Pluralism

In contrast to theories of cultural imperialism and cultural homogenisation, it is now argued that the global system is increasingly decentralised, and that in the future, global culture will be increasingly pluralistic. It has even been suggested that regional autonomy and power has grown considerably in recent years, providing not only 'a breath of fresh air' and new opportunities for cultural expression, but the conditions for a 'cultural renaissance' in the world's economic and political crisis (Friedman 1994:239-40).

The last two decades have seen structural changes to the economic system on a global scale. Even though large amounts of capital and economic power are still concentrated in the hands of multinational corporations based in the major Western countries, over the same period, some non-western states (the so-called 'Newly Industrialising Countries') have

achieved intensive economic growth and a considerable degree of modernisation. The West is now experiencing a certain structural dilemma, and certain parts of the world have continuously increased the accumulation of capital and their market forces as a consequence of strenuous efforts and struggle.

Amongst the background of this changing global economic structure, the world's emerging cultural configurations have been mapped in a variety of ways. Growing awareness of the power of ethnic cultures, and the complexities of people's interacting with imported cultures have both been emphasised in recent writings. Hannerz (1989), for instance, sketched an ideal model of a future global cultural unification which he calls the 'maturation scenario'. In this conception, there is equal dialogue and exchange between cultures, instead of the world-wide dominance of Western cultural forces and their unilateral reception in non-western countries. Unique amalgamations of indigenous and imported elements appear. The diversity of cultures remains, and generates a process of 'hybridisation', with cultures acknowledging mixed origins, and presenting complex cultural syntheses (ibid.). Unfortunately, this view of the global future appears far too romantic when the present global cultural flows, world-wide cultural trends and subsequent issues of the cultural identity are scrutinised. Yet, the re-discovery of the originality and strength of individual cultures is useful if we are to understand the complexities involved in the maintenance and modification of ethnic cultures in a world context.

The assumption underlying Hannerz's ideal global culture is the recognition of people's capacity to respond actively and creatively in their encounters with foreign cultures. Their ability to resist, interpret, and re-invent foreign values and ideas have been particularly praised by post-modern theorists. As Mike Featherstone (1991) argued for example:

Cross-cultural encounters tend to problematize the taken-for-granted everyday cultural habits and dispositions which have sedimented into social life. On the global level postmodernism not only signifies a revival of the neo-romantic interest in the exotic order, but the fact that the other now speaks back and disputes the claims of what were once assumed to be the universal cultural centres of the world and are now increasingly seen merely as centres of the limited Western project of modernity. (Featherstone 1991:147)

In this perspective, the established distinction between the centre and periphery of global culture, which has been largely taken for granted, appear far less clear-cut nowadays when the complexity of cultural interactions is taken into account. Acknowledging the 'shifting power-balances' and 'interdependencies' which generate resistance and modification is a useful step towards a fuller analysis of changing cultural patterns in non-western societies, which are in the process of being penetrated by the logic of capitalism and consumerism.

However, whilst the durability of ethnic cultures is helpful for an understanding of the complex mechanism of cultural maintenance and changes, the fear of the domination by Western cultural influences has not disappeared. On the contrary, it continues to exert considerable force in non-western societies faced with rapid capitalist expansion and consumerism, and the resulting crises of national and individual identity.

Modernisation in East Asia

The countries of Asia, and East Asia in particular, have been one of the major sites of modernisation within the world economic system in recent years. They have experienced both the rapid growth of advanced capitalist economic structure and intensive consumption-oriented cultural patterns

within a relatively short period. At the same time, they have developed a unique form of modernity based on their own historically rich cultural tradition. Unlike the Western emphasis on the sovereignty of self-developing individuals, Asian values are kin and community-orientated. This fundamental difference of philosophy has generated a different experience of modernity from the Western world.

Jonathan Friedman is among the members of recent writers who have recognised the emerging importance of Asia in the world context, arguing that there is a tendency within these 'new rising hegemonic zones' towards integration and the formation of larger regional units which may provide possible centres of the future world economy. He has characterised the cultural trajectory of these countries as 'the establishment of modernity with a locally dominant modernism' (Friedman 1994:252). He goes on to argue that this demonstrates the possibilities for cultural creativity and social reorganisation in the midst of disorder within the global system. At the same time, Western cultural penetration into East Asia is both more widespread and deeper than ever before. In the light of current debates about both cultural globalisation and cultural diversity, the economic development in this region and the accompanying social, and cultural changes need more careful examination. Increasing cultural tension and disorder in the process of modernity, and cultural traditions entwined with new foreign ideas and values in this region need to be explored further and explained more clearly.

The process by which traditional values and lifestyles have been transformed in line with the process of modernisation in East Asian region is unique. In order to understand the nature of this uniqueness, however, a brief historical account will be useful.

For the purpose of this discussion, I am going to define East Asia as consisting of three traditional societies, that is; China (The Republic of China), Japan (The state of Japan) and Korea (South Korea). These are core areas within which a great number of commonalities in social foundations, values, and the modes of life can be found.

While each has its own particular traditional cultures and national features, all three share a common background.

East Asia is a great region of the past, having been in the forefront of world development for at least two thousand years, until the sixteenth, seventeenth, or eighteenth century, after which it suffered a relatively brief but deeply felt eclipse. Projecting recent patterns of achievement by countries in the region.... most observers now agree that East Asia promises to be a great region of the future. (Rozman 1993:6)

As this thumbnail sketch indicates, the East Asian countries remained a relatively separate and self-contained part of the world, maintaining unique regional characteristics, until Westerners arrived in the nineteenth century. All three countries then experienced the ideological tensions and confrontations between the East and the West, followed by war, and the hard win re-establishment of social and economic stability in the years since 1945. By the 1980s, the whole region had begun to re-appear on the world scene as a major economic force, assuming an important role in the world market economy.

The rapid economic development has brought about dramatic social changes which have had a great impact on people's lives. The process of modernity in this region, particularly during this century, has generated both tremendous dynamics and enormous tensions, producing multiple adjustments, confusions, and modifications in values and beliefs.

As Dallmayr argues, 'exposure to modernisation, and Westernisation for most non-western cultures in particular, is an intensely painful and wrenching encounter' (1993:204). The relatively sudden introduction of foreign ideas, and the intensity of the modernisation process in East Asia have generated particularly acute conflicts and contradictions. Since tradition can be seen as a 'latent reservoir or unfulfilled promises and future hopes', the 'continuation of the past' might be hopeful and progressive (ibid.: 209). However, the combination of tradition and modernity in this region is actually experienced as a 'peculiar meshing of the temporalities of past and future' (ibid.: 207), creating ambiguity and painful tensions.

For women, this encounter is particularly uncomfortable. The collision between the sharp edges of tradition and modernity have deepened contradictions in beliefs, manners and habits, whilst the rapid spread of Western ideas, values and lifestyles has intensified the gap between old and new, past and future, creating confusion, anguish and dilemmas.

1.3. WOMEN'S IDENTITY AND MODERNITY

Two Expectations

Women today are confronted with conflicting concepts of female identity. Dominant values suggest that women's primary role is being a wife and mother, and that their 'place' is therefore in the home and with the family.

On the other hand, there is a powerful set of images, which constantly present women as independent, free individuals.

Rapid social changes, increased concern with individualism, and the extensive impact of modern technologies have greatly influenced people's values and attitudes over the past three decades, particularly in relation to views of women's roles and expectations. Industrial capitalist society claims to guarantee equal opportunities to every member of society based on competency. Legal and political changes, technological advances, broadened opportunities in education and employment, and the extensive information systems available to the majority of people combine to promote the value of individuality, autonomy, choice and self-direction. Women are therefore expected to learn how to be 'successful' members of society. They are expected to compete in the job market. They have to be competent and independent in social life. At the same time, they are still regarded to be ideal partners and mothers.

However, women who attempt to express themselves by broadening their boundaries from the traditional space of home and family, to a wider domain, have been hindered in various ways. Women who want to achieve for themselves and direct independent lives are continually confronted with a dilemma. Sussman articulates how this contradiction is negotiated within women's real lives and yet remains unsettled:

"The many voices juxtapose the rights of the individual for self fulfilment, particularly women, and the primacy of the family as a unit with the consequential commitments to its endurance, providing a safe haven for the nurturance and development of its young. Other voices call for the transformation of long ingrained and almost instinctual ideologies which emphasise generosity and the giving of one's self, especially the giving nature of women. The Tower in the Eros and Psyche myth tells her to curb her generosity, to avoid giving away critical parts of herself automatically and spontaneously before integration and wholeness of self occurs. (Sussman 1984:2-3)

For this reason, she argues, the vital issues of women and their dilemma today 'remain unresolved, and the world survives without rupture'. This fundamental dissonance centres around a tension between women's identity as individuals and their role as social beings situated within the family.

Traditionally, the virtues of womanhood has been largely identified with motherhood, and 'true happiness' and 'success' in life have been firmly located within the family context. Accordingly, women, with a growing awareness of their individuality and self-identity, who attempt to demonstrate their commitment to motherhood at the same time as extending their interest outside the home, face the problem of balancing individualism and familism (Carden 1984).

Most women work their way out of this dilemma by subscribing to the importance of the 'love and marriage' formula, which suggests home and family as being of prime importance. This view is reinforced by powerful social forces. The dominant culture confirms that to be a 'proper woman', she should obtain and maintain a stable relationship with a man, and build a successful family. Young single women therefore have to be aware of the 'marriage market', try to look attractive, and gain men's love so as to accomplish marriage successfully. This almost universal cultural dictate has greatly influenced women's values and attitudes. Socialisation into the paradigm of 'love and marriage' is acquired through the experiences of peer group pressure, and the learning and practising of conventional gender roles at school, in the family and other social institutions (Griffiths 1987). Girls learn to equate their female identity with domesticity and housewifery. They also learn or compromise to give up their own interests for the sake of other members of the family.

Housewifery

Women who are caught between two commitments of work and family often feel obliged to give up their work outside the home. However, the consequence of opting for full-time housewifery and motherhood are not always positive for self-esteem.

Various researches on the reality of housewifery show that the status of home-maker is seen by many women themselves as socially inferior, though the degree of dissatisfaction varies depending on what kind of other job options they have (Bose 1980). Home-making can be considered, particularly among middle class women, as a creative and rewarding leisure. However, the majority of housewives eventually realise that housework is both exceptionally demanding labour and an isolating experience. This generates frustration and even mental illness (Oakley 1974). According to a survey carried out by Allatt et al. (1987), women who had committed themselves to housewifery often displayed ironical and ambivalent attitudes towards their situation. While they admitted that domestic work was demanding, repetitive and monotonous, they attempted to justify their commitment in the name of self-motivation and devotion. If they did not, they often felt irresponsible or guilty.

Women who seek paid employment as well as housewifery, on the other hand, inevitably have to juggle the two responsibilities. When they cannot accomplish this successfully, they often face social disapproval for violating the traditional ideal of a woman's 'place'. Women's employment has culturally different meanings from men's employment. Family demands are assumed to have a higher priority, even in the work place. It is therefore not uncommon for women to lose the family's support for their work, whereas men hold on to it (Ferree 1984). Furthermore, women's

employment is often considered to have negative effects on the family's stability.

Gender Differentiation

The origin of gender divisions can be traced back to both the existence of patriarchy and the emergence of capitalism.

One of the most distinctive characteristics of society today is the clear distinction between the public and private domains, work and rest. In pre-industrial society, the family was the basic unit of economic production. Production was accomplished not solely by the 'wage earning father' but by the household as a whole. The division of labour during this period was based upon age, sex and the position of the family members within the family, not on the distinction between the family and the outside world of commodity production. Women had a respected role within the family since domestic labour was clearly an integral part of the productive activity of the family as a whole. However, capitalism divided material production into its socialised form and private labour. The sphere of commodity production began to be predominantly taken by men. In the mean time, private labour was largely taken on by women at home. This structure has been led to another dichotomization of work and personal life, in other words, the outer world of alienated labour and the inner world of personal feeling, thereby split into the 'personal' and the 'political', and the 'family' and the 'economy' (Zaretsky 1976:30).

Against this background, women's increased participation in the work force today has to be seen as part of a more general process of rapid social change. Sylvia Walby argues that women's labour can be explained in relation to the conflicts and tensions between patriarchal and capitalist

interests. According to her, the patriarchal division of labour in the household and in paid work is important in contemporary societies, which are characterised by the articulation of patriarchy and capitalism (Walby 1986). Patriarchy within capitalist society has pursued 'two paradoxical strategies; excluding women from paid work and confining them to jobs which are graded lower than those of men, which in turn serves the interests of the capitalist system' (ibid.: 244). As a result of this process, she argues, women are confined to a disadvantageous position both in labour market and in the household.

Women's sexuality also plays an important role in generating tensions within their lives. It is, simultaneously, an expression of the career-oriented, charming, independent contemporary woman, and a mark of biological 'destiny' of self-sacrificing, devoted mother. Women are expected to be beautiful and attractive in order to be successful in both parts of their lives. As Gavron puts it, 'women have to run the house effectively but should not be fully submerged by domesticity, which definitely loses sex appeal' (1966:131).

Women and Family

Women's positions within the family have been subject to change with the rise of new forms of family structure and lifestyle. The structure of family has seen a fundamental transformation from extended forms to nuclear forms although the extent and pace of change varies from society to society. This in turn is part of a general shift under industrialisation from the community social life based on collective identity to more individualised patterns. Individualism, which has been central in the process of industrialisation has greatly altered family relationships. Instead of relying on strong family ties, people are encouraged to see their own

job-oriented, independent life as a social accomplishment requiring individual competence. The traditional form of extended family has been replaced by the nuclear family, which is characterised as a conjugal family form consisting of spouse and children. As Goode rightly notes, 'it is the conjugal family form that fits the industrial economy' (1963:267).

Increased educational opportunities, technological innovation, the development of transport, and the consequent freedom of individual mobility have contributed to a greater awareness of personal potentialities and increased expectations of self-achievement. The social world in general has seen a great shift, from a society whose basic structure was determined by kinship and religion to the one determined by economic activity, science, rationality and practicality (Harris 1983).

The contemporary family is characterised as a space of privacy. While women's place has been separated from the public domain, the historically novel sphere of personal life, based on the family, seems to have been left in women's hands. Zaretsky calls it women's new mission; to maintain the realm of private life and personal relations (Zaretsky 1976). At the same time, the individuals are increasingly dependent on a wage as a means of survival, home has acquired new significance as a 'haven in a heartless world', a counterbalance to a material world where money is the central mediator of human relations.

As work becomes increasingly specialised, fragmented and routine, the pursuit of personal life seems to be more home-centred and privatised (Allan 1989). The increasing importance of leisure and consumption activities has also contributed to the value of home as a secure private domain. As economic growth expanded, and technology advanced during the post-war period, the protected space of home and domesticity appeared increasingly desirable in respect to privacy and an affluent

nuclear family lifestyle (Crow 1989). The role of women as home-makers and as consumers has become increasingly significant.

However, while home is a place in which each individual's privacy and freedom are guaranteed, the personal action is not completely free because the family as a social unit is regulated to some degree by the wishes of other household members. For women, both home and family have particularly complex meanings because home is not only a place of privacy, freedom and rest but also a place of responsibility and work, where a certain degree of regularity and predictability in domestic arrangements and routines is expected (Allan and Crow 1989). The responsibility for maintaining home as orderly and comfortable does not fall evenly on family members. It is primarily women's task, thus, 'the identification of her own needs becomes blurred' and 'her own identity as such is fused with others' (ibid.: 7-8). Women's everyday life is often maintained to satisfy others' wishes and needs. The way women perceive home differently from the way other family members do is discovered in everyday life at home.

The changing nature of women's experiences and roles have been examined in general terms. But women in a particular society have their own unique experiences of shifting social expectations and environments. It is therefore time to turn our attention to the region in which this present study is set - East Asia.

1.4. WOMEN BETWEEN CAPITALISM AND CONFUCIANISM

Cultural Heritage in Asia

Women's position in relation to the unique cultural dynamics and economic development in East Asia can be usefully approached through the region's common cultural heritage of Confucianism. The concept of Confucian values refers broadly to a 'complex of attitudes and guides to behaviour that spread from China' (Rozman 1993:7). Over a long period of evolution these have come to permeate every level of social life in this region, and a range of customs and manners.

The core ideas of Confucianism are based on a philosophy of harmony and social cohesion, which extols the unity of heaven and humanity. Since the fundamental goal within Confucian thought is the harmonious and stable order of society and the cosmos, there is an emphasis on hierarchical social structures and authoritarianism, which have created various authority figures including the headship of the family, and the authority of men over women (Weiming et al. 1992).

The basic structure of Confucian thought then, puts more emphasis on the importance of group stability, conformism and cohesion than an individuality, independence, freedom, and self-development. Accordingly, the common educational philosophy of the region teaches that individuals should be disciplined and submerge the self within the group. The instrumental use of education in the pursuit of fame or individual satisfaction therefore conflicts with this tradition. Individualism is portrayed negatively, and 'duty consciousness is more important than rights consciousness' in Confucian culture (ibid.:6).

Work Ethics

The Confucian group ethos has also been central to the drive for national economic development and modernity during the latter part of this century. Individuals are expected to work hard in order to maximise collective benefits, and to secure the harmony of the group. This morality has arguably contributed a great deal to the rapid growth and economic prosperity of the region.

The Confucian work ethic is authoritarian and paternalistic (Kim 1992). The work place is viewed largely as an extension of the patriarchal family. While 'the workers are expected to work as if it is their own personal work, the employers are expected to treat employees like a family' (ibid.: 206).

However, whereas group identity has been vital for social stability in this region, recently it has been increasingly characterised as an obstacle to self-assertion and the pursuit of individual development. The conflict between traditional values and the contemporary emphasis on individualism is a growing point of tension in Confucian societies. On the one hand, there is mounting criticism of collectivism, increased resistance to the traditional virtue of self-sacrifice, and resentment towards the emphasis on loyalty and obedience to the management among some workers. On the other hand, continuing dependence on senior workers in the hierarchy, and expectations of manager's treatment of themselves like a family are also revealed. This obvious contradiction was explored by Kim (ibid.) in his path-breaking ethnographic study of Confucian industry, which concluded that whereas some people see tradition as 'exploitive' or 'backward', for others it is 'protective' and 'orderly' (ibid.: 200).

Family

The family has a fundamental importance in East Asian societies. Historically, it has been a basic model for social organisation. Social structures and values have been based on familial ethics. Even marriage was seen as an affair between families rather than between individuals (Deuchler 1992). A Confucian family is characterised by three distinctive elements; hierarchical order involving authoritarian headship, group identity based on self-sacrifice, and a strict distinction between men and women.

Firstly, authority in the family is concentrated in the hands of the family head, generally the father. The head of the family not only controls the family internally, but also represents the family to the outside the world. The strong value placed on filial piety in these societies has sustained this pattern of patriarchal authority. Concern and respect for the elderly within the family and the wider community has also contributed to its maintenance.

Secondly, roles and responsibilities within the family are based on a clear hierarchical order (Lee 1992a). Individual family members are expected to submerge their own goals in pursuit of collective benefits and the welfare of the family.

Thirdly, there is a clear hierarchical order of gender based on the subordination of women to men. Accordingly, in Confucian societies, there is a particularly sharp distinction between the man's outer or public sphere and women's inner or domestic sphere, emphasising the different functions of husband and wife. This dichotomy is further reinforced by the two important rules of descent in East Asian families, both of which are strictly male oriented; the inheritance of family property, and the transmission of its ownership and management (Lee 1992b).

Gender

The clear hierarchical gender relation within Confucian thought have created a deeply rooted tradition of women's subordination to men in these societies. In Confucian philosophy, the union between man and woman is viewed as the root of all human relations. As heaven (yang) dominates earth (yin), so the male has precedence over female (Deuchler 1992). The harmonious union of man (as heaven) and woman (as earth) is seen as the foundation of human morality.

Traditionally, there were four basic expectations of women's behaviour based on Confucian values; moral conduct, proper speech, proper appearance and womanly tasks (Kim 1969). Additionally, women's life was also characterised as revolving around three basic relationships; she has to serve her parents-in-law, be an obedient and dutiful wife, and a wise and caring mother. These generated three common titles describing women; virtuous wife, obedient daughter-in-law and chaste widow. Female position was expressed concretely in the division of household space. Women were largely educated by the elder women of the family, and their learning focused in their duties, their responsibilities to fit into the social structure rather than to develop their individuality.

Whereas the position of women within a Confucian patriarchal family is 'achieved', a man's status is 'ascribed' (Lee 1992c:418). A woman gains her status by first dedicating herself to the husband's family. But ultimately, the most important achievement of a woman is to bear a son. Accordingly, motherhood has been considered as the highest value and the greatest virtue in women's lives.

The modern idea of individuality contradicts this Confucian view of women for two reasons; firstly because the basis of Confucian thought is social harmony and order, and secondly, because Confucian order maintains gender relation within a strict hierarchical structure, in which women are subordinate. Recent structural changes, ignited by the force of modernity, have transformed the expectations of women in many areas; education, employment, family patterns, lifestyle and other expectations. Therefore, Weiming and his colleagues have argued that for contemporary women, who remain constrained in the hierarchical Confucian structure, 'the most worrying/bothering thing is to answer the question what it means to be an individual woman in the family' (Weiming et al. 1992:120).

1.5. THE CHANGING IDENTITIES OF KOREAN WOMEN

Korea has maintained and developed a unique historical, cultural tradition amongst these East Asian countries. Korea adopted Confucian ethics as a basis for social life during the period of the Yi-dynasty which started in 1592, and since then the country has been strongly influenced by Confucian thought in many ways. Because it was isolated from the Western world until the late 19th century, it has maintained exceptional singularity in terms of ethnicity, national sovereignty, language, and culture. From soon after the Korean war, however, the country has experienced rapid economic growth and become an important actor within the world market. It has also experienced a rapid social transition from traditional to modernised form of social institutions. Accordingly, women in Korea have experienced considerable changes in their roles, expectations and identities at the both public and private level.

There are two, largely contradictory theories, concerning the characters of Korean women. On the one hand, it is suggested that the authority of Korean women is so powerful that it is not even necessary to discuss the extension of women's rights. In other words, motherhood and women's roles in Korean society has been seen as highly dynamic and powerful. This argument is generally based on the fact that women in Korea have traditionally had strong maternal power, do not adopt their husband's surname after marriage, and more recently, have held almost absolute economic power in terms of domestic consumption. In contrast, those who argue that women in Korea have been thoroughly discriminated against and oppressed within a patriarchal order quote as examples the maintenance of the system of the 'legal head of the family', the norm of women's chastity, and traditionally accepted 'seven vices' imposed on women under Confucianism.¹ (Lee 1985:118). These conflicting views suggest that the question of the status of Korean women is complex rather than simple. However, some light can be shed on the matter if we trace through the three basic historical stages of social transformation (Cho 1991).

Three Rules of Women

The first stage is the period of the Yi Dynasty, that began in the late 16th C and ended in the late 19th C. This was a time when the Confucian view of men and women was widely propagated and accepted. The society during that period was based entirely on agricultural forms of production, which demanded an intensive male labour force. Hence, while men were actively involved in production activities, women were left within the domestic

¹ Women's 'seven vices' are sterility, adultery, impiety to one's parents, vituperation, jealousy, virulent disease and larceny. Women's seven vices were legitimate causes for divorce.

space. At the same time, the political system was centrally administered by an aristocratic class, who sanctified the Confucian idea with its strict demarcation between the status of men and women. Accordingly, women during that period were completely segregated from public places and the power which belongs to the public domain.

It is worth noting, however, that although there was a strong nominal distinction between public and private domains, the society was virtually dominated by nepotism, in which the system of ruling power was dominated by family connections, which blurred the public/ private distinction. This is well represented in the two fundamental virtues, '*chung*' (patriotism) and '*hyo*' (filial piety) that were deeply rooted in the people's way of life during that period. Whenever these contradicted each other, '*hyo*' was prioritised over '*chung*', confirming the family relationships as the most important social base. In other words, the society was 'intricately structured with the combination of a patriarchal class system and consanguinity based on maternal authority' (Cho 1991: 237).

Women in the Yi Dynasty, however, were thoroughly excluded from public power. Instead, under the strong influence of Confucianism, they had to follow three rules named '*Sam jong ji do*' throughout their lives. That is, they were expected to be led by father before marriage, the husband after marriage, and the son after the husband dies. Therefore, it was an unchallenged way of life for women to live as a daughter-in-law, as a wife and as a mother. Women's greatest honour and compensation was to 'bring up successful sons who had power in public places, to be venerated by those sons and to dominate daughters-in-law within the family, thereby confirming their maternal authority as the female head of the domestic domain' (Cho 1988:250). Women, accordingly, had a confident belief in their roles within the family by being submissive daughters-in-law, and benevolent but authoritative mothers.

The Images of 'New Women'

The second stage was the transitional period of colonial domination by Japan in the early 20C. During this period, the social system which had been remained stable over several centuries collapsed, and a new way of life and social system gradually replaced it. Disorder in the class system, emerging pressure from foreign countries, uprisings by farmers and several civil wars generated a widespread experience of poverty and chaos. In this time of national crisis, the importance of women's education began to be emphasised, and images of the educated 'new women' emerged. In addition, the new women's movement gradually began to erode traditional Confucian ideas, and to focus women's attention on the discovery of the self. Accordingly, two contradictory ideas began to coexist, side by side. On the one hand, women were still expected to play the role of a good mother and good wife in order to support men and their public roles for the country. On the other hand, women began to be aware of their individuality and the possibility of diverse social roles. They began to question their traditional role within the extended family. Consequently, a new slogan '*Hyunmo Yangcho* (wise mother, good wife)' emerged to express the central goal of women's education. This term became a popular ideology from the late 19th C until the rapid industrialisation of the 1960s and 70s, 'to construct a modernised industrial country, and to compete with the advanced Western countries', as it was used in Japan during their revolution in the late 19th C (Smith 1983:75). It fitted both the image of the educated modern woman who was free from the extended family and the traditional ideal of the woman who was strongly supportive of her male family members.

The new ideal image of women basically kept the old patriarchal ideology, but expressed it in a more active form. Since the country was going through a period of transition politically and economically, Korean women's strong motherhood role was reinforced. The father became more of symbolic gradually as a symbol rather than an actual authority within the domestic domain. Instead, women virtually became the managers of the home, thereby creating a 'mother-centred family under the strong relationship between mother and son' (Cho 1991:280). This trend was accelerated by the declining power of the spouse's parents, especially mothers-in-law, who used to be dominant in the extended family.

The emergence of the nuclear family during this period is also noteworthy. The nuclear family became the ideal modern family, in which the husband had high educational qualifications and economic activities outside the home, while the wife became a professional home manager, and a capable partner. However, although the family structure and the nature of the relationship between the couple changed, the new women's role was still confined within the boundaries of domestic space.

'Beloved Wife'

The third stage is the period of rapid industrialisation and modernisation in Korea, which began in the 1960s. While the country has seen rapid economic development, the traditional relationships between men and women have been particularly reinforced by the new industrial capitalist order. This has produced a new form of patriarchy, which combines the traditional view of gender relations with the values of Western industrial society (Cho 1991).

Married women devote themselves to constituting home as an emotional haven, and are expected to protect their husbands and children from the competitive social world. Although the ideal of the nuclear family emphasises equal companionship between men and women, and therefore seems to free women from the patriarchal ideology of the extended family structure, it continues to limit women's participation in the public domain, thereby continuously confining them to the domestic sphere.

Another distinctive feature of the present situation is the increased emphasis on romantic love. Young women become attached to the idea of romantic love and egalitarian marriage which fits the idealised image of the nuclear family. Established Korean images of modern women have been united with the typical Western images of femininity and family roles, thereby creating a new fashionable relationship between men and women. The ideology of '*Hyunmo Yangcho*' (Wise mother, Good wife) from the times of Japanese domination has been transformed into the theme of '*Successful husband, Beloved wife*', which emphasises romantic love and equal partnership. This slogan was created by one of the oldest women's monthly magazines in Korea '*Yeowon*', which launched a campaign in the early 1980s, suggesting that women's desire for an active role could be best expressed both by supporting their husbands in their struggle for success, and building up women's confidence and capability in the domestic place. This widely propagated ideology of the new Korean women yielded an image of 'cute, lovely and dependent wife'.

Superficially, the dynamics of capitalism which has re-structured many aspects of Korean society in recent decades seemed to have diluted the traditional Korean patriarchal ideology, which lasted for several hundred years, and which had explicitly protected male superiority in both the public domain and as the head of the family. In this context, mothers, who traditionally tried to realise their dreams and hope by bringing up sons,

and assisting husband, still hold a 'strong attachment to mother-son relation' (Lee 1985:101) rather than to equal partnership between husband and wife. Therefore, the new capitalist patriarchal ideology laid on top of the traditional ideal of strong motherhood, has created a new duality, that is, 'strong maternal power' (Cho 1991:286). Unlike the household management pattern of many Western families, the majority of Korean women today exercise total economic power over domestic matters. This can be understood as the outcome of the combination between the traditional image of the 'tough and strong mother' and the new image of the wife as 'a home manager'.

As this instance makes clear, the impact of the rapid social transformation within a relatively short period has produced new forms of coexistence of tradition and emerging modes of life. With the process of modernisation in Korea led by intense economic development, consumerism has become central to organising and expressing self-achievement and happiness. The messages of promotional culture have come to play an increasingly key role in constructing self-identity, constantly mapping out a view of the world and shaping individuals' ways of life. The next chapter will therefore examine the significance of promotional culture in the contemporary capitalist world, and explore its implications for women. This will provide a better basis for understanding the changing identities of Korean women.

CHAPTER 2. VISUALISING MODERNITY: WOMEN, CONSUMERISM AND PROMOTIONAL CULTURE

2.1. CONSUMER CULTURE AND ADVERTISING

Modern culture is characterised by the extension of capitalist logic and the growth of consumption. As discussed in the previous chapter, individual identity in the contemporary situation appears more fluid, selective and able to change, therefore a matter of choice. Consumer culture plays a key role both in forming and expressing these choices, and advertising is at the heart of this process in a modern capitalist society. Advertising straddles the economic and cultural domain of modernity. It functions to aid the circulation of commodities and to communicate the cultural meanings of consumption. It can be argued that women's identity in a modern consumer society is linked to both these aspects of advertising. While the patterns of many women's everyday lives are organised in important ways through their material consumption activities, their available identities are mediated through the process of advertising which constantly shapes, reflects and reconstructs them. This chapter therefore sets out to explore the ways in which women's identities are negotiated in and through promotional culture.

Consumer Culture

As a beginning, it may be useful to note the changing nature of social

relations since the rise of consumer culture, and the increased symbolic significance of consumption activities. Since the emergence of a mass consumption society, individuals have experienced radical changes in social relations. Whereas a family in the past was a united site of both production and consumption, the strong bonds of traditional family relations have been fundamentally transformed by the shift from domestic labour into manufacturing due to the appearance of the factory system, industrialisation and technological revolution (Ewen 1976). In this process, hierarchical relationships within the family have softened, and individual entitlement to independence been more widely recognised. At the same time, material possessions - the products of the new economic system- have become more important as a way of expressing individual identity.

It has been widely argued that material objects have both functional utility and symbolic meaning. In modern societies, goods are largely organised around this second aspect. This symbolic dimension of consumption has been usefully illuminated by the observations of Douglas and Isherwood (1979). They have noted that consumer goods are invested with cultural significance beyond utilitarian values, and that they therefore communicate cultural meanings. They further argue that consumption is an active process in which social categories are being continually re-defined, and through which people 'actively make a statement about which world they belong to'. According to this position, consumption provides a potent medium of individual self expression since 'enjoyment of physical consumption is only a part of the service yielded by goods, and the other part is the enjoyment of sharing names' (ibid.: 75). In other words, consumption activities operate as a means of individuality, expressing of differentiating oneself from others, and confirming one's sense of belonging to a certain culture and a certain society at a particular time. This double desire for both a sense of distinction from others and a sense of

belonging to a certain group is central to the formation of contemporary consumer culture.

In a consumer society, a new type of personality based on individuality and consumption seems to have appeared. Success in a modern consumer society is often evaluated not only by work and career but also by consumption and lifestyle. As consumer goods and material possessions have become a more important index of a person's social status and identity, people have become more and more infatuated with the potential of consuming power. Similarly, with the rise of individualism, images of persons and social groups have become increasingly important. The obsessive concern with self images is interpreted by Fox and Lears as follows:

... maintenance of selfhood becomes a lifetime task for individuals - an endless series of exercise in self-improvement, personal development, self-expression, mental and physical tone, 'selling oneself', cultivating approval, 'winning friends and influencing people', continuing down to the present outpouring of manuals on such subjects as 'power launching' for teaching aggressive (and by now somewhat hysterical) self-assertion. (Fox and Lears 1983:21)

As noted above, individuals in a consumer society have been captured by the pursuit of self-presentation. However, achieving improvements in self-image through consumption is more problematic than it appears at first. As consumption has become a more central site of power, so the master ideology of consumerism that underpins it has been challenged. Most of all, the notion of free choice in consumer culture is questioned. It has been argued that choices, leisure, lifestyles and consumption are not 'free' but are constrained by certain forces, and that consumption therefore presents a complex contemporary political issue. Tomlinson (1990) has questioned the concept of free choice in the consumer market as follows:

Our personal identity is created out of elements created by others and marketed aggressively and seductively. This is the key to what have emerged as the dominant modes of consumption, based upon an individualised sense of selfhood and well-being and the notion of free choice. But if we think we are free when our choices have in fact been consciously constructed for us, then this is a dangerous illusion of freedom.
(Tomlinson 1990: 13)

He further argues that consumer choice is highly constructed, and freedom of goods for some people goes hand-in-hand with subordination for others because the construction of consumer culture is an ideological process. This aspect is concentrated within the process of advertising.

Advertising as Cultural Agent

In contemporary societies, our experiences, knowledge of the world, and social interactions are increasingly organised by the mass media. As a cultural institution, the mass media contribute centrally to the creation of a symbolic world, and mediate our cultural experience by the diffusion of symbolic forms (Thompson 1990). They also modify or undermine old forms of interaction, and reorganise and reconstitute new forms (ibid.). Advertising is central to this processes in modern consumer society. By circulating the symbolic meanings of commodities and consumption, and shaping and offering desirable modes of lifestyle, it not only influences people's purchasing behaviour, but also helps organise their cultural values and styles of living.

As noted earlier, it has been widely argued that material goods and consumption activities carry symbolic meanings. However, these meanings are not fixed or static, but 'constantly in transit' with a 'mobile quality' (McCracken 1988:71). McCracken has observed that there are three locations of meaning: a culturally constituted world, the consumer goods,

and the individual consumer. The 'culturally constituted world' is the world of everyday experiences, shaped and constituted by the beliefs and assumption of culture. He sees culture basically as the 'lens' through which the world is seen, and the 'blueprint' for social activity by which the coordinates of social action and productive activity are determined (ibid.: 73). According to him, meaning is constantly flowing from culturally constituted world to consumer goods, and from consumer goods to the individual consumer. Advertising is seen as the central instrumental channel through which the meaning is moved around this circuit. For this reason, advertising has been understood as a central dynamic which maintains a consistency between the 'order of culture' and the 'order of goods' (Sahlins 1976:178). Additionally, advertising has been seen as the 'official art of twentieth century capitalist culture' (Schudson 1986:) and 'indispensable for the stability of capitalism' (Jhally 1987:197). In this analysis, the most significant role of advertising is to mediate between the social world and consumer goods and activities by constituting symbolic meaning within the consumer world, rather than by creating consumer demands and influencing the market economy.

The centrality of advertising in modern industrial society is clearly discussed by Sut Jhally. He contends that advertising basically represents person-object relationships, and that its function is to mediate and give meaning to the relationship between people and commodities:

The fetishism of commodities consists in the first place of emptying them of meaning, of hiding the real social relations objectified in them through human labour, to make it possible for the imagery/symbolic social relations to be injected into the construction of meaning at a secondary level. Production empties. Advertising fills. The real is hidden by the imagery (1987: 51).

Since advertising is understood as to 'refill the empty space of a commodity with meaning' (ibid.: 197), it clearly has a central importance in modern capitalist culture.

He has further argued that person-object relationships have been maintained through the three stages of the developmental process as follows. In a traditional pre-industrial society, objects were given meanings by being integrated with older forms of cultural life based around the local community, religion and the extended family. The relationship between people and things was mediated by old ethnic cultures. In an industrial society, however, people are exposed to a new world and a new mode of production. The validity and significance of older ethnic cultures have been eroded and displaced. As a consequence, the society enters a transitional stage in which the old and new ways of living coexist and collide, resulting in a 'cultural void' (ibid.: 195). In the third stage, the tension and contradictions of industrial society are resolved in a late-capitalist society by consumption and the function of the marketplace. The cultural void, created by industrial society has been filled with the symbolic forms of advertising messages and popular culture. Advertising in a consumer society, therefore, supersedes the role of religion in a traditional society which earlier generations used, and becomes their quest for the meaning of life. In an industrial capitalist society, the sacred role of religion in a traditional society has been largely replaced by advertising, and people accept in 'blind faith' the message that advertising creates. Alongside his observation of the 'sacred' role of advertising in a modern capitalist society, Jhally has contended that the blind faith in consumerist logic leads to questionable consequences which often mystifies and conceals various political issues. This argument however, is part of a longer debate about the ideological nature of advertising.

In its broadest sense, ideology can be understood as a set of ideas which function in the interest of power. Thompson states:

The concept of ideology can be used to refer to the ways in which meaning serves, in particular circumstances, to establish and sustain relations of power which are systematically asymmetrical - what I shall call 'relations of domination'. (1990:7)

The ways in which advertising serves to sustain asymmetrical gender relations is a major theme of this thesis, which we shall return to in detail in later chapters.

It has also been argued that advertising in a modern capitalist society plays a role as an agent of identity formation (Kellner 1992). While the messages of advertising interpret what is socially desirable and meaningful, they simultaneously construct possible new lifestyles, thereby providing various models of desirable new identities:

"An ad magically offers self-transformation and a new identity, associating changes in consumer behaviour, fashion, and appearance with metamorphosis into a new person (Ibid.: 163).

However, the constant creation and mobilisation of new identities can be problematic. This may be explored by looking a little more closely of these major features of advertising; image-orientation, fragmentation, and ambiguity.

The Process of Advertising

Contemporary advertising is basically image oriented. However, image making involves manufacturing ambiguity. The ambiguous nature of advertising is usefully elaborated by Boorstin as follows:

... advertising has a unique capacity for sustaining a productive tension and ambiguity in its juxtaposing of images and symbols. Images from quite different contexts can coexist without contradiction because the message is not being communicated as a 'rational argument'; they are meant to rather evoke the realm of 'meaning' - and, since the symbols are only 'suggestive'... the ordinary rules of logical inference simply do not apply. The essence of modern advertising is not truth but believability (1962:226).

In addition, advertising frequently utilises strategies for the creation of needs and desires, and this often results in fragmentary, illogical and contradictory messages. Fragmentation often becomes a further source of ambiguity. It has been argued that one of the basic features of late capitalism is the transformation of reality into images (Jameson 1984). As part of this process, people's dreams and desires in relation to material consumption may be translated into illusory images, symbols and signs, which may lead in turn, to the creation of false needs and mystified satisfaction (Baudrillard 1983). According to this view, advertising not only contributes to the construction of desirable new identities, but also actively destabilises one's identity (Kellner 1992, 1995). It creates 'highly unstable, fluid, shifting and changing identities' by offering an array of possible new lifestyles (Kellner 1992:173-4).

The problematic nature of advertising messages is particularly well developed in the arguments that fragmentation and ambiguity stem from two main sources: the nature of human needs, and the nature of media representation. Leiss and his colleagues for example, argue that people's desire does not need any integrated form of expression:

The ambiguity in personal experience, wherein individuals maintain separate domains of happiness and unhappiness, is rooted in this fragmented state of needs; elements of different types of desire exist side by side to be combined temporarily and then rearranged as the latest opportunity for satisfaction is presented... Advertising stands at the cross-

roads where the two sets of ambiguities meet and interact. (Leiss et al. 1991:71)

Additionally, the ambiguous nature of advertising messages themselves has been clearly stated by Schudson (1986). He argues that the people pictured in magazine advertisements or television commercials are abstract people, while actors in a play or television series generally portray particular people with particular names who exist in a set of relations with other fictional characters:

The actor or a model (in advertising) does not play a particular person but a social type or a demographic category... She is to represent either the middle-American housewife or the affluent American housewife, but never a particular person.(ibid.: 211)

Since the boundaries of knowledge and information defined by the media, and people's interaction to it are 'quasi-interactive' (Thompson 1990), the ambiguous nature of the media message, and people's multiple readings and interactions with it may produce the room for the ideological process to occur.

The above argument may also be helped by a fuller understanding the cultural world of advertising. It has often been argued that advertising reflects and re-creates certain stereotyped ideals. Although the symbolic world of advertising is a reflection of the actual world, it is not an exact reproduction. The world advertising portrays largely corresponds with the beliefs and values which people act out and live by, and has to be largely understood as a cultural framework. Goffman pursues this point arguing that people's activity in real life is highly 'ritualised', and that these ritualised social actions are even more highly patterned and conventionalised in the world of advertising (Goffman 1976):

By and large, advertisers do not create the ritualised expressions they employ; they seem to draw upon the same corpus of display, the same ritual idiom, that is the resource of all of us who participate in social situations... If anything, advertisers conventionalise our conventions, stylise what is already a stylisation, make frivolous use of what is already something considerably cut off from contextual controls. (Goffman 1976:84)

He called this process in advertising 'hyper-ritualisation'. It makes the world of advertising familiar rather than strange to us because it appears as a 'natural' expression of social life in the 'real' world. This also helps cement the 'familiarity' that audiences have in their minds (Vestergaard and Schroder 1985:56). Although certain messages are created in circumstances of 'unfamiliarity' by breaking the conventions of social relations, they are used as an exceptional strategy. Most advertising is based on the familiarity of commonly shared cultural codes.

Consequently, it tends to reinforce conventional stereotypes and asymmetrical social relations including those related to gender roles. Advertising defines what is good and desirable, and what is not, and delineates the boundaries between gender roles and behaviour that is acceptable and unacceptable in the social world. As various studies have shown (e.g. Dominick and Rauch 1972, Courtney and Whipple 1983), advertising is closely linked with patriarchal codes, defining and reinforcing dominant gender roles. However, this does not necessarily tell us anything about the way these images work with audiences.

While early studies on the impact of advertising messages on their audience were mainly concerned with tracing possible "effects" on attitudes and beliefs, attention over recent decades has increasingly been drawn to the audiences' active involvement in the communication process. The most crucial redefinition of the process of media communication has been the discovery of the importance of reading/interpreting of media messages, suggesting that mass communication is not a unilateral but a

reciprocal process. In an influential recent statement of this position, Leiss and his colleagues (1990) have argued that only when the audience relates and responds to the message, is the transfer of meaning completed and meaning given life.

The meaning of an ad does not float on the surface just waiting to be internalised by the viewer, but is built up out of the ways that different signs are organised and related to each other, both within the ad and through the external reference to a wider belief system. More specifically, for advertising to create meaning, the reader or the viewer has to do some 'work'. Because the meaning is not lying there on the page, one has to make an effort to grasp it. (ibid.: 201)

A similar observation had already been made earlier by Judith Williamson (1978). She drew attention to the central role of audience participation in the communication process, articulating the importance of readers/viewers' response to the message by declaring that 'advertising works not 'at' us' but 'through' us:

... advertising seems to have a life of its own; it exists in and out of other media, and speaks to us in a language we can recognise but a voice we can never identify... the ad in any case does not claim to speak from them, it is not their speech. Thus, there is a space, a gap left where the speaker should be; and one of the peculiar features of advertising is that we are drawn on to fill that gap, so that we become both listener and speaker, subject and object. (Williamson 1978:14)

As the above statements clearly suggest, the process of advertising involves the audience in the work of reading. Audiences as viewers/readers are actively implicated in the transfer of meaning, they make sense of the message, and interpret the meaning of the advertisement with a certain 'frame of reference'. In order for the transfer of meaning to take place and be completed, according to Williamson, the product the advertisement promotes must already have a meaning to be transferred, and the audience needs to know the meaning of the person and activities being presented in

relation to the product in the advertisement. She calls this a 'referent system'.

The *gap* between the message of an advertisement and the audience's active interpretation of it creates the room in which ambiguity exists. According to Williamson, this is the room where ideology is possibly concealed. In what patterns ideological messages of advertising are possibly created in a hidden form will be discussed later in part II.

2.2. ADVERTISING AND WOMEN

For many decades, women have been uniquely connected with advertising in economic and cultural aspects. They are constantly targeted as powerful consumers in the market economy and multiple images of women are constructed and incorporated into the profit making process. In addition, in contemporary society, where people's everyday life and identity are largely fused with consumer culture, women are constantly challenged and infatuated by the vision of ideal social identities, femininity and womanhood offered in the world of advertising.

Women and Consumption

Women have long been placed in an economically vulnerable position within capitalist society due to the male-oriented employment structure. The debate about the relationship between women and the economy, and the connection of women with consumption can be traced back to the origins of the contemporary division of labour. While the new public

production systems largely employed men's labour, women were more likely to remain in the domestic domain because of their role in childbirth and nurture. The dichotomies between the production-public and consumption-domestic domains was largely constructed on the basis of gender during the process of industrialisation. However, this traditional division is no longer so clear-cut in modern capitalism since the female work force within the public domain has dramatically increased. But it has not been surpassed. Rather, it has been recast.

While masculinity and production are still largely linked with the public domain, consumption activity seems to be largely associated with the private domain. Accordingly, the responsibility of sustaining the domestic domain is still largely placed in women's hands despite their increasing involvement in public production. Instead, the domain of consumption has been increasingly privatised, and women are largely empowered to consume in a modern capitalist society.

The process by which women are integrated into the modern economic structure, by taking up the main role in the consumer culture with massive consuming power since the rise of mass consumption, is articulated by Stuart Ewen (1976) and Eli Zaretsky (1976). In his book 'Captains of Consciousness' written in 1976, Ewen argued that industrialism created a contradiction in modern womanhood. It produced an 'out of the home' woman on the one hand, and yet, on the other, the predominant patriarchal ideal still contained women within the traditional domain of the home which became more and more demarcated off from the public space by the external priorities of capitalism. He describes the process by which women are endowed with consuming power as 'the invasion of capitalist ideas into home and family'. Consequently, while the domain of production and industry was viewed as a world of men, he argued, business began to focus on women as consumers in order to secure the distribution of mass-

produced commodities. Women's day-to-day consumption activities were seen as integral to the sustenance of the productive system. Women's services of family care and domesticity were 'integrated with a new directing power of consumption, through their selection of the goods capitalism is producing' (ibid.: 167-8). These changes fitted in well with the images of 'new women' because of the increasing emphasis on home management and economics. Women's increased education, knowledge of science and new technology have dramatically transformed the image of the traditional housewives into upgraded managers of an elaborated home with a new potential for consuming power. Ewen contends that the hopes of women in modern society have been translated into consumption activities as if consuming power is the key to their future fulfilment.

The dramatic changes in women's social relations are also noteworthy. Zaretsky contends that capitalism has created and secured the home as a new sphere of personal life (1976). The discovery of individuality is largely defined in terms of freedom of choice in consumption in an industrial capitalist society. Women as mothers and wives have been given new responsibilities for maintaining the emotional realm of personal relations in this process, supported through consumerist ideas. Mass consumption has greatly changed images of women, and of housewives and mothers in particular. Women today are more educated, and their lifestyle is more affluent than before. Unlike in the past, they are seen as capable and active participants in social affairs, and are expected to manage personal and social relationships.

Zaretsky argues that this is a transformed power relationship created by capitalism (1976, 1994). By giving women the new responsibility to control the domestic domain which is the centre of emotional and private life, and by urging them to maintain it through consumption, capitalism has largely weakened the importance of the political issues of gender relationship, and

diverted attention away from the wider issues of women's economic position. The capitalisation of the domestic domain has resulted in the mystification of gender and class divisions, and the promotion of consumer based cultural identities (Zaretsky 1976). Women's identity has been largely shaped by being empowered through consumption, and being linked with the domestic domain with the consequently de-politicisation.

Consumption for women is often considered in the context of leisure. The scope of women's daily activities in modern capitalist society have been considerably extended beyond the boundary of the home to public places largely due to their consumption activities. Large department stores, shopping malls and shopping centres have become one of the main sites of women's public activities. Shopping has increasingly become a symbolic and pleasurable form of leisure in addition to its function of purchase.

... the music which creates certain atmosphere, the smell of freshly baking bread, the convenience of a free town-centre car park or the out-of-town car park with cheap petrol pumps. The goods convey pleasure. While the environment conveys pragmatism - both are encoded in the supermarket. (Lunt and Livingstone 1992:98)

Women often use shopping as an opportunity to get out of the house for a pleasurable break. Consumption activities are considered as the major opportunity for involvement in public places for the majority of housewives. As a result, shopping is often considered as a feminine activity. The responsibility for the shopping for domestic needs falls largely upon women and routine shopping for domestic necessities is often hard work for housewives (Oakley 1974). However, women tend to enjoy shopping in spite of its strenuous aspect, because they often derive a sense of self-satisfaction, which comes from consumption and the potential fantasy world it provides.

Women's complex psychological elements in regard to consumption and leisure are played upon by advertising. An ideal world is portrayed by various feminine aspects of home fashions, cookery and domestic lifestyle (Winship 1987). For advertising, women are the crucial target for their marketing.

The Portrayal of Women in Advertising

It can be argued that the images of women in advertising in modern capitalism are largely constructed on the basis of identity of the 'new woman' adopted to the new economic logic, and that they are characterised by an emphasis on individuality, femininity and sexuality.

Individual choice and personal lifestyles are constantly celebrated as mentioned earlier. Advertising continually suggests and emphasises possible ways of achieving individual goals by selling images and lifestyles which play upon the desires of modern women. It promises that independence, professional success, equal relationships or personal happiness can be obtained through individual consumer choices. This idea has been enhanced by the activities of consciousness-raising women's groups, who make a strong suggestion that 'the personal is political' (Winship 1987:125). Advertising tends to reinforce the idea of 'being personal' as the liberated woman's ideal freedom of consumption. The importance of the possession of physical beauty and the empowering of female sexuality can also be understood in the same context. In contrast, the questions of social action and public policy remain hidden in advertising. Concerning the de-politicising role of advertising Rapp argues:

... advertising turns feminist goals into individual life-style when feminism is framed by ideologies of possessive individualism and free choice. (1988:32).

It can be argued that the emphasis on individuality in advertising easily diverts the focus of feminist attention from a critique of unequal social, economic and political relations into matters of personality and individual relationships.

Another main element in the ideal image of modern women is the focus on female beauty. The concept of femininity in modern consumer society seems to be largely understood in terms of body shape, fashion, make-up and other elements of physical beauty. In recent decades, however, the importance of female body images have been re-evaluated by advertisers in response to social concerns expressed by feminist assertions on individuality, independence and freedom. The link between the feminist ideal of independence and individuality and freedom of individual consumer choice has produced a new formula; for women, personal strength, whether social or physical, is the source of power, in other words, a feminist goal. Accordingly, it is constantly emphasised that achieving physical beauty is the key to obtaining freedom and power for women. Beauty and sexuality are continually stressed as the keys to women's self-expression.

Different parts of the body are considered as means of achieving confidence and strength with regard to female attraction. Women's eyes, skin, face, hair, hands, body shape, all become crucial for the empowerment of women. Each part of a woman's body is commodified. As a consequence, considerable effort, anxiety and fear among women has been created.

Ironically, the ideal images of women being sold by modern advertising are characterised by a combination of ideals of feminine beauty which have been traditionally valued, and the individuality, freedom of personal choice and consumption, which modern society holds to be of prime importance. Goldman and his colleagues have called this process 'a détente, or commercial marriage between feminism and femininity':

Meaning of choice and individual freedom become wed to images of sexuality in which women apparently choose to be seen as sexual objects because it suits their liberated interests (Goldman et al. 1991:338).

In exploring process of this link, they examine the way in which feminist discourses have been re-emphasised in the media according to the logic of commodity relations. They make a pun on 'feminism' and 'femininity' in order to contrast and distinguish the two terms, and to reveal the ideological contradiction concealed in the process of commodification in advertising. They suggest that advertising strategically links feminine beauty which is to be seen and sold, with individual action, power and freedom for consumption, for their own commercial purposes. They argue that although this may be seen as 'evidence of a new era of democratic cultural pluralism', it is 'a part of the commercial imperative that takes up and transforms real feminist concerns', (ibid.). They term this contradiction 'commodity feminism':

Commodity feminism appears, at first glance, to take possession of money, work, or power which were previously declared out of bounds to women. The 'new commodity blends of feminism' define access to the realm of money, work and power as legitimate. But, paradoxically, the female body has become a mediating element between the constructed domains of femininity and feminism (Goldman et al. 1991:349).

The mass media often re-define feminism through the commodities and the lifestyles that women can enjoy. They further argue:

The mass media signify femininity by visually emphasising the lines and curves of the female body along with a code of poses, gestures, body cants and gazes. They signify feminism, on the other hand, advertisers assemble signs which connote independence, participation in work force, individual freedom, and self-control. Commodity feminism presents feminism as a style -a semiotic abstraction- a set of visual values that say who you are (ibid.: 337-8).

The social, economic and political relations that lie behind the representations are obscured and de-contextualised in the process of commodification. Therefore, they conclude, femininity is transformed into a commodified form of feminism, and that many faces of feminism appearing in the mass media become merely a single aspect of an 'internally contradictory hegemonic process' (ibid.: 333). This process of the commodification of female beauty produces two consequences for the impact of advertising on audiences; firstly, women's bodies largely begin to be understood as objects of desire, and secondly, women begin to look at themselves through men's eyes since female beauty has been consistently portrayed and established through the male gaze within the mass media.

This process becomes even more problematic in the process of modernisation in a non-western society, where both Western concepts of female beauty and feminist ideas are super-imposed on deeply rooted traditional systems of thinking and representation. The details of this process will be discussed later through the analysis of television and magazine advertisements in part II and the examination of women's everyday lives in part III of this thesis.

Food Advertisements

The images of women in food advertisements largely fall into one of two categories; single individuals, and housewives and mothers within the

context of family. On the one hand, there is the image of a fantasy woman who brings dreams and romance, and is often unattainable. On the other hand, there is the image of a woman who is always nearby as a wife, a mother, and a home-maker, who can provide a haven from the competitive and harsh world outside.

Food

There are two very different concepts of food mobilised in advertising: as a source of essential nutrients for health and nourishment, and as a source of pleasure and luxury. The consumption of food in the first sense is generally related to everyday life, mainly in the domestic setting. Food in the latter sense is often consumed in the context of leisure, entertainment, special occasions or as a reward, and often in public places. Foods such as sweets, cakes and alcoholic drinks are often portrayed in association with desire, sexuality and exciting moments of life.

Food in advertising has a closer cultural connection with women rather than men. Expressions given to various tastes for example; 'sweet', 'luscious', 'scrumptious' or 'honey', are commonly used as descriptions of women (Women's Monitoring Group 1987). Diet foods are largely advertised for women rather than for men. Chocolates, sweets, biscuits and cream cakes, which appear to be highly tempting but to be avoided in slimming, are also targeted at female consumers.

Cooking

Women's domestic relations to food are also portrayed in two contradictory images: as nurturer/mother and as partner/wife. Women are expected to maintain these two roles which are often in conflict. The Women's Monitoring Network (1987) has argued that in male terms, a

woman must be both a nurturer and sex-object, and thus caring with food and seducing with her body. Women's sexuality and motherhood are essentially seen as two sides of the coin in regard to their relation to men, and this is clearly represented in the context of women's cooking.

The ideal images of femininity, both as a caring nurturer and as an enchanting partner, are revealed through the various depictions of cooking in food advertisements. For instance, the commonly portrayed glamorously dressed woman preparing food in an immaculately organised kitchen not only suggests that she aims to present herself attractively to others, but also implies that food preparation for others is itself pleasurable. Women in food advertisements must successfully satisfy the two conflicting roles and expectations since they are presented as the basis for womanhood and femininity. Examples of Korean advertisements which play upon this logic will be analysed in detail later, in chapter 5. (See the advertisement for Samsung Refrigerators and Cookers on page 155-6 for example.)

Food advertisements present the 'end-product' as attractive and fascinating by abbreviating the tedious processes of shopping, cooking or washing up:

*Food photographs are the culinary equivalent of the removal of unsightly hairs. Not only do hours of work go into the preparation of the settings and the dishes, but the finished photos are touched and imperfections removed to make the food look succulent and glistening. The aim of these photos is the display of the perfect meal in isolation from the kitchen context and the process of its production. There are no traces of the hours of shopping, cleaning, cutting up, preparing, tidying up, arranging the table and the room which in fact go into the production of a meal.
(Coward 1984:104)*

By obliterating all the trace of unpleasant labour, they show how women can obtain rewards and happiness for themselves, and give others pleasure without the tedium.

The Body

In the same way that the process of cooking as tedium is omitted, the realities of women's biology are rendered taboo. The 'uncomfortable' aspects of women's physical nature are removed, and cultural artificiality inserted, thereby relating women's image with the 'pure' statue of the Madonna. Fat, eating, ageing in relation to women's metabolism are made invisible. Instead, women's youth, an immaculately maintained face, skin and body are praised.

Rosalind Coward (1984) argues that food advertisements often tacitly mystify images of women by replacing parts of their bodies with food, thereby blurring the distinction between food and the tempting sensuality of women. She coins the term 'food pornography' to decipher the ideology encoded in the photography of foods made to generate women's desire and guilt. Women gratify their desire for food by watching/reading 'food pornography'. Although food is frequently presented as a source of women's enjoyment and self-pleasure, the necessity to diet to achieve an ideal 'female body shape' is suggested simultaneously. Desire and guilt in relation to women's food consumption are explained as components of an ideology which constantly confines women within a patriarchal structure. Coward argues:

Oral pleasures are only really permissible when tied to the servicing of others in the production of a meal. Women are controlled and punished if they indulge themselves (Coward 1984:105).

While women's pleasure seeking and indulgence in their own appetites are continually controlled, women's caring for others is stressed as the 'true' source of happiness. For this reason, women's indulgence in 'food pornography' is immediately accompanied by guilt followed by the

pressure to diet. Cooking food and its beautiful presentation are also seen as an act of subservience and a symbol of willing and enjoyable participation in servicing other people. By continually glamorising the pleasure and happiness of food preparation, and emphasising the expression of affection through a gift of food for others, advertisements sustain those meanings of food for women.

Diet

Presenting beautifully cooked food, and presenting a well maintained, beautifully slim body can be understood in the same manner. Although body and sexuality are often symbolised as a source of power as Goldman et al. (1991) suggest, the underlying assumption is that women's true identities are obtained in relation to others. Women's cooking and serving of others are encouraged, but their own food indulgence is punished. Food advertisements therefore constantly play on women's desire, concern, fear and anxiety in regard to their body images and notions of femininity.

As examined so far, food advertisements denote multiple contradictions. Food for women is both pleasure and anxiety. It involves both self-restraint and nourishment for others. In the world of advertising, the portrayals of food and women constantly reproduce these contradictions by de-contextualising, transforming, abbreviating, and reconstituting reality. Moreover, food advertisements reflect and mould the gender relationship through a constantly updated version of lifestyle, pattern of consumption, and images of women. And yet, advertising seems to continue to maintain women's position as subordinate in a sexually divided hierarchical structure, thereby sustaining the patriarchal order.

2.3. PUBLIC CULTURE IN KOREA

So far in this chapter, the portrayal of women in modern advertising has been discussed, largely on the basis of the mass media in the Western societies. Advertising is both an index of modernisation which buttresses consumer culture, and a potent source of models of self-identity in a consumer society. It has been widely argued that the growth of promotional culture in non-western societies as a consequence of the world-wide expansion of multinational corporations, and especially of international advertising agencies, has contributed significantly to the reinforcement of the Westernisation process. But needs to be asked to what extent this argument is appropriate in the Asian context.

Asia is an example of 'late arriving modernity' - the arrival of a consumer system and a consumer culture in which the identity of the 'consumer' is central. In the last two or three decades, the countries of Asia, largely led by the so-called NICs (Newly Industrialising Countries) have become relatively prosperous, and consumption has gathered momentum alongside industrialisation. This is well explained in the following cover story from the Far Eastern Economic Review at the end of the 1980s:

To the delight of multinational advertising agencies and marketers, newly affluent Asian consumers are going on a buying spree. From Seoul to Bangkok, millions of people - in many cases just a generation removed from life on the farm - have pockets full of cash and the inclination to spend it, whether on luxuries once considered the exclusive preserve of the rich or a host of better-quality daily necessities (29, June 1989: p60)

Although the overall economic situation in Asian countries provides a fertile ground for the international advertising agencies, the pace and extent of their entry into domestic markets varies considerably. They have prospered in Asian societies like Japan, Hong Kong and Singapore which are politically stable and where economic conditions foster Western style

growth and standards of living (Anderson 1984). They are also active though to a lesser degree in Malaysia, Philippines, Indonesia and Thailand, where there is political stability and where the government policy fosters development primarily through foreign investment (Kim and Frith 1993). Until recently, however, government regulations in South Korea and Taiwan discouraged foreign investment, and it is mainly for this reason that the multinational advertising agencies have not expanded as much in these countries as in other Asian nations.

The countries of East Asia also display a different configuration from those in South Asia, in terms of the operation of mass media and its environment. Firstly, unlike other Asian countries, the three major East Asian countries, China, Korea and Japan, have never been officially colonised by the West. While each society has developed its own ways of making contact and maintaining relationships with the Western world, they have retained their independent sovereignty. Secondly, although there are important regional diversities within each country, each has kept its own national, ethnic and cultural unity. The preservation of the national language as the major medium of interchange has been particularly central in sustaining cultural integrity. Thirdly, each country has developed their own communication systems and produced cultural products largely with their own technologies and manpower without Western intervention. As a result, in the process of rapid modernisation and the consequent social changes in the region discussed earlier, firstly in Japan, then South Korea followed by China, the diffusion of cultural values, images and beliefs through the mass media was initiated independently within their own societies, while the majority of other Asian countries adopted Western languages and social systems during the world-wide colonial period.

The widely debated 'cultural imperialism thesis' warns of a constant, almost unilateral process of Westernisation and the erosion and possible

eclipse of ethnic cultural identities in developing countries which have close economic connections with the Western world. However, in the case of East Asia, the interplay between the modernisation process and traditional cultural identities is much more complex, and the negotiations more diverse, since development is constantly overlapping with traditional modes of life, values and belief systems, generating tensions and collisions with deep-rooted elements in national culture and national identity.

Promotional Culture

To understand the dynamics of this cultural process better, and to provide a context for the detailed case materials presented in the following chapter, a brief description of the Korean mass media and advertising system will be helpful.

Korea adopted Confucian ethics as a cultural base during the period of the Yi-dynasty which started in 1592, and since then the country has been strongly influenced by Confucian thought in many ways. The country kept itself secluded from the Western world until the late 19th century. Accordingly, it has managed to maintain exceptional singularity in terms of ethnicity, national sovereignty, language, and culture. Over the last two or three decades from soon after the Korean war (1950-1953), the country has experienced rapid economic growth, appearing as an important actor in the world market. As the table 2.1. shows, by the end of the 1980s, Korea was the second largest advertising market in Asia.

Table 2.1. Asia's big advertising spenders

Asian countries	1988 (US \$ million)	1987
Japan	\$34,682	\$30,291
South Korea	1,535	1,133
Taiwan	1,357	831
Hong Kong	604	500
Thailand	318	252
Singapore	211	166
Malaysia	188	164
Philippines	144	111
Indonesia	115	103

Source: Asian Advertising & Marketing
(in Far Economic Eastern Review 1989, June 29: p60)

However, the environment in which the consumer system and promotional culture is embedded has unique, distinctive characteristics compared to other Asian countries. As we will see, these special features of the Korean advertising system have produced their own particular dynamics which have helped to share the cultural logic of the consumer systems. Before the present system of advertising is discussed, a brief description of its general context needs to be given. The major media of advertising, that is, TV and radio broadcasting, newspapers, and magazines, have developed in three stages.

The initial stage of mass media and advertising development lasted from the first appearance of advertising in the *Hansung* newspaper in February 1886 (Yu 1995), at the end of Yi dynasty, to the end of Japanese domination in 1945. Awareness of the importance of advertising began to grow with its appearance as a business. Various types of mass media developed at the same time with the appearance of the first magazine *Dong-kwang*, major national daily newspapers *Choson*, and *Dong-a*, and the first radio broadcasting *Kyungseong*, under the Japanese colonial government in the early 1920s.

The second phase lasted from 1945 to the end of the 1960s. During this period, the country gained national independence from Japanese domination, the Korean republic was established, the country went through the trauma of the Korean war, and began to recover afterwards. Over this period, the majority of the present major Korean mass media appeared and began to settle. The first private broadcasting medium CBS was established in the early 1950s. Two other major private national TV and radio broadcasting stations MBC and DBS, and the national broadcasting system KBS followed during the 1960s. Various major national newspapers such as *Hankuk-Ilbo* were established at the same time. The first ad agency 'Korea Advertising Agency' within the United Press Agency also appeared during this period. The first foreign advertisement, an advertisement for Coca Cola, appeared in 1968, followed by an advertisement for Pepsi Cola in 1969.

The third phase of media development began in the 1970s up to the present. During this period, the country has seen a rapid economic development and industrialisation, with a major shift towards heavy industry and an export oriented economic policy, which paved the way for Korea to become competitive in the world market. The present organisation of the mass media began to solidify over this time. The promotional culture and advertising system in Korea has unique legal and structural features which can be summarised as follows.

Multinational Advertising Agencies

Firstly, the government has maintained a strict policy on foreign investment in Korea over the last decades, which applies overall to the economic sector. The size of the Korean market, however, makes it 'too

good to resist for international advertising agencies', and accordingly, foreign agencies are 'engaging in delicate mating dances with potential mates of Korean agencies' (Far Eastern Economic Review 1989: 60). These are mostly tied to major local business groups. Consequently, the expansion of multinational advertising corporations has not been as marked as in many other countries in Asia due to the legal and structural barriers. Because domestic markets are largely closed to foreigners to minimise the presence of the multinational corporations, advertising business in Korea has been almost entirely operated by local advertising companies.

As can be seen clearly in Table 2.2, the top four advertising agencies in Korea are all indigenous. In contrast, the markets in other Asian countries are dominated by multinational ad agencies. Hence, even though a dramatic acceleration in the expansion of multinational advertising agencies in Asia generally has been noticeable since 1980 (Kim and Frith 1993), Korea has maintained the dominance of local business. Instead of opening up the market to multinational advertising, as is the case of other Asian countries, several large Korean Electronic companies such as Samsung, Goldstar and Daewoo who had already become international firms in that sector, have entered the global advertising system, and opened production and sales outlets in various foreign locations (Cho et al. 1994).

Table 2.2. The four largest ad agencies in selected Asian countries
(Billings in \$ US millions)

Country	Agency	Billings
Korea	Cheil Communication	\$ 251.8
	Lucky Goldstar Ads	163.5
	Oricom	160.8
	Daehong	158.9
Hong Kong	*Ogilvy & Mather	\$ 61.9
	*Leo Burnett	58.1
	*J. Walter Thompson	49.0
	*HDM	48.5
Malaysia	*Saatchi (AMC/MZC)	\$ 24.9
	*McCann-Erickson	24.1
	*Ogilvy & Mather	21.6
	*Leo Burnett	18.2
Singapore	Batey Ads	\$ 33.0
	*McCann-Erickson	24.7
	*Ogilvy & Mather	22.3
	*Saatchi & Saatchi	20.0
Taiwan	United Advertising	\$ 44.2
	*McCann-Erickson	34.2
	*Ogilvy & Mather	35.0
	Kwo Hwa Advertising	25.2

* indicates multinational advertising agency

Source: Asian Advertising and Marketing, April 1990

This situation has greatly influenced Korean consumer patterns and lifestyles. This becomes clear when the top ten advertisers in each country are compared by brand (Table 2.3). While in other Asian countries' the top ten advertisers mostly promote foreign products, especially Western-based multinational fast food products, the Korean top ten advertisers sell domestic products, predominantly foods and electronic goods.

Table 2.3. Top ten advertisers by brand in Asian countries

Korea	1. Samsung Electronics 2. Lucky (detergents) 3. Pacific Chemical (cosmetics) 4. Goldstar (electronics) 5. Dongsuh Foods	6. Lotte Confectionery 7. Lotte Chilsung (foods) 8. Daewoo Pharmaceutical 9. Daewoo Electronics 10. Haitai Confectionery
Hong Kong	*1. Marlboro Cigarettes 2. Hong Thai Travel 3. Mild Swan Cigarettes *4. Kao Products *5. McDonald's	*6. National Products *7. Toshiba *8. Sharp *9. Kent 10. Sunflower Travel
Singapore	*1. McDonald's *2. Yaohan Stores *3. American Express *4. Kentucky Fried Chicken 5. Singapore Airlines	6. Tiger Beer 7. Courts Furniture 8. Metro Stores *9. Raymond Weil Watch *10. City Bank
Malaysia	1. Shipping Ads-Business Times *2. Rothman *3. Salem High Country *4. Salem Music Revolution *5. Dunhill Accessories	6. Perilly's Black Collections *7. Peter Stuyvesant Travel *8. Kentucky Fried Chicken *9. McDonald's *10. B & H Gold Centre
Taiwan	1. Tung Chung Real Estate 2. Pacific Rehouse 3. San Yung Vespi Drink 4. Far East Real Estate *5. Wrigley's Double mint	6. Moda Link Retail Outlet 7. Wei Li Cooking Oil 8. Far East Department Store 9. Nestle Instant Milk 10. Pao Li Da-B Drink

* Multinational corporations

Source: Asian Advertising Marketing, April 1990 (Quoted from Kim and Frith 1993)

The fact that all the Korean top ten advertisers are domestic industries promoting domestic goods unlike other Asian countries, clearly illustrates the unique pattern of advertising industries in the Korean market. As this table shows, advertisements for foods and food-related electrical equipment are dominant in the Korean advertising market. They can be therefore seen as primary medium for selling images of modernity and affluence in the present day Korea. These images of modernity will be examined later in the following two chapters of Part II.

KOBACO

The second distinctive feature of the Korean advertising system is the procedure for broadcast advertising. In addition to the legal restrictions on foreign investment, Korean broadcasting media and advertising have been greatly shaped by the regulations operated by the Korean Broadcasting Advertising Corporation (KOBACO), a government organisation, since its foundation in 1981. Through the regulatory power concentrated on KOBACO, the government strictly controls the advertising market. And since broadcasting media are the major channels for advertising (compared to newspapers and magazines) (KOBACO 1991), it can be argued that KOBACO virtually controls the dominant advertising flows in Korea.

The role of KOBACO can be summarised under three major headings. The most central function is its monopoly of the broadcast advertising business in Korea. It was founded as part of the reformation of the mass media system and the formation of a public broadcasting system, with the primary purpose of separating the operation of broadcasting from business, on the assumption that the profit making concerns of the private broadcasting media may adversely effect the quality of broadcasting (Korean Broadcasting System Institute Report 1990). Accordingly, KOBACO mediates between the broadcasting media and advertising agencies, selling air-time to the authorised agencies on commission, arranging and distributing advertisements to the broadcasting media, and redistributing the resulting profits to the broadcasting media. It charges a 20% commission from the total amount of advertising sales. The profit made from the advertising business of KOBACO is called the 'public service fund'. Advertising agencies cannot deal directly with broadcasters. They have to go through KOBACO.

KOBACO also authorises advertising agencies, based on the Korean Broadcasting Advertising Corporation Law, which specifies advertising related regulations and ethical codes. The criteria include the capital structure of the company, the business turnover, the number of clients, the certification of payment, and others. The purpose is 'to enhance the quality of advertisements, and stabilise the business, thus creating a systematic foundation to the exercise of social responsibility by advertisers' (Cho 1992). The agencies legally recognised by KOBACO are considered as the basis of 'reliable in business relations' (Korea Business Association 1990). Therefore, advertisers have to go through the mediation process of firstly, the authorised advertising agencies and secondly, KOBACO, instead of having free access to a range of advertising agencies who also rely on market dynamics for their survival. Although the number of advertising agencies authorised by KOBACO gradually increased from four at its foundation, to sixty four by 1990, due to the loosening of various social regulations by the government (Advertising Trend 1992), advertising flows in Korea are still strictly controlled by the existence of KOBACO.

The existence of KOBACO also influences advertising content since its aim is to develop advertisements which are appropriate for the 'public broadcasting system'.

Other legal Regulations

The other notable feature of the Korean advertising system is the strict controls over the influx of foreign culture, stipulated by the government body, the Advertising Commission, which regulates all the Korean broadcasting media content. Restrictions apply both to the content of the programmes produced locally and to the process of handling foreign produced cultural products. Any advertisements, video programmes and

cinema films made abroad require import permits from the Minister of Culture and Information (This became Minister of Culture and Sports recently), and are subject to legal inspection on their import channel (Broadcasting Commission 1995: Broadcasting Regulation, Article 75). This also involves payment of an import tax according to an issued bill from the customs office. The use of foreign brand names, foreign product labels, and writing in foreign letters is also restricted. Any foreign names used in advertising must be correctly translated or expressed into Korean, according to the Law of Description of the Words of Foreign-Origin, to avoid unnecessary usage of foreign languages and alphabets (ibid.: Broadcasting Regulation Article 89). Similarly, employing foreign actors other than Korean ethnicity is prohibited.

While the mass media and advertising environment in most other Asian countries has been undermined by the influence of overseas, largely Western, cultural, economic interconnections in the process of modernisation, in Korea, it have been protected from foreign intervention and cultural influence through an extensive legal and structural system of curbs. This has produced a unique cultural resilience and tension in Korean society.

CHAPTER 3. CONSUMING MODERNITY: FOOD IN WOMEN'S LIVES

3.1. FOOD, WOMEN AND SOCIAL CHANGE

3.1.1. Food and Social Change

The Revolution in Food Production

In the course of this century, patterns of food consumption has been greatly transformed by a series of social changes and technological innovations. New methods of food production in particular, have contributed to changes in food habits. The revolution in food has been achieved through a combination of the mechanisation of production, technological advances in food manufacturing, and the rise of specialised food distribution (Levenstein 1988). This process began with the invention of the agricultural technologies, which introduced innovations in planting and harvesting, and in the use of chemical fertilisers. Food manufacturing on the other hand benefited from the implementation of new preserving technologies such as canning, bottling and freezing together with the more effective utilisation of salt, vinegar, sugar and ice. Together, these made long-life food possible. The preservation of meat, fish, fruit and vegetables began to be widely utilised in domestic food consumption. The invention of the refrigerator reinforced this trend, enabling food to be preserved and transported more freely. The mechanisation of the food manufacturing processes, which replaced the traditional hand preparation stages such as cleansing, peeling and podding, accelerated the process of food production

whilst advances in transport technologies contributed to the world-wide availability of diversified food.

They also laid the basis for a second revolution in national food distribution (ibid.). Local market places were replaced as the dominant sites for exchanging products by a more systematically organised food trade, built around the growth of multiple shops organised as national chains. The shifting of large quantities of goods to a mass market became possible due to developments in transport system.

The mass production and distribution of food has resulted in significant changes in food habits world-wide. Systematic market concentration, advanced food manufacturing technologies, and an expanded variety of available foods have greatly transformed both food consumption and eating styles. The manufactured foods could be easily diffused across cultures, classes and regions, thereby contributing to the developing homogenisation of taste at a global level (Goody 1982). Although the impact of this process varies from country to country, and from generation to generation, people nowadays generally have more access to a variety of foods. What were exotic varieties have become commonplace. Additionally, the improved technology in the form of various domestic appliances such as advanced water facilities, cookers, refrigerators, microwave ovens, food processors and other kitchen appliances have markedly reduced the amount of time and labour involved in the domestic preparation of food. These changes have also contributed to a desire for and an attraction to new types of food, new recipes and new eating trends.

People's changing social experiences have also contributed to attitudinal shifts towards food. Changes in family structure are particularly important in this respect. Increased individualism, the desire for greater independence and the perceived need for more private space have reduced

the size of the family. In addition, the importance of the family meal as a daily family activity has been undermined. People's differing life styles and freer activities have made family eating habits much more flexible with regard to eating times, eating places, meal size and even eating manners. At the same time, eating opportunities outside the home have been broadened in the form of packed lunches, tea time snacks, and eating out occasions. Food sharing with peer groups and increased leisure have contributed to the frequency of eating out.

In spite of these changes, however, women still play a central role in family food consumption and preparation. Women have been traditionally acted as the 'gatekeeper of the family' with regard to food habits (Wardle 1977:16). The most distinctive change in the modern family is women's increased participation in paid work. More and more married women are drawn into the labour force in line with their increased motivation to seek paid employment, the job opportunities open to them, increased control over fertility, the smaller size of the family, wider educational opportunities and the introduction of labour saving domestic appliances. The widespread availability of processed foods, convenient kitchen appliances and more flexible family meal practices have allowed anyone of the family members to come to the kitchen more freely. The availability of a diversity of processed food has made food preparation considerably easier and reduced other members' reliance on the traditional 'family caterer', the housewife. Processed food is defined as 'food with the degree of preparation carried out to an advanced stage by a manufacturer', and is generally characterised as a 'labour-saving device' (National Food Survey 1973). Convenience food perfectly fits the modern family structure. However, it would be far too simplistic to conclude that women unconditionally have benefited from these changes in food and social life. Rather, they have generated new conflicts and contradictions which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Dietary Concerns

Increasing awareness and concern about weight, health, and body image have produced new concepts of diet and nutrition. Traditionally, food was mainly seen in terms of energy. Nutritional emphasis mainly focused on fat and protein as energy supplying resources. Since fat and protein were relatively expensive food items, the poor, who could not afford to have them, were advised to substitute them with carbohydrates. The main concern of scientists and nutritionists was to find ways of obtaining the same nutrition in cheaper forms. (Levenstein 1988).

Due to historical cycles of poverty and economic hardship, most countries world-wide have at some time experienced food shortages, malnutrition and even starvation. Hence, the concept of affluence was traditionally associated with being both 'rich' and 'plump'. The Great depression and the second World War produced the idea in most countries that slimness was the result of malnutrition due to poverty. Within this classificatory schema, meat was considered the most valuable and desirable food. However, in the post war period, a new set of guide-lines for healthy eating emerged, and gradually replaced the old nutritional ideas in official discourse. The new nutritionists recommended reducing the amount of protein and fat, and increasing vitamins and minerals (Health Educational Council 1985). There was also a growing endorsement of the nutritional value of fruits and vegetables. This shift of emphasis has redirected people's eating habits, especially among the middle-class. This new direction is strongly related to the publicity given to growing diet related diseases such as obesity, diabetes and other heart-related conditions. The problems of excess weight has accordingly become more and more of a health concern.

The new nutritional information and guidance has been widely promoted especially to girls in school. In addition, women's magazines now devote a lot of space to nutritional guide-lines, health education and information on food. This publicity helped to fuel women's increasing concern about their body image, slimming and diet.

Various inquiries into the relationships between processed food, health and nutrition have been funded by the food industry, and the nutritional concerns of scientists have often been manipulated by the major food companies. The propagation of new food information has therefore often helped to accelerate the 'commercialisation of cuisine' (Levenstein 1988:160). Food, today, not only has nutritional and physiological value. It is also strongly associated with the notions of prestige, status, success and beauty.

Food and Fashion

Indeed, food today has a dual function. It is needed for physical nourishment and the maintenance of health, but it also carries strong symbolic meanings through which people's everyday eating attitudes and habits are often constructed.

According to Harris (1985), food is largely chosen on the criterion of 'goodness to think' rather than 'goodness to eat'. Consumption of food is thus social and highly symbolic. It has been suggested by Douglas and Isherwood (1979) that food is a major medium for making social and moral distinctions. According to them, food, kitchen, cutlery and crockery, and the mood and interior of the eating space are all categories that are helpful for placing people in social space. They argue that food can be an expression of culture because the choice of food continuously stands for

certain patterns of 'discrimination or identification'. Food and eating habits certainly appear to carry complex cultural meanings underneath the utilitarian surface.

People today are increasingly preoccupied with consumption and fashion. The self in contemporary society is increasingly defined in relation to competence in the sphere of material culture. In this situation, fashions come to play a crucial role as foci for social aspirations. As people spend more time and money on external appearances and self-presentation, eating habits and food choices have become increasingly important as a part of the fashion system alongside clothing, art and sports. New styles of eating and gastronomy, and increased interests in exotic foods and restaurants have emerged. Foreign cuisines have been widely introduced in many countries, supported by ethnic diversity, and the internationalisation of the food industry. The growth of fast food and the arrival of new types of convenience, and gimmick foods, have become a new forms of entertainment.

Behaviour in relation to culinary styles in food preparation, presentation and eating manners is integrated into the flow of social interaction, and operate as ways of encoding and decoding social relations:

If food is treated as a code, the message it encodes will be found in the pattern of social relations being expressed. The message is about different degrees of hierarchy, inclusion and boundaries. (Douglas 1972:61)

When food activities are understood in this way, they have to be viewed as both the outcome of patterns of social interaction, and the medium through which shared cultural meaning and social relations are negotiated and maintained. For example, dining out has been increasingly fashionable over the recent decades in many countries. By eating out together, people share certain form of cultural conduct, and reinforce social relations

(Finkelstein 1989). Eating in public places, which demands certain manners, has been understood as an expressive form of 'civility' between individuals.

The restaurant is an illuminating context for demonstrating the character of modern civility. In the restaurant the individual is tacitly invited to play out his/her desires to accept that others are doing the same. The ways in which we take our pleasures and express our sense of conviviality suggest that these performances should be regarded as the more valued forms of sociality. (Finkelstein 1989:51-2)

Finkelstein argues that what makes a specific restaurant fashionable has less to do with its actual features and more to do with fluctuations in cultural values and consumer interests. But, people not only seek for social acceptability by sharing the cultural beliefs and values associated with particular eating manners and habits. They also actively desire to distinguish themselves from others by displaying a concern for fashion and innovation. Shopping for various food commodities provides a major area for the expression of social solidarities and separations.

Shoppers can buy foods which are high in quality and reproduce bourgeois taste. People can buy convenience foods. There are always new, experimental goods in the supermarket for those who want to indulge in the latest eating fads. Shopping baskets can buy into one of these approaches or mix and match them reflecting the taste and individuality of the consumer. (Mennell, quoted from Lunt et al. 1992:97-8)

Gastronomy is also a potent means of self presentation. The gastronomic message, according to Mennell (1985:273), is 'discrimination' and 'choice' in matters of eating. According to him, the primary social function of gastronomy is elite-defining. Gastronomy not only contributes to the civilising process of appetite. It also transforms table manners because of its associations with class and other social groups.

3.1.2. Women and Food

As argued earlier, new patterns of social life, familial changes, technological innovations, shifts in nutritional information, women's changing roles both within and outside the home, have combined to transform women's relationship to food. But as we noted in the last section, food habits and attitudes also reflect the complexities of shifting social relations, and provide ways of locating oneself in an increasingly flexible social space. So, how have the changes and continuities in women's lives reorganised the practices and meanings accumulated around food?

Family Eating Patterns

Women are at the centre of family food activities. As family caterers, women often prioritise other family members' needs over their own.

It has been argued that a hierarchy of foods exists in dominant Western culture, which coincides with participants' relative status and relations (Twigg 1983). According to this argument, meat, particularly red meat, is placed at the top of the hierarchy. The order then runs downwardly through the bloodless meats, fish, animal products, and fruits and vegetables. Within this food hierarchy, certain foods are associated with a higher social status and prestige. The lower the position a food occupies, the less it is considered sufficient for the formation of a 'good' meal. Hence, red meat is associated with prestige and power, whilst foods such as vegetables and fruits are regarded as 'ancillary' (ibid.: 22). It also often connotes male sexuality. As a consequence, it is often linked with those who hold a higher status within the family: the head of the family, father, husband, or even sons. Those who are most respected within the family are

expected to have the more prestigious foods. Whilst salads and fruits are not considered sufficient for a man's meal, they may be more easily accepted as an appropriate meal for a mother, wife, or daughter.

Hierarchical distinctions are also made in relation to the distribution quantities of food. The allocations of foods between men and women, husband and wife, parents and children, or sons and daughters is often differentiated within family eating systems (Charles and Kerr 1986), and it is widely accepted that women should have smaller amounts than men.

It can be plausibly argued that the combination of these two hierarchical sets, the differentiated food hierarchy and differentiated status of family members, gives family eating habits, their basic structure. Certainly, these values seem to be widely demonstrated and maintained through everyday meal practices in a range of societies.

Decisions about taste, menus, and mealtimes are also made on the basis of certain principles. Charles and Kerr argue that men's food preferences tend to be prioritised while women's preferences are often neglected (1988). As a consequence, family food choices can only be harmonised if women give up or compromise their own food choices.

Proper Meals and Convenience Foods

As argued earlier, food and eating carry a range of symbolic values other than their association with health and nutrition. This becomes clear when the importance of the cooked meal is examined. In many societies, a cooked meal is widely seen as the most 'proper' meal. It has been argued in relation to British society, for example, that a cooked dinner symbolises home, a husband's relation to it, his wife's place within it and their

relationship to one another (Murcott 1983, 1982). Hence, the concept of a 'proper' meal is constructed not only on the basis of health and nutritional concerns, but also on the symbolic significance of relationships within the family. Having a 'proper' meal therefore symbolises a happy family and stable family relationship (ibid.). According to this argument, the 'cooked proper meal' assumes domestic cooking by women. This in turn confirms that the kitchen is women's space, that their cooking is women's expression of love and care for the family, and these are the essential element in a happy family.

Given that a hot cooked meal is seen as central to the family's dining table, raw or cold foods are generally viewed as less important. Although they are often favoured by women pursuing a healthy diet or wishing to maintain low calorie intakes, they are generally considered as insufficient for men. The strong emphasis on the cooked meal is rooted in its association with women's domestic capability. The positive connotations attached to the notions of 'hot meal' or 'cooked meal' are important in reinforcing the idealised image of the mother/wife/woman within the family as the source of nutritious, good, home-cooked and wholesome meals (Charles and Kerr 1988).

While cooked foods are strongly valued, frozen, tinned, instant and various processed foods are ambiguously valued. Although these convenience foods, by their nature, save time in cooking and preparation inside the home (since the labour of preparation has been partly accomplished before purchase), they are often disfavoured. Not because they lack nutrition, but because they lack the goodness of home-made food (Charles and Kerr 1988). Even if it contains identical ingredients to fresh food, convenience food is almost always considered as less desirable, regardless of its nutritional components or degree of freshness. Consequently, our common understanding creates a mythical formula:

convenience food - time and labour saving - not fresh, not natural - not healthy, and this leads to another formula: healthy food - fresh, natural - requires time and labour - fresh food, not convenient food - home-made food. The time and effort spent on meal preparation is therefore seen to be intrinsically good not because of its nutritional value, but for its own sake. It often further implies 'morality' (ibid.: 131) because women are expected to provide 'good food' for the family, and 'good food' often implies an emotional involvement in cooking. As a consequence, 'good food' is often equated with 'food with labour invested' or 'time spent'. The preference of home-made food is almost universal because it implies that the food is prepared with love. Given this densely woven web of meanings, women who use convenience food for various practical reasons often have feelings of guilt, because they are expected to spend a 'suitable' amount of time on family meal preparation.

Women's Diet

The pattern of women's own food consumption also shows how their food habits are structured by prevailing beliefs and values, and entwined with their feelings and attitudes about themselves and the social world they inhabit.

In most contemporary societies, notion of beauty, femininity and attraction which is strongly linked to, and at the centre of the ideal body image is the concept of slimness. This in turn often plays a central role in definitions of sexual attractiveness, which are crucial to women's romantic careers. In order to be seen desirable, women have to conform to an ideal physical image. Commercialism amplifies this body image by selling desire, insecurity and fear with regard to women's appearance. And commercialisation eventually leads women to be alienated from their own

bodies. They often come to see their body not as a part of themselves, where they live, but as a part of what they must control (Orbach 1981). Because of the pressure to maintain a slim image, women constantly feel that they have to deny food or be wary of food. While food for women is a way of caring others, food for themselves is seen as dangerous. For women, food is about beauty while for others it is about health and status.

Food is also a source of pleasure and comfort. Foods, especially confectioneries, are widely consumed not only because of the enjoyment of sweetness but also because they are part of an extensive cultural system (James 1990). For women, food is always within reach within the home. Because cooking, shopping and storing of food are basically women's responsibilities, almost constant contact is possible. For them, foods, especially snacks and sweets, are both a source of pleasure and a source of complex ambivalent feelings. Women desire food for the pleasure it gives, but deny that pleasure for fear of the unacceptable weight gains that might result if they indulge.

Women have strong emotional attachments to their bodies, and yet, they experience dramatic biological changes through their life cycle, much more so than men. Women's complex attitudes towards food, and the way they identify their physical self through the experiences of aversion and craving during pregnancy are well illustrated by Murcott (1988). Women's constant struggle between the desire to consume and attempts to abstain, creates enormous guilt and anxiety in relation to food and eating. These struggles often develop into eating disorders (Orbach 1978), and food becomes a 'treacherous friend' (Charles and Kerr 1988:142).

So far in this chapter, we have examined women's food and eating habits largely in relation to Western societies. Though as we shall see later, many of the same trends and tensions are also present in contemporary Korea,

generated largely by the process of Westernisation. However, Korea also has a deeply rooted traditional culture of food that still exerts a powerful influence. The collisions and accommodations between these two systems place Korean women in a situation with its own particular dynamics.

3.2. TRADITIONAL FOOD, EATING CUSTOMS AND WOMEN IN KOREA

In order to understand present day Korean food habits, and the related roles and expectations of women, it will be helpful to trace traditional food customs and the traditional gender identity they have produced, which women have inherited from generation to generation.

3.2.1. Food, Eating Styles and Customs

Korean food has been strongly conditioned and influenced by the country's geography and climate (Yoon 1974). Korea is a peninsula surrounded by sea except in the north where it borders North East China. Since it is located in the temperate zone of the Northern hemisphere, the Korean climate has four distinctive seasons with a moderate amount of rainfall, sunlight and seasonal variations in temperature, fertile open fields spread over the south and west of the peninsula. These are suitable for agriculture, largely rice farming and the cultivation of various vegetables and fruits. Korea has three coasts which have a mixed flow of cold and hot currents, creating both in-shore and deep sea fisheries, producing various seafood products. Although traditionally the supply of meat was relatively limited

since Korea was not so suitable for large scale stock farming, hunting techniques for birds and wild animals were introduced by the early settlers of the Northern continent of China. But because Korea is basically an agricultural country, it has developed agricultural products as the main staple foods. The Korean diet is therefore based on cereals such as rice, barley and other grains. While rice has become the staple food, Koreans have also utilised beans for protein intake by making various types of *jang*. Side dishes are made up of various vegetables, meat and fish. Vegetables and seafood are also used for various pickles. Meat and fish are grilled or made into soup for nutritional balance. However, the basic diet has traditionally centred around rice and vegetables, largely because of the Buddhist influence (Yoon 1974). Indeed, only in the last two decades has the consumption of meat and dairy products increased appreciably, due mainly to economic growth.

Korean food culture, especially eating manners and habits within the traditional family, has been greatly influenced by the patriarchal and extended form of the family structure rooted in Confucian ideas and values (Yoon 1983). Eating manners, conventions governing the distribution of food, and relationships among the family members with regard to food habits, have been formed and sedimented over a long span of historical time and are still deeply embedded in the culture.

The Composition of a Korean Meal

The present Korean table setting and the composition of major meals are generally understood to have been established during the Yi dynasty, between the 16th C and 19th C (ibid.). The classic Korean meal is built around rice and soup, and several side dishes, most notably *kimchi* which is an ever present ingredient. In addition to these three basic foods, vegetable

side dishes are served either as cooked vegetables or as salads. Meat or fish is also served cooked by various methods such as roasted, boiled, steamed, fried or stewed. Meals are classified as *3 chop*, *5 chop*, *7 chop*, *9 chop* and *12 chop* according to the number of side dishes.

Rice has traditionally been regarded as the most important staple food in the Korean diet. It is always provided with a combination of different side dishes so that the meal is nutritionally balanced. Therefore, skill in cooking rice has been seen as of primary importance. The centrality of rice in the Korean diet is well indicated in the common usage of the word '*pap*', which means rice, but is often used as a substitute for the word '*Shiksa*' meaning 'meal'. The importance of rice in Korean food customs will be returned to later in this chapter. Another essential ingredient in a Korean meal is soup. Whereas soup is eaten as a starter in Western cuisine, it is always served and eaten simultaneously with rice and other side dishes in Korean eating. A Korean meal always includes soup three times a day regardless of the meal.

Kimchi is the most essential side dish in a Korean meal. It is made of Chinese cabbage which is pickled and seasoned with garlic, ginger and various types of fish sauce. Since Koreans have always made use of agricultural products such as grains and vegetables, *kimchi* has become settled as a main source of vegetables. *kimchi*-making takes a considerable amount of time. Large quantities of *kimchi* are made at home at one time so they can be stored and consumed over several days, during the spring, summer and autumn, and over several months during the winter. Each household usually prepares a large quantity of *kimchi* before the cold weather starts, generally between late November and early December every year. This seasonal activity is called *kimjang*. However, *kimchi*-

making is one of the major household activities for a housewife throughout the year.

Jang is an essential sauce in Korean cuisine. It is made of beans, and is a source of protein as well as a seasoning. There are basically three types of *jang*; Chilli paste, bean paste and soy sauce. Each household generally makes *jang* in the spring, normally in March. Like *kimjang*, *jang*-making is an annual event which involves complicated and time-consuming processes.

Table Setting, Serving and Eating Etiquettes

A Korean table setting is different from a table setting in China or Japan, the neighbouring countries, although there are similarities. A traditional table has strict rules governing the arrangement of food and cutlery. Individual bowls are used for rice, soup and side dishes. Korean cutlery has traditionally consisted of chopsticks and spoons. The rice bowl is placed on the left, the soup bowl on the right, the spoon and chopsticks on the right corner of the table, and side dishes distributed in the rest of the space. (Hyun 1982) (Figure 3.1). The eating table is either round or square-shaped with low legs so that people can sit on the floor to eat in accordance with the Korean traditional lifestyle.

The table setting differs depending on the number of persons eating. There are basically three styles; for one person, for two persons and for three or more persons. Generally, the more important the guest is, the more side dishes are served. Traditionally, an important guest was served separately. It was common for the father or grandfather as head of the family to sit at a single table so that he could eat apart from the rest of the family.

Traditionally, when several persons are eating at the same table, it should be always the eldest who initiates the eating. The rest of the family is not supposed to start until the eldest holds his cutlery ready to begin. When warm individual soup bowls are brought to the table just before eating, it should be always the oldest or the head of the family, to whom the food is brought. Since Korean culture has been deeply rooted in Confucian ideas which uphold strict hierarchies of age and gender, the ordered relationships within the family have been strongly reflected in eating customs.

3.2.2. Women and Traditional Food Customs

The Family 'Son mat'

Cooking and women are inseparably tied together within the Korean food tradition. Since women have been at the centre of food preparation and management, it has always played a central role in structuring their lives and daily activities.

Traditionally, family customs have been conveyed from mother-in-law to the eldest daughter-in-law. When a woman married, she moved into the husband's house and became a part of the husband's family. As a consequence, she was expected to adjust herself to the husband's family's customs and atmosphere. Young brides experienced strict and often harsh training in household management skills under the mother-in-law's control. Three days after the young bride moved in, she had to start

spending a considerable amount of time in the kitchen to get used to the family tradition of which a considerable part was based around cooking and food related customs. When the eldest daughter-in-law was sufficiently familiar with the households customs, she eventually took up the key to the wooden chest, in which the family food, mainly rice was stored, from her mother-in-law. The key symbolised the power to control the property, relationships and business of the family. The long period of discipline and practice qualified her to be the female head of the family in charge of household management. When she finally became a mother-in-law herself, she was expected to transmit the family tradition to her new daughter-in-law in the same way. Through this process, particular way of cooking and the unique taste of the family's food were transmitted from generation to generation. Involvement in this life-long process was also important for Korean women in building their female identity.

This process is understood as the inheritance of women's '*son mat*' within the family. '*Son mat*' is an important concept in Korean cooking. '*Son*' stands for 'hands or fingers' and '*mat*' stands for 'taste'. The term '*son mat*' therefore means an individual's 'unique cooking skills'. It is generally thought that *son mat* can only be acquired through long experience and practice. The popular proverbs 'One can learn about the family by the taste of the family's *jang*' or 'The family is peaceful when the taste of *jang* is excellent' are based on the idea that the taste of *jang* is extremely important to the extent that *jang* represents the quality of a family, and their relations with one another. They also reflect how important women's *son mat* was in each household.

In addition to reproducing the unique taste of food within each family, women's *Son mat* also had an important function in preserving the rich diversity and uniqueness of local cuisines, rooted in the community's

climate, food products, and regional particularities (Kang and Lee 1984). Beyond this, it has further created and maintained the uniqueness of Korean food culture in general. As we shall see later, although the Korean people have seen various changes in food habits, the basic patterns of eating and related food customs are still widely maintained through their belief in women's '*son mat*'.

Food Serving and Filial Piety

Women in Korea, who are at the centre of domestic life, have been expected to express their roles and relations towards parents, husbands and children through food practices. Eating is a community activity within the Korean tradition. Since the Korean family has traditionally taken an extended form, family life was community life. Women within a large family have played a central role in maintaining the unity, harmony and happiness of the family. The role of '*myonuri*' (daughter-in-law) has been particularly important as a source of support for elderly parents and grand parents dwelling in the same house. Because the elderly in the family have traditionally been seen as the most important and respected members, women's cooking and food serving was a major expression of their duty of filial piety.

Another characteristic of Korean food customs are the strict rules regulating table manners and related customs. Women, who prepared and served everyday meals for the family, had to discipline themselves to acquire these manners and thereby satisfy expectations of them. The manners governing food are manifest in various ways. The proper way food is cooked, the way the table is set, the style of eating and serving during the meal, and the way of finishing a meal, all had to be learned by the women in the family. The table setting in particular was surrounded

with formality. Therefore, when a *myonuri* (daughter-in-law) was seen not to be adequately trained, the blame for her absence of etiquette was attributed to her own parents and to the family's education. Manners and etiquette were strictly enforced more generally and Korean women were always expected to make themselves neat and clean before serving food.

As mentioned earlier, a traditional meal table had been carried to the person for whom meal is served, and it was always women who did the carrying. Since all the bowls with food on them were arranged on the table, the person had to avoid spilling food, breathing on the dishes, or stepping on her own skirt and tripping while carrying the table (Hyun 1982). Since a Korean traditional skirt is long enough to reach the ankles, women who were not experienced in food serving had to be particularly careful not to make such mistakes.

Traditionally, serving rice in the individuals' personal bowl was a significant moment at the Korean family meal table. As mentioned earlier, when the table is set, rice is served in individual bowls before the family starts eating. Family members used to have their own unique bowls as well as their own unique cutlery, unlike the Western custom in which family members do not distinguish an individuals' own cutlery or dish. The rice bowl for the head of the family or for the grandparents were always differentiated from the bowls for the rest of the family. The shapes of the rice bowl for men and women were also different. It was the women's responsibility to maintain and distinguish the individual's rice bowls and cutlery.

Traditionally, there was a particular formality attached to the way women served rice for the family. It was believed that serving could affect the happiness and blessings of the family depending on the way the cooked rice was scooped out. If the inner side of the scoop was facing outward

when the rice was scooped, it was said that it banish blessings from the house (Yoon 1974). Therefore, women had to be careful to use the scoop in the right direction. A housewife, especially a newly married young daughter-in-law who was not yet familiar with domestic work often had difficulties in cooking and serving rice in front of the family. In order to accomplish these tasks to everyone's satisfaction, practice was required over many years. For women, acquiring skills in cooking and food distribution was seen as an essential part of learning how to manage family relationships. These ideas can be traced in the many folk songs reflecting the difficulties and hardships in practising these skills.

Cooking and Women's Identity

It has been commonly assumed that the kitchen is a woman's personal domain not only because they traditionally used to spend a considerable amount of time there, but also because kitchen work was seen as an important part of a woman's role. This notion is well illustrated in the Korean saying that the '*jangdok* is the face of the housewife' ¹ (ibid.: 99). Housewives were expected to pay particular attention to the maintenance of the *jangdok*. Since the taste of *jang* was thought to determine the essential taste of every home-made dish, women had particular responsibility for cleaning and tidying up the *jangdok* so that the uniqueness of the family's *jang* could be preserved and maintained. The *jangdok* was therefore the most familiar place for women within the house apart from the kitchen, and its maintenance was one of women's essential daily routines. It was even used as a sacred place where Korean women said their prayers.

¹ The *jangdock* is the terrace where *jang* crocks are placed. It was traditionally located in the back yard of each house.

The Korean expression for 'meal preparation' has traditionally been '*pab* (rice) *jitki* (creation)', and this phrase is widely used even nowadays. The fact that people use the expression 'rice cooking' instead of 'meal preparation', and '*jitki*' instead of 'making' or 'cooking' indicates how important rice cooking has been. The fundamental importance of rice in Korean meals is evidenced by the fact that '*pab*' stands for both 'rice' and 'meal'.

Rice cooking for a large extended family was not an easy task. Housewives had to learn how to cook two layers of rice in the same pot, so that the more soft and fluffy part could be served to the elderly parents, since that part of rice is easier to digest. The five essential aspects of women's etiquette included excellent cooking, maintaining a tidy terrace of *jang* crocks, and serving parents-in-law with sincere attitudes. Cooking skills were therefore seen as an important prerequisite for a woman's virtue.

Women's Eating

Housewives were commonly expected to have a different diet from the rest of the family. Traditionally, it was not unusual for a young *myonuri* (daughter-in-law) to have only a few spoonfuls of food, often standing in the kitchen rather than having a meal sitting in the living room with the rest of the family.² This reflected the subordinate status of a *myonuri* in an extended family who was young, living with her husband's family as an inexperienced housewife, and therefore placed in a different position in the family hierarchy, especially compared to the mother-in-law. Even when *myonuris* sat at the table with the family, they commonly had side dishes

² The kitchen in a traditional Korean house structure was not built within the main indoor space where the bedrooms and sitting rooms were. Therefore, one had to change shoes in order to enter the kitchen from the living room.

arranged directly in front of them, since it was considered rude if they stretched their hands to pick from side dishes located in front of others, and an acceptable departure from the expectation that they would be humble and modest.³

When the family did not have sufficient food during times of poverty, it was seen as an expression of a woman's virtue to give their food to the family. The traditional sayings such as 'a *myonuri* (daughter-in-law) with large hands' (meaning 'dealing with plentiful food', in other words, 'wasteful'), or 'a woman with a full stomach' (implying a 'woman satiated with food') all had negative connotations. 'If a *myonuri*/housewife who was responsible for domestic property management, of which the most important part was food management, did not know how to save and spare food, it was regarded as an irresponsible attitude, therefore to be blamed' (Yoon 1974: 90). Even if the family was wealthy enough to have plenty of food, the housewife was expected not to indulge herself. If a woman cooked sufficient food so that she also had enough herself, it was widely interpreted as a sign that she was not virtuous enough to economise. 'A woman with a full stomach' was also associated with 'laziness'. If a woman from a poor family was labelled in this way, she was condemned as someone who coveted the food which was supposed to be for the parents or the children, and stigmatised as an inadequate woman who did not know the norms of filial piety or motherhood. In short, women were expected to control their desire for food for the sake of the rest of the family whether the family was wealthy or poor. By learning their roles and positions in the family through everyday food practices, they built up their female identity.

³ In Korean table settings, side dishes are placed in the middle of the table except for rice and soup which are served in individual bowls. Unlike Western table manners, it was considered rude to pass around foods at the table. Instead, individuals had to carefully pick up the food from the middle of the table.

Women and the Community

Korean women also played a significant role in inter-family relationships and the maintenance of community through their food preparation and consumption.

Kimjang (large scale of *kimchi*-making for consumption during the winter months) is one of the oldest Korean food customs. *Kimchi*-making skills have long been widely seen as an important index of the goodness and capability of a housewife. Therefore, it was widely thought that in order to be qualified to be a daughter-in-law in a noble family (in other words, to find a bridegroom from such a family), 'a woman should know how to make twelve different types of *kimchi*' (Kang 1978: 219).

Since *Kimjang* is an important annual activity that requires a considerable amount of time, money and labour due to its extensive scale, there has been a custom that women generally receive help from female neighbours, relatives and friends. Women do *kimjang* together, and work in turn for one another. This custom is called '*Poomashi*' (Kang and Lee 1984:107). When women make *kimchi* together in the yard at *kimjang* time, they reinforce the spirit of female community and co-operation. And since they usually know each other, they share the left *kimchi* ingredients or newly made *kimchi* at the end of the day. In the past, women from poor families, who could not afford to make their own *kimjang* for winter, used to fill their jar with the *kimchi* they received in return for their services at *poomashi*. Through this annual process, women learned not only how to get on well with neighbours and the other women in the family, but also how to help those who were in need.

The most distinctive characteristic of Korean food culture is 'eating together'. As we noted earlier, traditionally, a Korean family had a large number of family members and several generations living in the same house, who shared food together everyday. This family composition and household structure influenced the way people lived, and created a deep sense of community life. When there was a special occasion such as a birthday, wedding or funeral, the family always shared the food prepared for celebration, commemoration and grief by distributing it to neighbours or inviting neighbours to the house. It was believed that 'the more people share food, the more auspicious would be their lives' (ibid.: 184-5), and women's role in food preparation and serving was crucial in this aspect. Sharing food, caring for others, and helping and co-operating with each other were seen as essential virtues that the Korean women had to learn through their everyday food activities.

3.3. WOMEN AND FOOD HABITS IN CONTEMPORARY KOREA

3.3.1. Changes in the Korean Food System and Social Trends

Food and eating habits in Korea have changed dramatically over a short time span. These rapid changes have enabled both traditional and contemporary eating habits and attitudes coexist. Korean society has been experiencing three dimensions of changes with regard to eating habits;

- changes in the foods available
- shifts in social structure
- alterations in lifestyles.

Firstly, whereas in Western countries the industrialisation of food and the consequent changes of food habits unfolded over a century, the rapid development of a food manufacturing industry in Korea has taken place during the last three decades, contributing to substantial modifications to people's food habits. Secondly, in the general process of rapid modernisation, social structures have been greatly transformed, creating new social environments. Rapid industrialisation, continuous urbanisation, new expectations of women's roles in society and their increasing social participation in the public domain have accelerated the move from extended family forms to nuclear families leading to a new understanding of the functions of home and family. Thirdly, structural changes have also generated the changes in lifestyle.

This section will examine the changing nature of food in the present day, the consequent changes of women's roles and their relationship with food.

Modern Developments in Korean Food

Korean food and eating habits have undergone a dramatic transition over the past several decades. These changes can be carefully thought of as having taken place in three main phases (Korean Nutritional Science Association 1989).

The first stage lasted between 1945 to 1960. During this period, Koreans experienced widespread poverty, lack of food and inadequate nutrition. Korea became independent in 1945 after thirty six years of Japanese domination. Five years later, the Korean war broke out and lasted for three years, leading the country totally devastated. After the end of the war, the Korean population increased considerably due to immigration from both North Korea and abroad. People experienced serious food shortages, and

were generally lacking in energy and protein. In the meantime, various types of Western food, tinned foods and packaged foods began to be introduced under the auspices of foreign powers, including the American army. This provided the embryonic basis for the widespread usage of manufactured food.

The country began to see rapid economic growth from the 1960s, and Korean food and diet moved to the second phase of development. The processes of rapid national development, urbanisation and industrialisation brought about major changes in people's ways of living with regard to food habits, clothing and housing as well as prompting shifts in traditional values and ways of thinking. The rapid growth of population, the beginning of diplomacy and trade with foreign countries, agricultural innovations, a technological revolution in food manufacturing industry, and a flood of scientific information, combined to affect Korean diet and food habits.

During 1960s and 1970s, as the food service industry and commercialisation of food became gradually professionalised in Korean society, food began to attract people's attention, as a medium, both of business and social life. Dining out began to increase. As opportunities for education expanded, women's desires for social participation and employment increased. Consequently, food habits within modern urban families began to be simplified. As women's self awareness grew among the educated middle class, the bottle feeding of babies was introduced, and the attraction of convenience and processed foods began to become more acceptable.

It is noteworthy that the Western food culture, which was introduced at this time, permeated people's lives much more deeply than the influence of Japanese food, in spite of thirty six years of Japanese colonial domination.

This was because 'while Japanese imperial suppression created resistance to any form of Japanese culture in Korean people's consciousness, thereby preventing Koreans from being influenced by Japanese food culture, America and American culture were seen in the context of an amicable relationship politically and economically' (Korean Nutritional Science Association 1989: 66).

The last two decades have seen the third phase of food development. Since 1975, rapid economic growth and industrialisation have influenced people's way of life in many areas, including food. The notion of the traditional 'proper' hot meal, consisting of rice and side dishes has become more flexible. The consumption of bread, biscuits and dairy products has increased considerably, particularly among the young generation, creating a generation gap in regard to food preferences and tastes. At the same time, the consumption of *kimchi*, which used to be the most important side dish, significantly decreased as economic growth made various exotic fruits and vegetables widely available. The Korean diet, which was heavily based on rice and other cereals until then, has moved towards more varied combinations of cereals and other flour-based foods as well as meat products. Consequently, the consumption of processed food as a proportion of total Korean food consumption increased to 32.8% in the 1980s as against 12.7% in 1970s (Lee 1985).

However, although the rapid development of the food industry has contributed to modifications in eating habits to a certain extent, this does not mean that the basic pattern of Korean food preferences has fundamentally shifted. Although food technology has introduced various types of new foods, in spite of the technological advancement of the food industry, the manufacture of traditional foods has seen almost no expansion, with the exception of soy sauce. Even the continuous attempts

to manufacture *kimchi* have not been successful. Traditional foods are still made at home.

Bread

The Korean diet has gradually shifted towards a combination of a rice and other flour-based foods. Noodles and bread are now much more widely consumed than in the past century. Because the traditional Korean diet was based on rice, the mass production of bread was not developed until three decades ago. A proper bread industry first appeared in Korea in the early 1960s. Since then, the bakery industry has grown at a rate of 14% in ten years (Lee 1985). Nevertheless, bread is still widely considered as a part of a snack rather than a 'proper' main meal.

Consumption of bread is much higher among the young generation, especially among those under twenties. In contrast, among those over forty five, bread is either reluctantly consumed or has never been accepted. The gender gap in bread consumption is also marked with men tending to prefer 'hot traditional meals' much more strongly than women.

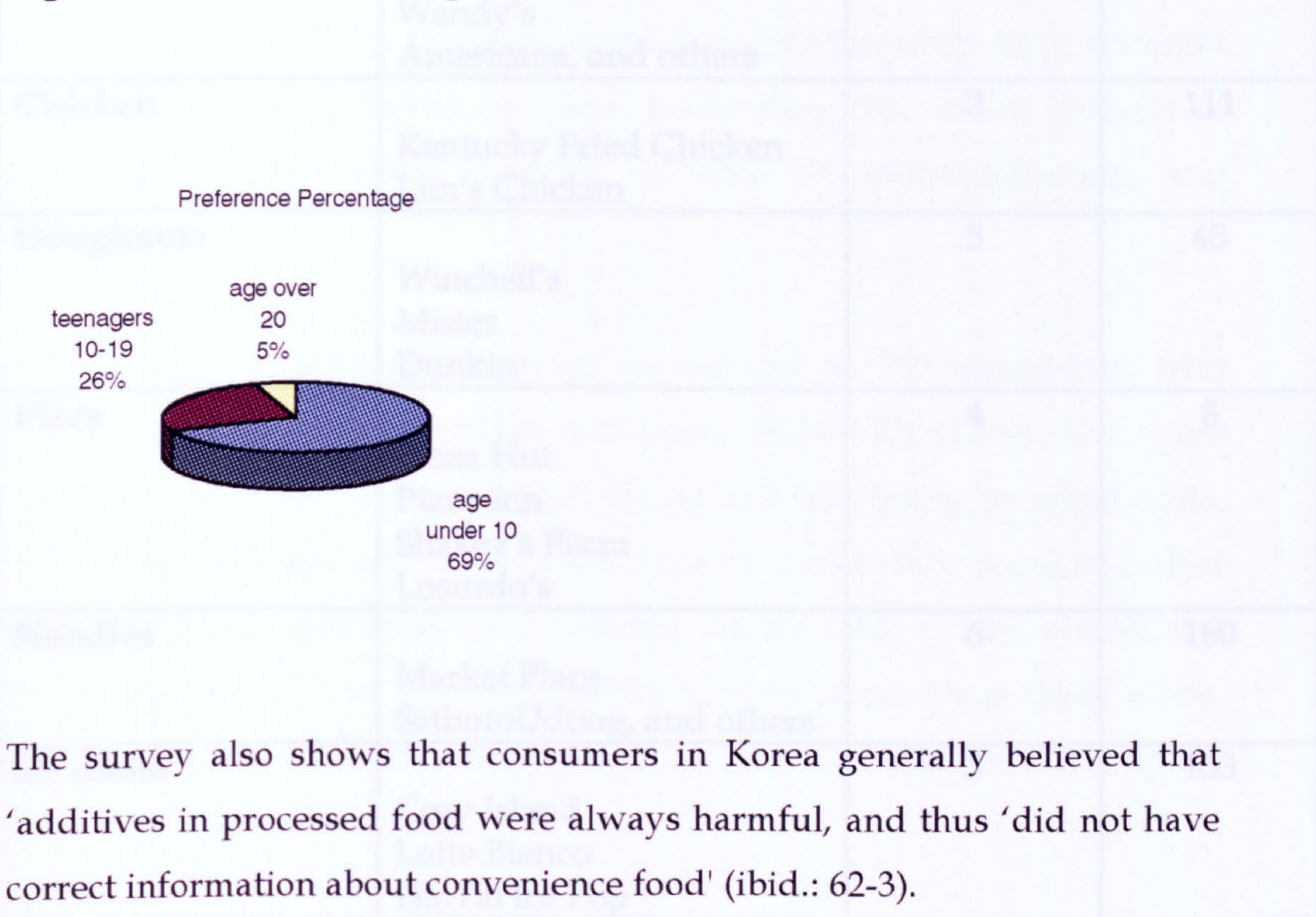
Processed Food

Although food manufacturing technologies have developed rapidly in line with the economic growth, the convenience foods produced have been largely Western in style. Traditional recipes have not been processed. For many reasons, the idea of convenience food has been largely shunned in Korea. This can be explained the strong traditional value placed on home-made food, the widespread preference for Korean food as against Western

food, the limited variety of processed foods, and the suspicions surrounding the nutritional and hygienic aspects of ready-made foods.

Attitudes to the consumption of processed food do vary, however, between generations. According to a survey carried out among the housewives living in the capital city, Seoul, there was a considerable age gap in preferences for processed food (Lee 1986) (Figure 3.2.)

Figure 3.2. Preferences for processed foods



The survey also shows that consumers in Korea generally believed that 'additives in processed food were always harmful, and thus 'did not have correct information about convenience food' (ibid.: 62-3).

Fast Food

One of the most distinctive changes over the recent decades has been the development of restaurants and a food service industry. The first fast food chain store appeared in Korea in 1979 under the name *Lotteria*, a Japanese

brand name, with forty nine chain stores nation-wide. Since then, various foreign fast food chains, mainly managed by American multinational corporations, have been increasingly introduced (Korean Nutritional Science Association 1989:97) (Table 3.1.).

Table 3.1. Fast food industries in Korea (up to 1985)

Sector	Major brand names	Companies	Outlets
Hamburger	Lotteria Burger King Wendy's Americana, and others	30	556
Chicken	Kentucky Fried Chicken Lim's Chicken	2	111
Doughnuts	Winchell's Mister Dunkin	3	43
Pizza	Pizza Hut Pizza Inn Shakey's Pizza Losurdo's	4	8
Noodles	Market Place SatboroUdong, and others	6	160
Ice cream	Cosy Island Lotte Bianco HaiTai Ice Pop	3	133

Given this, it is remarkable that the influential multinational hamburger chain 'McDonalds' was not introduced in Korea until the period of this present survey. Although some fast food outlets selling hamburgers, chicken, doughnuts and pizzas in Korea are branches of international chains, and those foreign foods are introduced to Korean people within a

short period, some chains selling foods such as noodles and ice cream have been founded by Korean companies.

Meal Patterns

The availability of various processed foods, increased women's employment, and the smaller investment of time needed for cooking, have all contributed to changes in women's attitudes to meal preparation. Whereas eating within the extended family in the past was always a form of community activity, members of nuclear families often have different eating times, eating habits and food preferences due to the changes of lifestyle, largely caused by the process of industrialisation and urbanisation.

According to a nation-wide survey carried out on 720 housewives with varied social backgrounds (Han and Yoon 1987:69-77) (Table 3.2.), those who were younger, more educated, living in a flat, living in urban areas, had higher incomes and no children, had hot meals less frequently, thus displaying less traditional meal patterns. As the table shows, almost two thirds (63.5%) of those in their twenties had hot meals three times a day, and among those in their fifties, corresponding figure appeared to be the majority (85.2%) (Table 3.2.).

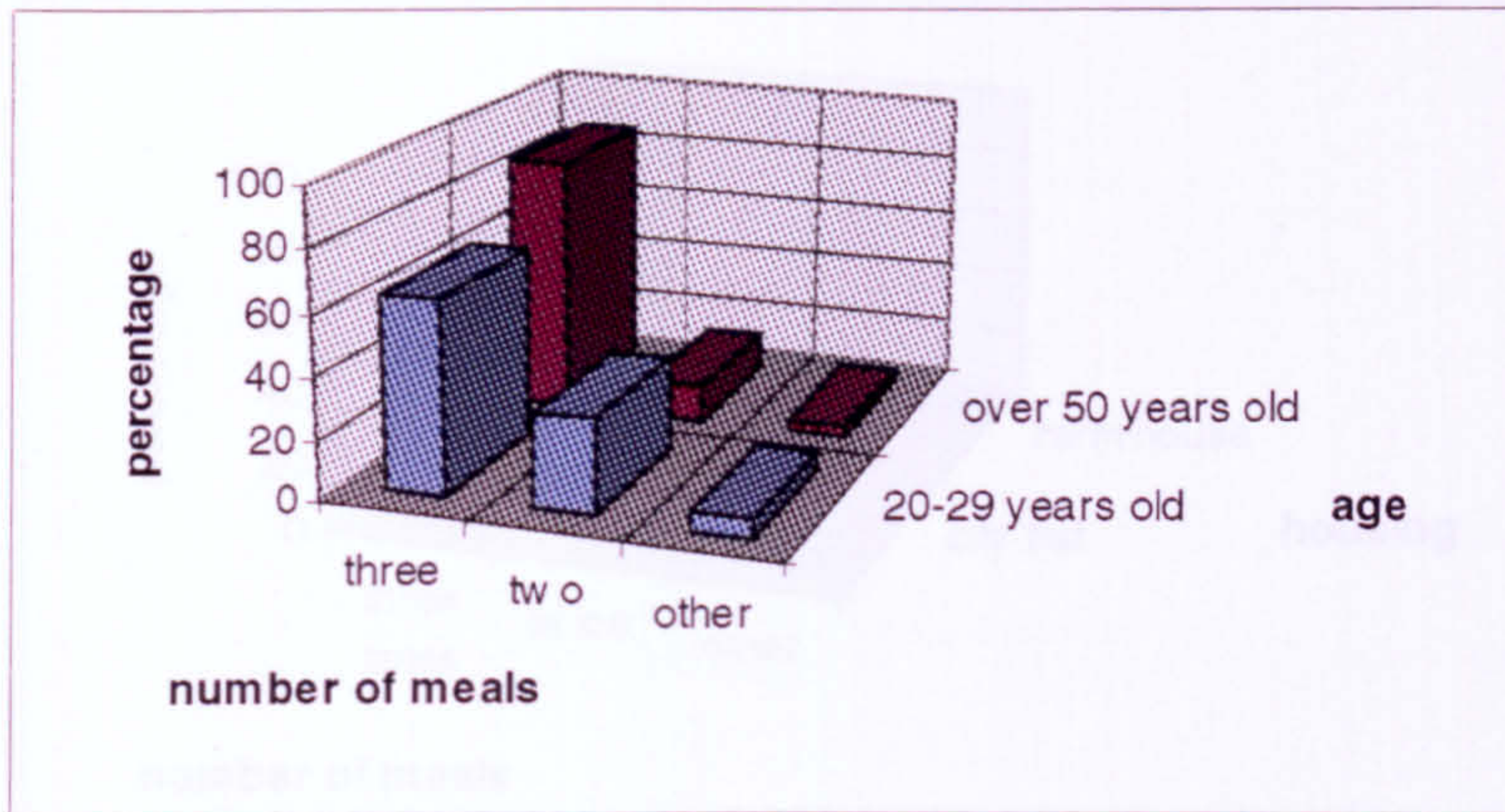
Table 3.2. Percentage of daily hot meal consumption

	three times	twice	other
Age			
20-29	63.5%	31.2%	5.3%
over 50	85.2%	11.4%	3.4%
Education			
primary school graduates	92.0%	6.7%	1.3%
college graduates	48.5%	46.9%	4.6%
Housing			
flat	58.9%	32.1%	9.0%
farm house	85.1%	9.0%	6.0%
Occupation			
full-time housewife	74.4%	22.0%	3.6%
full-time employed housewife	62.7%	29.9%	7.4%
Monthly Income			
200,000-350,000 Won	79.8%	14.2%	6.0%
above 610,000 Won	59.2%	35.0%	5.8%
Family Members			
two	48.3%	50.0%	1.7%
more than seven	80.7%	12.3%	7.0%

(N=720)

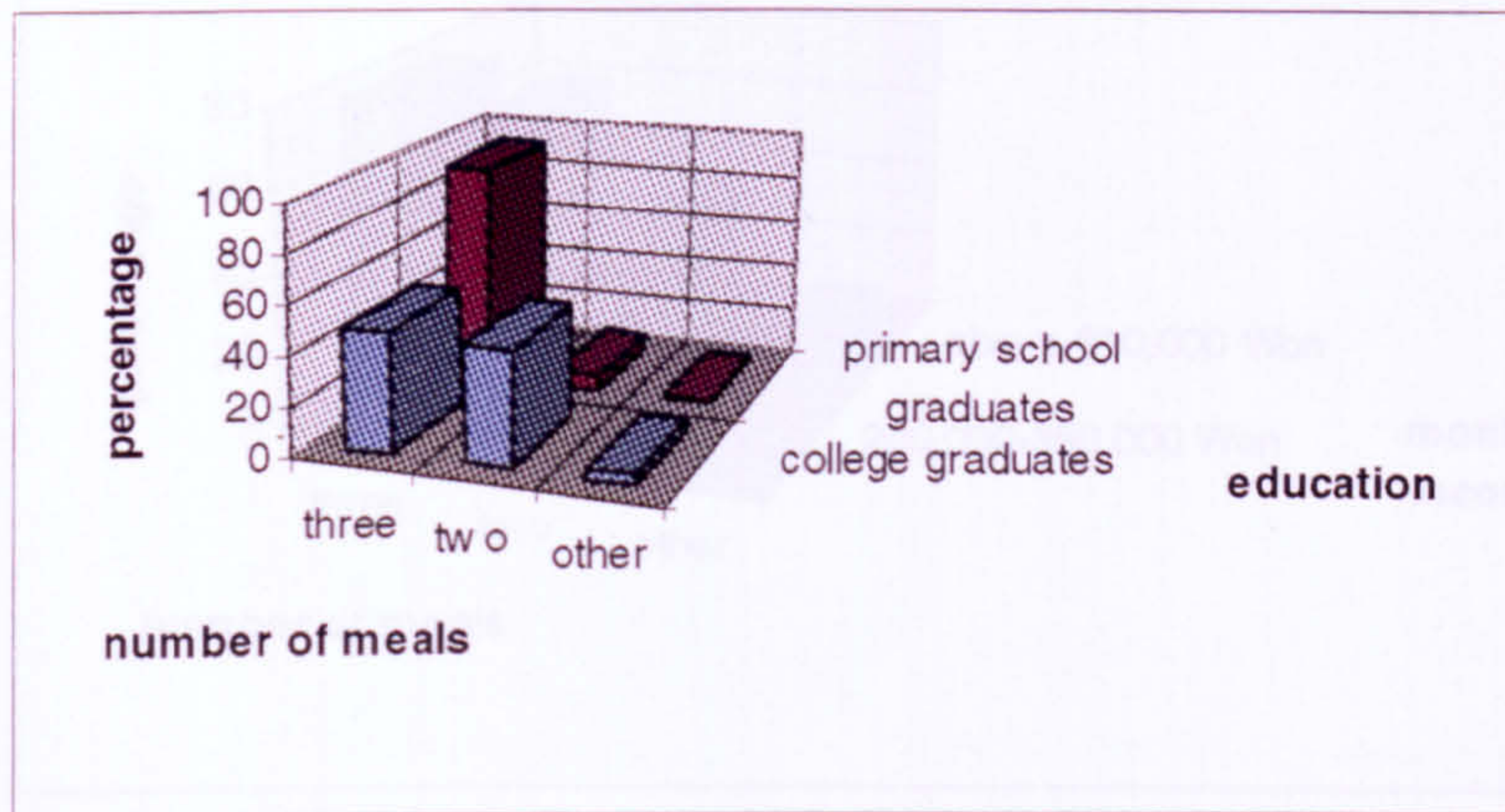
In order to compare these patterns more easily, Table 3.2. converts the figures into graphical form (Figure 3.3). (The source of the following figures 3.3 - 3.8 is the survey carried out by Han and Yoon, 1987)

Figure 3.3. Age



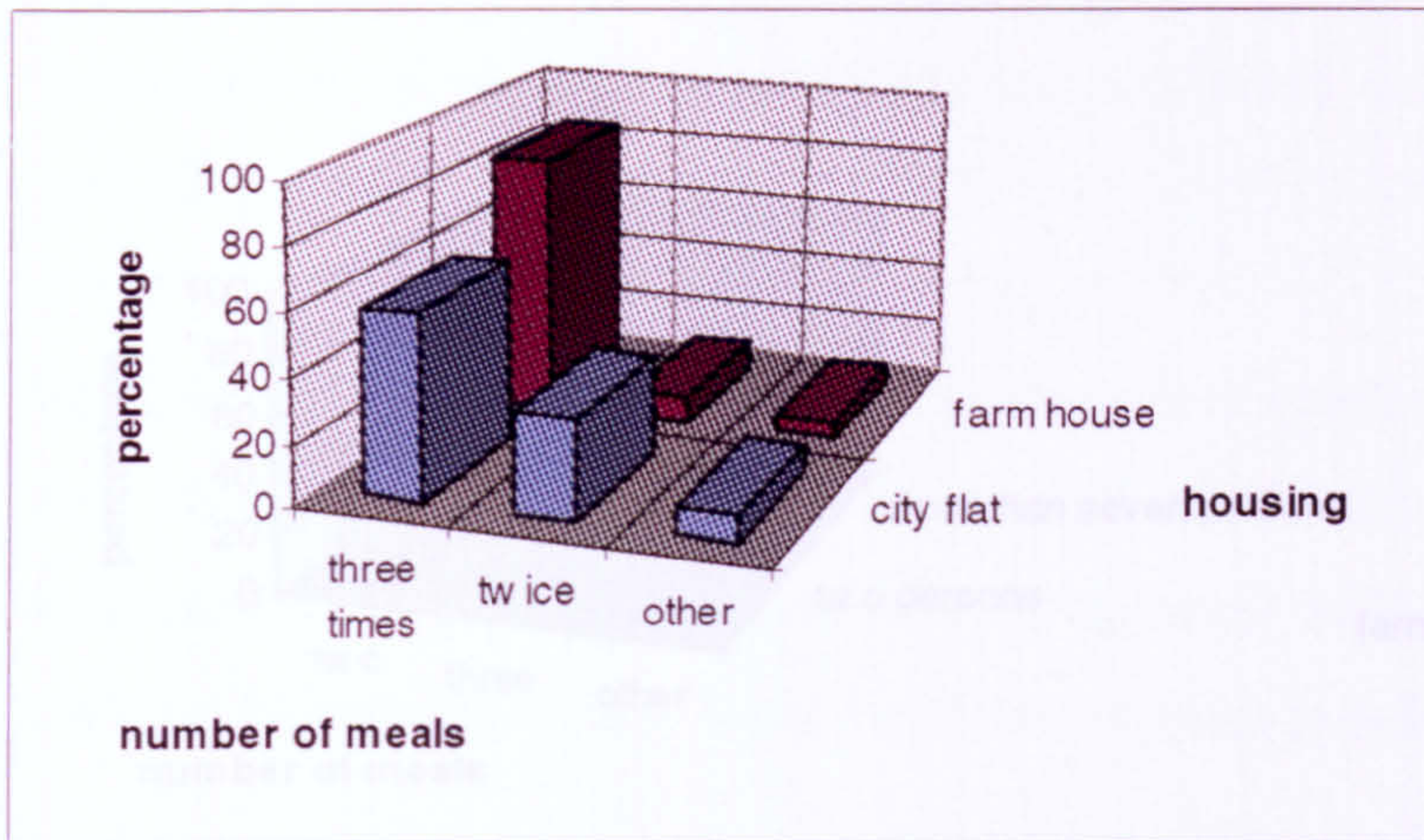
The survey also revealed substantial differences by education and age. Whereas 92.0% of primary school graduates always had hot meals at every meal time, the figure for college graduates was only 48.5% (Figure 3.4.).

Figure 3.4. Education



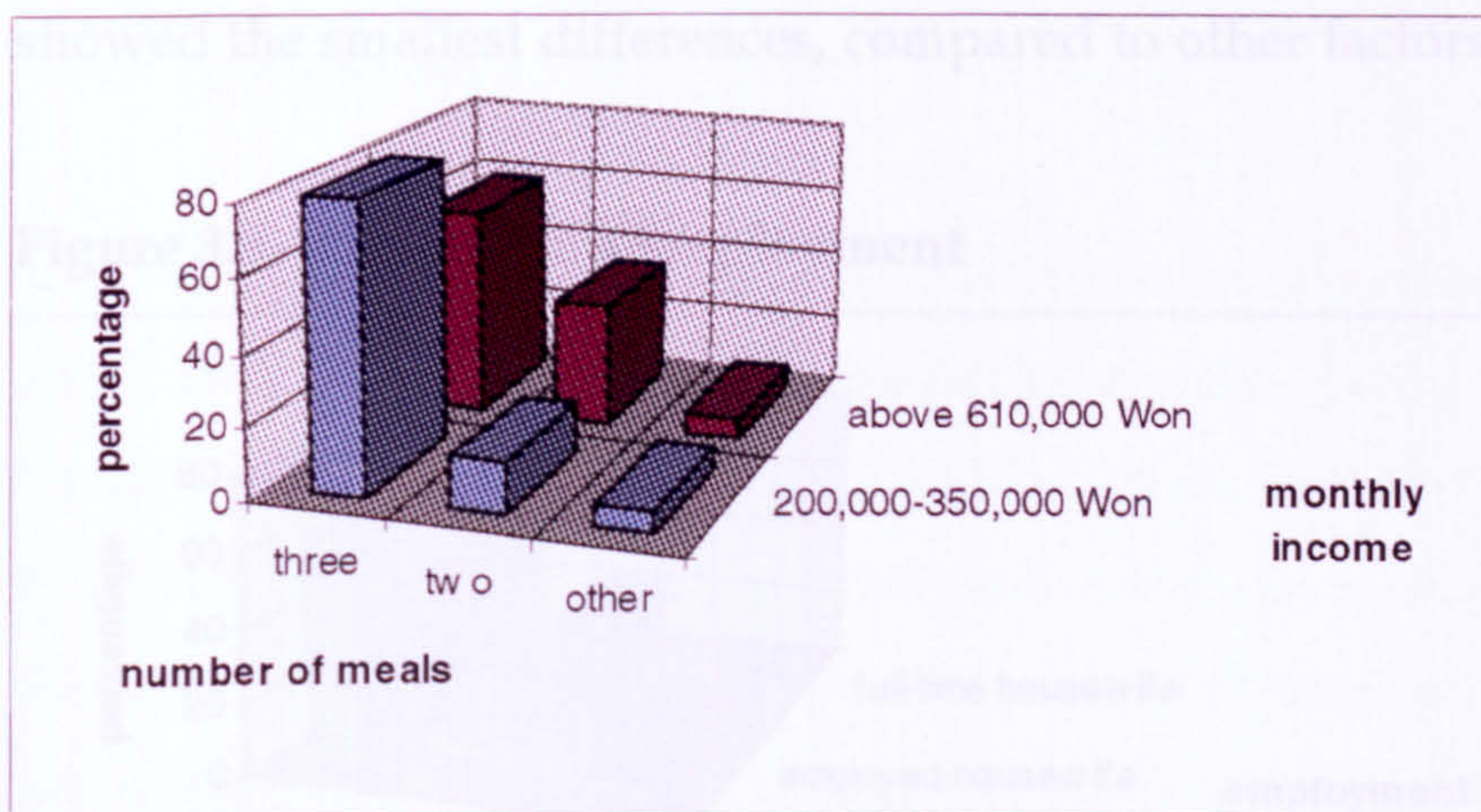
Not surprisingly, adherence to traditional meal patterns was strongest in rural areas (Figure 3.5.). The majority of those living in a country farm had hot meals three times a day, while those living in an urban flat were more likely to have hot meals only twice a day.

Figure 3.5. Housing



As figure 3.6. and figure 3.7. show, the higher the husband's income, and the smaller the size of the family they belong to, the less likely housewives are to display traditional pattern of meal consumption.

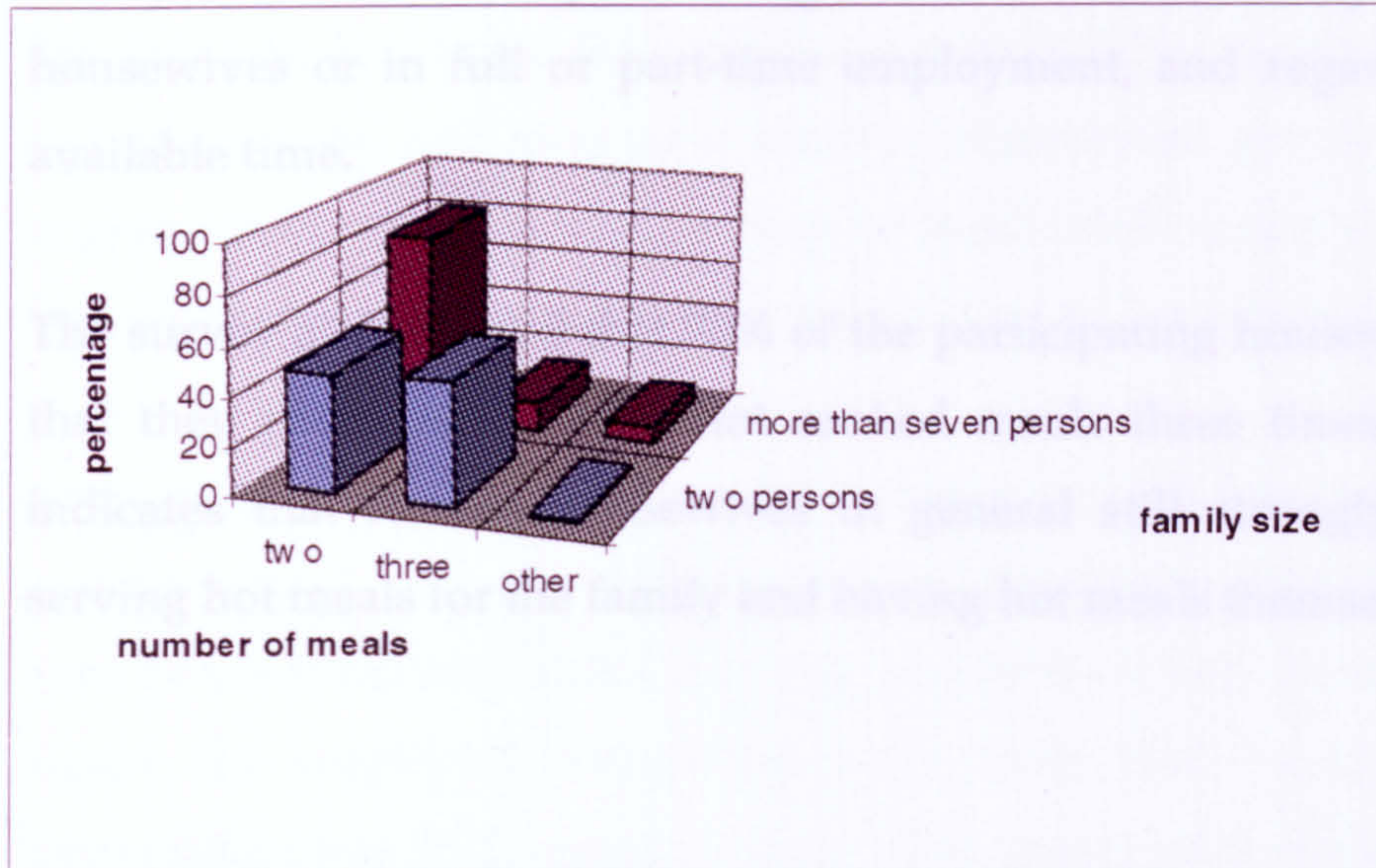
Figure 3.6. Monthly income



The family size was a major factor influencing meal patterns, showing that large families were much more likely to enjoy the traditional three meals a day than couples (Figure 3.7.).

Overall, these findings suggest that despite major changes in the social environment, basic daily meal patterns are still firmly held to Korean women. They continue to take responsibility for supplying traditional

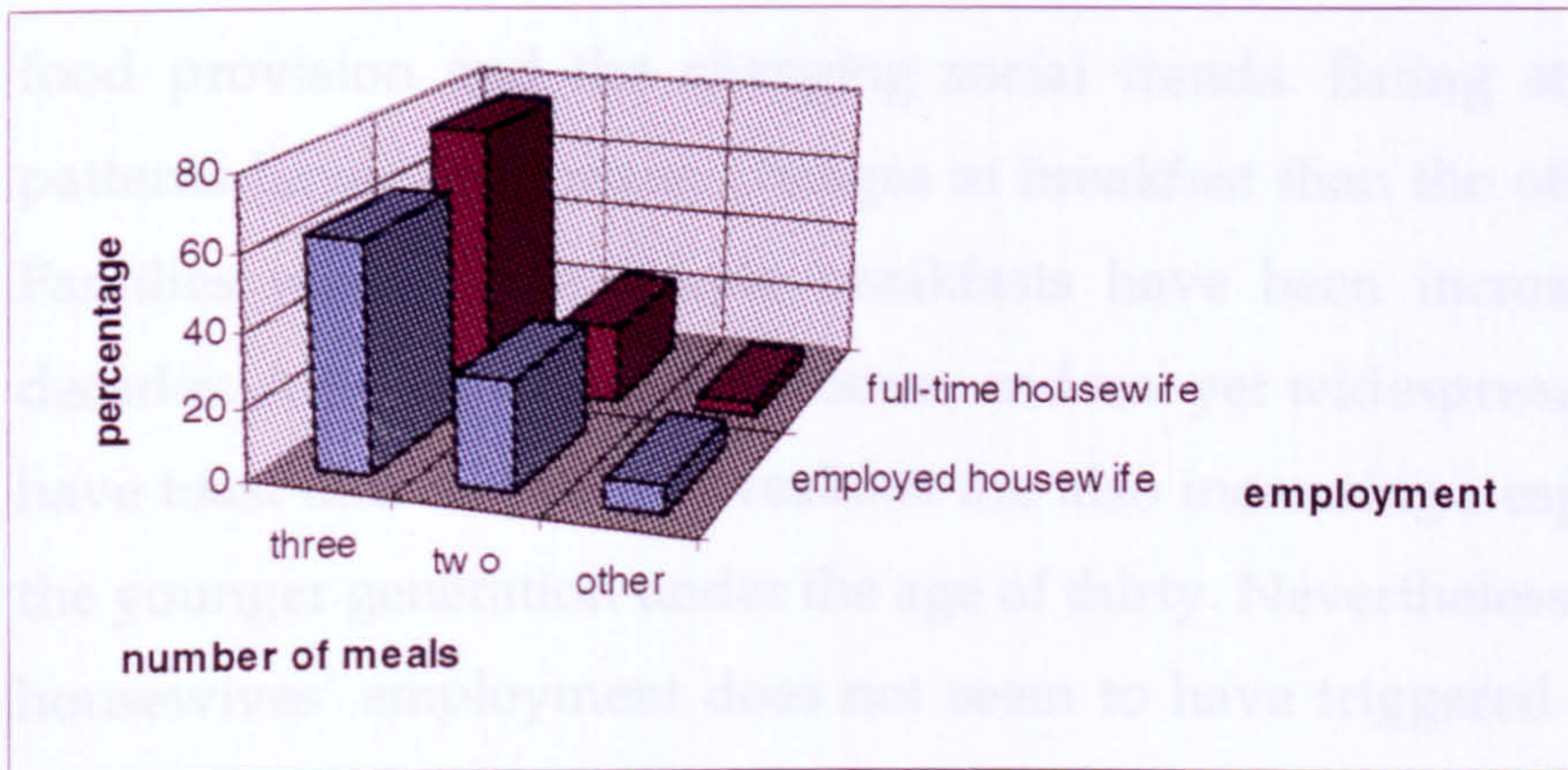
Figure 3.7. Size of the family



3.3.2. Women and Food Habits in Contemporary Korea

Surprisingly, although differences in housewives' employment status correlate with slight variations in family hot meal consumption, this factor showed the smallest differences, compared to other factors (Figure 3.8.).

Figure 3.8. Housewife's employment



Overall, these findings suggest that despite major changes in the social environment, basic daily meal patterns are still firmly held to Korean women. They continue to take responsibility for supplying traditional

family meals on a daily basis regardless of whether they are full-time housewives or in full or part-time employment, and regardless of their available time.

The survey also showed that 72% of the participating housewives claimed that they preferred to have hot cooked meals three times a day. This indicates that Korean housewives in general still strongly prefer both serving hot meals for the family and having hot meals themselves.

3.3.2. Women and Food Habits in Contemporary Korea

Meal Preparation

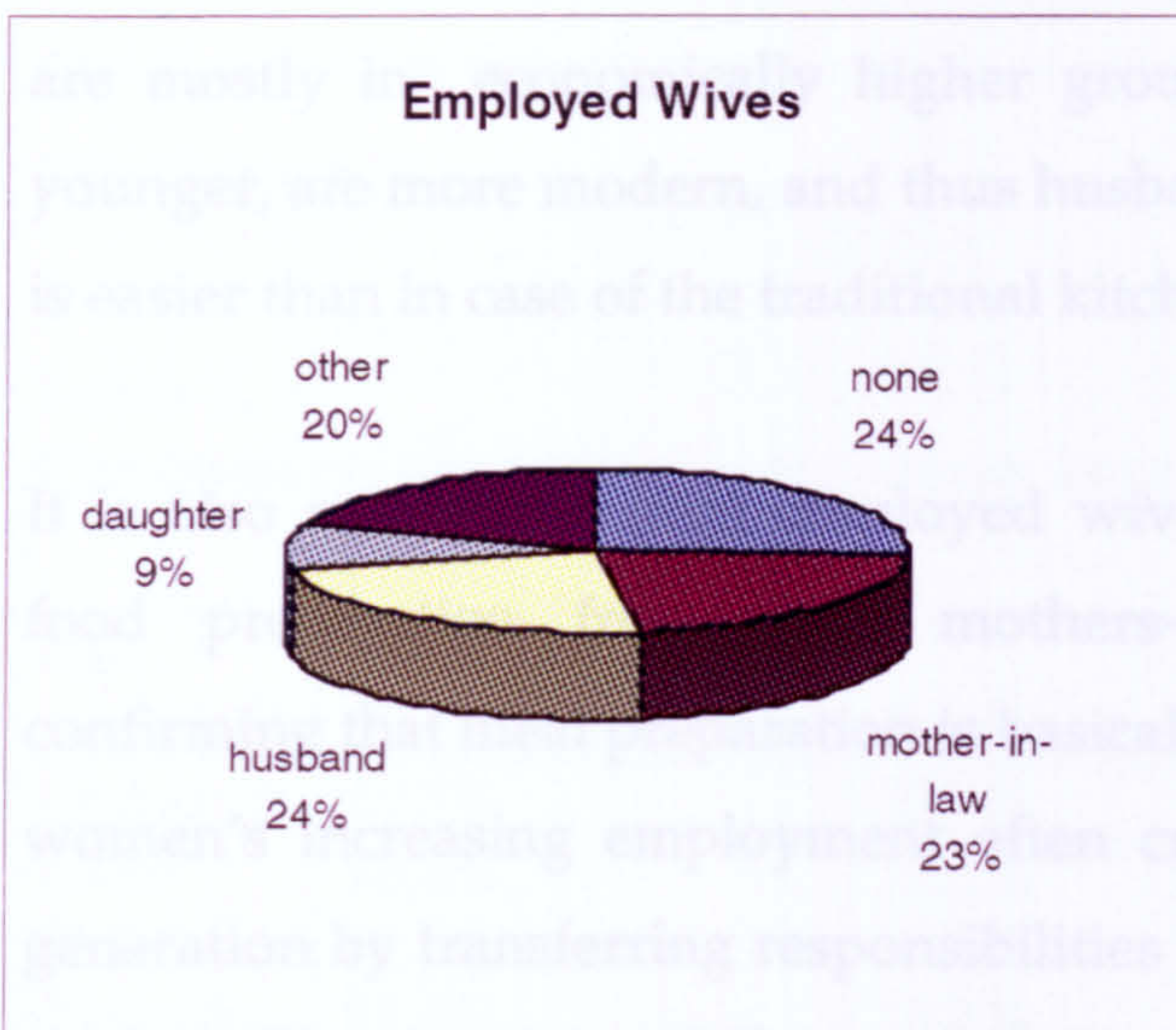
It is necessary to further trace the current women's attitudes in regard to food provision and the changing social trends. Eating styles and meal patterns have seen greater changes at breakfast than the other two meals. Families which have simple breakfasts have been increasing in recent decades. Although it is slow process, and not yet widespread, families who have toast and cereals for breakfast are also increasing, especially among the younger generation under the age of thirty. Nevertheless, the growth in housewives' employment does not seem to have triggered or contributed to changes in breakfast patterns or to the use of convenience foods to any great extent.

According to a comparative study of meal preparation by full-time and employed housewives (Kim 1984:107-16), there is no appreciable difference

in breakfast contents between the two groups. The percentage of the families who had bread for breakfast was only 3.2% out of all respondents in both groups, and they were mainly concentrated among the youngest couples (ibid.: 111). The major basis of food habits across the sample was largely preferred taste rather than time-saving or convenience.

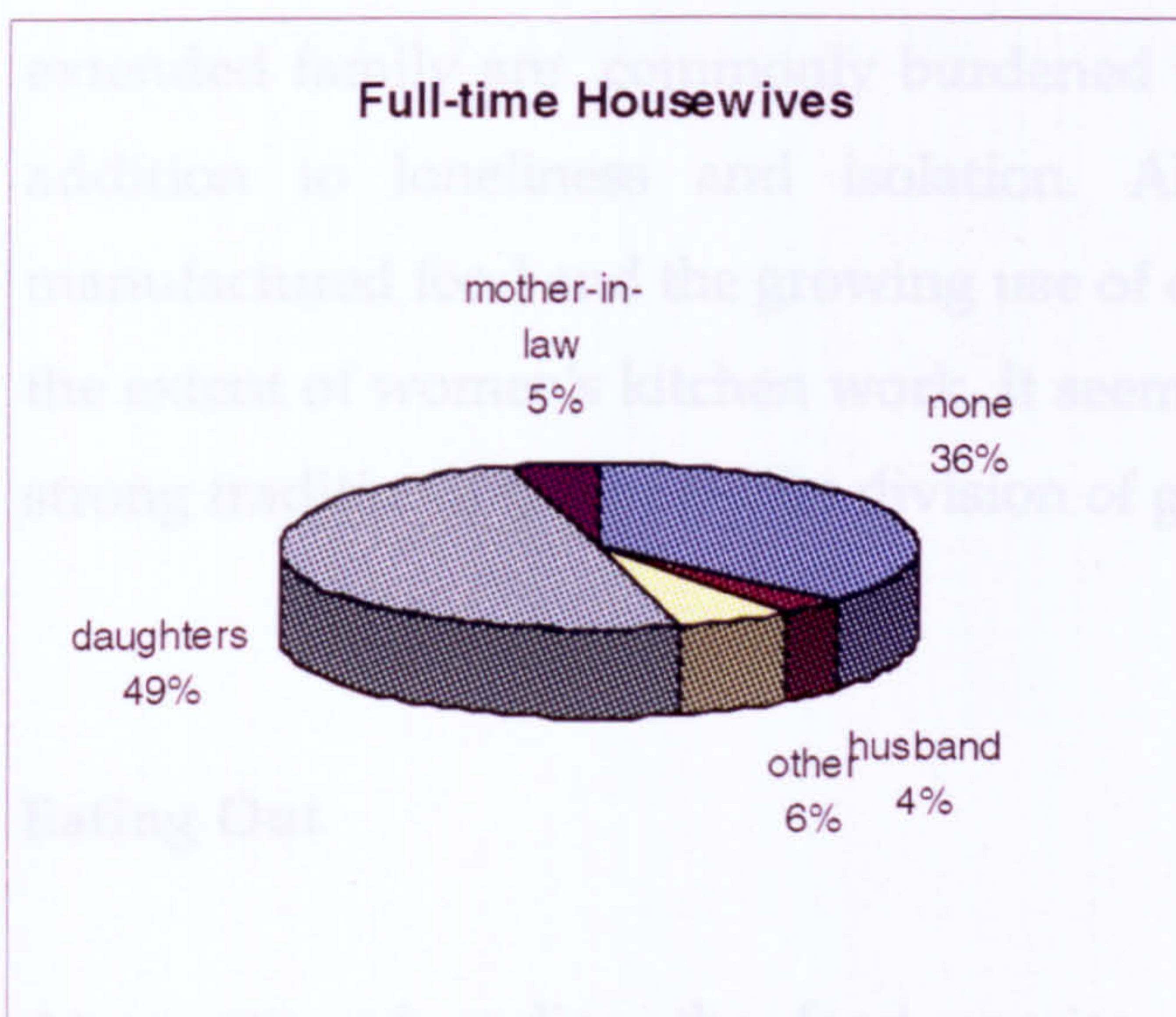
Even when the degree of help housewives receive for meal preparation was compared, no major differences were discovered. While 36.3% of full-time housewives responded that they received no help from anybody, the figure for employed housewives who were fully in charge of meal preparation was 25.2% (ibid.: 113-4). (The source of the following figures 3.9 and 3.10 is the study by Kim, 1984)

Figure 3.9. Person who helps employed wives' meal preparation



(N=316)

Figure 3.10. Person who helps full-time housewives' meal preparation



(N=316)

The above findings however do show that husbands' help for wives is far higher in families where the wife is working. However, this survey also discovered that 'husbands tend to help their working wives not simply

because an employed housewife has less time for domestic work, but because the 'kitchen structure and facilities of the employed women, who are mostly in economically higher groups, more educated, urban and younger, are more modern, and thus husband's help with the kitchen work is easier than in case of the traditional kitchen' (ibid.: 112).

It is also noteworthy that employed wives receive considerable help in food preparation from their mothers-in-law or daughters thereby confirming that meal preparation is basically female responsibility. Indeed, women's increasing employment often creates problems with the older generation by transferring responsibilities for domestic work to an elderly mother. The structure of Korean families certainly displays a transitional pattern with extended families and nuclear families coexisting. Since elderly parents are still expected to live with the children's family, in spite of the increasing spread of the nuclear family, elderly mothers in an extended family are commonly burdened with heavy domestic labour in addition to loneliness and isolation. Although the development of manufactured food and the growing use of convenience food have reduced the extent of women's kitchen work, it seems that Korean society still hold strong traditional values on the division of gender roles.

Eating Out

As mentioned earlier, the food service and catering industries have developed rapidly within a relatively short period. The consumption of fast food has also dramatically increased over the last two decades. A survey conducted by Mo (1990:15-28) discovered that the substantial number of female customers in Seoul go to fast food restaurants, firstly because they see them as attractive places for meeting peers (47.0% of female as against 9.1% of male respondents), and secondly because of their

convenience (43.9% of female, 42.1% of male respondents, N=1454). Additionally, it has also been discovered that 'mother's employment or social activities do not contribute to teenagers' eating fast food at all' (ibid.: 17) (Table 3.3).

Table 3. 3.

Comparison of positive preferences: home-made food vs. fast food

Age	Male Home-made food	Fast food	Female Home-made food	Fast food
Under 13	47.1%	23.5%	45.5%	22.7%
14-19	48.4%	21.1%	43.8%	18.8%
20-30	61.0%	13.7%	53.6%	15.8%
Over 30	59.5%	18.1%	42.1%	25.0%
Means	57.4%	16.6%	49.0%	17.7%

(N=1454)

This table 3.3. converts the figures into graphical form as follows (Figure 3.11 and figure 3.12 are based on the same source, Mo 1990).

Figure 3.11. Home-made food

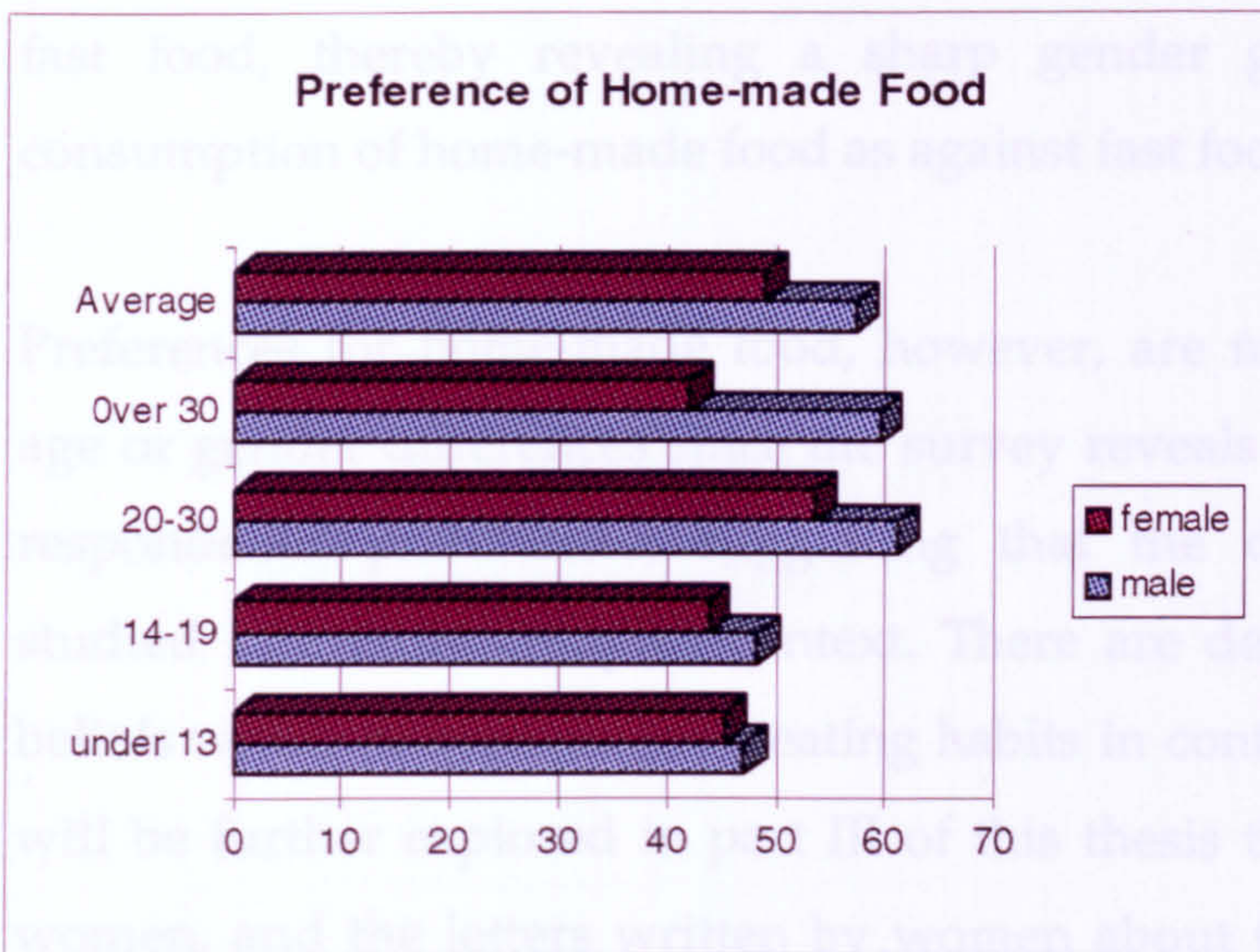
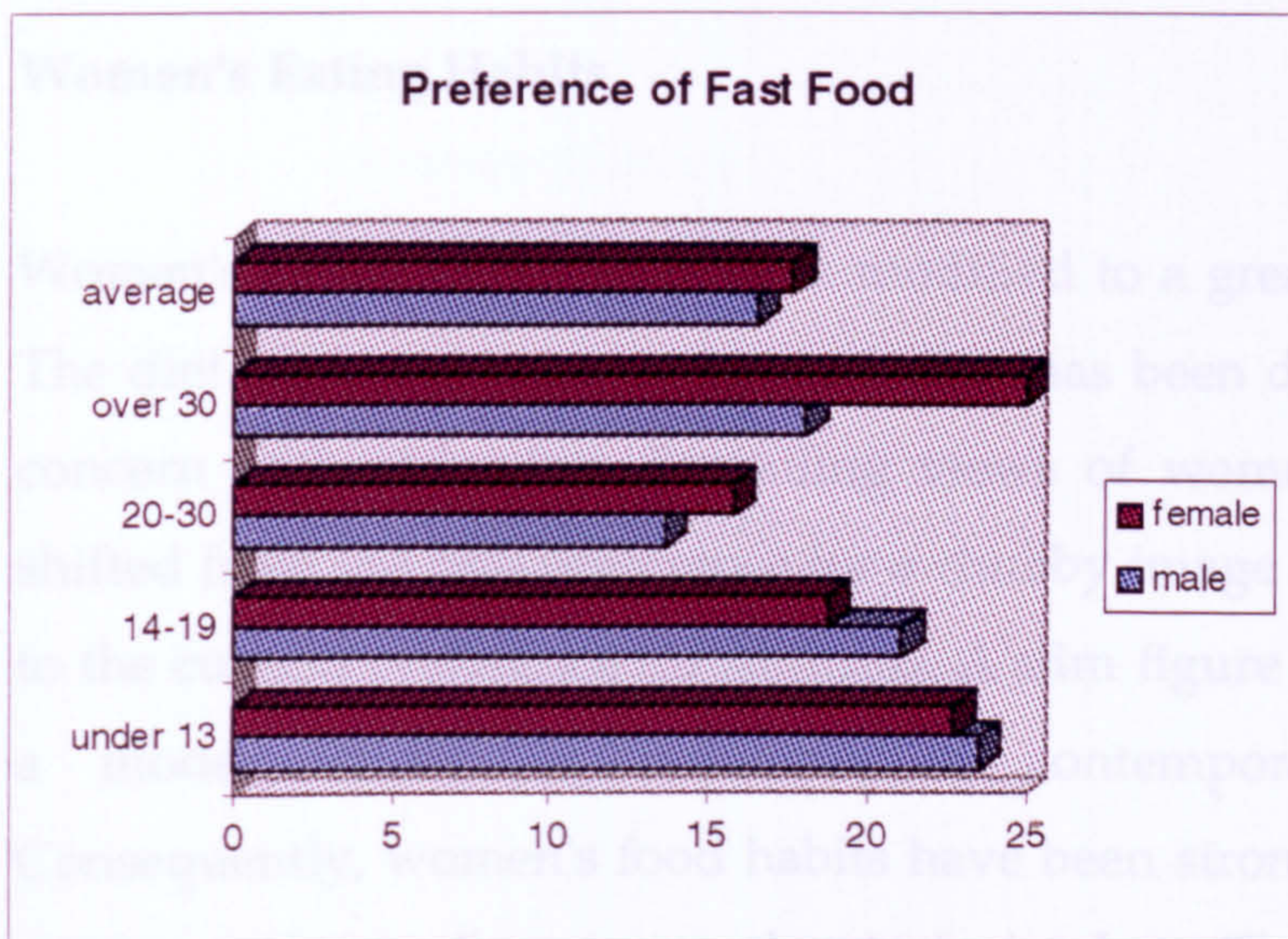


Figure 3.12. Fast food



As these figures show, while more men of all ages express a positive preference for home-made food than women, the difference are not generally substantial. Age difference in preferences were more noticeable, however. Surprisingly, men in their twenties tended to display more conservative attitudes and express the stronger preference for traditional

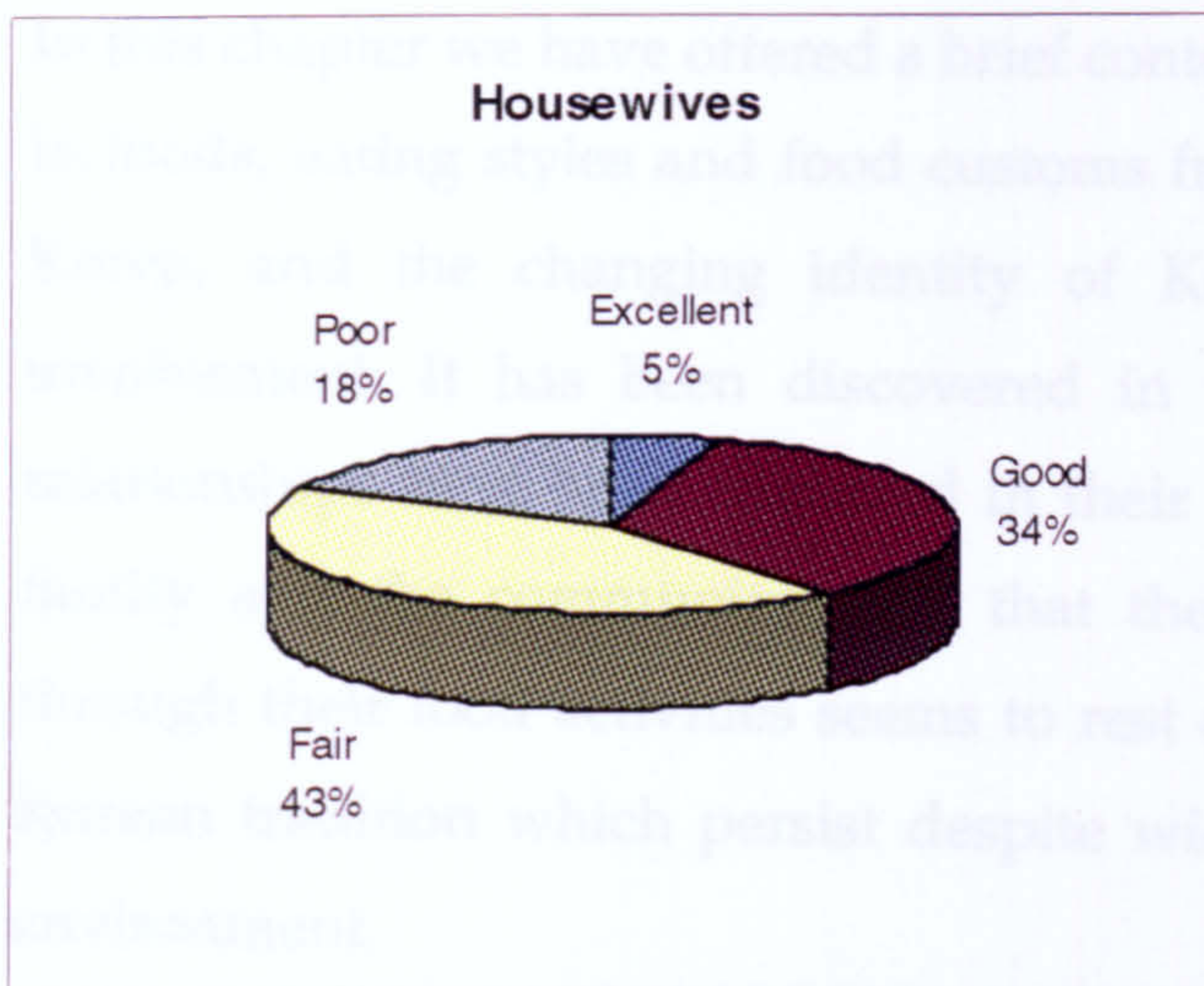
food. In contrast, women over thirty showed the stronger preference for fast food, thereby revealing a sharp gender gap in relation to the consumption of home-made food as against fast food.

Preferences for home-made food, however, are not explained simply by age or gender differences since the survey reveals inconsistent patterns in respondents' preferences, suggesting that the differences need to be studied in a more complex context. There are deeply rooted values and beliefs which pattern people's eating habits in contemporary Korea, which will be further explored in part III of this thesis through interviews with women, and the letters written by women about their habits of food and eating.

Women's Eating Habits

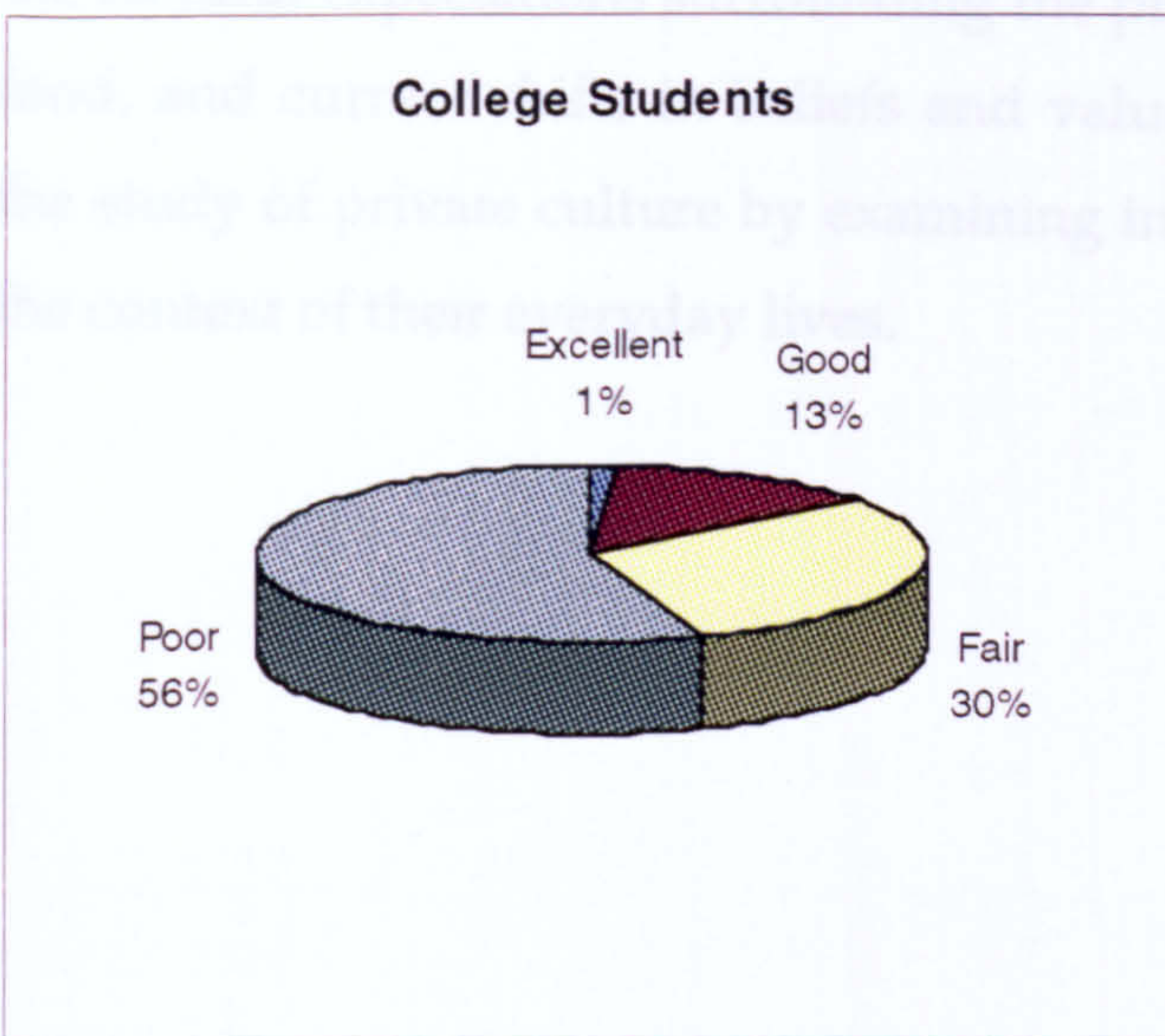
Women's eating habits have been modified to a greater extent than men's. The diet of young women, in particular, has been diversified due to their concern with slimming. Prevailing views of women's body images has shifted from the past preference for a chubby image symbolising affluence, to the current preference for slimness. A slim figure is now widely seen as a modern mark of attraction in contemporary Korean society. Consequently, women's food habits have been strongly patterned by their concerns about slimming and calorie intakes. The concern of women, especially young single women, about their own body images has greatly influenced their health and nutrition. According to the reports in the mid 1980s, the eating habits and self perception of health of female college students who were in their late teenage years and early twenties were far poorer than those of housewives in the same age group (Chung 1985) (Kim 1984) (Figure 3.13 and Figure 3.14.).

Figure 3.13. Self rating of housewives' health condition and food habits



(N=951)

Figure 3.14. Self rating of college students' health condition and food habits



(N=951)

In addition, the younger the respondents were, the more erratic and nutritionally unbalanced their eating habits (ibid.: 4-5). This was largely because younger women considered body slimming to be more important than health and nutrition.

In this chapter we have offered a brief contextual overview of the transition in foods, eating styles and food customs from traditional to contemporary Korea, and the changing identity of Korean women and their food involvement. It has been discovered in various ways that their social relationships have been engraved in their daily food practices within the family and the community, and that the way women relate to others through their food activities seems to rest on deeply rooted values within Korean tradition which persist despite widespread changes in the social environment.

The two following chapters of part II will analyse women's relationship to food as portrayed in public cultural representations, particularly in advertising. The examination of public culture will help us to understand the cultural expectations surrounding the practices of women in relation to food, and current shifts in beliefs and values. Part III will concentrate on the study of private culture by examining in detail women's food habits in the context of their everyday lives.

PART II

Part II focuses on the popular media in Korea. The next two chapters will explore the representations of food and gender in two of the media for women- magazines and television.

Magazines

Three popular monthly women's magazine were selected for analysis. They aimed at different segments of the market. Three issues of each magazines were collected from July to September in 1992. All the food advertisements in these sample issues were subject to analysis.

	La Belle	Young Lady	Yowon(Women's Garden)
Target Audience			
marital status	married women	single women	married women
age group		teenagers and twenties	housewives in general
	middle class urban readers		
Established	3 years old	12 years old	over 40 years old

Television

All three of the commercial TV channels in Korea were selected for study. All the advertisements broadcast for one day on each channel were recorded. The date was randomly chosen during the weekdays between the 15th (Tuesday) and the 21st (Monday) of September 1992. All of the channels broadcast for 11 hours a day, from 6:00 to 10:00 in the morning, and from 5:00 to 12:00 in the evening during weekdays.

All food advertisements screened during the sample period were analysed.

	SBS	MBC	KBS 2
Channel	6	11	7
Ownership	Private	Private	Public
Established in	1992	1956	1927
Date of the broadcast programmes	Thursday evening, (17th September) and Friday morning, (18th September)	Tuesday evening, (15th September) and Wednesday morning, (16th September)	Friday evening, (18th September) and Monday morning, (21st September)

SBS: Seoul Broadcasting Station

MBC: Moonhwa Broadcasting station

KBS: Korean Broadcasting System

CHAPTER 4. WOMEN IN FOOD ADVERTISEMENTS I: CONTENT ANALYSIS

This chapter aims to explore patterns of gender representation with regard to food and eating as portrayed in advertisements on TV and in magazines in contemporary Korea. This will be helpful in illuminating the dominant cultural codes associated with gender roles in this particular society. In order to accomplish this, we will focus on the places in which women are commonly portrayed, the activities they are expected to engage in. We will also look for differences in roles and expectations according to age and generation.

Total case number

The total number of advertisements dealing with food televised during the sample period was 173 (Table 1)¹, and the total number of magazine advertisements was 117 (Table 2). Advertisements for cooking equipment, restaurants and cafes were also included. The food products advertised were classified into 32 types (Table 3). During the sample period, convenience food was the most frequently advertised food item on TV, and cooking ingredients and seasoning were the most frequently advertised in magazines. The types of food product were further classified into 8 categories (Table 4).

¹ Table 1 to 23 are printed as appendix at the back of this thesis.

Setting

The settings of advertisements were examined (Table 5) (Table 6). Type of settings was classified into 20 categories (Table 7). Additionally, they were further classified according to whether the background setting was public or domestic, and what kind of food activity was featured (Table 8). The advertisements, both on TV and in the magazines, predominantly featured public places for consumption, followed by domestic consumption settings.

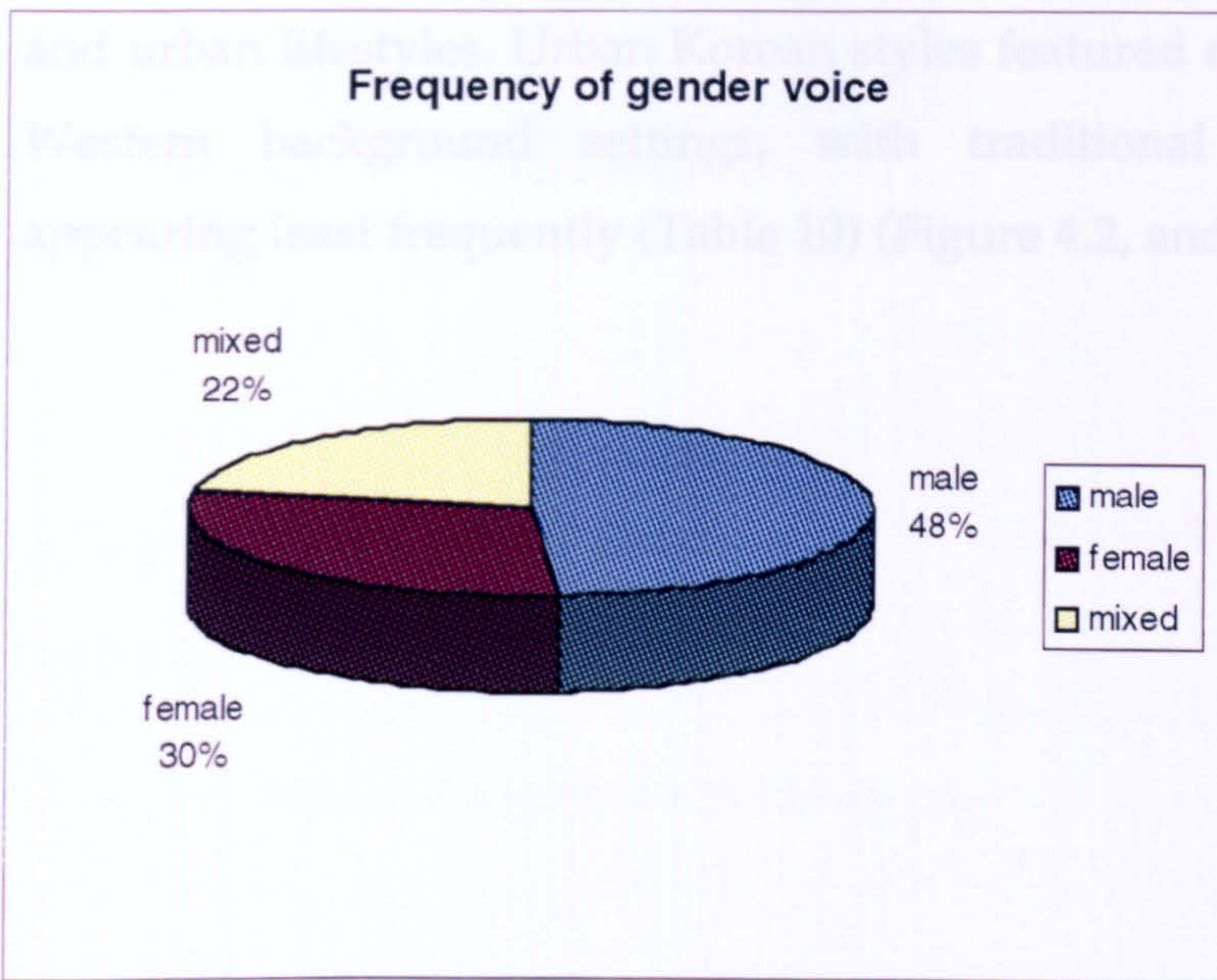
Voice

The voice-overs of TV advertisements were examined to see if there is any general pattern in the correlation between the setting featured and the gender of the voice-over. As the following Figure 4.1. shows, in general, male voice-overs were more frequent. However, there were certain types of products which clearly employed a particular gender voice (Table 9). For instance, there were 11 cases of a male voice-over, and only 1 case of a female voice-over in advertisements with natural settings. The voice-overs used in advertisements with kitchen settings were also predominantly male with 8 cases employing male voice-overs, and none employing solely female voices. As the table 4.1. clearly indicates, the advertisements featuring public settings for food production and domestic settings for food preparation employed male voices only. Those showing public settings for food consumption were also predominantly male voice oriented.

The male voice-overs for an advertisements set in kitchens, often in the context of food preparation, were largely talking either about the benefits of technology and science with regard to food manufacturing (e.g.

convenience foods) or about cooking equipment, thereby confirming these areas as predominantly male's domain. The tone of male voice-overs for advertisements with a natural setting often underlined the themes of women's increased freedom and leisure and the romantic moments generated by food and eating.

Figure 4.1. Gender of voice-overs on total TV advertisements



N= 173

Table 4.1. Gender distribution of voice-overs by settings and activity

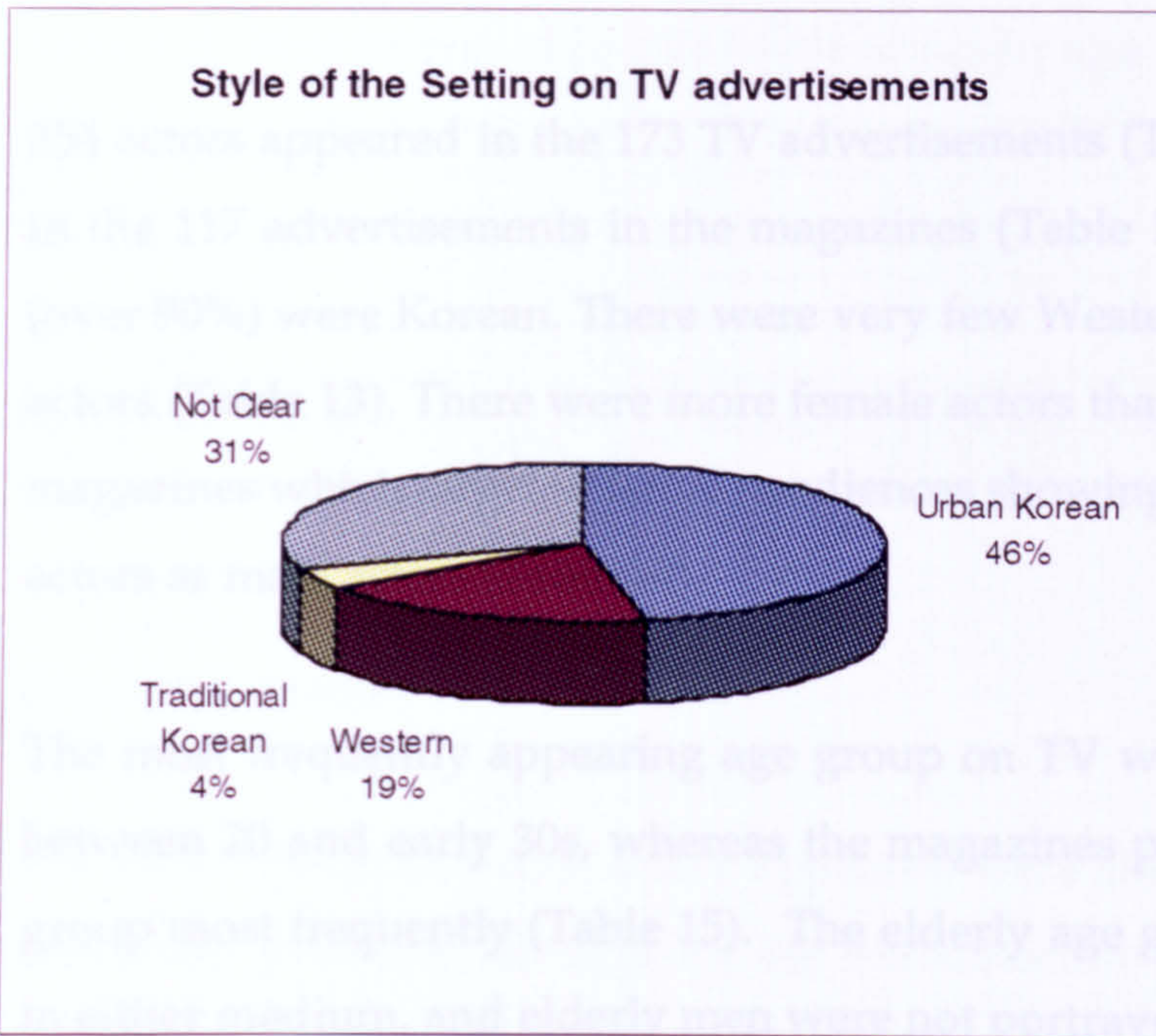
Setting / Activity	Female voice	Male voice	Mixed
Public consumption	29 (19.1%)	39 (25.7%)	15 (9.9%)
Domestic consumption	16 (10.8%)	16 (10.8%)	11 (7.3%)
Domestic preparation	-	8 (5.4%)	2 (1.3%)
Domestic production	4 (2.6%)	1 (0.6%)	2 (1.3%)
Public production	-	4 (2.7%)	2 (1.3%)
Domestic other activity	-	2 (1.3%)	-
total	49 (32.5%)	71 (46.4%)	32 (21.1%)

(N=152) (no setting = 21)

Style of the setting

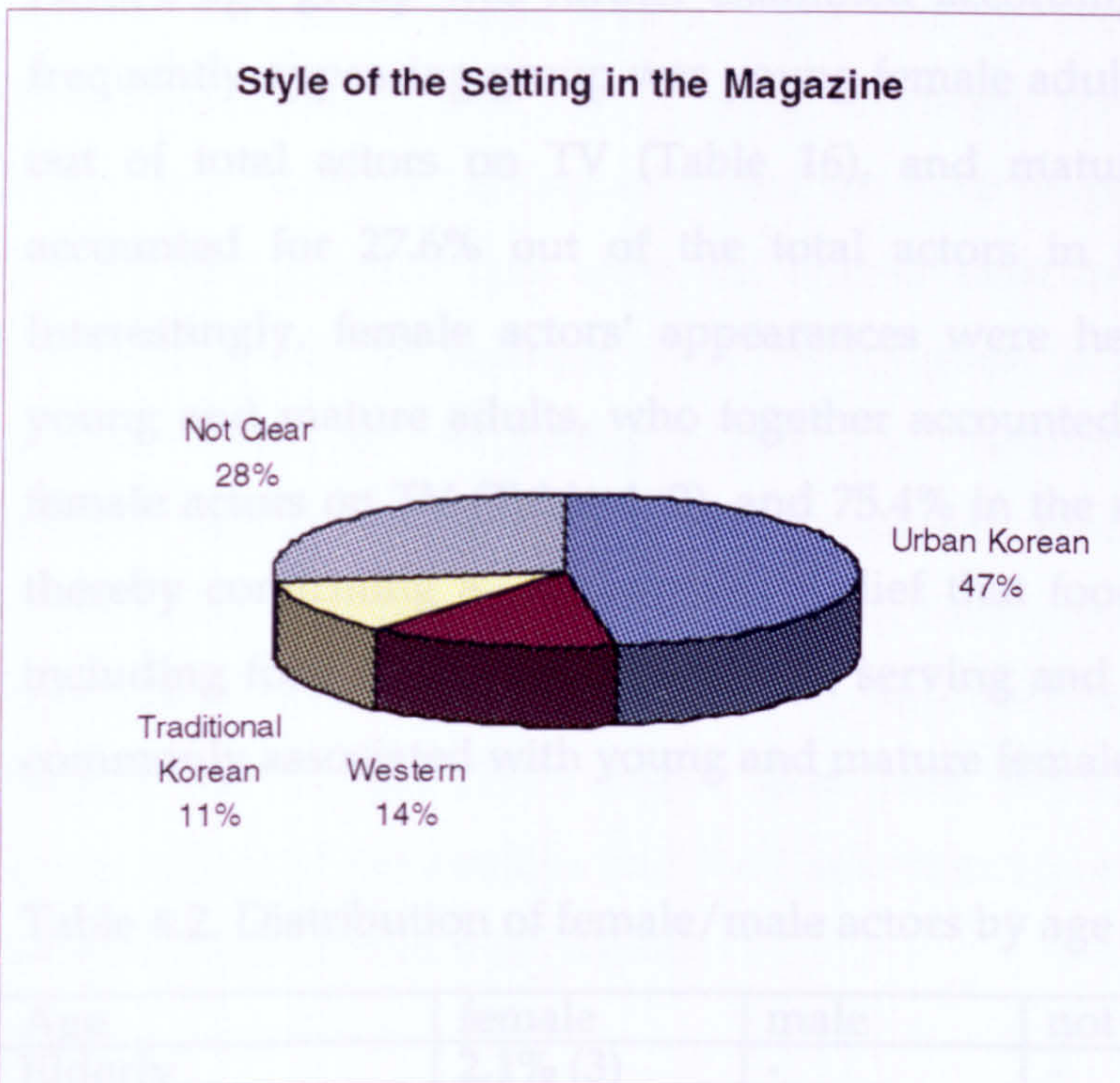
The style and overall image of the background setting was classified into four categories; traditional Korean style, Western style, modernised urban Korean style, and styles which are not distinctive or distinguishable, and therefore do not fall within any of the other three categories. The majority of the advertisements, both on TV and in the magazines, showed a modern and urban lifestyles. Urban Korean styles featured most often followed by Western background settings, with traditional Korean background appearing least frequently (Table 10) (Figure 4.2, and Figure 4.3).

Figure 4.2



N=152

Figure 4.3



N= 36

Table 4.2. Distribution of female/male actors by age group on TV

Age	female	male	not clear	Total
Black	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	100% (1)	1 actors
Young adult	21.1% (30)	20.6% (22)	-	52 actors
Young adult	56.4% (80)	44.9% (43)	-	123 actors
Teenager	12.7% (18)	19.6% (21)	-	39 actors
Child	7.7% (11)	14.9% (16)	100% (5)	32 actors
Total	100% (142)	100% (107)	100% (5)	254 actors

Actors

254 actors appeared in the 173 TV advertisements (Table 11), and 98 actors in the 117 advertisements in the magazines (Table 12). The great majority (over 90%) were Korean. There were very few Western actors and no black actors (Table 13). There were more female actors than male actors, with the magazines which targeted female audiences showing twice as many female actors as male actors (Table 14).

The most frequently appearing age group on TV was young adults, aged between 20 and early 30s, whereas the magazines portrayed mature adult group most frequently (Table 15). The elderly age group hardly appeared in either medium, and elderly men were not portrayed at all.

Actor's age group was further examined according to gender. The most frequently appearing group was young female adults who made up 31.5% out of total actors on TV (Table 16), and mature female adults who accounted for 27.6% out of the total actors in magazines (Table 17). Interestingly, female actors' appearances were heavily concentrated on young and mature adults, who together accounted for 77.5% of the total female actors on TV (Table 4. 2), and 75.4% in the magazines (Table 4. 3), thereby confirming a stereotypical belief that food and eating activities including food shopping, preparation, serving and consumption are most commonly associated with young and mature female adults.

Table 4.2. Distribution of female/male actors by age group on TV

Age	female	male	not clear	Total
Elderly	2.1% (3)	-	-	3 actors
mature adult	21.1% (30)	20.6% (22)	-	52 actors
Young adult	56.4% (80)	44.9% (48)	-	128 actors
Teenager	12.7% (18)	19.6% (21)	-	39 actors
Child	7.7% (11)	14.9% (16)	100% (5)	32 actors
Total	100% (142)	100% (107)	100% (5)	254 actors

Table 4.3. Distribution of female/male actors by age group in magazines

Age	Female	Male	Total
Elderly	3.1% (2)	3.1% (1)	3 actors
Mature adult	41.5% (27)	57.6% (19)	46 actors
Young adult	33.9% (22)	15.1% (5)	27 actors
Teenager	4.6% (3)	-	3 actors
Child	16.9% (11)	24.2% (8)	19 actors
Total	100% (65)	100% (33)	98 actors

Gendered spaces

The social spaces in which actors appeared were also examined. The most frequently portrayed settings for the female actors on TV were domestic (39.1%), and the most frequent setting for male actors was outdoors in general (27.3%) (Table 4.4) (Table 18). Ironically, the second most frequent setting for female actors was a night club (17.4%). Similarly, magazine advertisements showed that although domestic settings such as a dining room, or a house in general appeared the most frequently for female actors (14.6% each), restaurants were the second most frequent setting (12.2%), confirming that for women, food consumption in public places is also a central theme in advertising (Table 4.5). Nevertheless, the magazines, which target female audiences, showed traditional gender roles particularly clearly, representing domestic food consumption as mainly for men (50%) rather than women (26.2%), and domestic food preparation as mainly for women (19%) rather than men (6.3%) (Table 19). Detailed comparisons of the settings and food activities according to age group will be examined later in this chapter.

Table 4.4. Distribution of settings by gender on TV

Space	Female	Male	Not clear
House	36 (39.1%)	16 (24.3%)	3
Night club	16 (17.4%)	6 (9.1%)	-
Outdoor (in general)	12 (13.0%)	18 (27.3%)	-
Shop	9 (9.8%)	1 (1.5%)	-
Nature	5 (5.4%)	8 (12.1%)	-
Indoor (in general)	4 (4.3%)	3 (4.6%)	-
School	3 (3.3%)	3 (4.6%)	-
Office	2 (2.2%)	2 (3.0%)	-
Laboratory	2 (2.2%)	2 (3.0%)	-
Factory	-	2 (3.0%)	-
Restaurant	1 (1.1%)	4 (6.0%)	-
Farm	1 (1.1%)	1 (1.5%)	-
Office	1 (1.1%)	-	-
Total	92 (100%)	66 (100%)	3

(N= 161)

Table 4.5. Distribution of settings by gender in magazines

Space	Female	Male
Restaurant	5 (12.2%)	2 (11.8%)
Outdoor (in general)	-	1 (5.9%)
Nature	2 (4.9%)	1 (5.9%)
House (in general)	6 (14.6%)	1 (5.9%)
Well	6 (14.6%)	-
Kitchen	2 (4.9%)	1 (5.9%)
Living room	3 (7.4%)	2 (11.7%)
Dining room	6 (14.6%)	6 (35.3%)
Garden	1 (2.4%)	-
Irrelevant to food activities	10 (24.4%)	3 (17.6%)
Total	41 (100%)	17 (100%)

(N=58) (no setting = 40)

Gendered activity

In addition to examining the social settings featured in advertisements, the food activities associated with each gender were also examined. The most obvious gender distinction is discovered in the activity of food serving and being served. On TV, female actors monopolised the serving role (female 19 cases, male none) whereas male actors being served appeared much

more frequently (male 24 cases, female 5 cases) (Table 20). In the same way, food shopping was also shown as an exclusively female activity (female 9 cases, male none). The magazines displayed basically the same pattern, showing food serving as a predominantly female role (female 9 cases, male none) (Table 21). Food cleaning was also presented as a female activity (female 6 cases, male none). Although in the magazines, more female actors were portrayed as being served (female 4 cases, male none) (Table 21), when the context of these advertisements was examined, all of them featured public settings.

Gender, age and activity

Since young and mature adults groups appeared most as we noted earlier, we will focus on the food activities associated with these two age groups and on the places they are set. The major differences between the two groups can be sketched as follows: firstly, mature adults display more traditional and sharply demarcated gender roles than young adults groups, and secondly, young adults' activities are exceptionally consumption oriented. These two basic features structure the representation of food consumption, food preparation and food shopping activities.

Representation of mature adults' consuming food show a remarkable difference between female and male actors; female 3.3% and male 72.8% on TV (Figure 4.4), and female 3.7% and male 52.7% in magazines (Figure. 4.5) (Table 4.6). Young adults groups, however, showed much less difference in gender roles regarding food consumption than mature adults groups: 46.2% of female and 58.3% of male actors on TV (Figure 4.6) and 20 % of male actors and 22.7% of female actors in the magazines (Figure 4.7) (Table 4.7). In other words, while young adults were portrayed less traditionally

and with more equal access to consumption opportunities, the older generation was shown as following the sharp traditional divisions in gender roles more strictly.

Depictions of food preparation show a very similar contrast. Both mature and young adults groups show a division of gender roles with food preparation being clearly represented as a female role, but as in the case of food consumption activities, this gender gap is larger among the mature adults than young adults. Whereas 36.7% of female mature adults were involved in food preparation, there were no male mature adults involved in this activity at all on TV (Figure 4.4) (Table 4.6). In the magazines, 5.2% of male mature adults were involved in food preparation, but the proportion of female mature adults, 37.1 %, was much higher (Figure 4.5) (Table 4.6). In contrast, the young adults group showed a less clear gender division between roles. 4.2% of male actors and 18.8% of female actors were involved in food preparation on TV (Figure 4.6) (Table 4.7), and in the magazines, male actors featured even twice as frequency as female actors; male 20% and female 9.1% (Figure 4.7) (Table 4.7).

Food shopping, on the other hand, showed a very strong basic pattern of gendered division between roles. There were no males engaged in this role in either the mature adults group or the young adults group either on TV or in the magazines, showing that food shopping was represented as an exclusively female role; 16.7% of mature female adults and 5% of young female adults on TV, and 3.7% of mature female adults in the magazines (Figure 4.4, Figure 4.6, Figure 4.5, Figure 4.7) (Table 4.6, Table 4.7).

As these findings reveal, mature adults are portrayed as highly traditional in their gender roles in relation to food, whereas young adults are shown as following less strict gender divisions, in relation to preparation and

consumption, though food shopping was represented as an absolutely female activity regardless age differences.

Table 4.6. Mature adults' food activities

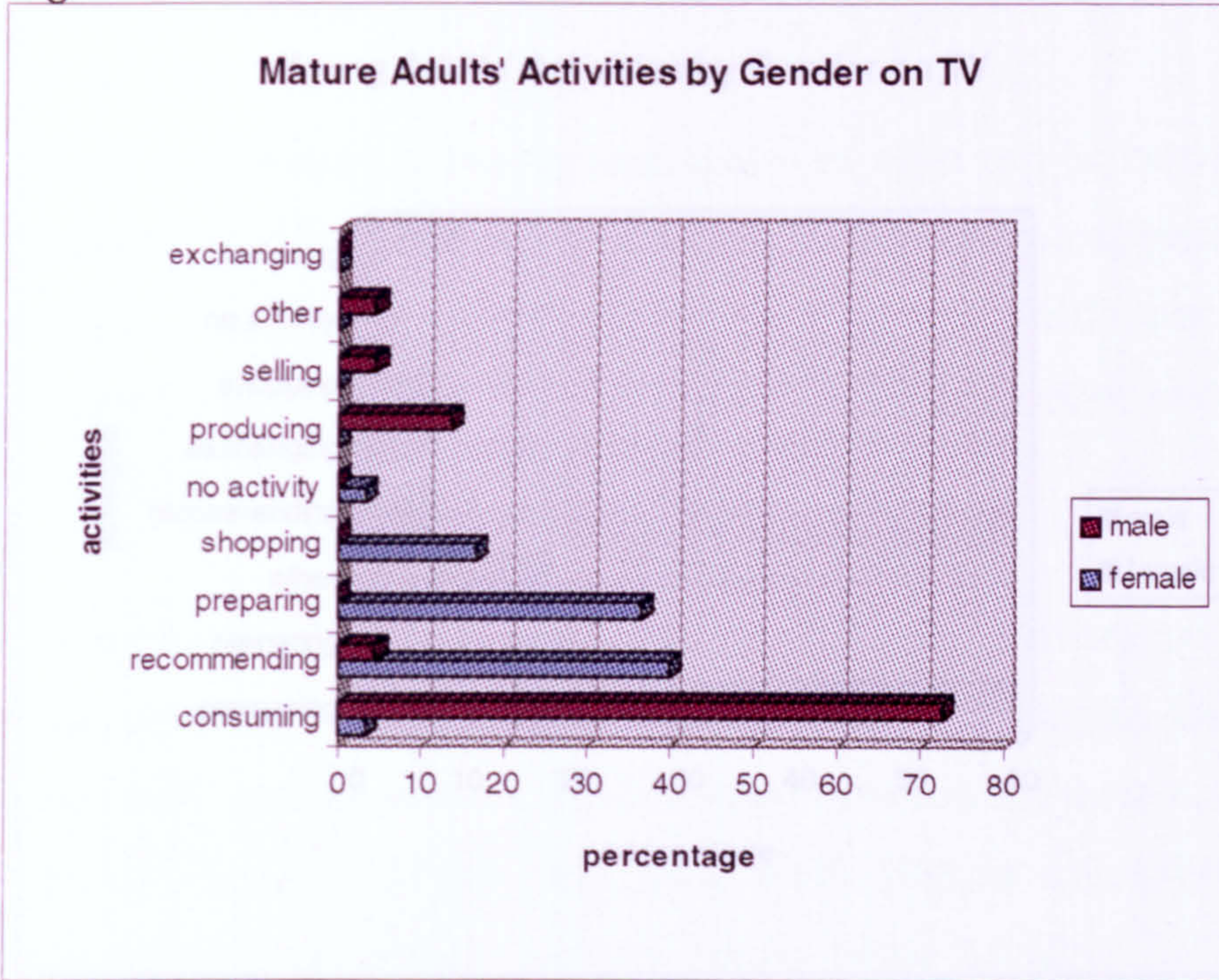
Activity	TV		Magazines	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Recommending	40% (12)	4.5% (1)	7.4% (2)	5.2% (1)
Preparing	36.7% (11)	-	37.1% (10)	5.2% (1)
Shopping	16.7% (5)	-	3.7% (1)	-
No activity	3.3% (1)	-	18.5% (5)	21.1% (4)
Producing	-	13.7% (3)	3.7% (1)	-
Selling	-	4.5% (1)	-	-
Other	-	4.5% (1)	11.1% (3)	5.2% (1)
Exchanging	-	-	14.8% (4)	10.6% (2)
Consuming	3.3% (1)	72.8% (16)	3.7% (1)	52.7% (10)
Total	100% (30)	100% (30)	100% (27)	10.6% (2)

N= TV 52, Magazine 46

Table 4.7. Young adults' food activities

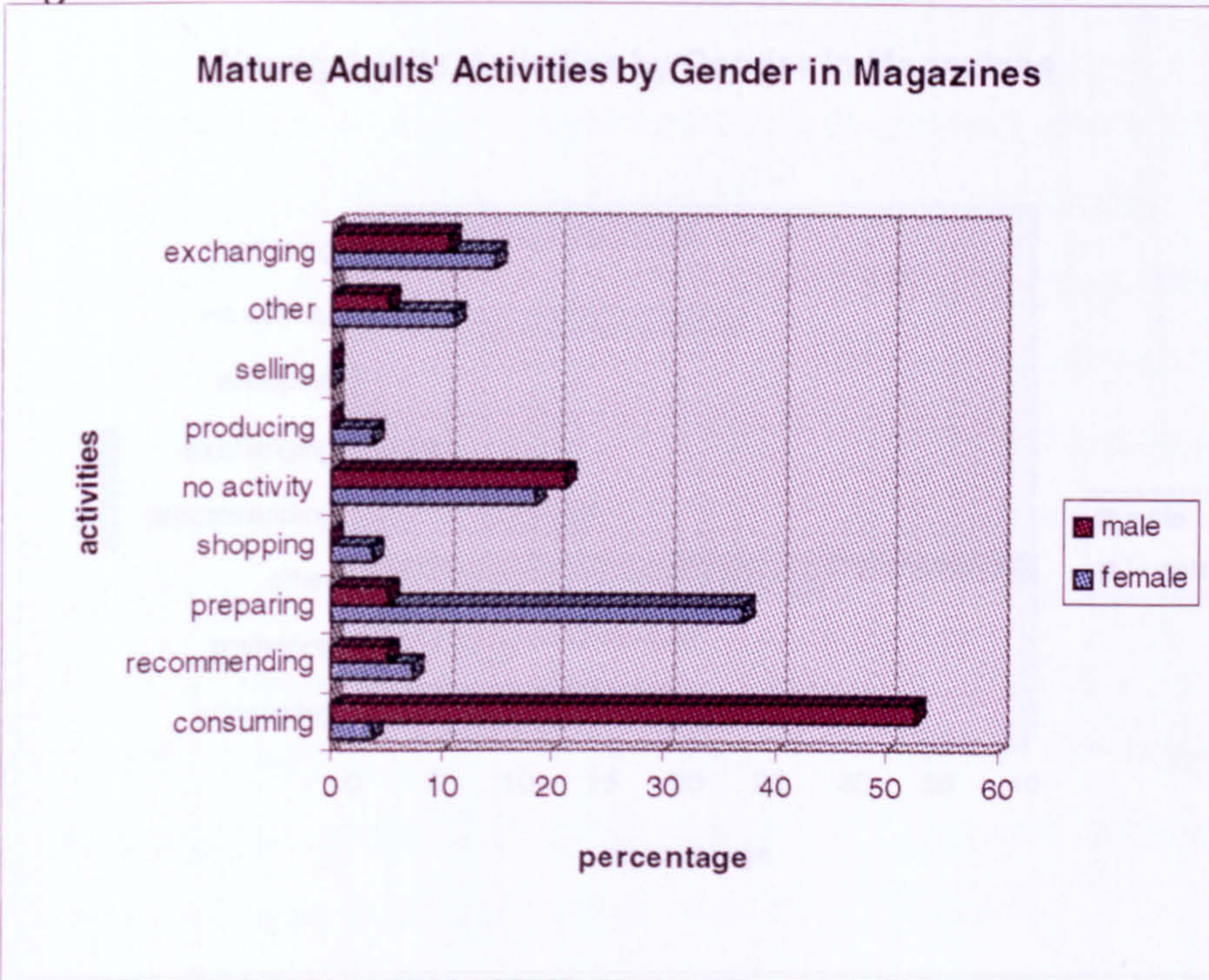
Activity	TV		Magazine	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Consuming	46.2% (37)	58.3% (28)	22.7% (5)	20% (1)
Preparing	18.8% (15)	4.2% (2)	9.1% (2)	20% (1)
Other	15.0% (12)	16.7% (8)	27.3% (6)	40% (2)
Recommending	6.3% (5)	6.2% (3)	13.7% (3)	-
Exchanging	5% (4)	6.2% (3)	4.5% (1)	-
Shopping	5% (4)	-	-	-
No activity	2.5% (2)	-	22.7% (5)	-
Producing	1.3% (1)	8.4% (4)	-	20% (1)
Total	100% (80)	100% (48)	100% (22)	100% (5)

Figure 4.4.



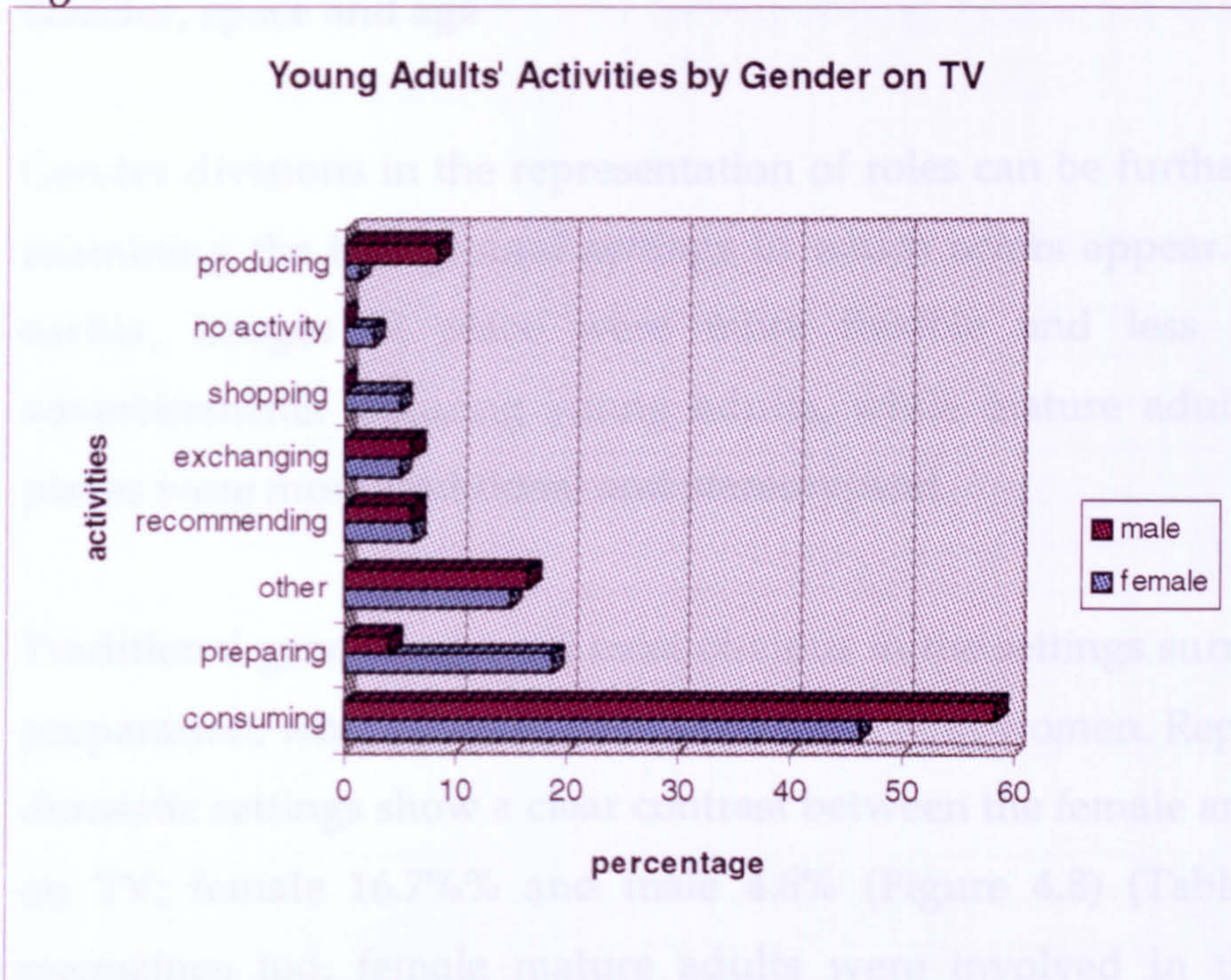
N= 52 (total mature adults) (female 30, male 22)

Figure 4.5.



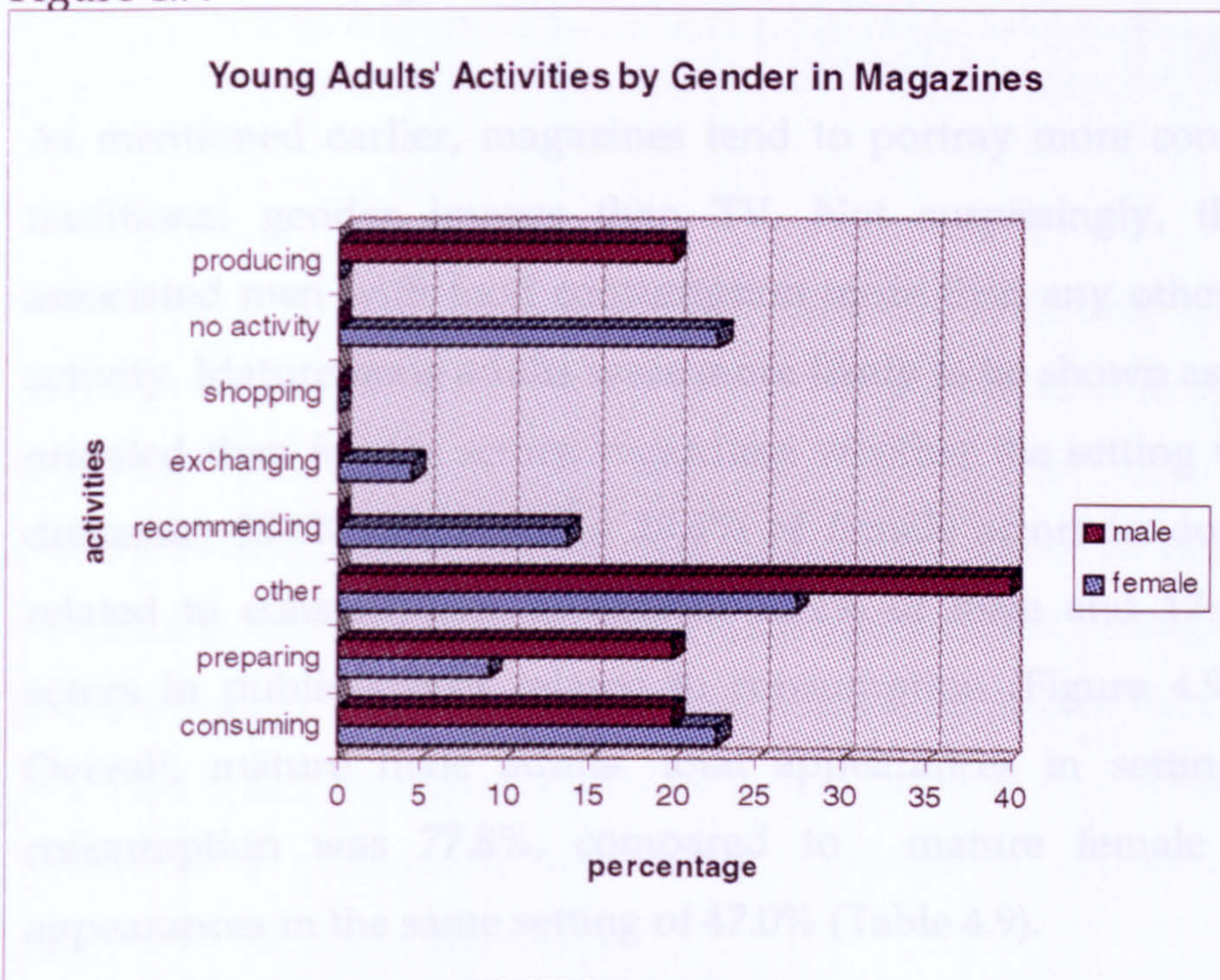
N= 46 (total mature adults) (female 27, male 19)

Figure 4.6.



N= 128 (total young adults) (female 80, male 48)

Figure 4.7.



N= 27 (total young adults) (female 22, male 5)

Gender, space and age

Gender divisions in the representation of roles can be further explored by examining the background settings in which actors appear. As we noted earlier, images of place were more flexible and less traditional in advertisements featuring young adults, while mature adults' relation to places were more traditional and stereotypical.

Traditional gender roles are most obvious in the settings surrounding food preparation, which largely associated them with women. Representation of domestic settings show a clear contrast between the female and male actors on TV; female 16.7% and male 4.6% (Figure 4.8) (Table 4.8). In the magazines too, female mature adults were involved in the spaces for domestic food preparation more than male mature adults; female 17.6% and male 11.1% (Figure 4.9) (Table 4.9).

As mentioned earlier, magazines tend to portray more conservative and traditional gender images than TV. Not surprisingly, they therefore associated men with food consumption more than any other food related activity. Mature male adults were more likely to be shown as consumption oriented than female actors, regardless whether the setting was public or domestic; 55.6% of male and 29.4% of female actors in domestic spaces related to consumption, as against 22.2% of male and 17.6% of female actors in public spaces related to consumption (Figure 4.9) (Table 4.9). Overall, mature male adults' total appearances in settings related to consumption was 77.8%, compared to mature female adults' total appearances in the same setting of 47.0% (Table 4.9).

Strong gender divisions also characterised the gender distribution of appearances in public as against domestic settings. On TV, mature female adults appeared in 70% of the domestic settings shown but only 30% of the

public settings (Table 4.8). The corresponding figures for magazines were 76.5% and 23.5% (Table 4.9).

Table 4.8. Spaces and activities in which mature adults appeared on TV

Space : Activity	female	male
Domestic space: consumption	53.3% (16)	27.2%(6)
Public space: consumption	30% (9)	54.6% (12)
Domestic space: preparation	16.7% (5)	4.6% (1)
Public space: production	-	13.6 (3%)
Total	100% (30)	100% (22)

(N= 52)

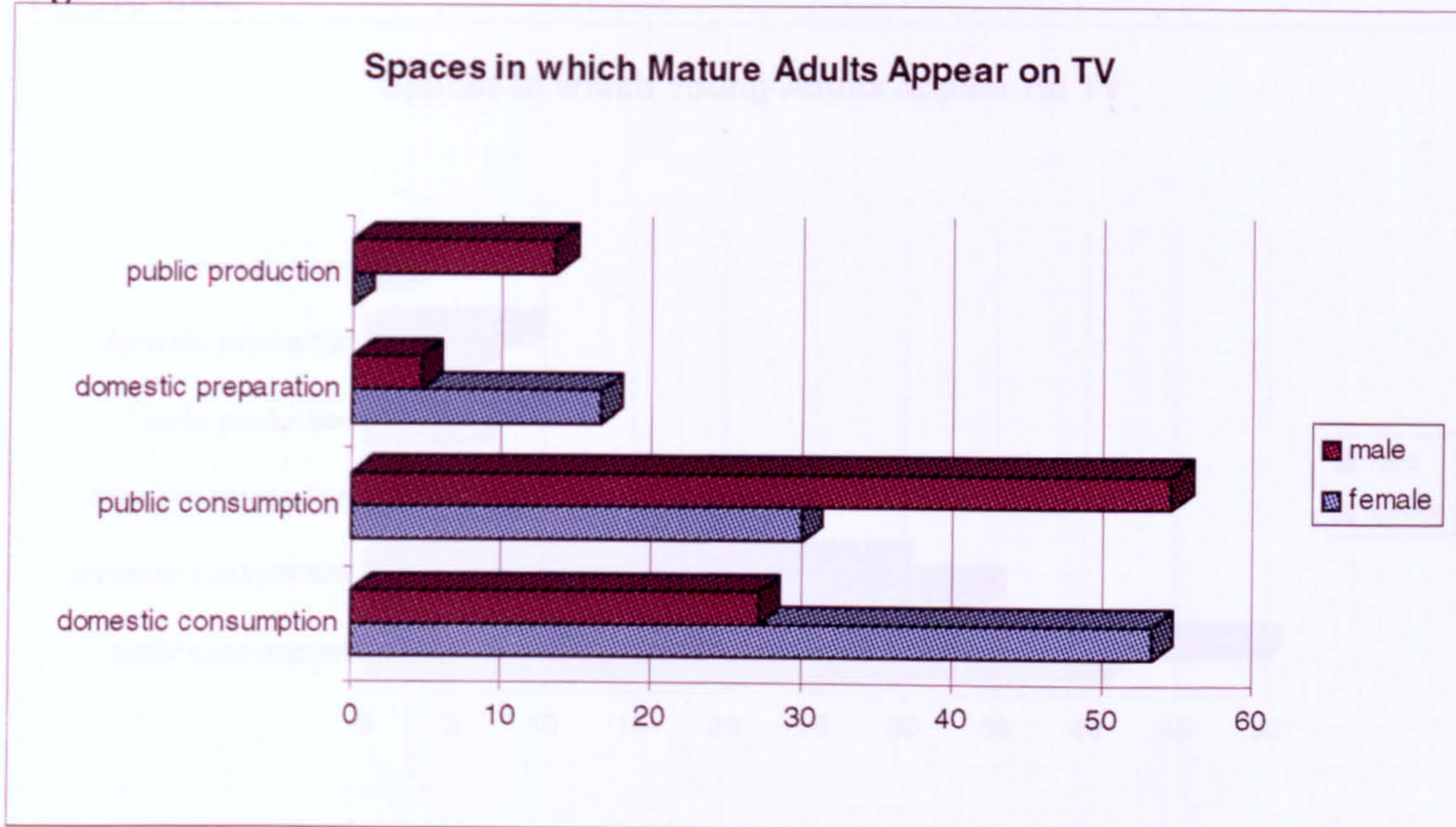
Table 4.9. Spaces and activities in which mature adults appeared in magazines

Space : Activity	Female	Male
Domestic space: consumption	29.4% (5)	55.6% (5)
Domestic space: other activities	23.6% (4)	11.1% (1)
Public space: consumption	17.6% (3)	22.2% (2)
Domestic space: preparation	17.6% (3)	11.1% (1)
Public space: production	5.9% (1)	-
Domestic space: production	5.9% (1)	-
Total	100% (17)	100% (9)

(N=26)

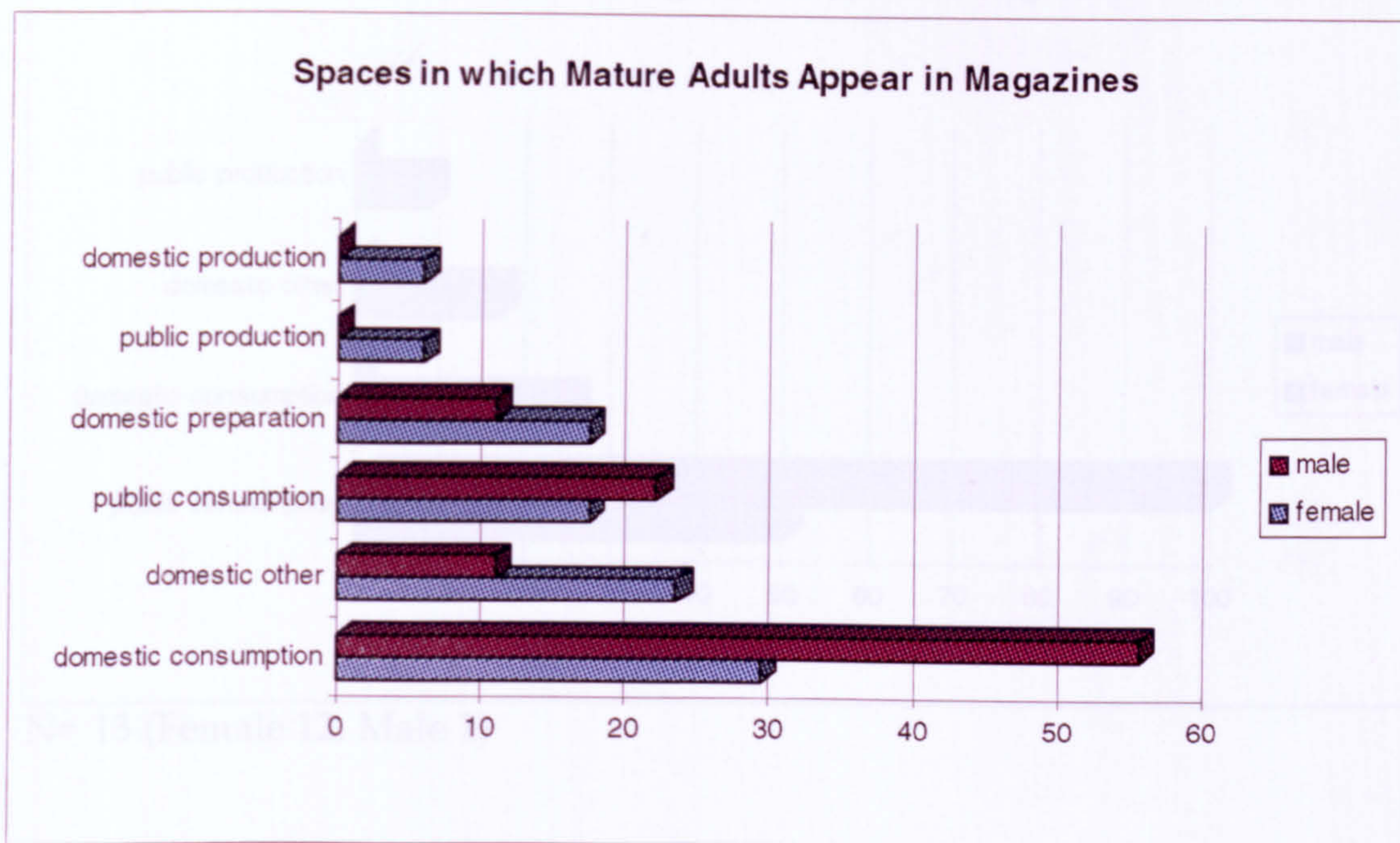
In contrast, young female adults show a different pattern. Their appearances in public setting were more frequent, and their appearances in domestic settings, whether for consumption or food preparation, correspondingly fewer (Table 4.10, Table 4.11). These patterns are clearly revealed in Figure 4.12 and Figure 4.13. The fact that young female adults appeared more often than other women in the context of food consumption in public space such as restaurants, offices, schools and other locations for leisure is a particularly interesting indicator of gender portrayals in relation to the rising generation.

Figure 4.8.



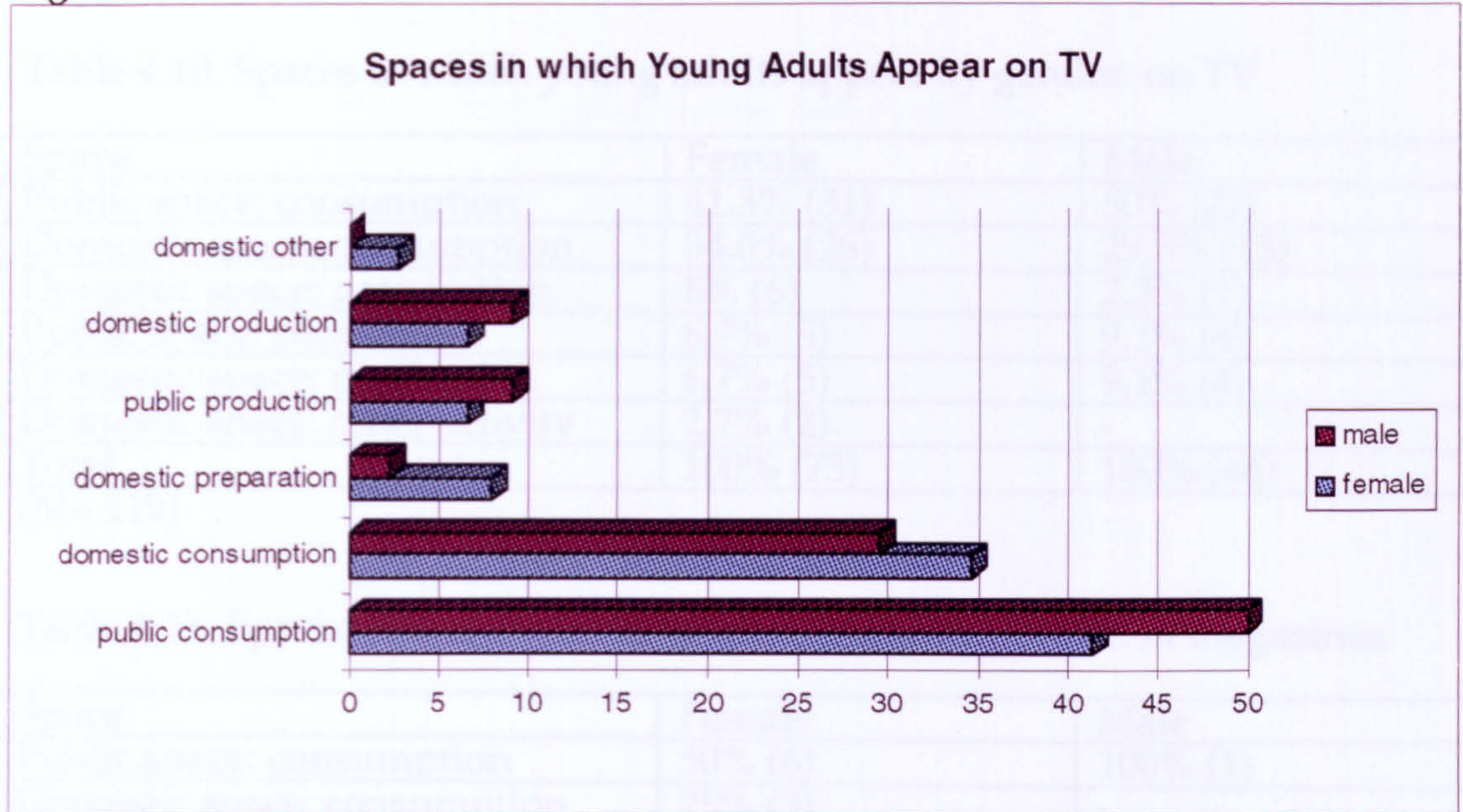
N= 52 (Female 30, Male 22)

Figure 4.9.



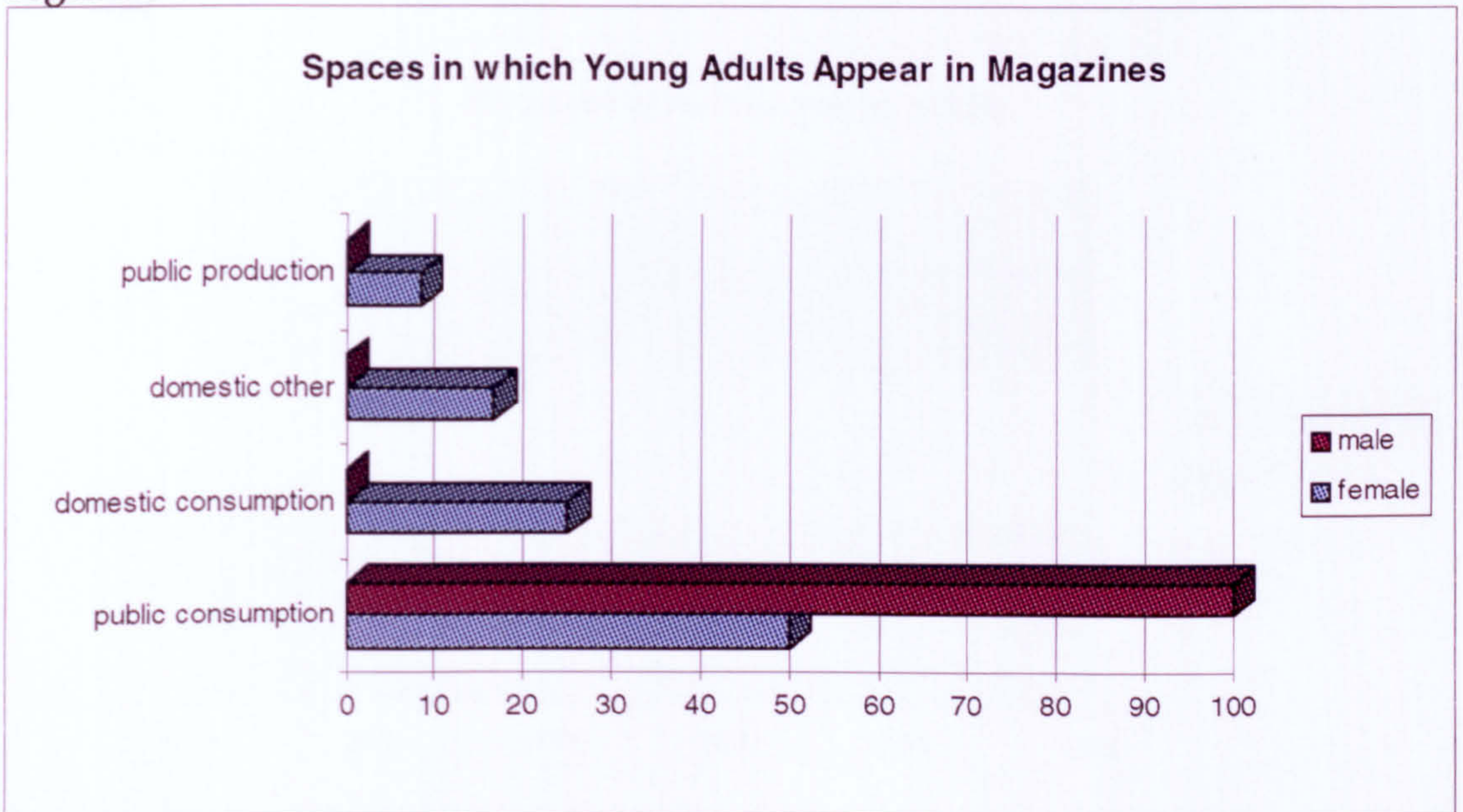
N= 26 (Female 17, Male 9)

Figure 4.10.



N= 119 (Female 75, Male 44)

Figure 4.11.



N= 13 (Female 12, Male 1)

Table 4.10. Spaces in which young adults appear by gender: on TV

Space	Female	Male
Public space: consumption	41.3% (31)	50% (22)
Domestic space: consumption	34.6% (26)	29.5% (13)
Domestic space: preparation	8% (6)	2.3% (1)
Public space: production	6.7% (5)	9.1% (4)
Domestic space: production	6.7% (5)	9.1% (4)
Domestic space: other activity	2.7% (2)	-
Total	100% (75)	100% (44)

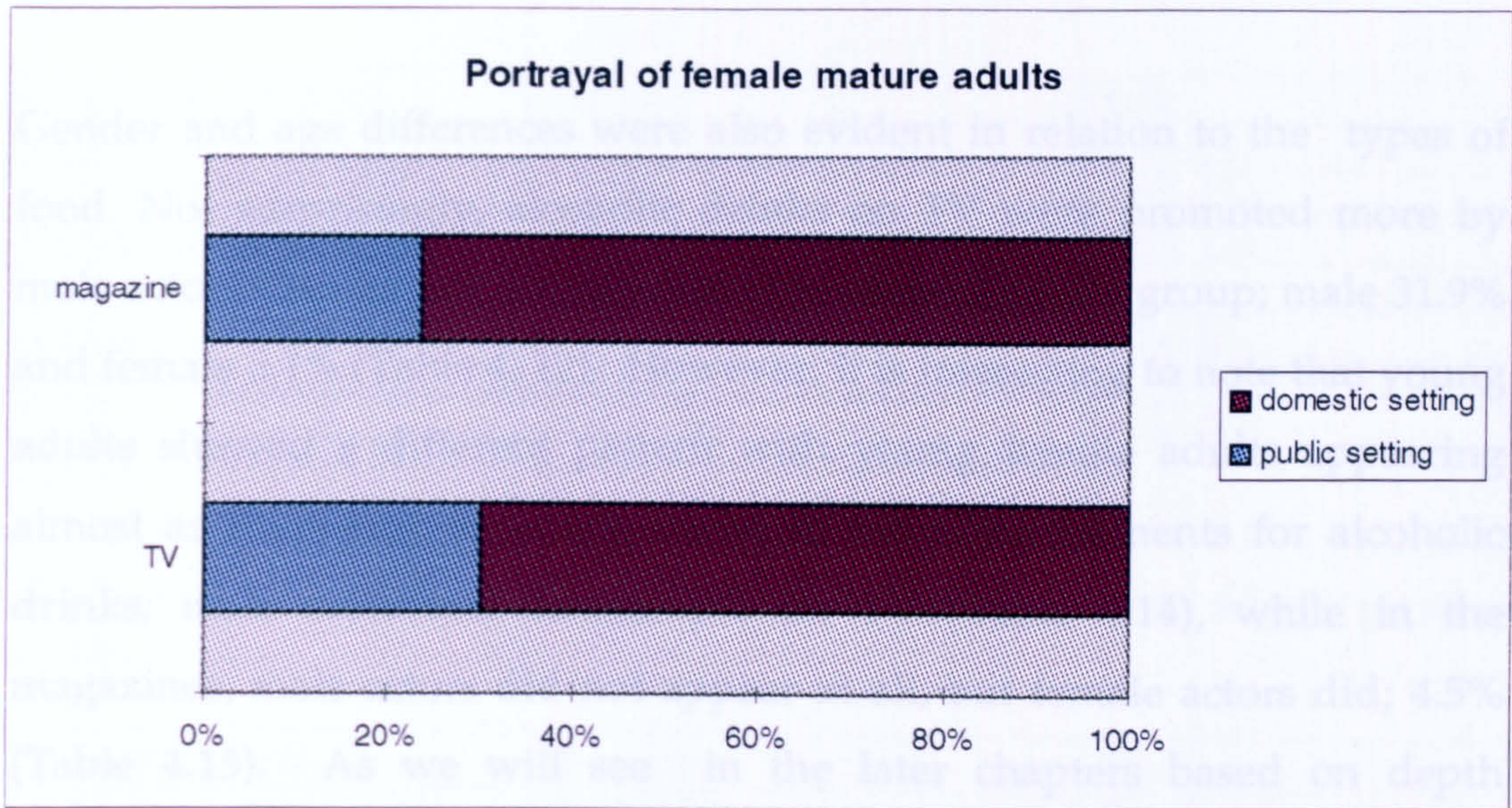
(N= 119)

Table 4.11. Spaces in which young adults appear by gender: in magazines

Space	Female	Male
Public space: consumption	50% (6)	100% (1)
Domestic space: consumption	25% (3)	-
Domestic space: other activity	16.7% (2)	-
Public space: production	8.3% (1)	-
Total	100% (12)	100% (1)

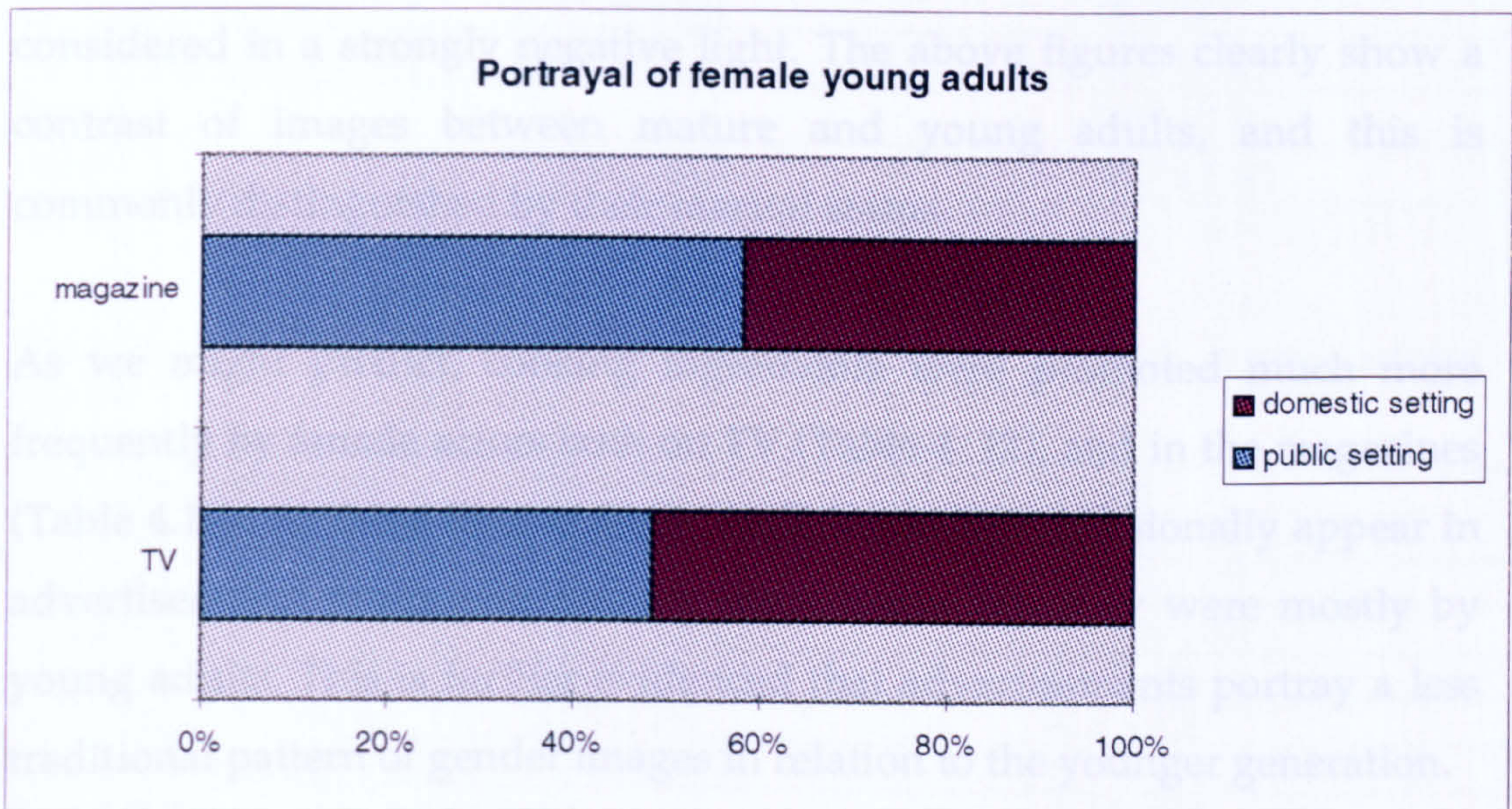
(N= 13)

Figure 4.12.



N= TV 30, Magazine 17

Figure 4.13



N= TV 75, Magazine 12

Gender, age and product

Gender and age differences were also evident in relation to the types of food. Not surprisingly, alcoholic drinks on TV were promoted more by male actors than female actors within the mature adults group; male 31.9% and female 3.1% (Table 4. 12). However, it is interesting to note that young adults showed a different pattern with young female adults appearing almost as frequently as young males in the advertisements for alcoholic drinks; male 6.4% and female 5% on TV (Table 4.14), while in the magazines, male actors did not appear at all, but female actors did; 4.5% (Table 4.15). As we will see in the later chapters based on depth interviews with women, young single women's drinking habits are either encouraged or approved of for social reasons, and seen positively in contemporary Korean society, while drinking by married women is still considered in a strongly negative light. The above figures clearly show a contrast of images between mature and young adults, and this is commonly distinguished by their marital status.

As we might predict, cooking ingredients were promoted much more frequently by female actors both on TV (Table 4. 12), and in the magazines (Table 4.13). As these figures show, male actors did occasionally appear in advertisements promoting cooking ingredients, but they were mostly by young adults. This is further evidenced that advertisements portray a less traditional pattern of gender images in relation to the younger generation.

Table 4. 12. Promoted food products on TV with which mature adults appear

Promoted product	Female	Male
Convenience food	56.8% (17)	36.4% (8)
non-alcoholic drink	13.4% (4)	13.6% (3)
Snack and sweets	10% (3)	13.6% (3)
Cooking ingredients	10% (3)	-
Cooking equipment	6.7% (2)	4.5% (1)
Alcoholic drink	3.1% (1)	31.9% (7)
Total	100% (30)	100% (22)

N= 52

Table 4.13. Promoted food products in magazines with which mature adults appear

Promoted products	Female	Male
Medicine-related food	33.3% (9)	31.6% (6)
Convenience food	22.2% (6)	21.0% (4)
Cooking equipment	18.6% (5)	15.8% (3)
Cooking ingredients	11.1% (3)	5.2% (1)
Restaurant	11.1% (3)	10.5 (2)
Non-alcoholic drink	3.7% (1)	10.5% (2)
Sweet	-	5.2% (1)
Total	100% (27)	100% (19)

N= 46

Table 4. 14. Promoted food products on TV with which young adults appear

Promoted products	Female	Male
Snack and Sweets	30% (24)	31.9% (15)
Non-alcoholic drinks	26.3% (21)	25.5% (12)
Convenience food	22.5% (18)	21.3% (10)
Cooking ingredients	13.7% (11)	8.5% (4)
Cooking equipment	2.5% (2)	4.3% (2)
Alcoholic drinks	5% (4)	6.4% (3)
Restaurant	-	2.1% (1)
Total	100% (80)	100% (47)

N= 127

Table 4.15. Promoted food products in magazines with which young adults appear

Promoted products	Female	Male
Cooking equipment	31.9% (7)	60% (3)
Non-alcoholic drink	22.7% (5)	-
Sweet	22.7% (5)	20% (1)
Medicine related food	13.7% (3)	20 % (1)
Alcoholic drink	4.5% (1)	-
Convenience food	4.5% (1)	-
Total	100% (22)	100% (5)

N= 27

Summary

This chapter has attempted to explore the general patterns that characterise the gender images portrayed in contemporary Korean food advertising. Examination of the styles and settings of advertising reveals that contemporary Korean advertising largely promotes an image of affluence and modernity, and that these qualities are often associated with a Western lifestyle. In contrast, the traditional Korean lifestyle is rarely shown, either on TV or in the magazines. The voice-overs on TV advertisements were much more likely to be male, with those featuring domestic food preparation and public food production being exclusively male. This appears to reinforce the common association of scientific and technological advances regarding food manufacturing and cooking with male authority. Advertisements showing food consumption in public settings also utilised male voices more often than female voices, reinforcing the notion that the increase in women's activities in public places is most often in relation to men and romance.

When actors' overall patterns were examined, female actors were predominantly portrayed in the context of food preparation such as

shopping, cooking, and serving while male actors were more frequently involved in food consumption. This difference is particularly marked among the mature adults group. Although images of young adults showed a similar basic pattern, they were more flexible with regard to traditional gender roles. When young female adults were portrayed in the context of non-traditional gender roles, they were largely shown in the context of consumption, especially in public places. These findings can be understood to mean that Korean advertising basically upholds a strong division of gender roles for mature adults, but that young adults, especially young females, the majority of whom are not married, were often mobilised for product promotion by showing them in public places, engaged in consumption oriented activities, often associated with romantic and idealised images.

Interestingly, although the overall pattern of findings is basically similar for both TV and magazines, advertisements in the magazines, for which the target audience is women, did try to utilise more traditional and conservative gender images.

This becomes clearer when the messages conveyed through the settings, actors' relations and activities, and language employed are scrutinised in more details. Although content analysis, by counting frequencies, provides us with valuable and useful insights on general patterns of emphasis and exclusion, case studies of representations in advertisements from the sample will help to illuminate, in more detail, the ways in which contemporary promotional culture works on and resembles images of modernity and tradition.

CHAPTER 5. WOMEN IN FOOD ADVERTISEMENTS II: SEMIOTIC ANALYSIS

This chapter sets out to explore the ways that women's food habits and social relations are portrayed in major forms of public culture; women's magazines and commercial television. Since the messages in food advertising are constructed within widely shared values and expectations, examining relationships between women and food they present will provide a map of cultural codes and practices currently surrounding food and eating.

The first part of this chapter examines images of women in magazine advertisements promoting kitchen electrical appliances.¹ This provides a guide to changing social expectations and values in Korean society. This is because the companies which the following advertisements promote have achieved both technological advances and corporate growth in recent decades largely through the production of electrical goods in Korea, for both domestic supply and export. These corporations have exerted considerable influence on the country's transformation into an industrialised capitalist society, thereby contributing to the rapid changes in people's lifestyle and social identities.

¹ The kitchen electrical appliances promoted in the advertisements being discussed in this chapter are made by the major Korean corporations; *Goldstar*, *Samsung* and *Dongyang*. All of these companies have seen considerable growth by producing electrical goods for the last several decades, and have played an influential role in Korean economic growth. See the tables in page 68 and 69.

The second part of the chapter will discuss representations of women in advertisements for food and drink on television. The connotations mobilised in the context of food activities offers an index of the diversity and dynamics of cultural change in present-day Korea.

Modernity is a key theme in contemporary Korean advertising. The 'modern' woman is generally signified by one or more of the following markers;

- an affluent lifestyle
- living in a nuclear family
- involvement in public activities
- beauty and sexual attraction.

Modern women who appear in public settings are largely portrayed; either through education and career, or through physical appearances, romance and sexuality. Modern women at home are presented in terms of affluence and the activities of nuclear family based around a couple who are free from the ties of the extended family. At the same time, the sense of modernity remains deeply entwined with traditional values. Consequently, advertising simultaneously replenishes images of both modernity and tradition. When they are shown in a domestic setting, the virtue of a woman's traditional role is strongly accentuated in spite of the benefits of modern domestic technology. When they are depicted in public places, the focus is on their leisure activities and consumption rather than work achievement and independence. This has created the typical image of a 'modern Korean woman' who adheres to traditional roles and values inside themselves, yet is also visible in various modern settings. Accordingly, their femininity is constructed through modern lifestyles, and yet, remains deeply rooted in traditionalism.

This appearance of modernity in Korean advertising is often combined with the Western values of success and happiness, family relations, lifestyles, leisure and entertainment, and even physical beauty. As a consequence, Western images have become the most distinctive feature of modern Korean advertising. Although the traditional way of life is valued, as a part of selling strategy, the dominant setting of advertisements is Westernised.

Beauty and youthfulness are crucial in food advertisements with images of female youth frequently being utilised as symbols of beauty. Romantic love is also a prominent advertising strategy with women's happiness being shown as largely determined by their romanticised relationships with men. Men are often shown as the source of well being. Accordingly, feminine attraction and sexuality assume a fundamental importance, and as we shall see, are constantly emphasised in food advertisements.

The typical images of women portrayed in advertising can be categorised in terms of various sets of binary oppositions.

domestic / public
with the family / on her own
married / single
old / young
motherhood / sexuality
traditional / modern
Korean / Western

The separation between the two roles of these pairs is sharp and contradictory. These contradictions will emerge clearly throughout this chapter.

5.1. MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS

The magazine advertisements display several obvious patterns, which can be usefully categorised as follows;

- women's food habits with the family
- women's food habits in relation to their partners
- men and food.

5.1.1. Women With the Family

For married women in the world of advertising, the family is almost always the primary source of her happiness. In a Confucian society such as Korea, the family is still seen as a fundamental social base, and harmonious family relations are of prime importance. Accordingly, women's identities are constructed and confirmed through conventional gender roles. Most advertisements in which a female actor is portrayed with the family strongly underline the virtues of traditional women's roles.

Images of modernity and tradition in Korean advertising are two sides of the same commercial coin. While modernity is a powerful message constantly being sold, the emphasis on the traditional way of life and the appeal to people's nostalgia for the past are also major advertising strategies. Modern lifestyles and traditional values therefore, go hand in hand, generating unique images of Korean modernity. This is persuasive, but often incongruous.

Selling of Tradition

The advertisement for Goldstar Electrical (Yeowon: July, August) (Figure 5.1) mobilises strong images of the classic Korean 'happy' family. The traditional lifestyle is portrayed through the background setting of the front yard, the style of food preparation, and the family structure.² They are a typical extended family, consisting of three generations; elderly parents, a middle aged couple, and one or two children. This is a contemporary family which still holds on to a strong Korean identity. Although the house is traditional, their clothes and their image are rather modern, urban and perhaps middle class.

The largest caption:

*"Culture of our own.
Domestic electric goods of our own"*

The second caption:

"Goldstar contains our own cultural life in Korean style products."

Goldstar is one of the major domestic corporations which produce household appliances. The products this advertisement promotes are modern household electric goods such as dish washers, microwave ovens and rice cookers. These commodities were initially introduced into Korean society through the technologies of western industry. The corporation indigenises them by wrapping them in images of Korean values and lifestyles. Their own technological growth and advances in production are

² The traditional house commonly has a front yard with a well, pump or water tap in the middle, which the family use for washing, cleaning or food preparation. Although traditional houses still remain in some areas, a high percentage of urban houses have been converted into a western style house or flat over the five decades since the Korean war.



금성의 제품은
고객에서 시작합니다
한국형 제품

신뢰의 상징-금성
GoldStar

우리만의 생활문화가 있습니다 우리만의 가전제품이 있습니다



**금성은 우리만의 생활문화를
한국형제품에 담고 있습니다.**

쏟고나서는 물걸레질까지하고
겹시보다는 오목한 그릇을 많이쓰는
한국인의 생활—, 뚝배기의 은근한
찌개맛을, 그리고 가마솥의 구수한
밥맛을 즐기는 우리의 음식문화—
이렇듯, 우리에게겐 우리만의 생활문화가
따로 있습니다.

물걸레 청소기, 한국형 식기세척기,
뚝배기 전자레인지, 가마솥 전기밥솥 등
우리만의 생활문화를 제품에 담는 일—
금성이 하고 있습니다.



• 쓸고 닦는 한국형 청소기 —
금성 물걸레 청소기



• 오목한 우리그릇도 알끔히 —
금성 한국형 식기세척건조기



• 우리 고유의 찌개맛 —
금성 뚝배기 전자레인지



• 가마솥의 구수한 밥맛 —
금성 가마솥 전기밥솥



금성사

Figure 5.1. Selling of Tradition

also implied by the traditional imagery, thereby identifying national culture with their products.

At first glance, all the actors seem to be participating in cleaning vegetables. However, when their activities are more carefully observed, it is clear that they are strictly divided into two groups; the female group (grandmother, mother, daughter) is either cleaning or holding vegetables, and the male group (grandfather and father) is either watching the others or washing hands. It is implied that the husband has just returned home in the late afternoon, the wife is preparing dinner for the family, and the whole family is talking about what has happened in the day. Although all the family members share the same space, time and conversation, food preparation remains a female role, regardless of generation. It is also suggested that even though technological improvements have contributed to a more convenient lifestyle, it is family relationships that count, and women's traditional role of food provision that maintains happiness in the family.

5.1.2. Women as Partners/ Wives

When women appear in relation to their partners, the setting is almost always romanticised. Women portrayed as partners are commonly glamorous, charming, and often have a Western look. Not surprisingly, this image is often very far from the reality of women's everyday lives. Advertisements often show an idealised dream of women's lives revolving around romantic relationships with men. Eating is a pleasure, and cooking is a romantic activity.

A Bride's Dream

A bride who is full of dreams is portrayed in the advertisement for Dongyang Magic Chef Cooker (Young Lady: July, August) (Figure 5.2).

The first caption:

"I would be only happy with a bridegroom and a Magic Chef."

The second caption:

*It is already 25 years since I have been fully pampered.
My wedding is getting near.
It is time for me to make decisions on my own.
With him,
In a white house,
Having pretty dreams,
I shall have a happy life...
How wonderful it would be
If I had a Magic Chef...?
Delicious food for him everyday,
Home-made biscuits for my child...*

For this bride, the cooker is the key to her dream of a romantic life. The future happiness of her marriage largely depends on her relationship to her husband and her child. Cooking is presented as an embodiment of her love for them both. The tedium involved in cooking is hidden by the idealisation of her marriage and love.

Two identities are absent from this advertisement; the absence of the bridegroom's identity in the picture, and the absence of the bride's identity in the text. The bride in a wedding dress is holding hands with her bridegroom, who shows only a part of his left shoulder without a face. The existence of a bridegroom is more important than who he actually is in this advertisement. Although the text suggests that she is going to become 'independent' from her parents at the moment of her marriage, her new

identity is already constructed solely in relation to her husband, and possibly in relation to her future child.³ Her future life is planned through her cooking activities in relation to other family members. A cooker is the medium through which she can build up her self-identity as a wife and mother.

A Young Couple's Partnership

This advertisement for the Daewoo Elephant Rice Cooker (Young Lady: September) (Figure 5.3) focuses on the value of companionship by suggesting an equal sharing of cooking. Marriage is depicted as a romance without any harsh edges of reality for this young couple.

The first caption:

*"Cook your love together.
Love-cooking."*

The second caption:

*"Why don't you take turns at the responsibility for cooking by playing games?
Your life will be always sweet."*

This advertisement is selling romance by contrasting the culinary inexperience of the newly-wed couple and the convenience of the cooker. By suggesting they cook together, it utilises young women's desire to share housework and to build an equal partnership. Married life is romanticised by transforming the daily tasks of cooking into fun, a game. It is assumed that although equal sharing of cooking is not easy for an inexperienced

³ The Korean traditional rule of women's three stages of life in regard to family relationships is explained in chapter 1. See "Three rules of women" page 33-5.



센스있는 생활을 위한
센스있는 제품 -
삼성전자가 만듭니다.

어때요?
송이 향기로
미각을 풍구는 센스!
밥을 지으실 때 송이버섯
맛가를 잃게 지면서 함께
넣어보세요.
그리고 향기를 위해서 송
맛방울도 살짝 곁들여!

그러면 향긋한
송이버섯밥이 맛있게~
그 향기까지 사랑도
함께 오라오라~

자르르르 찰지게, 오래오래 햇밥처럼~
함께 사랑을 지어요.



아세요?
30초면 간단한 사랑밥짓기!
밥을 지으실 때 쌀을 먼저 안치고,
그 위에 완두콩으로 하트를 수놓는 거예요.
당번도 가위바위보로 한번씩 나눠 해보고~
어때요, 두분사이도 신혼처럼 늘 고소하겠죠?

물론, 꼬끼리밥솥이 알아서
도와드릴게요.



퍼지 마이콤이 눌러만주면 알아서!
두꺼운 내통이 가마솥 밥맛 그대로!



꼬끼리표 보온밥솥

퍼지, 마이콤이 스스로 알아서 맛있게!
쌀과 물의 양을 감지하여 시간과 화력까지 알아서 가장
맛있게 지어주며, 백미·현미·죽·잡곡밥·모듬밥등
5가지 조리도 가능합니다.

두꺼워진 내통이 가마솥 밥맛 그대로!
기존 밥솥보다 1.5배 더 두꺼워진 내통이 전체에 열을
균일하게 전달, 가마솥 밥맛 그대로 재현해 줍니다.

밥짓기는 빠르게, 보온은 효율적으로!
강한 화력을 내는 하이파워 스프링 히터를 채용,
열전달이 잘되고 외부로 새는 열을 막아주어 조리과
보온을 가장 효율적으로 해줍니다.

입체 가열방식으로 찰지게, 맛있게!
바닥히터, 옆면히터, 뚜껑히터가 3중으로 내통 전체에
골고루 열을 전달해 조리과 보온이 뛰어나며, 뚜껑안에
스팀볼이 있어 압력솥 밥맛도 즐길 수 있습니다.

NMH-18F • 용량 : 1.8ℓ (10인용) • 퍼지 컨트롤 방식
• ₩ 169,000

NMH-15F • 용량 : 1.5ℓ (8인용) • ₩ 163,000

* 표시된 가액은 권장소비자 가격입니다.

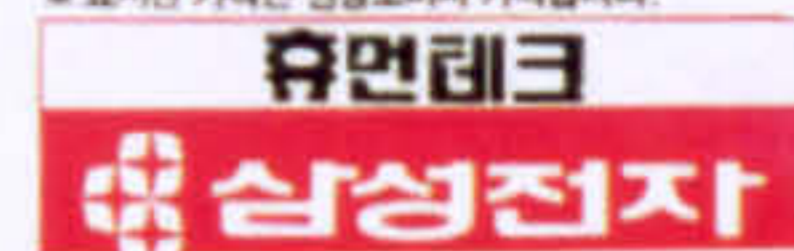


Figure 5.3. A Young Couple's Partnership

husband, they can manage with the help of this rice cooker, as described in the third caption:

"Of course, your Elephant rice cooker will help you!"

Young female generation's desire for 'marriage of equal partnership' is powerfully being sold in this advertisement.

Women and Romance

The following two advertisements for the Samsung Duo Cooker and the Samsung Jumbo refrigerator employ young and glamorous female actors to convey basically the same message; beautiful cook or charming drinking partner - possessor of all the ideal qualities of a modern woman.

The first advertisement, for Samsung Duo Cooker (Young Lady: August) (Figure 5.4) presents an image of an ideal wife presenting good food.

"The necessity for a housewife, Samsung Gas Oven Cooker."

Her smug smile implies that the cooking process was pleasurable. The tedium of food preparation; cleaning, cutting, and cooking is abbreviated. Instead, the end product of the whole process of cooking, beautifully presented food, amplifies the pleasurable moment of eating. The palatable food, perfectly presented with garnish, indicates that she is serving food for someone rather than for herself. Her hair style and make up also enhance the flavour of the special occasion:

*"Lightly grilled salmon with white wine for tonight,
Shall I use purple napkins to make the dinner splendid..?"*

“오늘 저녁은 살짝 구운 연어구이에 화이트와인, 그리고 화사하게 보라색 냅킨을 펼까?”

생활이 커질수록 듀오가 돌보인다.

생활에 여유를 더할수록 돌보이는 주방의 주인공, 주부의 필수품. 듀오와 함께 식탁의 표정이 달라진다. 고품격 다기능의 삼성가스오븐렌지 듀오.

생선전용그릴이 있어 더욱 쾌적한 주방

우리 생활에 맞게 생선전용그릴이 따로 있어 냄새걱정없이 생선 요리를 편리하게 할 수 있습니다.

가스오븐렌지와 전자렌지가 합쳐 조리속도가 2배 -

가스오븐렌지의 열풍과 전자렌지의 전자파가 동시에 작동해 조리속도가 2배나 빨라진 듀오, 한식은 물론 양식에 이르기까지 다양한 요리를 즐길 수 있습니다.



삼성가스오븐렌지 듀오

SOR-6430(LPG #)
6435(LNG #)

국립보건연구원 국립보건연구원
● 국립보건연구원 국립보건연구원
● 국립보건연구원 국립보건연구원
● 국립보건연구원 국립보건연구원

삼성전자

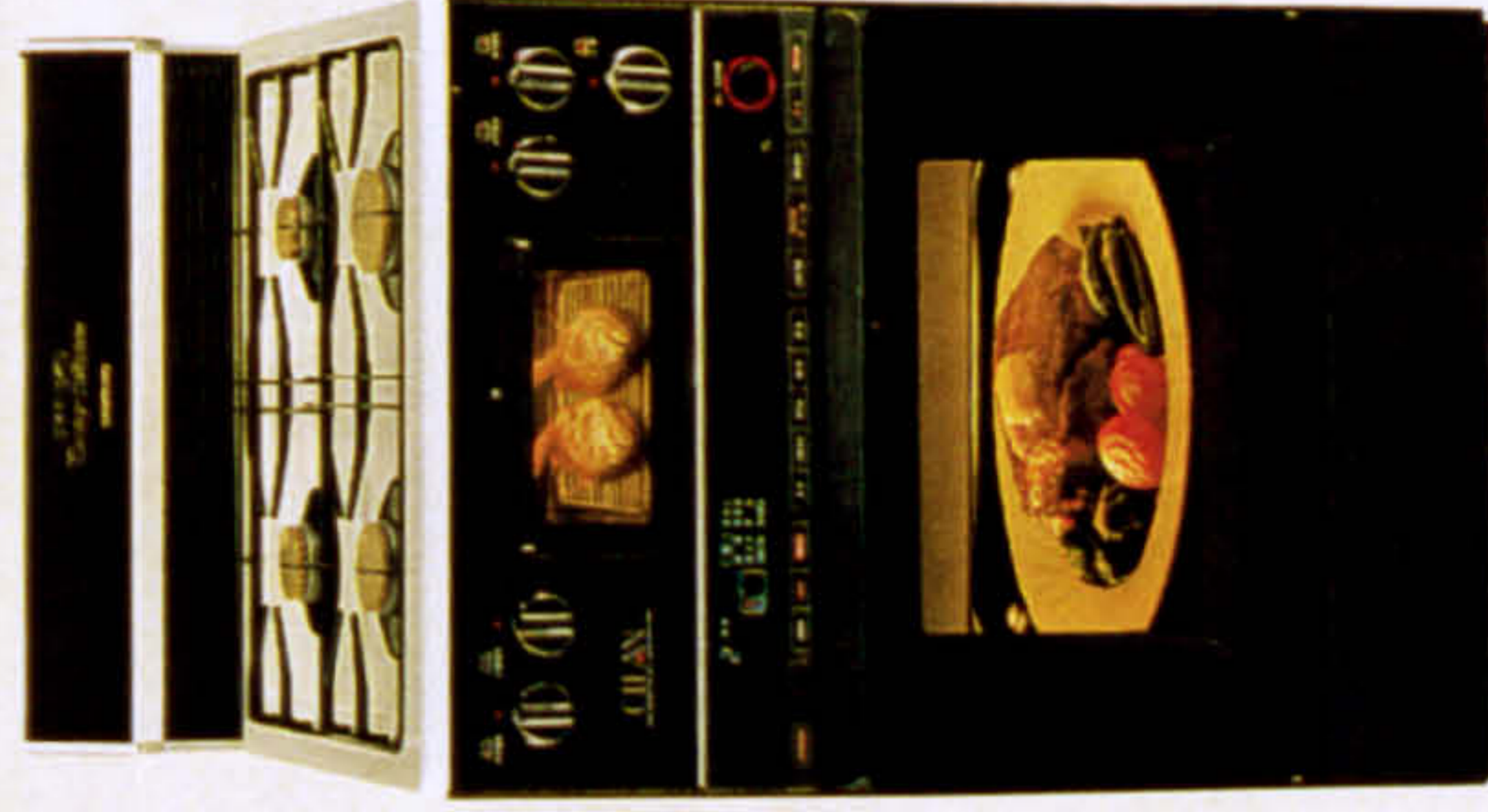


Figure 5.4. Women and Romance 1

“그이에게 상큼하게 페퍼민트 한잔,
 난 붉은 노을빛을 담은 슬로진 —
 오늘밤은 유난히 상들리에가 반짝인다.”



생활이 커질수록 정보가 필요하다.

생활에 여유를 더할수록 돋보이는
 주부의 큰 선택, 큰 만족,
 기품있는 주부의 오늘을 완성한다.
 초대형 고품격의 삼성점보냉장고.

신선한 열음만 제공하는 자동제빙기능

점보냉장고는 정수기에서
 걸러진 깨끗한 물과
 신선한 열음을 자동으로
 공급해줍니다.



문을 열지않고 사용하는 홈바 (HOME BAR)식도어

냉장고 문을 열지않고
 음료수를 꺼낼 수 있으며,
 홈바식 간이도어에서
 칵테일도 만들 수 있습니다.



- 식품의 신선도를 보여주는 첨단 전자식시스템
- 불쾌한 냄새를 맡김히 없애주는 백금촉매탈취
- 세균이 들어갈 틈이 없는 완벽한 항균도어



710L

SR-S7180

국내최대용량의최고급 냉장고
 ■ 정장스펙(파라) : W 2,650,000
 (본체용의 별도 설치비용 포함됩니다.)
 * 2005년 7월 1일부터 10월 31일까지
 * 3D가이드 홈바(옵션) : 411-1776-1776 (e-shop)



Figure 5.5. Women and Romance 2

Another special evening for a housewife is illustrated in the second advertisement, for the Samsung Jumbo Refrigerator (Young Lady: August) (Figure 5.5). A glamorous female actor, who is dressed up, is holding a crystal glass. She is about to taste the cocktail. Although her appearance suggests a colourful social occasion such as a party or dining out, the setting is domestic:

*"Housewife's important choice, great satisfaction.
Samsung Jumbo Refrigerator."*

*"Home Bar style door.
You do not need to open the door to take out your drinks.
It is easy to make a cocktail from the home bar-style compartment"*

*"A glass of fresh Peppermint for him,
A glass of Sloe Gin in red sunset colour for myself.
The chandelier is exceptionally glittering tonight."*

Obviously, she is having a special evening with her partner, possibly a break from her mundane or busy daily life. Neither her husband nor her children are portrayed in the picture. She is free from domestic chores, and free from serving the family. Instead of being submerged by routine domestic chores, she is luxuriating in his partnership. It is most women's dream.

The glamour and excitement of a full social life in public places is what many Korean housewives dream about. The above two advertisements speak to this desire even though they confirm that a housewife's place is the domestic space. Of course, the maintenance of their beauty and attraction is a crucial part of the realisation of their dream.

5.1.3. Men and Cooking

Men and Cooking

Men primarily equate cooking with time and convenience. For them, meals must take a short time to cook and be 'hassle free', and cooking is often considered as a means of 'survival' (Reed 1994:40). Men's attitudes towards cooking is often portrayed as a 'scientific approach', whereas women's cooking is seen as an 'emotional approach'.

The image of a 'new man' is often found in food advertisements. Men in the food adverts are usually kinder, friendlier, more understanding, and less macho than in advertisements for other products (Vestergaard and Schroder 1985: 90). Men are shown as more aware of family needs, especially a wife's needs for emotional care and attention. The 'new man' knows how to feed himself without relying on his partner.

At the same time, their cooking is often shown in exaggerated, humorous and fragmentary rather than realistic forms. Man's cooking is special because of its rarity. Men in Korea seldom cook, for various reasons; lack of time, skills and motivation, and most of all because of the strong Confucian thoughts which hold strict gender roles. Images of a 'new man' who breaks with pattern and expresses his love for his wife and family through cooking are most often found in advertisement for convenience and processed food. For men who are not familiar with cooking, processed food is recommended as the best solution.

The prevailing view of men's cooking is well demonstrated in the advertisement for Goldstar *Tugbaggi* microwave oven ⁴ (Young Lady: August, September) (Figure 5.6). It is unconventional since unlike most other food advertisements it does not feature female actors. The boss is about to leave the office at the end of the day. Two other male colleagues are jokingly advising him:

"Your wife is away in her parent's home for three days? So it's instant cup noodles for your dinner this evening?"

The boss is answering them:

"I don't have to skip my meal simply because my wife is away. Even a casserole is easy to prepare in my new microwave."

He is the 'new man' who does not have to rely on the wife's cooking, but can enjoy good food even when his wife is not around. An ideal image of modern men, who are white collar, and capable of domestic tasks, is constructed, yet on the basis of traditional beliefs about gender roles. The wife's absence still creates inconvenience at every mealtime. Although the 'new man' can cope, cooking is still presented as typically a woman's job, and a woman's place is the kitchen, or at her own parent's home while men's place is the office.

⁴ *Tugbaggi* is an earthenware bowl which is traditionally used for cooking *Tzige* (casserole). The 'Goldstar *Tugbaggi* microwave oven' has been expressly invented for cooking casseroles, resulting in the same effect as *tugbaggi*.



이과장님, 사모님이 한 사흘 친정가셨다는데...

“킵라면이나 사가시죠?”

“허허,
마누라 없다고 굶으란 법 있나?
나도 숨쉴때라면
된장찌개쯤은 뚝배기 맛으로...”



김치찌개, 된장찌개, 해물찌개 제맛이!

금성 뚝배기 전자레인지



된장찌개는 구수하게!
은근한 화력으로
된장을 골고루 풀어
구수한 맛을 내줍니다.



해물찌개는 시원하게!
높은 화력으로
단시간에 요리하여 해물의
싱싱한 맛을 살려줍니다.



김치찌개는 얼큰하게!
서서히 화력을 높이며
김치의 매콤한 맛이
국물까지 배도록 요리합니다.

MR-283SF

₩285,000

● 한국형 인공자궁
● 700W 고출력

■ MR-233SF

₩265,000

■ MR-343SF

₩305,000

※ 표시된 가격은

관장소비자가입니다.



Figure 5.6. Men and Cooking

주부 2,000명의 의견을 모아 탄생한 새모습—
이렇게 아름답습니다!

“**주부들이 원하던
바로 그 전자레인지**”

금성사에서 주부 2,000명을 대상으로 심층 소비자조사를 한 후, 주부들의 불편과 바람과 꿈들을 모아 신제품을 개발했습니다. 도움을 주신 주부들께 감사드립니다.



Figure 5.7. Cooking and Technology

Technology and Cooking

The man in the following advertisement for the **Goldstar microwave oven II** (Yeowon: September) (Figure 5.7) occupies a central role, surrounded by housewives.

"The new model born with the 2000 housewives' opinion.

This is the difference!"

"The new microwave oven all the housewives dream about has been produced by consumer survey carried out by Goldstar."

As the text makes clear, this model has been created on the basis of comments and advice from numerous housewives, and thus, their wishes for technological innovation are built into the products. However, the person who invented it and is introducing it is not a housewife.

The male actor is in an engineer's overall sitting in the centre of the picture, and the female actors wearing aprons surround him. They are amazed by the magic of technological invention. The myth that controlling the power of new technology belongs to a man's world, and female consumers' dreams largely rest in the hands of male professionals is confirmed, as is the underlying separation of gender roles.

5.2. ADVERTISEMENTS ON TELEVISION

The images of women in food advertisements on television can be usefully examined according to whether women are presented in domestic places, or in public places. This distinction largely coincides with marital status. While married women's food activities are shown mainly in domestic settings, single women's eating/drinking is portrayed through various social relations in public places.

Food habits portrayed in advertisements are largely dichotomised into food preparation/serving in domestic settings, and food consumption/eating in public places. Married women are mostly shown as family-oriented, and their food activities are largely based on food preparation or serving. In contrast, the food habits of single women, who are often located in public places, are consumption oriented, and commonly shown in the context of entertainment and leisure. Appearance and body image, especially slimness, are particularly stressed. Accordingly, the diet concerns of young women have become a major strategic focus for food advertisements.

The acceleration of modernity has diversified women's roles and positions within advertising; women now appear as working mothers, as career-oriented professionals, as romantic partners, as a focus of admiration, and as equal companions, in addition to their traditional role as guardians of the home. However, underpinning this variation, Korean advertising has produced two basic, contrasted images; women in the domestic domain who are virtuous in the light of traditional values, and women in the public domain who are free from tradition. Both are supported by the images of modernity.

As we shall see later, when we explore the interview materials, married women, in general, hold strong on to traditional values and roles as mothers and wives no matter what kinds of new roles they may also have. Even though they are portrayed as employed mothers, or wives in an equal partnership, their basic beliefs about gender roles are unchangingly traditional. The more women's activities outside the home multiply, the stronger the belief in the goodness of women's traditional virtues of motherhood and housewifery is. Instead, modernity is widely represented through images of affluence and urbanity, which are largely Western in origin.

The association of 'modern' with 'Western' has created a model of the 'new women' who is free from the role of family cares and the commitment to domestic affairs. Hence, their various roles in the public domain are largely portrayed in the context of leisure, entertainment, play and consumption. The pursuit of freedom, pleasure and the good life is the underlying assumption. Women are often the focus of attention, and a symbol of freedom. Additionally, their physical beauty and sexuality is highly valued.

Advertising messages stubbornly embrace traditional values and modernity at the same time, and this is mediated through Western images. Thus, the 'Western flavour' has been highly useful in promoting modernity in advertising without jettisoning traditional values. This paradoxical union between Korean modernity and Western images is the most distinctive feature of food advertisements, and as we shall see, it is a combination that generates tensions in the ideals and lifestyles of contemporary Korean women.

5.2.1. Women in Domestic Space

As mentioned earlier, the women within the family are portrayed as largely service oriented. Whether they are employed or not, young or old, have children or not, they are expected to satisfy embedded social expectations surrounding cooking and serving the family.

Most children expect to be taken care of by mother. While sons are fully taken care of, female children are commonly portrayed as assisting mother's food preparation or serving activities, being trained to learn traditional female gender roles. Men in general expect to be served. This is obvious in some cases, and presented in a less obvious form in other cases.

The physical appearance of women within domestic spaces, with their husbands and children, is not striking or eye-catching. Their make up, hairstyle, clothes and attitude imply that they are family-oriented, gentle, kind-hearted, traditionally feminine. At the same time, the traditional message, that is, a wife's commitment to the family is directly related to the happiness of her family, is supplemented by suggestions of the attractions of modernity.

Home-made Food

Gohyang Dumpling ⁵ (SBS, KBS 2, MBC: 20 seconds) (Figure 5.8) is promoting convenience food by evoking the taste of home-made food and mother's cooking, which are still widely regarded as essential for a happy

⁵. Traditional Korean dumplings are made of thin and round pastry with a meat and vegetable mixture inside. They were always made by hand at home until recent decades, when manufactured dumplings began to be introduced.

Figure 5. 8. Home-made Food



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family. The brand name of the food product, 'Gohyang' means 'homeland', 'hometown' or 'native place', indicating that old is best. Although the advertisement is selling frozen food, it is assumed that home-made food is best. When the housewife's cooking is appreciated by her husband and children, a traditional happy family is restored, and her efforts and troubles are rewarded.

Shot 1: Countryside scenery.

Shot 2: The housewife remembers the old taste of dumpling.

Shot 3: Dumplings are being cooked.

Shot 4: Dining room. The family's eating table with fully prepared food on it. There is no seat for the wife. While her husband and the children are enjoying the food she cooked, she is standing behind them instead of eating together. She is still wearing an apron.

Shot 5: She is waiting for her husband's response.

Shot 6: A close-up scene of the couple. The wife is smiling at him because her husband is enjoying the food.

The housewife's monologue: "Where is my homeland? It is my husband!"

The origin of her identity is her husband. Her meaning in life depends on her family. Accordingly, cooking for the family is the primary source of happiness and pleasure. Her commitment maintains the happiness of the family. Although convenience foods have become widely available as food manufacturing technologies have advanced, home-made food, mother's cooking and the old tastes of traditional food are still cherished.

A Modern Wife

Dongsuh Coffee Cream (KBS II: 15 seconds) (Figure 5.9) is another example of a wife's devotion to her husband, yet with a modern setting. A couple without children, a space designed as a combined sitting room and study, and his paperwork in front of the computer, imply a modern, middle class lifestyle.

Figure 5.9. A Modern Wife



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Shot 1: The wife brings a cup of coffee to her husband who is engrossed in his work at the desk.

Shot 2: Close-up scene of the husband's work space. He continues working without paying attention to her.

Shot 3: She is leaning on the back of the sofa, which is located in the other corner of the room. She is looking at her husband's back, and yawning. She looks bored.

Shot 4: She has fallen asleep.

Shot 5: The husband finishes his work, drinks his coffee, and remembers his wife.

Shot 6: He brings back the empty coffee cup to her, and finds her asleep. He quietly approaches her and taps her shoulder. She wakes up, looks at him. Both of them look at each other and smile.

A male voice:

*"There is someone who is always with me. Therefore I easily forget about her.
A wife is more beautiful than a woman!"*

His appreciation of her attendance on him is recognised by her when his gentle touch wakes her up after the completion of his work. She is always around to provide for his needs. Her patient waiting and caring as a wife touches him. The traditional goodness of a wife's role is confirmed.

A Working Mother's/ Wife's Breakfast

Western images and lifestyles have been increasingly mobilised in food advertisements as developments in food manufacturing technology have introduced a wide range of convenience food products, which are largely Western in origin. Accordingly, depictions of the lifestyles of employed wives, young couples, and urban residents are often closely bound up with Western images.

Nongshim Kellogg's Corn Flakes portrays breakfast time in a modern family, which typically consists of a couple and two children (Figure 5.10)

(SBS: 15 seconds) ⁶.

The wife's busy breakfast time is implied by the whole family's dress; the husband and the wife are ready for their own work, and children are ready for school. The dining room is well furnished with modern facilities. The beam of bright morning sunlight on the white table and chairs, a glass milk jug, the various exotic fresh fruits, a glass of fruit juice, and breakfast cereal connotes a modern, urban, middle class lifestyle. Affluence, the fresh morning and the happiness of the family are presented throughout the advertisement. Although the wife is employed, her maintenance of the family's breakfast is perfect.

Shot 1: In a dining room: the father is assisting the young son to sit at the table, the mother is pouring corn flakes into her son's bowl, and the sister is pouring milk over her younger brother's cereal.

Shot 2: Corn flakes are being poured into the son's cereal.

Shot 3: A close-up face of the husband. He is enjoying his breakfast with a contented smile.

Shot 4: Close-up scene of breakfast table.

In addition to the idealised image of the family's breakfast hour, several scenes showing the production process of cereals in a factory, and a nutritionist's comments on the importance of breakfast and nutritional balance, underline the advantages of having a Western type of breakfast.

The actors' actions are divided into serving and being served. All the family members are looking after the son, the youngest of the family; father is putting him on a chair, mother is pouring corn flakes into his bowl, and sister is adding milk. Nevertheless, in spite of the plausible picture of the family's co-operation, serving and being served are clearly

⁶. Some Korean food industries develop and produce Western type of food using their own technology. Others produce their own products under brand names imported from Western owned multi-national food companies. *Nongshim* Kellogg's is an example of the latter. *Nongshim* is one of the leading Korean food companies which both develop their own food products and produce others under foreign brand names and technology.

Figure 5.10. A Working Mother's/ Wife's Breakfast



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divided based on gender. Moreover, the husband's contented smile is a particular point of focus since the man's opinion and attitudes are the most important factor in shifting the family's diet from a traditional cooked breakfast to a Western style breakfast, no matter how important the aspects of nutrition and convenience.⁷

It is suggested that new style of breakfast, which is Western, rescues the working mother from the demand to prepare a traditional cooked meal, and additionally, boosts the image of a modern family. And yet, the traditional value of family order and gender roles in this Confucian society is still strictly maintained. It is wife who is expected to attend to the family's food needs, and the young daughter is expected to learn this feminine role.

Slimming Diet

Slimming is celebrated by a couple's Western diet in *Ottuggi Gold Mayonnaise* (SBS, KBS II, MBC: 20 seconds) (Figure 5.11). This advertisement is selling the image of freshness - images of fresh morning, fresh vegetables, the fresh feeling of exercise, and the fresh lifestyle of a newly-wed couple.

Shot 1: A spacious living room with modern furniture in the background. The couple are doing sit ups on the floor, where the morning sun light shines through the window.

Shot 2: The female partner is checking her weight. The male partner is teasing her behind her back.

Shot 3: Various types of fresh salad.

Shot 4: Bread is being toasted.

⁷. Breakfast in the Korean diet is a cooked meal which consists of rice, soup and side dishes. Even though cereal and bread have been introduced, and are partly favoured for their convenience and time saving, by the younger generation, especially women, the majority of the Korean population still keep to the dietary pattern of a cooked Korean breakfast. The older generation and men in general are strongly in favour of traditional meals. A detailed explanation is given in chapter 3. page 106-7.

Figure 5.11. Slimming Diet



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*Shot 5: While the female partner is toasting bread, the male partner is reading a newspaper.
Flowers have been put on the table.*

Shot 6: The couple is having breakfast. The female partner is feeding her partner. Smiling faces are in close-up.

A female voice: "Salad is best in the morning for a healthy day."

A male voice: "Ottuggi mayonnaise for salad"

A female voice: "This is our lifestyle!"

The actors are a young couple who demonstrate their own taste for an unconventional lifestyle. This is strongly associated with Western images; having toast for breakfast, reading English newspapers, a couple living without children, a living room furnished in a Western style, and the couple's morning exercise.

In spite of the strongly presented modern lifestyle, however, their traditional gender roles are clear in the same way as we noted in previous advertisements. While she is preparing toasts and salad for him, he is reading a newspaper. It is an English newspaper, which is not common. All of her actions in this advertisement are made for her partner; to please him by being a slim partner, by preparing a meal, and by feeding him.

5.2.2. Women in Public Space

Women shown in public places in advertisements are largely expected to be young and unmarried, beautifully slim and often fashionable. Their roles and activities are commonly leisure and play oriented rather than involved with work. Those who are portrayed in the work place have a strong focus placed on their physical appearance. Their diet concerns are more apparent than their work capability.

A Single Woman and Career

Women's single life is portrayed as colourful and exciting. Their manners are confident, and their clothes are sumptuous. Choice Coffee (SBS, KBS II, MBC: 25 seconds) (Figure 5.12) employs a single professional woman whose occupation is fashion designer/ fashion show manager. Although she is apparently Korean, her make-up, hairstyle and off-shoulder dress make her look rather Western.

Shot 1: The female fashion show manager is checking models' clothes behind the stage before the show.

Shot 2: A stage where a fashion show is being held: Western female models are presenting various costumes on the stage.

Shot 3: She is waving her hand in response to the applause of the audience after the show. She is receiving a bouquet. Colourful lights are flashing on the stage.

Shot 4: Reception after the show: She is being surrounded by friends and colleagues in a social party. Her smiling face is zoomed up.

Shot 5: Smiling face of a Western man sitting next to her is zoomed in on.

Shot 6: The female actor, left alone at home, is drinking a cup of coffee.

A female voice: "My choice!"

Her make-up, dress, fashion show room, Western models and the white male colleague/friend provide strong connotations of 'international', particularly Western.⁸ It is remarkable in Korean advertising that a female Korean actress is accompanied by a male white actor on a social occasion. The image of a modern single woman in this advertisement is largely based on the excitement of the good life, which is suggested through adding a Western flavour.

⁸ Until the late 1980s, foreign models were not allowed at all in Korean advertising by government policy. The Ministry of Culture and Publicity gave the reason as the possible influence of foreign culture, especially of Western cultural influence on Korean identity. Even at present, appearance of foreign models as main characters is prohibited.

Figure 5.12. A Single woman and Career



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The brand name of the coffee 'Choice' metaphorically suggests that a colourful social life, a splendid career, freedom and independence can be obtained as a consequence of choosing a single life. Her life is in marked contrast to the life of the wife in the advertisement for another coffee product, coffee cream *Dongsuh* (Figure 5.9) examined earlier.

Women and Entertainment

The advertisement for Coffee *Hanjan* Ice Cream (SBS, KBS, MBC: 30 seconds) (Figure 5.13) shows another aspect of the stimulating life of a young single female. Her profession is singer. She is surrounded by a mixed group of young people in a club. By showing fragmentary activities of singing and dancing in the club, this advertisement presents the pleasure of leisure free from family commitments.

Shot 1: A female singer appears on the stage to the loud cheers of a crowd of young men.

Shot 2: A rock group is playing the music.

Shot 3: The female singer starts singing and dancing. The crowd is also dancing. A juggling waiter with the ice cream serving tray. She receives applause again after her performance.

Shot 4: Two young men are showing admiring gestures.

The female singer is the focus of activity. The crowd, mostly consisting of young men, admire her. Pleasure, humour, youthfulness, and charm of the female actor combine to portray a single woman's public life as bright and exciting.

Single women vs. Housewives

In advertising, public places belong to single women who are not bound by family commitments, as in the case of the previous advertisement.

Figure 5.13. Women and Entertainment



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Figure 5.14. Single Women vs. Housewives



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Consequently, the depiction of housewives in public places is often negative.

For women, body image is a source of both anxiety and self-confidence. Young single women in the public world are largely portrayed as slim, beautiful, thus self-confident. Married women who remain at home often have anxiety and fear about their body images. The advertisement for Napoleon Fibre drink (KBS II: 20 seconds) (Figure 5.14) uses this contrast.

Two young female actors are obviously single according to their appearance, fashion and gestures. Another older woman is a housewife.

Shot 1: Long shot. Two young female actors in short skirts are showing off their slim beauty. They talk about drinks in a food shop.

"Why don't we have a Fibre drink?"

Shot 2: They take out two bottles of Fibre drink from a refrigerator.

Close-up scene: Various fresh vegetables are being overlapped and poured into a bottle of Fibre drink.

Shot 3: An older female actor who happens to be shopping near them listens to their conversation with curiosity.

Shot 4: She is buying all the fibre drink bottles in the refrigerator.

The age difference between the two single actors presumably in their twenties and the housewife in her thirties creates a gap in their dress sense; the two young women in trendy short skirts with elaborate make up, and the housewife's plain appearance and dress. The generational difference has generated another gap; the young single women know about beauty and which food products help to maintain beauty, whereas the housewife is not at all familiar with the thinking of the public world.

To look beautifully slim is portrayed as every woman's desire. Obviously, the two single women, who are seen as more sensitive to and informed on diet, are strikingly attractive, slim, confident and capable of keeping their beauty unlike the middle aged housewife.

5.2.3. Women in Men's Eyes

Women and Sweets

Women and confectioneries are often metaphorically associated. Sweets have connotations of romance and sexuality. Although they are fascinating, indulgence can be seen as dangerous. People's consumption of sweets in public places is frequently presented in connection with female body images, often juxtaposing those foods with female attraction and sexuality. Men's sweet indulgence and its connotation with female sexuality is illustrated in the following advertisement for **Hot Break Chocolate Bars** (SBS, KBS II, MBC: 20 seconds) (Figure 5.15). The taste of sweets is equated with women's sexual attraction through man's chocolate consumption.

Shot 1: A young college student is sitting on the stairs waiting for someone. At his back, on top of the stairs, a group of female students are walking towards him. He is eating a chocolate bar.

A male voice: "Not bad!"

Shot 2: Two young women are passing by. As he is getting out of focus, the female actors' legs under short skirts are in close-up. Since he is sitting on the lower stairs, he is looking at their legs above his eye level. His eyes are following the women's legs. He continues eating the chocolate bar.

His monologue: "Tastes good!"

Shot 3: He is looking at the product label carefully.

Shot 4: He continues eating as if he is repeating the visual taste of the women's slim legs.

"What a fantastic taste..."

The female actors' youthful attraction and the sweet's taste are equalised through his look of curiosity. The taste of the chocolate bar is juxtaposed with young female sexuality. Once again, single women in a public place are portrayed as intriguing and stimulating. As the brand name of the chocolate product implies, he is enjoying the 'hot' attraction of the chocolate and the young actors' female beauty during his 'break'.

Figure 5.15. Women and Sweets



1



2



3



4

Figure 5.16. Women and Alcoholic Drinks



1



2



3



4



5



6

Women and Alcoholic Drinks

Female attraction as a romantic partner is portrayed in the advertisement OB Super Dry Beer (KBS II: 20 seconds) (Figure 5.16). The time is dusk. The background music, the actors and their gestures are typically Western.

Shot 1: Two male actors on a pleasure boat.

Shot 2: Male actors in white shirts are drinking a glass of beer standing on a deck of a sailing boat with the background music 'What a wonderful world'. Beer is being poured on a glass with refreshingly overflowing cool foam.

Shot 3: A tall and slim female actor holding a glass of beer is approaching them. She is wearing a swim suit although it is not clearly visible because of the lack of light. Her long hair is waving by the wind. Since the sky is dim with sunset, and since it is a long shot, her face is hardly recognisable.

Shot 4: A man's smiling face is in close-up.

Shot 5: The waves beat upon the rock.

Shot 6: She is chatting and drinking with him on a deck. Long shot.

The male actors are enjoying nature, leisure time, the coolness of the beer and social life. The female actor is recognisable only in her dark silhouette. Her identity is not clear. Although it seems incongruous that she is in a swimming suit at dusk while two men are dressed up in white suits, her physical attraction is clear. She appears merely as a part of the scenery. She is one of the displayable elements of his pleasure. A woman's company simply reinforces the atmosphere of passion, affluence and romance.

Summary

Images of women in the world of contemporary Korean advertising have been explored by examining advertisements on TV and in women's magazines. We have seen that these images are largely divided into those featuring domestic places and those located in public places. Their roles

and expectations in regard to food activities are also sharply divided into cooking/ serving and consuming/ slimming. These divisions largely coincide with women's marital status and age, thereby reinforcing stereotypical images; young single women's food habits are based on food consuming and slimming, and the food habits of married women of the older generation are highly oriented to food preparation and serving.

The most problematic images are those of 'married' women of the 'younger' generation. They are caught in the middle of the sharp dichotomies between young and old, single and married, food consuming and serving, and public and private domains. This ambiguity seems to be strategically mediated in advertising by utilising Western images to connote modernity. As a consequence, their lifestyle is frequently romanticised under the sign of modernity; a couple's equal participation in domestic work, women's increasing involvement in public activities, the availability of convenience food and modern technology, the increasing emphasis on romance and physical attraction. However, these new opportunities, which are often promoted through 'Western' images, can be seen as the superficial appearance of the multiple choices presented by modernity. The deeply rooted traditional values and expectations of a woman's place and their roles have been easily uncovered underneath the surface of 'modern transformation'. Instead, modernity has been widely translated into the sphere of consumption and leisure in advertising, thereby generating a new formula, 'modern women's food activities in public places are consumption, entertainment and leisure-oriented'. Modern women in the domestic domain are still expected to play the traditional role of good mother/ wife, but with an added emphasis on affluence, partnership within the nuclear family, and women's physical beauty and sexuality.

Whilst many countries in Asia have been subject to direct Western cultural influences during the post-colonial period with the incursion of transnational advertising agencies and communications companies, Korea has developed and operated an advertising system with strict legal protections against the intrusion of Western culture. Korean advertising has prohibited the appearance of Western models as main actors, and forbidden the usage of Foreign languages. Consequently, it has managed to maintain a unique pattern of cultural development, unlike Japan, where extraordinary number of foreign models, predominantly Western, and abundant English product names and phrases are freely employed (O'Barr 1994). Images of Western lifestyles in Korean advertising, created through this process, therefore, have special features.

In Korea, as well as a number of other Asian countries including Japan and the NICs (Newly Industrialising Countries), the abundance of material culture, which was once only dreamed of, is no longer the exclusive property of the West. Increasing domestic affluence and prosperity has produced a couple relation to the West as an imaginary space. Admiration and idealisation of productive power, success and domination, has been largely replaced by associations with freedom, the good life, leisure and romance.

Foods are no exception. As we have seen, they have been promoted in association with the attraction of a slim body shape (e.g. Mayonnaise), a colourful exciting life (e.g. Ice cream), personal success (e.g. Coffee), romance (e.g. Beer), and even sexuality (e.g. Chocolates). And almost without exception, these images are mobilised through the depiction of Western lifestyles. However, as we have seen, these advertisements are deeply rooted in traditional values. No matter how powerfully they promote 'progressive' modern images, women are almost always led back to the obedience, self-sacrifice and cuteness of traditional images of women

in the private domain. These paradoxical discourses mobilise and have helped to generate tensions and contradictions in Korean female identity.

These contradictions, circulated by promotional culture permeate people's everyday lives in contemporary Korea since the mass media play a crucial role in mapping out the social world, and mediating expectations and experiences. In Part III, we will explore the tensions, confusions and conflicts surrounding food as women experience them in their everyday lives.

PART III

FIELD WORK DESIGN

The field research was carried out in Seoul, Korea for three months from the 1st of July to the 30th of September 1992.

Two different types of data were subject to collection: Interviews and the letters from audience for a radio programme.

1. INTERVIEWS

Pilot study

Contacts

Places

Interviews

Transcription

Difficulties, amendments and problems

Table: interviewees' background

2. RADIO PROGRAMME AND AUDIENCE LETTERS

Arrangement

Selection of data

Limitations

Aims

INTERVIEWS

1. Pilot study

Before the actual research was carried out, pilot interviews were conducted with two persons; a housewife who was responsible for family eating, and a single woman. It was helpful to check whether the questionnaire worked, whether there were some questions to be added or to be left out, and whether the locations were suitable for tape recording. Time spent on the interviews was also checked to estimate the average required for sufficient conversation. After these exercise, the questionnaire was slightly amended for the main interviews.

2. Contacts

Door to door visits were attempted at the initial stages in order to locate samples of interviews in a working class area. However, this exercise was not successful due to their lack of trust and openness. Consequently, the field work for this group and other sample groups was mainly carried out on the basis of the systematic individual contacts and prior arrangements. Initially, several interviews were carried out with subjects selected to represent the major quota categories. These respondents were then asked to nominate friends or contacts who might be willing to be interviewed. Those who had been introduced in this way by the previous interviewees arranged appointments with other women for the following interviews. Most interviews were arranged in this way. When nominating possible future interviewees, respondents were specifically asked to suggest people who were not in their immediate peer or work groups. This procedure was designed to overcome the standard limitation of 'snowball' sampling whereby nominations from respondents' immediate circle results in biased selections.

3. Places

Meetings were arranged mainly by telephone in order to find a mutually convenient place and time. Interviews were carried out mainly in the respondent's house or in her work place. When neither of these places was available, interviews were made in a quiet park at a quiet hour. Public places such as coffee shops, cafes and restaurants were avoided because the background noise, including music, made it difficult to hear the conversation clearly when the interviews were transcribed from cassette tapes afterwards, and because they were not ideal for sitting and continuing conversation for a reasonable time without distraction.

4. Interviews

Interviews were recorded on to a cassette tape, though notes on major points were also taken during the conversation.

Although the interviews were carried out on the basis of a pre-prepared questionnaire protocol, conversation did not follow a simple question-and-answer format, but was developed in a more flexible way. In particular cases, some questions were added to the prepared questionnaire, and some were left out depending on the interviewee's response and on their background; marital status, employment, family structure, education, income, and so on. Each interview lasted between 60 and 150 minutes.

5. Transcription

The cassette tapes of the conversation were transcribed as soon as possible after the event for two reasons; firstly, to review and assess them immediately so that any shortcomings found could be addressed in the following interviews, and secondly, in order not to accumulate a backlog of transcribing since it was a heavily time-consuming and physically demanding task. Each transcription took twice or even three times longer to complete than the actual interviews.

6. Difficulties, Amendments and Problems

Sampling

The number of unmarried interviewees was reduced from the initial plan. Unmarried women were usually living with their parents, and brothers and sisters, although some were living as a separate household. Those who were single and still living with parents were mostly not catering for themselves or responsible for housework because they were looked after by their mothers. On the whole, they displayed indifference towards family food habits in general, and had little to say about their roles within the family. Accordingly, conversation was mainly focused on their own food consumption and their expected future family relations.

Contacts

While it was relatively easy to arrange interviews with middle class women, contact with those who were unemployed, and with working class married women was difficult since they were hardly involved in any organised groups or activities, and therefore, had to be individually found.

Definition of class

Contacts with working class employed women were arranged through a day nursery located in an area generally considered as working class. However, it was discovered during the interview conversations that their family income was often almost the same as that of middle class respondents, and even higher in some cases although their education level and occupation put them firmly in the working class, as normally defined in social research. Accordingly, it was not always easy to classify those interviewee's class position.

Interview Conversations

In some interviews with working class women, conversation did not develop beyond a superficial level, largely because the employed working class women were too busy with their job to sit freely and talk for very long. The interviews with women who worked long hours everyday in a shop were made in the work place, and were interrupted frequently by work-related telephone calls or customers' visits.

In contrast, it was sometimes difficult to get an honest and frank answer from interviewees who were well educated, especially when the related topics touched on private and sensitive issues. The same difficulty occurred when the interviewees' parents-in-law were around while the conversation was being recorded.

Time and expense

Visiting interviewee's house required a considerable amount of travelling time and expense. Since flowers or some other small gift were usually presented in appreciation of consent to the interview, extra expense apart from travelling had to be considered in budgeting.

Recording equipments

Since interviews took at least 60 minutes, it was necessary to make sure that extra batteries for the tape recorder were prepared. Several extra cassette tapes were also prepared so as to be supplied immediately whenever required during the conversation.

Size of the whole interview field work

Since the whole process of conducting the interviews from contact with people to transcription had to be completed on my own in a limited phase of the research, constraints of time determined the scale of the research.

Altogether, interviews were held with 34 women living in Seoul, Korea during the three months between July and September in 1992. The sample was selected to a cross section of class positions, ages, employment statuses, family structures and marital statuses.

A RADIO PROGRAMME AND LETTERS FROM AUDIENCE

1. Arrangement for a Special Radio Programme

In addition to the interviews, a radio station was contacted in an attempt to collect further first hand accounts of the ways in which women experience and perceive their food practices in their everyday lives.

For this research, an arrangement to hold a special programme on 'food and women' was made with those in charge of a daily feature radio programme titled "Women's Plaza". This was a daily radio programme broadcast between 10:00 am and 11:30 am every day except Sunday on CBS radio.¹ This programme agreed to broadcast a special hour entitled 'The Food Culture of My Family' during the moon festival in September 1992 particularly for this research. Accordingly, a special spot announcement was made on the programme for ten days between the 25th of August and the 5th of September, asking members of audience to send in letters to the station, describing their food experiences, habits and feelings.

A special broadcasting programme titled "My Family Food Culture" was broadcast. This programme was on for 90 minutes between 10:00 am and 11:30 am on CBS Radio on the 10th of September (Thursday). This was the first day of the four consecutive national holidays celebrating the Full moon Festival. This festival, which is on the 15th of August in the lunar calendar every year, is the biggest Korean traditional festival together with the lunar New Year's celebration, and involves special foods, games and family gatherings. The programme consisted of readings from selected letters from the audience, music, talks and discussions between the programme host and three guests; one expert in food and nutrition, and two of the housewives whose letters have been chosen and introduced with prizes (Gold, Silver and Bronze) on the programme.

¹. CBS (Christian Broadcasting System) is a nationwide radio, which has its key station in Seoul, and 8 local network in major cities in South Korea. It was established in 1954 as the first private radio after the Korean war. CBS broadcasts 21 hours everyday. 'Women's Plaza' is a daily programme for women. It is one of the oldest programmes of CBS, and has been broadcast for more than 20 years.

The programme was largely about their family meal practices, changes in the Korean food system from traditional cuisine to modern diet, family relations involving food and women's role, special food in their own family and a number of other food-related topics.

2. Selection of Data

Altogether thirty one of the letters written by audience members over this period have been selected for this research. The letters were written by the audience, largely by female, in response to the daily radio programme 'Women's Plaza'. All the letters from the audience arrived in advance between three weeks and a day before the programme was on the air, following requests during the previous three weeks to write in any way about the topic of the programme.

3. Limitations

For most of the female audience, the Full-Moon festival was the busiest time of the year because of the additional domestic activities it involved, such as food shopping, and purchasing gifts and festive clothes. Consequently, although it was the most appropriate time to find out about women's food habits, changing trends in food lifestyle, their attitudes to food as well as traditional food and eating, the fact that it involved extra demands on women left them little time on their own to write about their experiences and feelings.

4. Aims

The aim of the analysis that follows is to explore the contradictory roles, expectations and images of women in contemporary Korea in present days in regard to food habits. The negotiation of the lines demarcating women within domestic space from women in public spaces is a particular focus. This will be examined by exploring:

- the ways in which women relate themselves to others through food and eating,
- the ways in which women's own food consumption is understood and practised, and
- the ways in which social expectations of women are created and reinforced with regard to food changes and food habits.

Table: Distribution of the Interviewee's Background by Age, Marital Status and Employment

U: unmarried

M: married

W: working

N: not working

Age	20-30		30-40		40-60		Over 60				
20-30	20-30	30-40	30-40	40-60	40-60	Over 60	Over 60				
U	M	U	M	U	M	U	M				
W N	W N	W N	W N	W N	W N	W N	W N				
22	2	7	20	19	1	3	21	28	5	9	11
31		26	24	6	4	13		32	12	10	
		29	25	8		23			14		
						15			27		
						16					
						17					
						18					
						30					
						33					
						34					

Total= 34 interviewees

CHAPTER 6. 'KITCHEN WIVES'?: WOMEN, FAMILIES AND DOMESTIC SPACES

6.1. WOMEN AND THE FAMILY

The food habits of women who have families are, not surprisingly, largely family-oriented. Their care for their husbands and children is expressed through everyday meal practices.

Taste: Difference and Compromise

When women prepare daily meals, most try hard to cook what the family likes. Through the relentless repetition of daily meal preparations, they learn how to negotiate and balance in individual's taste within the family. A housewife, who lived with her own family and her mother-in-law, was asked if there was a difference between the family's tastes and her own preferences:

I always try to prepare what my husband likes, and what my mother-in-law likes. Meat is my husband's favourite. My husband especially likes roast rib and cuttlefish. My mother-in-law likes vegetables, garlic pickles and cucumber pickle. So I try not to run out of them... I like vegetables. I like what my mother-in-law likes and what my husband likes. So I can't say particularly what I like. I am not fussy about food. (Interviewee 23) ¹

¹ The list of all the interviewees with the names, ages, educational background, class, employment and family structure is attached in Appendix.

In a situation where women are expected to express their care for the family by preparing food the family likes, their tastes tend to assimilate gradually to the tastes of the family, and particularly the husband.

Dad(husband)? He likes spicy food. [How about yourself?] After I got married, I changed. I gradually followed his taste. He hasn't changed. It is only me who has changed. What else can I do? It is unavoidable. (Interviewee 25)

Even when women have very different tastes from their husbands, they readily change their food preferences, often without realising it. Several housewives talked about the ways in which they managed the differences.

Difference? A lot. For example, I like hot meals even in summer whereas he never wants to have hot meals in summer. Hot soup is very good in winter. But he doesn't like anything hot. So I try not to make anything hot. I don't like mixed barley and rice whereas he likes it... So I try to prepare what he likes rather than what I like. (Interviewee 11)

We are very different. My husband likes fatty food whereas I like light food. I didn't like fish before. But I came to follow his taste since he likes fish. Even though we are so different, I came to cook what he likes. Isn't it strange?... laugh. (Interviewee 20)

I don't like fish or meat. But their dad (husband) likes them very much. So I prepare fish or meat often just for him. Even if I don't eat, I have to. I really hate fish. I do cook fish for him, though. (Interviewee 27)

Although women often adopt their tastes to fit their husband's preferences, changes hardly ever happen the other way round.

He shouldn't have any stimulating food, should he? -He had an operation due to his ill stomach eight years ago- Since he is not allowed to have spicy food, even Kimchi at my home is bland.² Since he likes spicy food so much, he thinks all the food made at home is not to his taste. His stubborn taste! -Suddenly the tone of her voice became high.- I have realised how stubborn the habit of his taste is! He won't change. When he sees spicy food served in someone else's house, he always goes for spicy food even after my whole family has been always so careful not to have any hot food on the table simply because of him. (Interviewee 14)

² *Kimchi* is a traditional side dish. It is the most essential for a Korean meal. It is made of cabbage, garlic and ginger with other vegetables and seasonings. It is a type of pickle. See chapter 3, pp 87-8 and pp97-8.

The changing pattern of the family's daily meals in modern Korean society is well reflected in the variety of breakfasts. Breakfast is the most diverse meal at the Korean table. Since it is the lightest meal, and the one eaten at the busiest hour for most people, it has generally been flexible in terms of both quantity and menu. Western foods such as bread, milk, cereals and coffee have been introduced. But although the convenience has gradually attracted people's attention, particularly young wives', the preference for a Korean cooked breakfast, which consists of rice and side dishes, is still dominant, due to continued resistance to western food among the majority of Korean people. Nevertheless, gradual change has increased the food variety. The type of breakfast today varies from the full traditional meal to various simpler types of food, depending on people's choice, lifestyle and generation. The generation gap in terms of food preferences and tastes has increased women's culinary tasks.

The difficulty of matching the different tastes of the family members, especially at breakfast time, is disclosed by this comment from a housewife whose family consists of two children and her husband as well as her mother-in-law.

Every one wants a different breakfast. The breakfast for him (husband) is roasted rice powder with milk. He drinks it, and also always has tomatoes with pizza...

... Changduk (second son) sometimes has tomato juice and soup. Changduk also likes toast with margarine or garlic bread. Sangduk (first son) has fried rice with Kimchi even in the morning because he wants it... [bitter laugh]. My mother-in-law usually has glutinous rice porridge, shrimp soup, seaweed and Kimchi without pepper... (Interviewee 3)

Housewives know that it is hard to please everyone's needs at the same time. However, most women accept food preparation as a responsibility through which they can express their love and concern toward the family.

Nutrition

It is remarkable to observe how much emphasis women put on satisfying their husbands' tastes. A woman who has been married for over twenty years said:

He likes meat, fish, this kind of food. He craves his favourites only. He takes only what he likes even among fish. Since he has always been provided with his favourite food by his mother and then by me, he doesn't even know if there are other side dishes displayed on the table. He eats only his favourite food. If there is his favourite fish on the table, he only eats that. So when I had just got married, I had to learn to prepare Joggi for him everyday.³ It was so expensive even then. So it was hard for me to manage to do it with his small amount of salary. (Interviewee 5)

While women's attention to family diet is expressed by providing the favourite foods of husbands and children, they also endeavour to supply what they think is nutritionally important. In this connection, their major concerns are generally focused on the provision of meat.

When I prepare a lunch pack for my son, I always cook a meat dish for it. When I can't prepare in advance, I still put some processed meat with salad. [Why particularly meat?] He spends so much energy for his study. He is working so hard. -He was preparing for entrance examination for university- He needs more energy, so I cook steak for him all the time. (Interviewee 32)

She(daughter) doesn't want to have meat because she thinks that it's awful if she gets fat. When she really, really hates to eat meat, I give away the meat dish to someone else or feed my neighbour's dog sometimes. I try extremely hard to feed her meat because her doctor said she had low blood pressure. But she hates it... (Interviewee 21)

Serving

A wife's care for her husband is clearly demonstrated at the dining table during the meal time. Women's attitudes to food-serving is often sacrificial,

³ Joggi is Asian fish, which is commonly grilled or made into soup in the Korean diet. Since it is expensive, 'cooking Joggi' for someone used to have connotations of 'filial piety' towards parents or 'good wife' towards husbands.

not only because of the traditional, social expectations of a housewife but also because of their own motivation to display their affection toward their husbands. One interviewee described the way she displayed and distributed food at the dinner table:

... as well as the type of food he (husband) likes, ... usually I turn aside the better looking part or thick flesh part of the fish in front of him although it is not served in a separate plate for him. separate dish. I feel I have to serve him the nicer part even in the same dish... laugh. I always feel like giving him the good part that is not burnt and looks better. But I don't mean I'm always eating burnt parts... it's just because I want to care for him. (Interviewee 13)

Several other women related similar experiences of caring for the family at the expense of their own needs.

Every dish including the Tzige is placed in the centre.⁴ He (husband) likes fish so much. I normally place fried fish on his right side so that he can easily pick. And when I actually fry fish, I take about one fifth. My baby eats a little, and he finishes up. My friend has been married for three or four years. She got married a bit earlier than I did. She says she doesn't even get to touch the fish with her chopsticks because her husband and her daughter like fish so much. One day she became angry with herself about it all of a sudden. So she said she decided to cook two fish always and eat together with them from then on... [laugh] (Interviewee 20)

Women realise that habits do not easily change. Rather they accept them as a part of their lives.

Meal Times

Family meals are largely husband-oriented in most families. Accordingly, the meal time largely depends on the husband's schedule. Most women feel that they have to be ready to serve an evening meal as soon as their husbands return home. If the husband does not come to the table when the

⁴ Tzige is Korean casserole. It is one of the most essential dishes which make up a Korean meal. When a meal is served for several persons at the table, casserole is always placed in the centre. Each side dishes have a correct place order for a Korean table setting.

meal is ready, the wife often waits and heats up the prepared food again in order to serve it in its best condition.

Tzige should be warm. It tastes like a real casserole when it is hot. So when it gets lukewarm while we are waiting, I always heat it up again. If he doesn't come right away after the food is prepared, I heat it up again. (Interviewee 29)

.... He says that he feels hungry by the time he gets back home. So he usually asks me to set the dinner table as soon as he enters the house. So, when he gets back, I start setting the table right away by switching on the gas and boiling casserole immediately. (Interviewee 20)

Some housewives avoid the evening meal because they want to reduce their weight. The details of the slimming issue will be examined in the next chapter, but even when the evening meal is solely for the husband, most women want to serve it at the right time for him and to present the 'best' food. One woman, who was on a diet, thus skipping her own meal, talked about the pattern of the evening meal:

My husband always has dinner on his own. I prepare all the food in the day time for him. When he gets back home, I begin to heat up the food while he is washing in the bathroom. When it is ready on the table, I call him. (Interviewee 25)

A women's timetable is therefore mainly based around the husband's clock. Since women at home place priority on the needs of husband and children, food habits that fit their routines and preferences tend to be accepted and maintained.

Distribution and Consumption: Traditional Practices

The established relationships, roles and expectations of each family member are made manifest in traditional Korean table manners. Family relationships which are strikingly hierarchical in Confucian culture, are

expressed in terms of a hierarchical order of food distribution and consumption. A woman who has been married for twenty years:

Naturally, I dish up his (husband's) rice first, and then the children's rice next. It is always like this... laugh. This order is always kept. [Then who starts eating first?] Since we usually eat altogether, I haven't realised it before. Come to think of it, it has become a habit for us to begin after their dad (husband) starts. Children usually wait. Their dad sometimes doesn't come to the table because he is doing something else even when everything is set and we are waiting at the table. If it seems to take a long time, they say 'Mum, why don't we eat ahead?' I think this means we put priority on him (husband), doesn't it? (Interviewee 14)

A younger mother in her thirties who has two small children also said:

I can say we start eating together, yet, well... children follow after my husband holds his spoon. Even when he was employed, he had to come to the table before we started. Otherwise the rest of the family all waited. Anyway, isn't it our (Korean) tradition even nowadays? [Do you teach your children to keep it?] Yes. It is something which has been inherited from generation to generation, isn't it? (Interviewee 1)

This respect for hierarchy was particularly applied even to the size and shape of the bowls of individual family members, and although it is now no longer universal, it is still active.

... We used to have the same rice bowls for everyone, my father, my son, my daughter. Then I was told in a lecture one day that the status of a father, I mean, something like authority is disappearing nowadays. I think it's a shame. So I thought why not differentiate adults' bowls from children's? ⁵ So I have changed the bowls for my father-in-law and my husband. [Yours also?] Mine? Well... I use the same size bowl as my children's. You know I am busy and... it doesn't matter with me really. (Interviewee 33)

When children need extra attention during the meal time, or when the family needs extra care on a special occasion, it is usually the housewife who takes on the responsibility. A housewife in her twenties described meal times at her family gatherings. She said that her family as well as her brother's family visit their parents almost every Sunday.

⁵ Traditionally, the shape of men's rice bowls and soup bowls was different from those of women's in Korea. The majority of Korean families kept this tradition until mid-this century.

Even if we all want to eat together, it is inevitable to be split into two or three groups because the children are so messy. So, naturally we let the men (male adults) have the first round. My brother has two children. It is very hard to attend to boisterous children sitting beside them, really. I have to pick up some side dishes with chopsticks for them and help them to eat properly... It's really hard. So we often ask the men to eat quickly and move to the sitting room, then we (female adults) start eating after that. This is why all of us can't eat at the same time. The children can't pick the bones out of the fish by themselves, or ask for water, this and that, it is chaos. So we just eat separately after them. (Interviewee 13)

Another housewife who is in her fifties:

My husband has seven brothers and sisters. I can't even count the cousins' families when we have a family gathering because there are too many. When we gather all together, we are thirty one or thirty two all together. There are too many. So children and men eat first. [How do you feel about it?] No special feeling. We are just soaked into this habit. I think I am traditional, typically Korean, not enlightened...[laugh] (Interviewee 14)

As these instances show, even nowadays food at a family meal is generally distributed and consumed in a traditional way which differentiates men from women, especially the housewife from the rest of the family.

Family Expectations

The husband and children's priority and privilege over the housewife are usually taken for granted. Consequently, the family does not usually pay much attention to her eating habits while a wife and mother's care for her family is almost unlimited. When the relationship between mother and daughter is examined, this becomes particularly clear. A woman who has a teenager daughter related how anxious she was about her daughter's food habits, and how her daughter responded:

I cook whatever my daughter likes. If I'm not eating well, it's because I am fed up with the smell of food, it's because I don't like to eat. There is plenty of food around me. -She is a professional chef.- I am upset whenever I all the time think about her skipping meals. -Her daughter is on a diet.- I try to adjust myself to her taste in order to feed her. But, do children know this? Since she has been treated like this all the time ever since she was young, would she know? I am worried that she might be like that even after marriage. (Interviewee 21)

As in this case, most daughters are brought up under a mother's intense cares and attention. Young women therefore tend to reproduce their mother's roles and practices exactly in the same way after they get married. In other words, the priority that women place on the family at the expense of their own needs is evident not only among women in the older generation, but also among those in the younger generation. A housewife, who is in her twenties and has been married for two years and six months, said about her experience:

When my husband was on holiday last week, I didn't cook in the evening because I thought there was enough leftover from lunch. But when I actually opened the pan, it wasn't enough. I couldn't cook new rice because it was too late. So I gave my husband a bowl of leftover rice, and I boiled the cold rice which had been in the fridge for three days. I put it in the fridge simply because I didn't want to throw away at that time, and I doubted myself if I would eat it later. [Did your husband know about it?] Well... [laugh]. He asked me why I didn't eat with him. So I said 'Oh, I'm OK. I will eat later.' At that moment I was boiling three days old rice for me... [laugh] (Interviewee 20)

Then she went on:

Men are like that. It is not only about food. I wouldn't behave like him if I were him... I think of him first, but my husband doesn't think about me. He would never take leftovers which have been in the fridge for several days like I do. He'd rather order take away food when he doesn't want to cook. It is strange. I was upset when I saw my mother was like that. But these days I realise I am becoming similar to my mother. (Interviewee 20)

Women's self differentiation from the rest of the family often results in a self-centred attitude in husband and children, and fuels a general indifference towards the needs of housewives. Since the family takes a woman's care for granted, women frequently encounter family complaints about menus, tastes, or meal times.

His taste is fastidious. His own family is all like that. He doesn't have soup at home even if he manages to eat everything outside home. Isn't he fussy when he, as a Korean man, doesn't like bean paste soup? (Interviewee 26)

[How is your husband's taste?] *He is from Cholla province and I am from ChungChong province.⁶ It seems that people in Cholla province cook hot and spicy food so it's very tasty. But I don't like spicy food. So when I cook something, he complains that the food is too bland, too such and such, and so on. Then I argue with him by saying 'Why did you marry me instead of a woman from Cholla province?' In the end I end up following his taste. (Interviewee 30)*

The compromises women arrive at regarding their own taste are not only because they wish them but also because they are constantly under pressure to adopt.

Husbands often do not realise how much they take the benefits and advantages of their wives' care for granted. Their expectations are sometimes expressed as complaints or outright rejections of food.

If he can't find his favourite food when he comes to the table, he says he would rather not eat. [How do you feel then?] I feel terrible. I mean, why doesn't he eat when all the others in the family eat together what I prepared? (Interviewee 5)

A woman who had recently got married said:

I didn't take something like meat before I got married. But he (husband) likes meat very much. I didn't buy meat for some time because I didn't like meat. Then once he said, 'Do you think I am a rabbit? You don't cook meat simply because you don't like it.'... [laugh]. (Interviewee 17).

The following is another woman's comment about her husband's taste.

As I said previously, I had a vegetarian diet for about two months when I got pregnant. I hated the smell of meat and I felt horrible to touch or even to look at the meat at that time. When I was like that for one or two months, he said I was treating him like growing a cow in the field... [laugh]. Since then I used to ask my mother to cook meat or fish whenever she visited me so that he could have a meat dish. Fish was even worse to me. (Interviewee 16)

The expectations of the family toward women and the expectations of women toward themselves thus entail a range of women's compromises in day to day food practices. But because of its centrality in family life, women generally invest culinary tasks with significant meanings.

⁶ ChungChong Province is well known for its bland food. People from this region are commonly known as slow, polite, and traditional.

The Meanings of Food for Women

The meanings of food play a key role in expressing and demonstrating women's attitudes towards the family. The provision of good food, the family's favourite food in particular, is seen as one of the central elements of motherhood because it provides a potent vehicle for expressing their love and care towards husbands and children.

He (husband) was unemployed for a while once. It was harder to look after him. It is much better now because he is working. Men tend to bother women more when they are at home, don't they? So I tried hard at that time. [How?] I paid more attention to him. I was worried that he might think that I was looking down on him even though I wasn't? So I had to try hard. I mean, it was something like preparing meat twice even when once would do. (Interviewee 17)

While the provision of food is considered as meaningful for women, men tend to think that activities in the kitchen are entirely women's work. For women, the kitchen is far more than a simple space for culinary work. For men it is not. Since the kitchen is largely understood as an exclusively female domain, men are sometimes indifferent to women's needs in relation to cooking as in the following anecdote:

... of course I want to decorate the kitchen well. Usually when we have friends' to visit, we go to the kitchen table rather than to the sofa in the sitting room, don't we? So I really want it to be refurbished well and especially, I want to change the entire kitchen work top into a new model. Then my husband and I should decide things together by discussion and agreement. Men don't know how women feel because they never come into the kitchen. It will cost at least a million Won (about £1,000 - 1,300) if I want to change. I feel very awkward to tell him about this. (Interviewee 32)

For women, cooking for the family often represents a source of happiness and a major medium for reaffirming the value of family life as illustrated in the following letter from a member of the audience for the radio programme regarding food preparation and family care:

Family Food and My Pride

.....

My husband likes meat dishes very much. Every time I am heading for a butcher, I feel happy imagining my husband's cheery face looking at the dinner table.

Ever since I was young, I have been enjoying country farm food. Probably because of this, I do not like convenience food especially available in city lives. My husband teases me for not having my own characteristic tastes.

Unlike my taste which favours vegetarian food, he has been accustomed to the taste of fish and meat. It took a long time to reconcile our two different tastes since our marriage... He is not only fastidious but also sharply judges and evaluates the taste of food, which hurts me.

.....

One day I was nervous about my husband's response to the taste of Kimchi after I put in too much chives and white carrot by mistake. Kimchi was served at the dinner table of judgement. It is my habit to defend myself by telling my mistakes beforehand. I told him about my mistake before he tried the Kimchi, predicting his evaluation. When he tasted it, he said, "It's a strange taste, too salty, too bitter..."

"If you don't like it, you don't have to eat it. I don't understand why you always comment on my food negatively and hurt my pride?"

"Why do you get offended so much by me telling you my opinion?"

"I prefer you talking about something else other than the taste of my food at least during the meal time." I said.

Although I knew that his comment was correct, my pride did not allow me to accept his criticism. Probably it is because I felt it as a challenge to the boundary of a housewife.

"Honey, don't feel offended. Cooking is a hard job because it is a kind of art. I wouldn't be able to do it as well as you do if I was a woman."

His comfort made my mood change suddenly. I prepared a glass of carrot juice for him and smiled at him...

.....

I do my best with sincerity whenever I cook. It is essential to add 'the taste of my fingers', too.⁷ Even though it is not easy to tune in his fussy taste, I get soaked within happiness whenever he enjoys the served food on the table, repeating "Delicious!". (Letter 27)

The association between cooking and love expressed here is widely accepted by most housewives. The following letter illustrates how much women at home value the emotional significance of food.

Love with Food

When I was stroking my husband's face this morning, I suddenly realised that the expression of love comes not only from touching and caressing but also doing something for him. My husband is a little fussy about food. He hardly ever takes the same food served at the previous meal time. He does not like eating leftovers. My husband wants to pursue beauty and art from food. He wants to find out the expression of joy and happiness from food.

.....

Food is a crystal of love formed through the process of cooking. Setting a dinner table is an expression of love. I feel happy when my food is enjoyed and appreciated by him. I honestly love

⁷ See son mat in chapter 3, pp90-2.

my role which enables me to express my love for him by means of cooking. I am able to declare that I truly love him when good food is created by my devotion. (Letter 20)

Women in the family then, express their affection and care by modifying their tastes, by providing nutritional, good food, by adjusting their life to the family, and by trying to satisfy the needs and expectations of their husbands and children. On the other hand, their own food habits are subject to other constraints. The pattern of women's own lifestyles with regard to meal practices will be explored in the following pages.

6.2. WOMEN'S OWN FOOD CONSUMPTION

Women's own food consumption shows a great contrast to men's. Because they usually understand their own needs as secondary, their food habits are often fragmentary and erratic. Although they take responsibility for the family diet, they consider themselves last. They think of themselves as having to give but entitled to take as little as possible, even when they realise the contradiction. Women's perceptions of the differences between themselves and the rest of the family often result in anger on the one hand, and feelings of guilt for not being devoted enough on the other.

Women's Neglect of Their Own Meals

The most distinctive pattern revealing women's secondary position within the family is revealed by examining daily meal consumption. When women were asked how they prepared the evening meal when their husbands were not around, they said:

In this case, usually... well, I prepare all the foods available when he is eating with me, something like grilled fish for example. Then when he rings me and says that he is having dinner with his colleagues in the evening, I automatically drop the idea of grilling fish which I was going to prepare for him. I just eat leftovers with Kimchi -the most traditional and essential vegetable dish, cabbage pickle.- [How do you feel in that case?] I have no appetite in this case because I have to eat alone. I just eat because I have to eat rather than because I enjoy the food. (Interviewee 20)

I don't worry in this case. When I have to eat alone, it is different. I automatically think 'Oh, I can eat whatever is left this evening without worrying what to cook.' (Interviewee 26)

Lunch time? If I remember it, I just have it any time. Sometimes one o'clock, sometimes two o'clock. I just have the leftover rice from breakfast. Why would I bother to cook new rice for me only? Of course I just eat a leftover side dish with leftover rice... [laugh] (Interviewee 28)

When I don't have any appetite, or I become exhausted with baby care, then I sometimes skip lunch. I know I shouldn't do this. Yet I sometimes miss the proper lunch hour by doing different jobs at home. Then I just don't eat because I know my husband will be back soon in two or three hours... (Interviewee 20)

No major differences were found between a middle aged housewife and a newly wed housewife in this aspect. The following is the comment of a woman who has been married for 42 years:

If I remember the meal time, I have simple food. I find it hard to eat properly alone every meal time even if I try not to skip meals. I never cook for myself. (Interviewee 11)

A young house wife who has been married for fifteen months also talked about the same feeling:

When I have lunch alone, I usually have rice left from the previous dinner. When I don't have any leftover rice, I usually have whatever is available, otherwise simple noodles that sort of food. It depends on my mood. (Interviewee 13)

Women's neglect of food for themselves arises not only because they do not want to bother, but also because their daily lives are so busy. Bringing up children in particular, removes 'free' meal time. A young housewife who has a four months old baby said:

I wanted to treat myself well after I observed my mother hardly eat properly. When I actually got married, I realised that it was so hard to prepare the meals everyday especially after I had a baby. These days I rather prefer not eating. (Interviewee 20)

For a housewife who is bringing up a baby, it is extremely difficult to find time to herself, even to eat. She went on:

Because of the baby, everyday is chaos. I often forget if I have had a meal. Because of looking after the baby, I just have to eat to survive rather than to enjoy food. Since I feel hungry I just have to eat. Until recently I couldn't eat at all during the day because of the baby. I only had a low traditional table which is impossible to use with a toddler around.⁸ Seriously I couldn't cope any

⁸ Korean tradition is to sit on the floor and unfold a low dinner table to have a meal. Many households still have meals in this way although the trend is changing to having a

more at that time. I used to put the food on the work top beside the kitchen sink and eat while I was standing. Eating was like a war because of the baby. So I decided to buy a high dinner table even though my house is not spacious enough. (Interviewee 20)

When a wife combines the demanding roles of housework and the work outside home, it is also extremely hard for her to find her 'own' time. A woman who was running a grocery shop together with her husband said:

Since I go home only to sleep between midnight and six o'clock in the morning, I cook and eat in the shop. [What time did you have breakfast?] I haven't had breakfast yet. -It was three o'clock in the afternoon when the interview was being held.- [What about your husband?] I prepared food on a tray for my husband and brother-in-law in the morning. -Her husband and the brother-in-law were running two shops separately in the same shopping complex. - [How about your lunch?] Nothing. I haven't eaten at all today except a glass of milk. I hate even to look at the bread or fruits in this shop.⁹ I don't want to eat anything. No appetite... I'm too tired to cook. I'm always tired. I wish I could have someone else who cooks for us. (Interviewee 7)

The difficulty of food preparation was also commonly expressed by women who work outside home. A woman who was once married but now widowed was interviewed on this aspect. Although her two children were being looked after in her sister's house during the weekdays because she was running a shop, she claimed that it was too tiring to prepare meals for herself even without a husband and children.

Since I am alone except during the weekends, -Her two sons come back and stay with her at the weekend- my eating times are irregular. When I go home at night, I feel tired. Then I think I wish I had someone to cook for me. It is hard for me to cook and come here (shop) to work in the day-time. They (the children) come on Friday, so I prepare essential side dishes for them when I go home at night or before I come to work here in the morning. I have no time for food shopping. I close the shop at 10:30 at night and go home to sleep...¹⁰ ... Since I feel tired, I want to sleep and rest more instead of eating. I often ignore my meal time without realising it. (Interviewee 8)

Western style high table. Since the baby could easily reach the food on the low traditional table, she could not eat with the baby.

⁹ Bread in Korea is largely considered in two ways. Firstly, it is common as snack among young children or young women. Secondly, it is used as a meal substitute when cooking time, eating time or proper cooked foods are not available. Accordingly, having bread for a meal stands for a second choice.

¹⁰ Small shops in Korea are open until late at night. Shops begin to close in between 10 pm and 12 pm depend on area and owner.

Full-time housewives also often find it hard to find their own time because of the family's ever present demands. A woman who lives with an extended family has to face a continuously demanding task everyday just as much as a woman working outside the home:

... then this person comes back home at this time and when I finish feeding him, another person comes back at another time. Usually it is like that. So the meal times are successive until late at night. When he (the first son) goes to the computer school for extra lessons in the evening, he eats before he leaves. Then he sometimes eats again when he comes back. When I turn around after cleaning up, his dad comes back, usually like this. Anyway, it continues almost until... half past nine. Of course those who already finished dinner can play, take a shower, do homework, or whatever they want. But I repeat my work in the kitchen all evening. I eat any time in between. Needless to say, I have no time to go upstairs . (Interviewee 3)

Women's own eating then is generally neglected due to the family's lack of understanding of their needs, and the lack of personal time. This results in an unplanned, fragmented diet.

Quality of Food

When the quality of food women eat was examined, most women who were interviewed displayed ironic attitudes toward themselves. Although they know that it is not desirable, they simply accept their way of life as a part of their daily routine. When a housewife was explaining how hard she tried to offer her husband healthy food everyday, she mentioned her feeling about her own food consumption:

... I would say I have changed a little compared to the past. I occasionally drink one third of the fruit squeeze and he takes two thirds these days, of course not always... Large quantities of fruit make only a small quantity of juice. So I give most of it to him and the rest to my daughters until today. I know it's right to make juice just for myself, too. I don't understand why I rarely do it for myself. Washing fruit, cutting, cleaning the juicer and so on... it is very troublesome. I can do it for someone else with a sense of duty but for me, it is ... anyway I don't do it. (Interviewee 14)

I don't do it for myself. For example, our family diet should be oriented towards my needs because my stomach has a problem. So I need to have porridge instead of solid food. If my husband had a stomach problem, I know I would have prepared porridge with pine kernel or with pumpkin something like that. I would have tried anything possible by all means to heal him. In my case at the moment, I don't do anything for me even if I have been suffering for a long time.

(Interviewee 1)

Many women talked about their neglect of women's negligence of their own food consumption. Even when they eat with the family, they often take the food left over after all the other family members have finished eating.

The residue of food once served at the table is always mine. My friend next door says that she cooks fresh food for herself at lunch time after she experienced serious illness five years ago....

But I haven't thought about it seriously in that way. I just eat whatever's left... [laugh]

(Interviewees 14)

I eat the three dishes -She said she cooked three different types of food for breakfast because each of them wanted different types of food according to their taste.- I eat all of them when they are left... [laugh]. I eat them up all. When tomato juice is left, I take it. When rice cake is left, then I take it with rice. If there is bread left, I don't like bread, but I force myself to eat it. If I don't take it, who can I give it to? It becomes stale and tasteless, doesn't it? ... [laugh]. Another reason I finish it all up is that I can wash the bowls only when they are empty, can't I? ... [bitter laugh] (Interviewee 1)

And she went on talking about her own eating:

My diet is totally unplanned, totally. Somebody said we -housewives- are just called dust bins, something like that... [cynical laugh]. My case is not that bad. I wouldn't say that I never eat any of my favourite food at all. What I mean is, I have never planned my family menu based on my favourite food, my favourite taste. (Interviewee 1)

Even when women prepare lunch packs, hers is prepared differently from those for the rest of the family.¹¹ The following are the comments from two women; a woman who graduated from university, and is running her own

¹¹ Korean packed lunch consists of rice with side dishes such as cooked meat, cooked vegetables, pickles and various cooked dishes. Accordingly, packing lunch takes a considerable amount of time in the morning. The housewife in each family generally takes up this role.

video shop, and another woman who has a middle school education, and is working in a factory. Their attitudes are not different:

It is different, of course. Anything can be my side dish. Women are like that, aren't they? We (women) even have a meal only with Kimchi. If a piece of fish is left, or anything left at the breakfast table, then I just put it in my lunch pack. My husband's lunch pack should look like a proper lunch though. [Why is it like that?] It's because I don't want to bother. I just want to be easy at least with my food. (Interviewee 32)

Women are all same when I listen to what my colleagues talk. They say that they pay particular attention to the side dish for the husband's lunch, but they just take whatever food is available with them for their own lunch. So they all say that they worry about the husband's lunch whereas they don't worry about theirs. (Interviewee 30)

How much women overlook the importance of their own food intake is disclosed again by a woman's comment about the way she is coping with an unhappy situation.

[Do you sometimes skip meals?] Of course, many times, when I am upset or argue with him (husband), particularly when he drinks a lot. I argue with him often because of this. We start arguing about trivial things. When I become upset, it lasts even for a week sometimes. When I get stressed, I don't eat at all. I don't know why. People say that they eat a lot when they are stressed, but I don't eat even for two days or three days. Then he says 'Why don't you die?' (Interviewee 17)

From the above statements it can be seen that while women consume food inadequately for themselves, their work related to meal provision for the family is the core of their domestic role.

Kitchen Work as a Labour

The time, energy and effort most women spend preparing everyday meals occupy a high proportion of their lives. Women commonly experienced being overwhelmed by the burden of repetition and the demands of kitchen work.

Many women see this job as physically demanding and often find it hard.

A housewife expressed her feelings as follows:

It's so tiring. It's hard to repeat the same job over and over everyday... I've just come back from the chemist. I've been out to buy some medicine after I peeled off some garlic and cleaned vegetables to prepare for Kimchi making. My body is aching all over at the moment. It's going to be almost eleven or twelve o'clock by the time I finish pickling those cleaned vegetables before I go to bed. (Interviewee 28)

My health is very bad. I can't do it properly because I am ill. Occasionally my heart throbs so fast, then I feel so weak. It has been like that since I was ten years old, then I lose my appetite and I can't do anything. (Interviewee 27)

In addition, concern about menus often increases women's worries.

I do the shopping at the local market nearby. The prices have gone up incredibly recently, so I worry what to cook this evening. I try to cook something my husband likes, but what we eat every time ends up being the same. (Interviewee 28)

Even if a housewife is physically fit enough to maintain a healthy everyday life, kitchen work keeps most fairly busy. A housewife who has two children at primary school said:

... it is rather better these days. Breakfast time used to be between seven o'clock and half past nine before. [Then do you set the table separately each time?] It's impossible to clear up and set the table again. I have to help Sangduk (first son) to take a flask with him to school, serve soup or milk to my mother-in-law, and also pack lunch for children, and if Changduk (second son) misses his school bus by mistake, then I have to drive him to his school. So I have no time to wash up.... When I am really busy, I sometimes put food on the table for the next person while wiping something spilled on the table by the previous person, and while the next person is eating I operate the washing machine... (Interviewee 3)

The reason she is struggling with time and family demands is not simply because young children at a certain age need mother's special care and attention. A housewife who has older children and also more experience in her domestic life also considered breakfast time extremely hectic. A woman who has three teenage daughters said:

Of course it is busy in the morning. During the term time it's like a war. This year is a bit better because my eldest daughter doesn't need to bring lunch pack. I used to prepare four lunch packs

last year when she was preparing university entrance exam. She used to take two. She used to have the second one after the class was over in the late afternoon so that she could study until late at night in the library. That's why she needed two. When I made four lunch packs, it was extremely tough...

It was unbelievable in the morning. I feel easier during the school holiday time. (Interviewee 14)

Needless to say, a working woman is under particular pressure because of the shortage of time available for domestic work.

When I get back home, it's usually ten past seven. From then on I start preparing dinner...

My husband comes back at half past six and waits. We eat at around seven thirty or forty. I am the last one to come back home. -Her husband, her mother-in-law as well as herself all were holding their own jobs- My mother-in-law comes back home earlier than me and cook rice. So, as soon as I enter the house I start setting the table first of all, even without washing. [When do you cook side dishes then?] I used to prepare it for next day's meal after the evening meal. I wanted to prepare several different balanced dishes so that I didn't feel bad about me as a working wife. So when I finish everything and get out of the kitchen, it was usually past eleven o'clock. It was hard at that time. Now I take it easy, so I don't prepare many varieties. I make only two, three dishes right away after I come back home in the evening. (Interviewee 23)

Another young working mother said:

[How long does it take to prepare a meal?] About an hour, perhaps? I am terribly busy for this hour, so I can't cook anything complicated or time-consuming. His dad (husband) can't wait when he is hungry. He has to jump to the dinner table as soon as he gets back, so... I just prepare anything quick because I haven't got time. [Is it usually like that every meal time?] I sometimes.. sometimes question why God made human-beings eat three times a day, how nice it would be if he made us eat once a day or even live without eating. I often think like that. (Interviewee 17)

A mother who has a son studying for the university entrance examination said she had to adjust her timetable according to her son's timetable, so that she could look after him with whatever food he needed.

I normally wake up at five in the morning because of him (son). He comes back after midnight, sometimes even at one thirty at night from the library, and then he has to leave home again early in the morning. I really feel sorry for him. Since I go to bed at one or two o'clock at night, and get up at five, I sometimes become totally absent minded and forget why I have woken up so early, and just sit in a daze for a while, and then 'Oh gosh! I have to cook breakfast!' and rush into the kitchen. (Interviewee 32)

Women's hectic daily schedules do not necessarily get better at the weekends or during the holidays because they constantly have to care for the family who are around all day at home. A full-time housewife said:

I am busier at the weekend because everyone comes back home early. I have to finish my things earlier and start preparing things for others. Even about shopping, because I have to buy more varieties for the weekend, I need more time for it. The children come back earlier without having packed lunch, so I feel busy at the weekend...¹² I have no weekend. I always say to my family 'Please allow me some holidays'... laugh. (Interviewee 3)

For an employed mother weekends are harder, too:

Weekdays are less hard. If I stay all day at home with my family-in-law on holiday, it's very tough. -She was living with her husband and husband's own family- During the weekdays I often eat dinner out, and then I just go straight to my room and rest when I get back home. But on holiday I have to cook and wash up, cook and wash up all day... (Interviewee 26)

Women's family care through the food preparation has been repeated and routinized for so long that kitchen work is usually understood as solely women's work, and also an important part of a woman's duty.

The Dutiful Wife/ Mother

Women's attitudes to their responsibility for family meal preparation showed a highly similar patterns in most cases. When asked how the family have their meals when she was not available, a woman answered :

... That has never happened. I have been cooking and feeding them all the time for twenty years except when I was hospitalised for an operation. I sometimes feel suffocated. (Interviewee 5)

Two other women talked about their responsibility for family meals:

Yes, I am hundred per cent responsible. No one helps me. My family is small. Since my husband doesn't help me, my son has learnt from his dad, so he never helps me either. And also since he is

¹² Saturday is officially a half day in Korea. Students finish school at mid-day without lunch break.

now preparing entrance exam for university this year, I can't expect to get any help from him. (Interviewee 32)

[What about the time when you are not well?] I have never neglected to prepare meals for the family until now, as long as I don't become terribly ill and stay in bed. (Interviewee 28)

Of course, not all women see their roles in such a strongly negative way as the above case. Their sole responsibility for meal preparation is largely taken for granted by the family members and by women. Most do not expect their families to help them with kitchen work. A husband's help is particularly rare. Women's responses to their husband's attitude were almost the same in many conversations.

He thinks it something terribly wrong as if the stars fall from the sky if he does things like kitchen work. (Interviewee 16)

It has never happened that my husband helps me washing up. Washing up is always my job. [Have you ever asked him?] Yes, I have, but he says that it's a woman's job. (Interviewee 27)

*I have not only asked his help but also threatened him. It didn't work, so I gave up...
... My husband goes into the kitchen only when he needs to take a drink out of the fridge, or get some fruit. Otherwise he never enters the kitchen. Oh, actually, he sometimes puts his bowl or cutlery into water at times after eating... [we laughed together] (Interviewee 25)*

Never! Hundred percent never! He doesn't even know how to do it. He is the eldest son of the eldest son in his family. He is from ChungChong Province. -the area where tradition is still strongly kept- Maybe that's why his family never educated him to learn domestic work ever since he was young, particularly because he is a man. He has a sister who used to do everything he needed, and also his mother never asked him to do anything related to kitchen work. (Interviewee 23)

It is my biggest complaint. Even though I have asked him many times, he has never done it. He doesn't even think about setting the table or even clearing up cutlery on the table because he is so inexperienced...

... 'It's your job, why would I interfere with your realm?' His attitude is like that. Actually he knows it. He knows that he is not helping, but he feels awkward because he is not familiar with this kind of work... (Interviewee 5)

No, not at all in my house! That's always my complaint. [Have you ever expressed your complaint?] I am fed up with talking about it. I have given up. [How does he reply when you complain?] What he says is that he wouldn't intrude in my sacred area, as a joke. - Suddenly she raised the tone of her voice.- There must be a true meaning in the joke because he has never helped me, he has never done washing up for me even once. (Interviewee 4)

There were many more women who expressed more or less the same feelings and experiences about their expected roles.

During the last decade, men's involvement in kitchen work on family holidays has increased. However, it is still the women who take overall responsibility for food in most cases. One woman showed great dissatisfaction at this unceasingly demanding role.

He never does it, certainly not, even during a camping holiday. [Camping holiday?] My family has been to the west coast this summer together with my mother-in-law and my husband's sister-in-law. My husband's sister and I were in charge of the preparation of eating all the time while we were on holiday. It's not fair. I asked my mother-in-law why the men in her family were like this. (Interviewee 16)

*[How about weekends or holidays?] No, not at all of course. My mother-in-law is living with us. It's not possible because the traditional idea is still dominant in my country. When my husband and I stayed in a rented holiday cottage, I clearly realised how much my husband disliked kitchen work. When you are going to make a casserole, you have to peel onions and clean spring onions, things like that, don't you? I expected him to do those things together, but he didn't want to. He was just watching television...
... I don't think he will do something like washing up even if only two of us live in the house unless I become seriously ill... (Interviewee 26)*

When a housewife is not available because she is away, or because she is ill, the husband's involvement in meal preparation is always temporary.

[Have you been away alone for a few days?] Yes, once. My husband had to work, so I went holiday with my son and my friends to Mountain Sorak for three days and two nights.¹³ Many people said that I was very brave. What worried me the most was to take care of his (husband's) eating, to prepare for his meal. I said 'what shall I do about your meal?', and then he said he would eat out. So I decided not to worry and left... When I came back home, there were loads of empty Ramyon packets...¹⁴ (Interviewee 16)

A working wife who got married recently was talking about her absence at a meal time:

¹³ Mountain Sorak is one of the most popular Korean holiday resort.

¹⁴ Ramyon is Korean word of instant noodles.

When I had to attend a staff seminar, he (husband) sorted it out on his own... but then he didn't seem to have cooked. He seemed to have eaten out. [Did you worry?] Not very much, but I paid attention, and wondered which food he had. (Interviewee 15)

In sum, women's lives in general are kitchen work-oriented whether they are in or out of the home. Men's kitchen work in contrast is not only rare but also clumsy.

Men and Kitchen Work

Women continue to take the whole responsibility for food preparation partly because men are not interested, and partly because men's inexperience often creates more work for women afterwards.

*Even if he wants to show off his cooking skills by attempting cake baking that sort of thing, my food turns out better when I go through the same recipe because he is unskilled. He burns, or he makes me wonder why he does it in that way when this way is easier...
... so it should be inevitably me who takes responsibility. (Interviewee 13)*

I like him working in the kitchen. He sometimes likes cooking, but I don't allow him to do it because I have to clear up all the rest. He makes things even messier. [How?] If he fries pancakes, he spills flour everywhere, leaves the frying pan with oil on it, makes the gas oven dirty all over, and so on and so forth, of course leaving me lots of washing up stuff. (Interviewee 29)

Another example comes from a middle aged housewife who recalled old memories of her husband's cooking:

He did ten years ago, once or twice. When my first daughter was attending kindergarten, he used to do a little bit of kitchen work. But the way he cooked was strange. Adding pepper to seaweed soup... [laugh]. He used to say it tasted better. I would say he is a traditional type who doesn't know anything about cooking. (Interviewee 14)

No matter how clumsy men's cooking is, however, women appreciate men's attempts. Men's help in the kitchen is understood as a gesture of love and care for their wives. The husband's help and the wife's deep appreciation is well demonstrated in the following letter:

A Soldier Husband and Kitchen Work

.....

My husband loves me and my family as much as he loves the country. My husband, who occasionally enjoys doing washing up, began to show interest in cooking recently. One day he was engrossed in something in the kitchen.

"What are you doing there, honey?"

"Well, practising cooking."

He was busy cutting vegetables, beating eggs and mixing flour. Shortly after the frying noise, a fantastic dish was served at the table. I complimented his cooking as much as I could although the food had a funny taste. Thanks to his messy process of cooking, I had to take up all the tidying up afterwards. He displayed every single available utensil after such a great performance. The kitchen space was entirely filled up with the big and small pans and bowls.

"I can't believe this!"

I began to look for washing powder as I was grumbling.

"Honey, have you seen the flour in this bowl?"

"Well, err... I have used it up for my cooking. Is that what you are looking for?"

"Oh, gosh!"

I was astonished. It was the old stale flour put beside the sink into which washing up liquid had splashed. He did not know that I used to use the flour instead of washing up liquid, which ecologically helps to prevent from environmental pollution.

.....

He often cooks tasteless snacks when he feels hungry at night. He occasionally breaks plates and glasses, too. When he attempts cooking, the bottom of all the pans in the kitchen turn black. Yet, in spite of all the hassles, I am so proud of him wearing an apron cooking in the kitchen. As I clean the black surface of burnt pans, I will polish my love toward him, too. (Letter 15)

As mentioned above, women are proud of their husbands' involvement in the cooking process. However, while men's cooking is highly appreciated, a number of women felt that men cannot always be trusted to do a good job, and that it was therefore rather better to do everything on their own in the end:

As far as washing up is concerned, I do it. He wouldn't do it cleanly and completely, so I don't ask him... [laugh] (Interviewee)

At the same time, most women wanted their husband to show concern about the demands of kitchen work and to understand how much women try to look after the family. Yet, ironically, although women wanted men to be involved equally, they themselves tended to identify the job as their own, and wanted men to have a different role, which they considered was more important. Consequently, while women thought that men's work

outside the home was productive and valuable, their evaluation of their own domestic role was rather low.

My friend, who was in the same course at the university, said that her husband helped her with washing up often. But then when she looked at her husband washing dishes, she said it didn't look good for such a tall man to do washing up at the sink bending his waist. That's what my friend said. My son -He was 9 years old- asked me after my friend had left, 'Mum, why was the man doing the washing up?'... [bitter laugh]. He has never seen any man doing washing up before... [laugh again]. I know my attitude is somewhat contradictory. I think it's because my mother-in-law is around... or maybe I'm old fashioned. -Previously she said that it was not fair for a woman solely to do all the housework- (Interviewee 3)

Hence, although most women want to share kitchen work with their husbands, the idea that men's role should be differentiated is widely accepted. A woman in her late thirties:

When I look at the young couples, I have an impression that they are liberal but have no etiquette, I mean they seem to ignore the women's role. [The women role?] For example, there is a young female colleague at my school -The interviewee was a school teacher- who has just got married. I was told that she doesn't prepare meals for her husband, or doesn't even open the door in excuse of feeling tired due to her pregnancy, so her husband comes in by opening the door by himself with his key. When I heard it with other colleagues, we were all amazed how a woman could behave like that. She says that her husband does everything, things like washing up and even putting various fruit in her lunch pack. This is what she said. Then we all said 'No, you shouldn't do that.' No matter how the situation is, he is a man... laugh. 'He is a man. There are things he can do and he shouldn't do. It's good to have a man's help to some extent, but it shouldn't be beyond the limit.' We used to talk to her like this as a sort of advice. (Interviewee 4)

The older generation's view of men's participation in kitchen work is more rigid, and their understanding of changing trends among young people is often exaggerated or distorted. A housewife who is in her sixties:

... even if a woman has a job outside, it's better to distinguish men's part from women's part. It won't look natural if a woman is sitting on a sofa reading a newspaper while a man is wearing an apron cooking something in the kitchen. [Do you know personally anyone like that?] Well... I guess many young women nowadays are more or less like that, aren't they? When I look at TV, that sort of thing... (Interviewee 11)

A working woman in her late forties:

I think a man has to help. But it looks ugly to see a full-time housewife manipulating her husband too much. When I hear that young women these days ask their husbands to do the washing up or something even if they stay at home all day doing nothing, then I think 'Oh, gosh! They think only about themselves despite that men are also tired because of their work outside home!' (Interviewee 32)

Even though the older generation tends to see young women as too pampered by their husbands, surprisingly, the above view is largely shared among the young single women. Although they dream about an ideal image of 'new men' on the one hand, one who will willingly share all domestic work at home, they still hold to a strong and clear distinction between gender roles. The following are the responses of three single women in their twenties:

There are some things I can ask for his favour and something I can't. Isn't it true? Cooking side dishes, preparing meals, those things are somehow awkward to ask for. Well... I can't say exactly what.. [laugh]. I feel that there are things I have to do on my own. For example, if he wants to help simple and easy things like frying eggs, then he can. But things like making Kimchi or daily meal preparation should be my part. (Interviewee 22)

[Ironically, she emphasised in the latter part of the interview conversation how important her future husband's understanding and help about her employment would be after marriage.]

I think I wouldn't like it (future husband's kitchen work) because it changes my style, because the kitchen mood may be spoiled. I think I would be annoyed...

[For what reason?] *May be it could be a matter of his image... In any case, I think I should be the master in the kitchen.* (Interviewee 19)

[She suggested earlier that husband and wife should share the responsibilities in marriage life.]

Yes, I feel I have to do the kitchen work because I have learnt in this way. When I saw my brother doing it, it didn't look nice. Even when he was operating the washing machine, I felt strange. He looked pathetic, somehow... laugh. Actually, I shouldn't feel like that, should I? Maybe it's because I am his sister. Position of mother and the position of mother-in-law are different, aren't they?... it was very awkward to see my brother helping his wife. He has never done it for mum. (Interviewee 6)

[Previously, she mentioned that it would be fair only when her future husband shares the domestic work equally with her.]

As shown by these comments, women in general, regardless of age, marital status, family structure or educational background, display contradictory attitudes towards men's kitchen work.

Contradictions in Women's Expectations

The ambiguity in women's expectations of gender roles relating to domestic work is particularly acute in contemporary Korean society, where traditional values rooted in the extended family structure, and new modes based on industrial, urban, nuclear family life coexist. The nuclear family is becoming more common, and lifestyles becoming more individualistic, but simultaneously strong family ties and expectations remain dominant.

The division of labour within domestic work is often based not only on gender, but also on the side of the family to which each member of the couple belongs. In other words, women's responsibility for family care is commonly extended to the husband's family and relatives. On the other hand, younger women have begun to assert their own individuality and their independence from the traditional family structure.¹⁵

Most women in this study who advocated men's participation in kitchen work displayed double standards in their comments, particularly when they talked about the men of their own families. Their attitudes to men's work were inconsistent. A young, recently-married woman, who was proud of her husband's help, mentioned how differently she and her husband behaved before their parents:

My family (her own parents) sometimes comments that I should be kind to him... laugh... Anyway he doesn't help when my family is around. [Why?] We are self-conscious about it. Because of the social convention, we are worried that they may not be happy with their son doing

¹⁵ A married women (bride) becomes a part of the husband's own family after marriage, lives in the husband's parent's house, and takes domestic responsibility for the whole extended family in the Korean tradition. See family customs in chapter 3, p 90-1.

As the traditional family structure has been increasingly transformed into a nuclear family, various types of family life have co-existed for the last several decades. Accordingly, traditional values on the role of individuals within the family have seen great change and confusion.

it. I worry, and he becomes self-conscious, too. So when his father visits my house, he does washing up only when his father is asleep. (Interviewee 15)

A woman who has been married for over twenty years said:

He (husband) used to do it (kitchen work) a little when we were just married. Once my brother-in-law (husband's brother) visited us while he was washing up. When my husband saw him, he jumped out of the kitchen because he was embarrassed so much. Since then he has never wanted to do it again... (Interviewee 14)

Another single woman said:

If others saw my husband, I would ask him to get out of the kitchen. It wouldn't look nice. If my friends, my sister or my parents came to my house, it may not be a problem, but if his family visited my house, then it could be embarrassing... If my brother was working in the kitchen, then it would look strange. But I want my husband to help me... If my father was in the kitchen, may be it would be all right for me but for others it might look strange because of old ideas... (Interviewee 2)

These comments express the confusion of values and attitudes at the present time. Women hope that their own sons will be looked after by wives as much as possible, but wish their sons-in-law to help daughters as much as possible. A letter from one of the listeners to the radio programme described how much a mother appreciated her would-be son-in-law's cooking:

My Son-in-law, the Best Chef

.....

A while ago, my daughter came back after she completed her study in France. Since then my daughter's boyfriend visited me a few times...

My daughter and her boyfriend often used to go shopping together and cooked together. I was impressed by the cooking of my daughter who I thought did not know anything about cooking. What impressed me even more was her boyfriend's cooking skill.

One day, my daughter and her boyfriend, Chung seobang brought a full bag of food and groceries after shopping and then started cooking.¹⁶ Chung seobang said he was going to be fully in charge of the dinner. I left them on their own in the kitchen so that the young couple could do whatever they wanted. I carried on what I was doing. When the dinner was ready, I could not help admiring him. It was the best of the best food I had ever tried. I felt so proud of him both because of the marvellous food he cooked and because of his love for my daughter.

.....

¹⁶ 'Seobang' is a Korean term of endearment. Mother-in-law often uses 'seobang' when she refers to her son-in-law.

The generations have changed so much. When I used envy my friend's son-in-law for his cooking, I never expected that my daughter's future husband would be such a wonderful cook!...
(Letter 31)

The maintenance of the traditional view of gender roles, and the creation of women's double standards, reinforces men's hesitation or indifference in regard to participation in kitchen work. At the same time, confusions and contradictions within women themselves have also been created. The following is another example of a woman whose attitude shows clearly contradictory attitudes. She has committed herself to attending on her husband for forty years of married life. When she saw her husband's changes, she had mixed feeling of both happiness and sadness:

He never fed himself. -This means that he never had meals unless she cooked them and set the table at a meal time.- So, when I had to go out inevitably at a meal time, I used to put all the prepared food on a tray and put it in the fridge so that all he needed was to open the fridge and take the tray out. These days, he can manage to toast bread when I am not around... I would say he has improved. The fact that someone who has never been in the kitchen can toast bread or cook instant noodles means development, doesn't it? (Interviewee 11)

Then she went on:

My husband has changed slightly as we are getting older, so he sometimes pretends to do something like washing up, occasionally. But somehow, I feel awkward, so I stop him from doing it. I feel sorry for him getting old and doing washing up in the kitchen after his glorious career. - Her husband's occupation was a General in a high rank until his retirement.- we are different from Western people, aren't we?... [laugh] (Interviewee 11)

We have examined women's food habits in relation to the family, and the social expectations of society and of women themselves. Women in public places are different, on the contrary. Another dimension of the contradiction is discovered largely depending on women's age and marital status. The following pages will examine this new dimension of contradiction.

6.3. FOOD HABITS OF WOMEN BEFORE MARRIAGE

Single women's relationship with food is very different from that of married women. While in general, they have very limited experience of food preparation activities such as food shopping, cooking, washing up and other related work, their model of married life regarding the family meal is idealised.

In general, they hold two contradictory views of life: a traditional concept of motherhood in which they accept unlimited and lifelong devotion from their mothers, and a modern concept of new 'womanhood' in which they hope to be free and independent from the strong bonds within the family. Whereas mothers are expected to devote themselves to the family, daughters are brought up to enjoy equality and free opportunities as individuals. The line of demarcation is generally drawn at the point of marriage.

In general, young women before marriage are not expected to be responsible for the provision of food for the family, since it is seen as the domain of the housewives, who are their mothers. Consequently, they are generally indifferent to kitchen work. Consequently, they are confronted on marriage with a sudden reversal of their roles and expectations. Young women who are newly married often experience great difficulties and problems in the activities related to food provision. The confusions are intensified if she has to take up the domestic role for an extended family.

Inexperience

Young women who do not have enough experience of kitchen work often have problems, even with the fairly simple task of food shopping. A single working woman who was living with her parents said:

...I occasionally go to the corner shop to buy tofu, bean sprouts or fish when my mother asks me. My mother has to tell me exactly what to buy because I don't really know whether the price is cheap or expensive, how to choose good things...¹⁷

... I sometimes look standing beside my mother when she buys spring onions or other vegetables. Since I don't know how to choose, she doesn't usually ask me to go shopping on my own for her. (Interviewee 31)

A young housewife who has been married for over a year and living with her own parents:

The problem is that I know nothing. Since I don't know that price is reasonable or not, I just have to pay. It's often embarrassing because I have no idea whether I need to bargain...

... My mother knows exactly how much it should be when she looks, so she usually tells me to buy spinach if a bunch costs five hundred Won, or not to buy if it's eight hundred Won. It's embarrassing to go food shopping on my own. Even if I buy fresh looking vegetables, I realise when I open it later at home that I've chosen the wrong one. Before I got married my mother did everything and even now she does most of the housework... (Interviewee 13)

Since the mother's role is usually understood to be to look after the whole family, single women expect their mothers to take responsibility for food preparation as far as mothers are with themselves, even if they are grown up or married, and living with their parents. The following is the comment of a woman who is in her late thirties. She had been widowed after a car accident six years ago, and has two children:

Until six years ago, I used to live together with my husband's parents from the time I got married. So I didn't know at all how much tofu cost, how much bean sprouts cost. My mother-in-law did everything. I had no idea how much garlic or other vegetables cost. When my husband died and I started to manage my own home, I began to learn how expensive the prices were in the market. (Interviewee 8)

¹⁷ Bargain is not an unusual practice in Korean market. Although large scale shops have a fixed price system, small shops and open markets often offer discounts.

Even though married women always take the responsibility of all kinds of kitchen work for their husbands and children, a mother's lifelong care and commitment to their daughters seldom changes no matter what age they are. This happens when a married daughter visits her mother's home or vice versa.

When I go to see my mother I have nothing to do. My mother is fifty six years old now. She does everything at home. I have one brother and four sisters, but my mother does everything. (Interviewee 20)

A single woman in her thirties who was self catering said:

When I go home mother takes charge of everything, even including washing up. I take it for granted that my mother does it when I go to my mother's home. I hate washing up. It is the most tedious job to clear up the table and wash up. I hate it the most. (Interviewee 19)

Grown up daughters who are not married, and still live in their parents' home are not expected to take up the mother's work related to food preparation. Although mothers sometimes worry about the difficulties caused by inexperience which may possibly arise after their daughter's marriage, a single woman's privilege of being looked after is still taken for granted as long as they are with their mothers. A mother of three teenage daughters said:

My daughter, Jia once told me as she was washing up in the kitchen. She had recently had instant noodles with a group of friends in her friend Min's house when Min's parents were away. Jia washed up all the bowls her friends left in the sink after eating. Then Jia's friend Min teased Jia saying 'Oh, what a surprise, you are doing washing up!' Later, my daughter Jia said to me, 'Mum, I am the only one who does washing up at home among my friends living in Kangnam.¹⁸ So, I said 'Isn't your case normal?'...

... Most families nowadays have one or two children, one son and one daughter. Maybe that's why mothers don't want to ask daughters to do the housework. Parents value them more than before.

¹⁸ *Kangnam* literally means 'The South of the River'. The southern part of Seoul city, divided by *Han River* has created a huge apartment complex since 1970s through the country's industrialisation process. *Kangnam* is a unique residential area with prestigious new schools and shops. The majority of the residents in this area are wealthy middle class Koreans.

Anyway, they are all busy studying at school, so I speak by myself, 'Okay, never mind. Study is your job. As far as you are studying hard, it's okay.' I don't ask them any more.
(Interviewee 14)

A mother of two daughters expressed her worries:

...I can't force them to do it, can I? Anyway, I wouldn't worry too much. There are still a few years left. -before reaching average age for marriage- One is older than the other, but neither of them wants to learn kitchen work. They say 'Mum, please don't ask me to do it. I don't like it!' The younger one is studying food and nutrition at the university at the moment. Even when she is in the kitchen, she just passes me some seasonings when I cook. That's all. Young people these days just don't want to do it. (Interviewee 5)

Most young women before marriage consider daily meal preparation as a temporary, unimportant, or even irrelevant activity in their lives. Consequently, their cooking skills are highly limited, due to the lack of experience and interest.

I don't think it's hard. The thing is that I can't have whatever food I like because I don't know how to cook it. (Interviewee 22)

A single woman recollected her situation ten years ago:

Every time my mother was away, I cooked curry rice. I was at the university at that time. That was the only dish I could cook with confidence. Come to think of it, it was not fair. It was always me who had to cook when my mother was not available. -She is the only daughter in her family- Whenever my mother was away, my brothers used to tease me saying that 'Oh, no, we shall be having curry rice again.' (Interviewee 6)

This interviewee is in her thirties, and catering for herself. Nevertheless, her cooking skill does not seem to have changed much over the ten years.

When she was asked about her daily food habits, she said:

I have no concept of budget. Of course I am solely in charge of my own home management, but I don't know how much I spend monthly... I have never had fish because I don't know how to cook fish. I feel like eating fish once in a while, then I go to my auntie's place to have it. I have never bought fish even once because I don't know at all where to start. I don't even want to touch fish... I admit that my cooking is terrible, monotonous, no variety... (Interviewee 6)

Kimchi is the most essential and the most traditional side dish in Korean cuisine. Since it is a type of preserved food, it takes at least several hours to prepare, and also needs experienced skills to make. Many young single women do not know how to make the dish because of the complicated process of *Kimchi* making, and those catering for themselves have to rely on someone else to supply it since it is usually served at every meal time.

When I finish working and go back home, I always eat rice. But I don't know how to make Kimchi, so I have to bring Kimchi from my sister's home every time I run out. (Interviewee 23)

The following are examples of newly-wed young housewives who had been looked after by their mothers all through their lives until marriage, and were facing various kinds of difficulties after they got married:

The biggest problem I had after I got married is that, most of all, I can't measure how much quantity I need for the guests. I can't guess how much is going to be five portions and how much six portions. So I generally cook casserole, chicken stew this type of food, then I don't have to measure the quantity correctly. (Interviewee 13)

Whenever I attempt to cook, I feel a sort of fear... [laugh]. When I listen to what my friends say, they all seem to be experts. I feel fear first of all. But then, what else can I do? I just have to start trying. When my mother-in-law is not around, then I cook something simple. (Interviewee 26)

[Her mother-in-law was running the household as she was holding a full-time job]

While young women experience problems related to their cooking capability, their expectations that men will participate in the kitchen work are high at the early stage of their married lives.

Expectations of Marriage

Women who expect to marry in the near future always hope to share the responsibility of kitchen work with their husbands.

Of course, a man (husband) also has to do... well, even though I will do it most of the time, man (husband) has to know how to cook, how to prepare coffee... [laugh] (Interviewee 8)

I used to have a certain image of married life. I would expect him to share about one third of the housework. Umm... maybe that's too much. I wouldn't expect him to do too much. It doesn't mean that you have to do this much since I am doing this much, but I just hope he helps me. (Interviewee 31)

Young women's attitudes to men's role within the family are ambivalent, however. One interviewee, a young single woman, previously claimed that men and women had different roles to some extent, argued that cooking should not be left to men although men's washing up might be acceptable. Later in the interview though, she expressed the view that family kitchen work should be shared with her future husband as much as possible:

If my husband insists that kitchen work is my job, then I would argue. 'The food is prepared not only for me but for the whole family to share, so the whole family is responsible for it.' I would tell him like that. (Interviewee 2)

When single women talk about their images and ideals of love and marriage, they usually imply that they would change if they had a family.

Single women who cater for themselves do not usually take meals seriously. They do not want to spend much time cooking or washing for themselves. However, they claim that they would readily sacrifice themselves for their husbands and the children when they get married because of love:

*Well, I will prepare more various food because I won't be eating by myself. I think I will cook whatever good food is available. The reason why I am like this -eating simple food- is because I am on my own. I am busy because I have so many things to learn in the evening apart from my job. So I haven't got enough time... [laugh]
... It would be tough even to cope with my job if I was married. Somehow, I think I can spend more time for the food preparation when there is someone I can cook for. (Interviewee 22)*

When she was asked about her attitude to cooking, she said:

So so. I don't find it interesting. I'm not so interested in cooking. [Would it be different if you were married?] I might feel like doing it, and also I might feel rewarded if my family enjoyed my food. If I love my husband, I will try to feed him with good food. I wouldn't feel it as something time-consuming. I think I would change a lot if I was living with a husband. (Interviewee 22)

Another single woman, who was sharing her flat with her brother, said that she did not want to spend time too much cooking. When she was asked about her future marriage, however, she expressed a different attitude:

My brother's daily cycle is different from mine. I go to work earlier and he comes back later, so we don't even try to eat together. We just don't bother to match... so far I usually cook simple, quick, monotonous food, but if I was married, I would have to eat properly. I would cook better considering my husband's taste. (Interviewee 6)

And she went on talking about her future married life with enthusiasm:

I will learn how to cook sometime in the future. I want to make my dinner table look fantastic with beautifully cooked food. I want to learn how to present gastronomic food. [Why not now?] Brother is different. If he was my husband I would have been interested in different cookery lessons. I would have cooked his favourite food everyday, and sometimes cook together... [laugh]. ... if his taste and mine are different, I would cook based on his preference. If he likes spicy food whereas I don't, then, maybe I might take turns by cooking spicy food once, and then plain food the next, like this... [laugh] (Interviewee 6)

Another single woman said:

I seldom prepare soup or Tzige (Korean casserole, an essential traditional side dish) for me because I don't want to bother. When there is Kimchi, I don't need anything else. I usually have a simple meal with whatever is available. I don't like to cook various things in order to eat on my own. Another reason is that I try not to spend time on it. I'd rather save time for reading or for other leisure activities...

[What if you were married?] That would be different of course. I would enjoy cooking different food. [Even if you had less time for reading or leisure?] Yes, of course... If he likes my food, then it will be exciting and interesting. (Interviewee 19)

As these instances illustrate, the images of husband, married life and happy families portrayed by the majority of young single women in the study were somewhat romanticised.

Expectations of Mother

Young single women's expectations of their mothers did not square with their expectations of their own future position as a housewife. Unlike the present younger generation, women in previous generations largely took it for granted that they would take up their traditionally expected roles. While today's young single women dream of the 'modern family', in which each family member is expected to share the duties and responsibilities equally, as well as the resources and privileges, their understanding of motherhood do not fit within this image.

The following is the comment of a single woman who was nineteen years old, and had left school not long before. Her mother was running a restaurant, but she said that she wanted more attention and devotion than her mother gave her.

when I get married, I want to serve my family better than my mother does. We (children) sometimes do the washing on our own, or set the table for a meal time because my mother is busy in the restaurant. Even these kinds of things should be done by mother, I think... I would want to cook children's favourite food more often if I were a mother. Even if I was employed after marriage, I would do better. (Interviewee 2)

Even though many single women want to continue with a paid job after marriage, their needs for their mothers' care and devotion are unlimited. This is especially so for young daughters whose mothers are working, as in the above case. A single woman who was thirty four years old, and holding a professional job wanted to continue her career after marriage. She said:

If I became a mother, I would do it better. My mother was not very much interested in cooking. - She said her mother worked as a nurse in the past.- I will cook more beautifully, in a more presentable form. My mother liked outside activities much better than house work. Even if I become a working mother, even if I wouldn't have enough time, I would spend more time to be a good housewife, and to prepare good food. (Interviewee 6)

As these quotations show, these two women, in spite of their different ages and different educational backgrounds, seem to share basically the same attitude.

In sum, women before marriage, unlike married women, are largely free from family commitment on which the pattern of married women's food activities are based. Since single women's experiences for food preparation such as food shopping or cooking are limited, they often have great difficulties when they get married, and consequently are expected to play the role of food provision for the family. Young single women's views of their mothers and their views of themselves as housewives are highly contradictory. The perceptions of a 'proper' mother's role in relation to food habits is at odds with their own expectation of their future roles as a housewife.

Women's relations to food displays another problematic aspect which can be explored through an examination of the widely accepted notion of feminine beauty, and the widely practised regimes of body slimming. This area stands at the heart of the way women see themselves as 'feminine' and are seen by their husbands and others in public, as attractive and desirable.

CHAPTER 7. LOOKS AND GLANCES: WOMEN, FOOD AND BODY IMAGES

7.1. WOMEN AND BODY SLIMMING

It is widely believed in modern Korean society that slimness is a mark of women's physical beauty, and that women should not be over weight. Since most women desire to look beautiful, women in general are conscious of their body images. This, in turn, affects their lifestyles as well as their self-confidence, often causing worries and dissatisfaction. Women's food habits are more often related to their concern about their physical shape than their concern about the value of health and nutrition. In other words, women's dietary regimes and eating patterns are often generated out of their desire to maintain their ideal body image.

The Value of Slimness

Most women who were interviewed emphasised the importance of women's physical beauty. Regardless of their age, their understanding of physical beauty largely revolves around slimness of the feminine figure. The following are representative comments, from a married woman in her thirties, a single woman in her thirties, and a married woman in her twenties:

I think it is very important, because women should be beautiful most of all. (Interviewee 23)

It's extremely important for a woman to keep her body beautiful. The figure of the body depends on how much she tries. I think I have to exercise as much as I need to be slim and fit. I believe that the more I exercise, the better my figure looks. (Interviewee 19)

Housewives nowadays all look like single women, don't they? We are not like our mother's generation, are we? I think it's nice to look at charming and slim housewives. Whenever I see slender women, I feel good. (Interviewee 20)

Since the maintenance of a slim figure is viewed as a social asset, especially for young women, parents are often as concerned about their daughter's figures as the young women themselves. Mothers are particularly prone to worry about their daughters' physical shape.

I'm worried about my eldest daughter, Jin-kyung. Her bottom and thighs are getting more and more broad. I've heard that teenagers these days are all like that because they are sitting all day for study...

... Jin-kyung said the criteria of female beauty nowadays is how thin she is. They say that young women before marriage in particular should be as skinny as possible by all means. So I want them to look slim. Actually she looks slim to me, but she says her friends all think her thighs and bottom are too plump. So she worries a lot. (Interviewee 14)

Women desire slimness not only to conform to dominant notions of physical beauty but also as a boost to their psychological confidence and feelings of security. Consequently, women's concerns and worries about their body images are often triggered by what their partners think.

Think about a fat woman. Even to me as a woman, a slim woman looks much nicer than a fat woman. It's good to look at a slim woman. It must be good for my husband to see me slim, of course. (Interviewee 17)

My husband seems to prefer a married woman who maintains her figure exactly the same as before marriage to the woman who is plump. When a man expects a married woman to be slender like that, wouldn't he want a single young woman to be slim? I can understand why men like slim women. (Interviewee 23)

Even through the eyes of a twelve years old son, the body image of his mother as a woman is reflected as important:

Figure? It's very important for women. Young single women usually look slender and charming, don't they? It seems that women's bodies broaden disproportionately after they get married. I

don't enjoy looking at a fat woman, so her husband must feel terrible. It would be shameful especially for a husband. It is important to keep a good figure...

... My son once told me that his classmate's mother had visited his school and she looked very plump. Whenever I hear about something like that, I feel that I shouldn't get fat for my family's sake... (Interviewee 30)

Women's Diets

Since most women are acutely aware of the importance of a slim figure, they tend to mobilise every possible method in order to make an effort to lose weight. Most women, no matter what age they are, have some experience of attempting to diet. The most common strategy is to restrict food intake by skipping meals.

I don't have an evening meal these days because I am on a diet. I usually have some fruit or a glass of juice at around five or six o'clock in the afternoon. It has been almost four months now. [How do you feel?] I feel comfortable... I felt hungry at the beginning, but now I'm all right. (Interviewee 25)

[Have you ever been on a diet?] I haven't tried hard. I used to attempt and give up, and then attempt again like that in order to reduce weight. I used to skip dinner and exercise for a while... sometimes in the past I didn't eat at all at dinner time for two weeks. (Interviewee 2)

Since women think that the more they reduce the amount of food they take, the easier their weight loss will be, attempts to lose weight by abstaining from food often result in an unreasonably demanding attitude toward themselves. Women sometimes start fasting and continue until they cannot cope.

I once lost a lot of weight. I referred to the diet guide in Lady Gyunghyang (a women's monthly magazine) Since my friends were talking about the dietary guide in it, I bought it. It recommended not to have dinner in the evening, and to have eggs and lots of vegetables instead. So I followed the instruction. I couldn't do it exactly the same. I just imitated. It read that I could lose ten kilos a month, but I think it is false publicity. Anyway, I lost five kilos in August (previous month). (Interviewee 29)

I watched a TV programme the other day. Chung Sura, you know, the singer, was on the programme. She was interviewed about how she had lost so much weight. I was actually

astonished to see her so changed. She was very chubby before, wasn't she? She said she didn't have dinner, not even a sip of water in the evening. So I'm trying to fast... (Interviewee 30)

As we saw earlier, women often cook food solely for the family. Consequently, no matter how strictly women refrain themselves from food, meals are still carefully prepared for the rest of the family. A housewife who was on a diet during the interview period explained about her family breakfast:

*We have breakfast twice. My son has breakfast at around twenty to six because he is going to Hagwon.¹ [That early?] Yes, He is repeating the whole year preparing the exams. I cook my son's breakfast, and then I set the breakfast table for husband at nine thirty again. My husband and I have a late breakfast because we (her and her husband) come here (video shop) by eleven O'clock to open the shop. We take turns working here. I come to work every other day...
... then most of the time my husband has breakfast on his own. When I come here to work, I set the table for him, and I don't eat as much as possible. [Not at all?] I hardly have breakfast. It has been like that about three or four years. I like to maintain the same weight. It's all right now. I don't even feel like eating at breakfast time since I'm used to it. (Interviewee 32)*

While women try to lose weight by reducing the amount of food they take, the whole process of young women's dieting often upsets their mothers. Mothers, whose self perceived role is to care for their children by providing food, feel relieved to see them well-fed. Hence, a daughter's diet very often intensifies a mothers' anxiety. A mother who had a twenty one year old daughter expressed her view of her daughter's food habits. She said it was the biggest worry she had at that moment:

*She (daughter) has to eat by herself. Who else can feed her? She never wants to eat even though she has to. She said her friends had told her if she ate something late in the evening, it all would turn into fat... She never wants to eat because she is afraid of getting fat. Since she doesn't have enough food, her cheeks are skinny, her chin is pointed, her face looks pale. It's terrible...
... This is why she has low blood pressure. She takes snack instead of proper meals most of the time, so I'm very worried. I'm so upset, and very worried about this. When I come back home, -She works outside the home all day- I usually discover the rice I cooked in the morning for her remains untouched. The rice cooked yesterday, the day before yesterday, two days before yesterday... it accumulates continuously... (Interviewee 21)*

¹ An educational institute giving private lessons for those who prepare for the university entrance examinations. Since the examination for the university entrance is competitive, students commonly go to Hagwon for extra lessons.

Another mother who has two teenage daughters:

I sometimes cook in the evening but very seldom, because our daughters hardly have meals. They buy bread and take it with jam like that instead. -She pointed to the loaf of bread on the dinner table- Both of them are like that...

[Why don't they want dinner?] They say they want to diet. They are afraid of getting fat. They don't listen no matter how hard I persuade them, so I don't say anything any more. They must know they are responsible for their health. I shouldn't get upset, should I? Only when the other two (sons) go out without breakfast, then that makes me really upset. (Interviewee 28)

As revealed by many interviewees, dieting is an important part of women's food habits. The motivations behind this self denying activity reflects the way in which women relate to their husbands, or to men as a whole.

7.2. MEN'S VIEWS

Women's decisions about dieting are often motivated by their husband's comment on their wives' bodies.

*What he (husband) said decided me. My height is short, isn't it? He said one day it would be even more problematic if I got more and more broad with my short height. It was four months ago. So I eventually made up my mind to miss meals at that time. Another reason is that I was once photographed in February or March at somebody's wedding. -The interview was made in August.- When the photo came out, I couldn't see the clear outline of my face because it was so round. It was a shock to me. So I realised 'Oh I need to reduce weight'...
... I discussed it with him, and then he said I'd better go on a diet. Since then I decided not to have dinner. (Interviewee 25)*

As in this case, women are deeply conscious about what their husbands think and how their husbands see them.

Married women frequently put up with critical comments from their husbands on their body images. Married women were asked if their

husbands ever talked about their wife's figure. Two married women in their twenties said:

Of course he talks about me. It was even worse in the past. He used to say 'Oh, you are rolling, you are a real roly poly...'

... My husband also likes me wearing make up very much. I don't put on make up usually because I am busy and also lazy. He sometimes asks me to put on some cosmetics, something like that. He is not so critical nowadays because I've lost a lot of weight. I was plump before. (Interviewee 17)

Of course he does... [laugh]. He says I'm too skinny or I look like a skeleton and so on... He usually says that my face is too thin. Sometimes he says my bust is too flat, something like that. [How do you respond then?] He talks about me as a half joke, so I respond to him as a half joke saying that a small bosom is beautiful, something like that... [laugh] (Interviewee 20)

Another woman in her late thirties said:

He doesn't say it in front of others. He wouldn't say it outside. But he often says I am too fat. He calls me a pig. It made me consider a diet. (Interviewee 32)

Men's comments on women's bodies are often made when couples go shopping together to buy clothes. The husband's ideal view with regard to a woman's figure sometimes causes conflicts.

[Does your husband ever mention your figure?] Many times, recently. I haven't bought even one dress this year. Every time we go shopping to buy some clothes, we quarrel with each other and just come back. He usually recommends the clothes which fit his ideal style. He always has a slim woman's image in his mind. But I like comfortable, casual style. My husband prefers formal suits or something that looks slim and charming. So we can't avoid arguing. I usually say that I can't cope with that style. Then he says it's because I am never cautious about my figure, or because I eat too much, all sorts of criticism... then I say 'Why don't you find a woman to suit that type of clothes...' (Interviewee 16)

And she goes on:

My husband complains. What he says is that if I was thinner, then I could buy any clothes to fit me even in the market. Since I'm too fat I have to buy more expensive ones of a proper size. Actually, I have to buy 77 or 88 size. (UK size 16 or 18) I can't wear tight clothes. I want loose and comfortable clothes. Maybe that's why he complains more... (Interviewee 16)

Husbands' attitudes towards other women often make wives feel depressed or frustrated. Even when women know that their husband's

comments may not necessarily be serious, they still feel insecure. When husbands compare their wives' physical images with other women, especially with young single women, married women often feel inferior and vulnerable.

He often looks at other women when we go out together. He sometimes talks about them... [laugh]. Well, this woman has a good figure, or that woman has a big bosom, things like that. He gossips very often like that... [bitter laugh for a while] (Interviewee 20)

Another housewife talked about how she felt about her husband's attitude:

When a beautifully figured woman passes by, he (her husband) talks about her as if it was a joke. If a married woman keeps her body slender, then he says, 'Wow, the guy who lives with her must be happy...' or he says 'It would be nice to have a charming, slim woman rather than to have a pig.' When he watches the beautiful women on TV, he says he is envious and so on... ... then I say 'Do whatever you like. I'm like this. So, if it doesn't please you, go and find a good looking woman somewhere else.' (Interviewee 16)

The above conversation may or may not be serious. However, the fact that women's body images and degrees of beauty are compared with those of other women through men's eyes, affects the way women see themselves.

It is largely accepted that women should keep a check on their calorie intake. As far as women's slimming is concerned, husbands are actively cooperative indeed. Men often encourage their wives' slimming diet as in the following instance:

He (husband) recommended me to train with mountain climbing every now and then. He said mountain climbing could help me to lose fat from my tummy. He always encourages me to sweat by walking hills and mountains. (Interviewee 30)

Conversely, men do not see it desirable if women eat well and they often discourage their wives from having enough food.

I usually have meals regularly. I try to have a balanced diet if possible. My husband tells me off by saying that I look after myself too well. Especially when I crave meat, he teases me that I'm eating too well. (Interviewee 25)

[If you don't eat while your husband and son are having dinner, then how do they feel?] Oh, they volunteer to help me diet. They encourage me not to eat because I am overweight. They welcome me fasting... so it's all right. It's not a problem. (Interviewee 32)

While many women control the quantity of food they eat, women who feed themselves with as much food as they want are not viewed positively by either men or women themselves, as we have noted above. However, it is seen as entirely acceptable for women to feed their husbands and children with rich food no matter how generous the quantity is.

Women and Biological Changes

Due to the physical changes in their life cycle, women's attempts to keep their figures are not always successful. Women's body images go through dramatic changes according to their life cycle much more than men's. Most women who were interviewed experienced changes to their figure after pregnancy and child birth.

I gained a lot after the birth. I didn't change much when I had the first son, but I have gained very much after the second birth... almost eight kilos. ... I didn't lose much even after the birth, so I couldn't find any proper clothes of proper size for a while. I was very anxious... I was incredibly obese in the past. I was very big even after I delivered him -She is looking at her baby- I used to work when I was pregnant, then it must have been a pregnancy toxicosis. My weight was over seventy five kilos... [Are you worried even now?] Yes, of course. So I am reading a diet guide book at the moment... (Interviewee 30)

*I haven't lost after I gave birth. My weight increased too much when I was pregnant, it was more than ten kilos, more than average...
... My mother-in-law often asks me why my stomach is still the same even after the delivery, then I feel offended. I don't like this kind of comment. I mean, why should somebody else be concerned about my stomach. I hate it... laugh. (Interviewee 13)*

When I had just had the baby, my stomach didn't flatten soon after, and my waist was still thick. I was so upset with it... I used to do post-natal exercises for a while, for one or two months. (Interviewee 20)

No matter how hard women try to lose weight, it is not easy, for many reasons. To abstain from food by inhibiting appetite requires a desperate effort and self-discipline.

It's hard because I feel like eating all the time. So I have to control myself. Whenever I feel hungry, I have to put up with it. Can you imagine the feeling that you can't eat when the fridge is filled with plenty of food and fruit? (Interviewee 30)

It is very difficult to exercise regularly. Sometimes I don't feel like exercising, then I say to myself 'Let's forget about exercise today, just this once.' When it repeats over and over, I become lazy and undisciplined in the end. (Interviewee 2)

It's not easy because I'm not very disciplined. I keep saying today is exceptional, only today. My decision is too lax...

... No matter what kind of exercise I do, it's useless if I don't control the food. I think it's impossible to lose weight if I eat as much as I want, isn't it? (Interviewee 32)

Women who have been on a diet seldom obtain results that satisfying them even when they have actually lost a certain amount. This is so not only because dieting as such is difficult, but also because they hardly ever reach the level they want to be.

I don't have dinner in the evening in order to lose weight. I fast in the afternoon and then have breakfast again next morning... When I feel too hungry, when I can't bear any more, then I take some fruit or salad. But when I don't feel very hungry, I never eat in the afternoon. Only when I can't stand any more at night, I have a little salad... [Did you lose some?] yes. I lost a little... [laugh]. But I want to continue to lose some more. I need to lose some more... (Interviewee 29)

Women on the whole, whether they have experienced a slimming diet or not, are hardly ever satisfied with their present body images. When they talk about their physical state, most express a feeling of dissatisfaction with themselves. A woman who has been married for four years, and a single woman in her early thirties respectively said:

I used to hear that I was glamorous when I was in high school. If I was thinner, I would have looked more like a Western style figure. But I have been getting plump since marriage, and my tummy is getting more fleshy. My husband and others say I look okay. He says I look just all right... but when I look at myself, my fleshy tummy looks horrible, I really really hate it. I keep doing sit-ups these days. (Interviewee 23)

It's good to see myself good-looking, Isn't it? I become upset sometimes when I look fat. When I can feel fleshy on my belly, I become angry with myself. (Interviewee 19)

A married woman in her late forties who was on a diet during the interview period said:

When I look in the mirror while I am dressing, I realise my clothes don't fit, and my face looks like a full moon even in my eyes... [laugh] (Interviewee 32)

Two women who had recently experienced giving birth expressed how they felt to be confronted with their physical changes:

When I realised that my figure was changing into a typical housewife style after I gave birth, I felt sad. I was grieved because I realised that I am gradually approaching middle age, and getting old, come to think of it. (Interviewee 20)

*I have mixed feelings. After childbirth, my skin has been getting chapped, I still have extra flesh around my body, and beside, I have no waist and...
... it's a complex feeling. I sometimes feel afraid that my husband may think I look like ET, this kind of fear... [laugh] (Interviewee 13)*

As the evidence presented here, women in general, whether married or single, are deeply conscious of their physical image. Their concern and anxiety originate from the widely accepted view in Korean society that physical images are highly important in evaluating women's beauty, and that physical beauty requires a slim figure. Since body image is closely linked with food intake, admiration of slimness results in various undesirable eating habits which develop into eating disorders in extreme cases. The pressure to be slim also affects women's psychological state and may generate feelings of guilt, apprehension, inferiority and frustration. As a consequence, women are largely located at the periphery of food consumption.

The physical figure is crucial for women in general. Women's concern and desire for ideal slim body image often trigger enormous amount of both psychological pressure and unreasonable habits in regard to food and eating.

As the evidence presented in this chapter and the one before shows, Korean women in the present period of transition, in which the society is changing from a traditional structure to an industrialised and westernised form, are confronted with various contradiction and confusions in their beliefs, values and attitudes with regard to food. In order to understand this process more fully, we need to explore the ways in which contradictory expectations of women are socially constructed. In particular, we need to examine the ways in which women encounter and negotiate the tensions between tradition and modernity in everyday food habits.

CHAPTER 8. MODERNITY, TRADITION AND NEGOTIATION

The aim of this chapter is to examine the ways in which the ideal images of women in contemporary Korea are socially constructed, and widely accepted. The distinction between the two major images in current circulation is primarily based upon marital status. Young single women are expected more within public space, and are understood to be entitled to opportunities to enjoy free and independent lifestyles. In contrast, married women are expected to centre their lives around the family and domestic space, and to play the central role in the provision opportunities for the rest of the family. The associated images are largely constructed in a pattern of binary oppositions as follows:

single / married

young / old

on her own / with the family

public space / domestic space

sexuality / motherhood

partnership / devotion

Western / Korean

modernity / tradition

In recent decades, Korean society has experienced a range of new food habits as successive waves of social change arising from various aspects of modernisation, industrialisation and Westernisation have washed over the

society. People's experiences of those changes in food habits can be usefully explored in relation to:

- affluence
- Westernisation
- women's increasing participation in public domain, and
- development of food manufacturing technology.

These changes together have resulted in new eating trends, lifestyles and food habits. At the same time, women in Korea still hold strongly traditional views of a woman's role, the importance of home cooking, and the role of food in sustaining family identity. This view is clearly revealed through the customs of festival, through which cultural identity is confirmed and reinforced. Festive food reflects the core cultural elements of the tradition, and women play the central role in maintaining the tradition of festive food, and thereby family ties and identities.

How then do women in Korea experience the old and the new? the tradition and the modernity? and current changes in values and identities? How do they come to terms with these cross cutting influences? These are the main questions to be answered in this chapter. The following pages will concentrate on the ways in which women encounter these conflicts, negotiate them, and thereby maintain their social roles and expectations.

8.1. NEW FOOD TRENDS

Several new food trends in modern Korea provide particularly useful starting points. They are:

- the increase in eating out due to overall economic growth and affluence,

- gradually increasing bread consumption due to the introduction of western food,
- the correlation between the consumption of alcoholic drinks and increasing women's participation in public places as individuals, colleagues and partners, and
- the increased availability of convenience foods according to the development of foods resulting from the development of manufacturing technologies. Any of these trends have generated tensions and dilemmas in people's everyday lives.

Eating Out

Eating out is becoming increasingly popular nowadays in Korea for its convenience, gastronomic pleasure and fashionability¹. Even so, food prepared outside the home is still viewed as a substitute, a secondary cuisine. Men generally prefer home-meals which they continue to think of as 'proper' and 'desirable' food.

Women on the other hand, particularly housewives, enjoy eating out more than men partly because it provides an opportunity to change their daily routines, and partly because it frees them from the time and labour needed for domestic food preparation.

A married woman in her thirties said:

It (eating out) saves time for food preparation. Yes, it costs more than cooking at home. But we (she and her husband) have never hesitated to eat out simply because of the expense. It's more economic in a sense. Think about how much it costs and the time you spend when you buy cooking ingredients and cook by yourself. Even considering the economic aspect, it could be a

¹ Changes in the Korean food system and contemporary social trends are explained in chapter 3.

waste to buy various ingredients to prepare for one dish. We often throw away leftovers, and sometimes food goes bad... this is why I've come to the conclusion that eating out is not so bad. (interviewee 13)

Another housewife in her sixties:

Not very often. But when I feel very tired physically, I do go out for a meal... It's good to be able to eat whatever you like without hard work for food preparation... I would say I eat out when I am worn out rather than for gastronomic reasons. I'm old fashioned, aren't I? (interviewee 11)

Although as their quotes suggest that women across generations generally favour occasional eating out because it saves both time and kitchen labour, younger women are, on the whole, more positive. Three young housewives in their twenties or thirties said:

[When do you eat out?] When I want a break from the labour of food preparation... [laugh]. (interviewee 16)

I want an easy evening sometimes, especially when I am too tired to prepare dinner. Then I feel like going out to a restaurant with my family. (Interviewee 4)

I enjoy it. Since I don't have to work hard I enjoy myself more... If I cook at home, I can't eat very much. Maybe it's because I smell food too much all the while I am cooking. Men simply take food, but women have to clean lettuce, marinade meat, set the table and wash up and so on. So I like eating out... [laugh]. (interviewee 30)

As noted earlier however, men of all ages prefer home cooking most of the time, for various reasons.

He (her husband) doesn't like it (eating out) because of the cost... [laugh]. And he likes the food I cook better. Anyway, he likes eating at home because... most of all it's expensive to eat out. (Interviewee 25)

My husband doesn't like eating out, of course. He just follows us because his wife and the daughter like it according to what he says... I can tell from his face that he is reluctant. (Interviewee 16)

[Does your husband also enjoy the food in the restaurant?] No, he doesn't like me not cooking at home, maybe for economical reasons... [laugh]. He seems to think that women are

supposed to cook at each meal time at home, so, he is not happy with me going out without cooking in the kitchen for the family... [laugh again]. (Interviewee 4)

Men's preference for home meals is also disclosed by the following comment of a housewife:

I don't want him (husband) to take his lunch pack(cooked food with rice and side dishes), but he really wants it because he doesn't like the food in the restaurant. That's why I have to pack his lunch every day. I declared that I wouldn't do it any more when our son, Hoon enters the university next year. [What do you mean?] I prepare my husband's lunch since I have to prepare Hoon's lunch pack in any case. It's not too bad to prepare an extra one for my husband when I pack Hoon's lunch. Hoon goes to Hagwon, so, he has to take his lunch anyway. ² Haven't you ever packed lunch? It is really a nuisance, isn't it?... I really want to get rid of this responsibility as soon as possible. (Interviewee 32)

Husband's grudging attitude to food prepared outside the home is also revealed during holidays:

My husband and I, just the two of us went to the East coast and Sorak Mountains the other day for our summer holiday. I suggested eating out while we were travelling. I insisted on eating in a restaurant at the meal time. I didn't want to prepare anything at all. He said that he'd rather die than have restaurant food, and he said he would cook for himself. So I couldn't avoid it. [Did he cook in the end?] Of course not... [laugh]. Actually, he rinsed rice when I asked him to rinse it, and he helped me by bringing some food from the fridge when I asked, because he promised to do so... [laugh]. (Interviewee 32)

Men's reluctance to eat out often requires compromise and negotiation in women's attitudes. Many women see their husband's preference for home-made food positively because they understand the provision of food and cooking not only as a duty but also as a pleasure.

My husband always eats at home even if he comes back very late, even at midnight. I mean, even if he only takes just a spoonful of food when he gets back. He says he feels empty if he doesn't eat at home. [How do you feel about it?] It's good. Sometimes it's bothering, but I feel good because my husband likes the food I prepare. I like it. That means I mean a lot to him, doesn't it? I wouldn't feel like cooking for him if he complained about my food. I like it. (Interviewee 17)

². Educational institute for those who failed the university entrance exams and repeat the whole year preparation. During this year, students study enormous amounts of time from early morning till late at night.

Although women enjoy eating out and being freed from routine kitchen work, the family's, and especially the husband's preference for home-made meals often creates feeling of guilt and regret.

I don't feel good on the way back (from the restaurant). It's nice to go out and eat because I don't have to cook. But it costs much more, doesn't it? So I feel bitter when I get back home... Any way, when I go out I enjoy it, yet I feel always bad afterwards... (Interviewee 14)

... but it doesn't seem to be desirable, and I myself sometimes feel ashamed to be in the crowd, (the crowd in the restaurant) I mean, I often think 'Isn't it simply because I want an easy life?', this kind of feeling. But then it's so convenient, so I like it. That's convenient, and also I don't have to worry about a meal. For example, if one meal is delayed after I prepared something to cook for that meal, then I don't have to worry about what to cook for the next meal, this kind of easy feeling. (Interviewee 3)

Women's constriction of dining out as evidence of an unexpressed desire to pleasure or convenient and easy life commonly results in discontent and shame afterwards.

Conversely, the way in which women's home cooking is viewed as significant and valuable in maintaining family relationships can be seen in the following letter:

Amateurish cook

The telephone rang early this morning. I was expecting a call from my husband who had left for work early that morning, that was our wedding anniversary. It was from my uncle-in-law. He has invited my husband and me to his sixtieth birthday that evening. His birthday and our wedding anniversary fell on the same day by chance that year.³ He said he was going to have his birthday party in a buffet restaurant. When I heard about it, I did not feel good.

.....

The restaurant was fully filled with guests. There were various rich foods, and people were fully dressed up. All of them were busy talking in a sophisticated manner.

.....

I had to force myself to finish up what I had got on my dish. I felt as if my stomach was going to be upset. My husband and I slipped away in the middle of the party. My husband gave his apologies and said, "I was going to treat you to a romantic meal..." He suggested going to the beach for a walk in order to get some cool sea air. While we were walking on the beach he cheered

3. Koreans often celebrate their birthday according to the lunar calendar, which changes its date every year.

me up by saying, "The stew you cook for me is the most tasty. Most of all, home-made food is the best!"

Come to think of it, we have eaten out only twice or three times a year since we got married. I used to prepare food even on my birthday considering home economy and hygiene. I used to take a packed lunch even when my family goes for a picnic. Even when we were on holiday for several days, we enjoyed cooking on our own in the camp-site rather than eating out every meal time. My husband and the children enjoyed my food much more than the food in a restaurant...

... Although my baking usually does not turn out as nicely as the ones in a bakery, I often bake biscuits and birthday cakes for the children.

.....

The food culture in my family is home-made food oriented. Although my food is not as perfect as the food prepared by a professional chef. Although I do not prepare a wide range of side dishes at one time, my family enjoys what I cook very much. It does not matter even if they are not as various as twenty, thirty dishes like in a buffet restaurant. Is it not the best if the food contains the housewife's love and devotion as well as hygiene? When a candle is lit instead of an electric lamp, my family dinner table adds laughs, which is healthier than a chemical seasoning used for commercial food. I will dream of the happy family hour making Songpyon together with my husband and the children on this Moon Festival!⁴

(Letter 25)

Women's perception of the differences between food prepared at home and food outside, is complex. Eating out is special for housewives who are at home most of the time and in charge of family meal preparation. Dining out as a celebration of a special occasion such as a wedding anniversary or a birthday is reluctantly valued by women. Nevertheless, men's strongly expressed preference for home-made food and their frequently expressed complaints about the cost of dining out often result in women feeling guilt, thereby confirming their traditional place and role within the family.

Rice vs. Bread

One aspect of the growing Westernisation of Korean diet is the gradual increase in bread consumption at breakfast instead of rice. Although a bread meal saves both time and labour for women, the vast majority of Korean people still consider bread as 'improper' food, and prefer to eating

4. Traditional rice cake. It is traditionally made at home during the Full Moon festival.

rice. This often obliges women to prepare traditional breakfast which consists of rice, soup and some cooked side dishes.

Hence, to say 'having breakfast' is usually understood as 'having rice for breakfast'. Similarly, 'not having breakfast' is a common Korean expression, but does not necessarily mean 'having no food at all' but 'not having rice for breakfast'.

I don't have breakfast. I usually have a piece of bread with a cup of coffee or ginger tea in the morning just before my father goes out after breakfast. My father has rice with side dishes because it's his strict principle to have rice in the morning. My mother has breakfast with father, I mean, rice of course. (Interviewee 31)

Nevertheless, bread consumption at meal times has grown in recent years, especially among younger women and working women. However, the majority still strongly prefer Korean food.

I don't like bread. It's bad for the digestion. My stomach usually feels awkward after I take bread. Even if I eat rice with kimchi only, I prefer rice. We (she and her husband) both have rice in the morning. (Interviewee 23)

Women who were eating bread for breakfast during the interview period said that they prefer the taste of rice, but now reluctantly switched to bread because it was convenient:

My taste is definitely Korean... I almost died from missing rice when I was travelling in England and France last summer. Before I went travelling in Europe, I used to have bread every morning. But since I came back from that trip, I began to cook rice every morning. I can't describe how desperately I wanted to eat rice. I've met a Korean by chance who was studying in France, so I told her how much I missed Korean food. She invited us (the travelling group) to her place and fed us with rice and kimchi. My friend complained later that she really wanted to taste authentic French food in France but she couldn't, because of me. (Interviewee 6)

I seldom look for bread because I don't like it. Even when I eat it, I take only a little piece. Rice is the best. I like rice. [Why do you have bread for breakfast then?] Partly because I'm pressed for time, partly because it's easy and convenient to pick up some pieces before I leave home in the morning... It's good, but I have to eat rice mainly. It's okay to have bread occasionally as a simple food. (Interviewee 31)

As these quotes show, although women's food choices are often based on convenience, in general they believe that the 'proper' way of eating should be in the Korean style.

[What kind of breakfast would you have after you get married?] *It's a problem. If I meet someone who has to eat rice every time, then I should prepare a proper meal every morning, shouldn't I? If we are both busy in the morning, and if he has to eat rice, then it's difficult to ask him to help himself. It's a problem... I shall have to cook in the end. I think I shall have rice too in the morning. (Interviewee 22)*

[What if you get married?] *No. I won't have bread. If I'm married, I will have to eat rice in the morning. I have bread because I am living on my own at the moment, but if there is someone else to eat with, I think I will have to cook. (Interviewee 22)*

As we have seen earlier, when women have to choose between the family's needs and their own preferences, they compromise:

I was used to bread meals before I got married, so I wanted to change his (husband's) taste, but I couldn't. He doesn't like bread. When I just got married, I was determined to change his habit. It didn't work. I mean he has to have soup and rice definitely every meal time... [Why did you attempt bread meals?] I'm used to having bread. It's convenient. And, it takes so much time to prepare soup or that kind of traditional food, so I tried to prepare bread meal. He has been used to soup and rice for so long that it is rather I who has to adjust to his habit than vice versa, nowadays. (Interviewee 25)

She went on:

We seldom have bread nowadays. I hardly ever make him miss breakfast, or he hardly ever skips breakfast, either... -'Make him miss breakfast' was meant as 'not cooking a proper rice meal.) When he is late after lingering in bed, he sometimes asks for bread, because he has no time, no appetite. But it never happens the other way round, I mean, I never offer him bread because I wake up too late to set breakfast for him.(Interviewee 25)

Children in modern Korean society are gradually becoming more fond of bread however. Consequently, women as mothers often face difficulties in mediating between the different tastes of individual family members as we have observed the case of a housewife who was living two children,

husband and mother-in-law in the chapter 7.⁵ Most women, although they appreciate the convenience of a modern, more Westernised diet, still value traditional food, and their pivotal role in the preservation of traditional taste. A woman expressed her worries about generational differences in food preferences within the family as follows:

New Generation and Old generation

.....

I have been spending so much time trying to match the different tastes of my family. My family is not big. Nevertheless, our family taste has been divided into East, West, South and North among my husband, my two children and me. I do not clearly understand whether the fragmentation is due to the changes of time or due to increasing affluence. I am apprehensive about the fact that our traditional food may disappear sometime in the future.

My husband, who I would say belongs to the old generation is a typical rough country man. He, whose home town is Ansong, is a man who even hates to smell instant food. He is an amazingly stubborn man who always insists on home-made meals, and gets angry even when I mention the taste of restaurant food.

.....

On the contrary, my children always crave for fast food. They never eat spicy food. (traditional Korean food is usually hot and spicy.) My biggest concern is the balance in their diet because they look for bread, meat and other processed food all the time more than kimchi, bean paste soup and vegetables. I am worried that my children's taste is being Westernised too much. They prefer coffee and coke to Korean tea and drink, spaghetti to hand-made traditional noodles, pizza to jon.⁶ I do not know how to deal with this changing trend. I do not understand why my children fancy bread meals while my husband rejects them so much. I feel that I have to accept the changes alongside the traditional Korean diet.

.....

Once I prepared the dinner table with traditional menu. My children complained that they had stomach ache, they had no appetite and so on. They wanted bread and butter rather than rice and side dishes. "All right. It does not matter whatever food you like. I just want you to be healthy and fit." I gave up trying to feed them with our own food.

This year's Moon Festival is coming up. I often wonder how I can explain the delicate taste of Songpyon and the lovely time of family gathering for Songpyon making to those children who crave for bread and hamburger. (Letter 12)

As this account shows very clearly, the increase in bread consumption has reinforced the worries and tensions surrounding the links between food culture and traditional identities and mores.

⁵ See the quotation of the Interviewee 3, p 201.

⁶ Traditional Korean pancake which is a savory dish.

Another example of deepening contradictions is people's attitudes to women and drinking.

Alcoholic Drink

Women's consumption of alcoholic drink is viewed in two contradictory ways in modern Korean society. In general, it is not seen as desirable, while men's drinking is seen as an accepted part of social activities. At the same time, among the younger single women's drinking is increasingly common and becoming widely accepted, as more women are involved in public activities. On the other hand, women's drinking still has strong negative implications. This results in double standards.

Women who are young and single have more opportunities to drink socially than married women, and their presence in places serving alcohol approved of as long as they remain unmarried.

I don't drink. He (husband) likes drinking, so we often used to go out for a drink when we were courting, before we got married. But, most of the time I used to sit beside him and eat some crisps or peanuts instead of alcoholic drinks while he was drinking on his own. (Interviewee 20)

A housewife in her late twenties said that she seldom drinks now because her husband doesn't like her drinking even though she often drank before:

I used to drink a lot... but my husband doesn't drink alcohol, so I hardly drink nowadays. I often feel like having a glass of beer sometimes. At times I feel like having a drink with my husband, but he doesn't like the idea. People usually become romantic with a drink, don't they? Even when we were going out before we got married, he didn't drink. It was like that even during our honeymoon trip. we ordered a bottle of beer for me, and a bottle of lemonade for him... so how could I enjoy it? I seldom drink. (Interviewee 16)

Women who used to enjoy drinking before marriage often change their habits after they get married, though largely for social reasons rather than concerns over health:

Well, I drank when I was single, but it's not such a good idea, is it? I sometimes had a drink something like beer. I just followed what my friends were doing not particularly thinking because all my friends were drinking. I mean, we just drank for a mood, or for drunken feeling. People say that they drink because of the mood, but it's not good to be drunk, is it? Anyway, I don't think it's good for a woman to drink. (Interviewee 32)

Married women's abstinence from drinking is rooted in widely shared social expectations about their role. Even when they do drink, they are conscious of their self image. They feel safer drinking at home. A university lecturer:

I hardly drink outside home. Occasionally, I drink with my husband at home about once in two weeks. I don't drink outside. For example, when I dine with other colleagues, I just accept a glass to be polite but I don't drink it. I don't drink. [For what reason?] That's because... it's something like a sort of formality, social practice... I sometimes see young women drinking. I try not to see them differently, but if something unpleasant, something problematic happens, it's not good. It may be necessary to know how to drink for a social life, but I generally feel that women's drinking doesn't look good... (Interviewee 33)

A full-time housewife:

Both my husband and I like drinking... My quantity has decreased after I got married. It's because... I think it's because I've become more aware of others' eyes. Social stereotyping is negative, isn't it? Most of all, I go out much less frequently than before. I usually go out in the evening socially with my husband. I seldom go out with my own friends. When I go out with my husband for a couples' meeting, I shouldn't drink a lot, should I?... laugh. So I control my drinking habits. I drink only one or two glasses together with a meal as a polite gesture. I've realised that my quantity has reduced after I got married. In the past, I used to drink both when I was happy and when I was upset. But I've changed... [How do you feel about it?] I think it's natural. I should change, I should be more responsible for my family, especially when I go out with my husband for his social gatherings. (Interviewee 25)

Hence, while public drinking by women who have husbands and children is still viewed in a highly negative light in present-day Korean society, the

drinking activities of young and single women before marriage are increasingly seen as an integral and romantic element in an active social life. This image of romantic female partnership is reinforced through the popular media soap operas, films and advertisements, as in the case of those in chapter 5.⁷

Convenience Food

As Korea has industrialised, a wide range of processed food has become available. Various food manufacturing technologies have introduced new type of foods and foreign foods, largely Western to people's diet. Despite having ready access to convenience foods however, women in general think that it is not fitting to use them, despite the fact that they spend increasing time outside the home, and are actively involved in paid work. Even when some convenience foods are widely consumed, it is still generally believed that they are not balanced nutritionally, not safe hygienically, and therefore not appropriate for the family diet.

I have to cook traditional food most of the time even if it's time consuming. When I cook Namool.⁸ I have to clean the green vegetable, steam and season it... so, when I finish preparing it, I ask myself if it's really worth spending so much time for this kind of job... The process is very complicated but I can't avoid it. I have to cook Namool when I haven't prepared solid meat dishes... Anyway, our traditional food takes an enormous amount of time to prepare. I feel that we need changes in some ways. (Interviewee 13)

... the reason why I prefer meat dishes is because they are rather easier to cook while I am looking after the baby. Our traditional dish, something like japche takes an incredible amount of time, doesn't it?⁹ So I try to avoid it if possible. (Interviewee 25)

⁷. See the advertisement for 'OB Super Dry Beer' in chapter 5, pp 185-6.

⁸. *Namool* - seasoned vegetable dish. Various types of vegetable is used. It is the essential side dish for a Korean meal.

⁹. *Japche* - noodles mixed with various vegetables such as carrot, spinach, onion, mushroom and eggs. Vegetables are shredded and tried separately before being mixed with noodles.

Even though cooking traditional foods takes up considerable amounts of time, most women who were interviewed said that they tried not to use processed food. The reason they feel reluctant varied:

I don't buy those foods (processed food). I cook and make food at home as much as possible. There are many different types of processed foods these days. I sometimes buy ham, only when I make kimbab.¹⁰ Except for Kimbab, I hardly buy any processed meat... I don't feel like buying them. I don't like instant food. My family doesn't buy even a tin of tuna. They are more expensive, less fresh, and not so tasty...

I was told that manufactured food in the factory contains preservatives a lot, and I can taste something greasy, too... I just do exactly what my mother used to cook in the old days...

(Interviewee 23)

- Full-time employed wife (routine job)

My family never enjoys processed food. I don't want to buy instant noodles, sausage, ham this kind of food. Our family menu is arranged mainly based on the taste of their (her children's) grand dad... but then my children follow it without a problem. (Interviewee 33)

- Full-time employed wife (professional job)

It's definitely convenient to prepare food when I have no time, but I don't feel it's safe.

(Interviewee 3)

- Full-time housewife

Since they are mass produced, they can't be good and hygienic. Maybe they have preservative problems as well. (Interviewee 26)

- Full-time employed wife

The concept 'convenience food' is confused with 'Western food'. Similarly, it is believed that it is only for those who are not full-time housewives, for those who are employed outside the homes, therefore have little time for kitchen work:

I wouldn't say it (frozen food) is convenience food, because it is not hundred percent Western but half processed so that we can preserve it longer. But I don't take Western food. I don't even like pizza. I just occasionally eat it when my children want it. (Interviewee 3)

- She is confused between processed food and Western food.-

Well, I don't have a job, I'm not a woman who is pressed for time. So I feel that processed food has nothing to do with my life. (Interviewee 25)

- She is confused that processed food is only for working wives.-

10. Rice ball rolled with seaweed. Popular Korean picnic lunch or snack.

Another woman said that processed food was not favoured in her family because her family comes from a rural background:

Most of all, my father-in-law dislikes it, so I want to respect his taste. Secondly, my husband's home town is Yichon, KyungGi province whereas I'm from Seoul (the capital city). He has a very negative idea about instant food from the very beginning... My husband also likes cooking. He is interested in cookery. So we have never used much instant food. (Interviewee 33)

- She is confused that instant food is mainly for those who live in the cities.-

Home cooking is also preferred for its symbolic values, its ability to communicate sincerity and care.

I won't use them because of family health, and also because of the sincerity aspect. It's different from what I cook for myself, isn't it?... it's different from the food cooked by someone else... Food for the family should be prepared with sincerity and love. Don't you think? (Interviewee 6)

- A single woman in her thirties who was expecting to marriage

... the food cooked by mother is different. It has mother's love, but food being sold doesn't. Actually, instant noodles don't even have nutrition, do they?... Even if they have the same nutrition, I think home-made food is definitely better, it has mother's love. (Interviewee 5)

- A single woman in her twenties whose mother is working outside home

Views of using processed food among the women of the older generation are more negative than those among the younger generation. A full-time housewife in her sixties said:

... they (young women) buy instant food, frozen food, ready-made-food this kind of thing not because they have no time to cook but because they don't want to cook, don't they?...

... the housewives in the apartment complex have plenty of time.¹¹ They spend time for themselves doing aerobics or swimming and so on. Even if they say they use those ready-made-food because they have no time, it's simply because they care for the family less... it's an excuse to say that they have no time. It depends on how much attention they pay to the family.

And she went on:

¹¹. Apartment life is extremely popular among the urban middle class Korean people not for financial reason, but for its convenience, unlike in the Western societies.

... If a woman really wants to care for her own family, she can't buy prepared food, the food being sold. We must cook food at home as much as possible. Am I too old fashioned? (Interviewee 11)

Young housewives usually experience a tension between convenience and the social expectations they are subject to. Women who attempt to utilise either ready-made food or processed food often face resistance from husbands or parents who generally have conservative tastes:

People want convenience more and more nowadays. I also like whatever is convenient since I am working full-time... [laugh].

When I just got married, I once bought some ready-made side dishes. My mother-in-law was away on her holiday at that time, and my cooking was terrible. I was worried about cooking for the family. (She was living with her parents-in-law. Her mother-in-law was in charge of family food preparation) I bought some side dishes in a shop on the way back home from my office. I cooked rice at home and prepared the meal with the take away side dishes. My father-in-law said 'My goodness, how could you dare buy side dishes? The taste of food comes from women's fingers.' And he told me off that I shouldn't buy such food ever again... (Interviewee 26)

- A working wife in her twenties

To use convenience food frequently instead of home made food is bad, of course. It's a matter of sincerity, a matter of women's attitudes, I think. My husband is even more conscious about it. He wouldn't enjoy it. (Interviewee 25)

- A full-time housewife in her twenties

There are other reasons for reluctance to use convenience food, however. When the Korean food manufacturing industries began to develop their technologies, the food items produced were largely derived from Western diets. For this reason, processed food is often identified with Western food. The strong resistance expressed, especially within the older generation, therefore, has to be understood in this context.

The idea of using processed food/convenience food has reinforced worries and regrets about the Westernisation of the Korean diet. The resistance to convenience food and the attachment to traditional food is revealed in the following letters:

Food Culture in My Family

.....

Our life style and diet have changed dramatically in a short period. The taste of rice was good enough even without various side dishes in old days. However, convenience food, coffee and various beverage have altered the preference of modern taste. It is greatly different from the way we used to be particularly in the cities more than in the countryside. It is said that a vast amount of urban employees have convenience food for breakfast such as a glass of milk, yoghurt, coffee or hamburger instead of traditional breakfast with rice and side dishes.

.....

However, in spite of the changing food fashion, I am so proud of the traditional herb cake and herb wine for which I inherited the recipe from my mother seventeen years ago.

.....

Even though the processed food is increasingly popular for a busy modern life, I will keep our family tradition by preparing herb wine and herb cake which is unique and original in my family on a special occasion like the Moon Festival.

(Letter 1)

My Food and Convenience Food

.....

I always set the dinner table with the food which I cook together with my love and earnest heart. My children used to admire the taste of my food by saying, "My mother's cooking skill is the best in the world!" But they gradually began to favour ham, sausage and other instant food. Is it because of the flood of foreign culture or the waves of rapid social change? Pizza and hamburger restaurants are multiplying fast. Unlike my intention to feed the children with the food of our own taste, their tastes are more and more accustomed to the Western food without realising it. Instant food is gradually occupying our dinner table putting aside kimchi or bean paste casserole. Our food culture has changed so much.

.....

My family has two generations at extreme. Since I am living with my mother-in-law who is over eighty years old and a three year old daughter, I do not have time to rest outside the kitchen. While my mother-in-law wants to have green bean pancake (traditional savoury pancake), my children ask me to prepare pizza instead of 'tasteless' traditional pancake. When my mother-in-law feels like eating noodles in bean soup, children ask for spaghetti instead. When she wants traditional roasted pork, my children want fried pork cutlet. The young children want hamburger and birthday cake instead of rice cake even on a special occasion.¹² When I prepare the food for my parent and the food for my children, I often feel confused as if I was bringing up Western children. Perhaps, it is not only I but all the housewives who worry that our original taste may completely disappear in the future....

(Letter 30)

In sum, although convenience food has become widely available, it is not seen as a welcomed advance by the majority of women. The strong preference for traditional home cooking and the identification of

¹². Traditional birthday cake is made of rice in Korea.

manufactured food with Western food has made it a focus for regrets about the increasing adulteration of food and taste, and the declining value of Korean food at the expense of convenience.

The strong cultural attachment to traditional food is maintained and reinforced particularly strongly through the food practices associated with festivals, and it is to these practices, and their significance in maintaining cultural identity, that we now turn.

8.2. WOMEN, FOOD AND FESTIVAL

Festivals are significant occasions in Korea. Traditionally, two annual festivals have been celebrated on a large scale by Koreans; The New Year's in January, and the Full-moon festival in August in the lunar calendar.

The Full-moon festival, called *Chusok*, is celebrated on the fifteenth of August in the lunar calendar. Although its date varies every year, it generally falls in either September or October. Korea has been traditionally an agricultural country, and since it has distinctive four seasons, autumn is the season of harvest. *Chusok* is therefore a festival of harvest celebration. The festive mood begins a few weeks before the full-moon, and reaches its peak on the full-moon night. This is the period of travelling and food preparation for full-moon day which is an occasion for family reunions.

The most essential element of the *Chusok* festival is a feast. *Chusok* foods are prepared with various new fruits, new vegetables and new crops of that year. Since *Chusok* began as a festival in agricultural community, and a celebration among the families and neighbours, preparation of festive food has always been community-oriented. The women in the family, which has traditionally been an extended family and in the community, sit together for the various tastes of food preparation, and share a sense of group identity. In addition, when people share various festive foods together, as well as other festive activities, their general sense of family and community is confirmed. Moreover, since Korea is a country of one dominant ethnic culture, this unique festive food tradition has contributed to solidifying cultural boundaries, and national identity from generation to generation. Women's role in food preparation, and the significance of food sharing at

the festival have therefore been pivotal to the maintenance of Korean cultural identity.

Traditional attitudes and beliefs about food and women's roles together with the changes in values at the present time, can be illuminated through an examination of the consumption of traditional foods made for the festival, such as *kimchi*, *jang*, and *songpyon*.

Kimchi

Kimchi is a traditional vegetable side dish and an essential food in Korean cuisine all the year round. It is made of Asian cabbage, garlic, ginger and other seasonings such as various types of fish sauce. It is a type of pickle consumed over a period of a few days up to a month. Since it is largely prepared at home, women in the family have to plan in advance, and spend a substantial amount of time and labour buying the ingredients, pickling them and preparing a certain amount regularly. *kimchi*-making is the basic preparation for festive food in every household. To make the feast more abundant and special, most prepare various types of *kimchi* a few days before the full-moon.

Manufacturers have begun to produce *kimchi* and sell it in food shops in recent years. However, it is still prepared at home in the majority of the Korean households. Housewives, who are increasingly extending their boundaries into the public domain, and who are therefore often pressed for time, occasionally purchase ready-made *kimchi*. However, opinions about these 'substitutes' are largely negative:

[Have you ever bought ready-made side dishes?] *I've tried kimchi. I didn't like it because it had too much chemical seasoning. I have bought kimchi because it looked so tasty and palatable. But I was told off by my husband because of the smell of MSG. Since then I've never bought such*

food. ... He said it's dirty most of all. And he also said how could a full-time housewife ever buy kimchi. Kimchi-making needs clean processing through a woman's touch such as cleaning and seasoning. Kimchi is supposed to be eaten raw as well. So he has a strong negative feeling about it from the hygienic point of view. [How did you feel then?] I felt very guilty, and I have never bought kimchi since then. (Interviewee 25)

- A full-time housewife in her twenties -

I bought kimchi once, only once. I tried it because I was busy and my mother was ill at that time. But my son said he didn't like it. He said it tasted horrible. He asked me to prepare kimchi by myself even if I was very busy... [laugh]. (Interviewee 34)

- A full-time lecturer in her thirties. Her mother was running her household. -

I don't like ready-made kimchi sold in a shop. I haven't tried it. But how can a woman ever buy kimchi? I don't agree with the idea of buying this kind of essential food. (Interviewee 28)

- An employed wife in her forties -

... no matter how convenient things are nowadays, everyday meals should be prepared by a housewife, I think. For example, I heard that the taste of an essential food like kimchi is all the same in every houses in a certain area these days. I'm not sure how true that is... Anyway, the unique taste of each home comes from the cooking process in the kitchen of each houses, doesn't it? If every household buys kimchi, there is no unique taste, and it's a pity... (Interviewee 11)

- full-time housewife in her sixties -

Regardless of generation, women in general express negative feelings about ready-made *kimchi* because it is made by someone outside the family. This strong reaction stems from *kimchi's* traditional role as the most important family food, and from the fact that its unique taste in each family is closely associated with the mother's love and care for the family.

Because of the hot ingredients -ginger, garlic and pepper- needed for *kimchi* making, the person who makes it usually suffers from tingling hands after they finish. Although women's faces, bodies and hands are expected to be smooth and beautiful, rough cooking hands are commonly valued as symbols of the goodness of a mother's care:

I cook everything with my hands. I don't use rubber gloves even when I make kimchi. It is said that the taste comes from fingers, isn't it? (Interviewee 32)

The strong belief in the goodness of home-made food as a sign of a mother's love often creates nostalgia for childhood. The following letter is an illustration. The memory of her own family is strongly associated with the recall of old tastes:

Nostalgic Memory of My Father

There is someone who is moved to tears even by hearing the word 'mother' It is my father. Mother is the one who devotes and sacrifices her life for the children's well-being. Mother is the one who provides sons and daughters with their favourite food and sheds tears of joy and love all through the years of the growing up process...

The profile of my father moved me one evening. He was watching a TV drama about the images of mother and holding back tears thinking about his mother who was not alive any longer.

.....

It seems that the clock in my father's yearning heart for his mother is not working although time is passing by. His clock of memory seems to have stopped. Especially, his taste accustomed by his mother's food seems to be stubbornly strong... My home town is in a cold province. My mother used to prepare various types of kimchi such as Dongchimi (kimchi in cool juice) and cold noodles (a dish prepared with kimchi juice), my family usually enjoy those foods always in winter even nowadays. Both my father and I like sour kimchi which my grandmother used to say is rather better for casserole than on its own. - When kimchi is over fermented, it turns into a sour taste. Sour kimchi is not considered as good quality.- It turns out a fascinating dish when my grandmother adds cold kimchi juice to a bowl of cold noodles together with sesame seeds and sesame oil...

My mother who was brought up in a warm province likes to make hot and spicy kimchi rather than cold juicy kimchi. My father used to say to my mother, "Honey, can you make kimchi like this and this...?" My mother used to reply, "Oh, I know you've never forgotten the taste of your mother's kimchi!" The old accustomed taste arouses nostalgia through which my father is longing for the images of his mother. I realise that there is nothing stronger than yearning for mother.

"Dad, I also love whatever food you like because I can meet my grandma in it who I have never seen before." (Letter 3)

Jang

Jang is an essential sauce in Korean cuisine. There are three varieties; pepper paste, bean paste, and soy sauce. The food for the full-moon festival is prepared using all three. *Jang* is prepared once a year on a large scale since it is used all the year round. Making the three types of *jang* in each

household is therefore a major annual culinary task. *jang*-making requires experience and skill over many years as well as time and labour.

Manufactured *jang* has increasingly attracted people's attention in recent years, but the preference for home-made food has created resistance. The following interviews illustrate a man's strong attachment to home-made *jang*, and a woman's strong belief in the value of traditional taste:

I don't think he (husband) notices the difference in taste. He doesn't say anything special, but I just tell him that they are bought ones. (Interviewee 13)

She continued:

*[How was your husband's response to it?] He says that women's role at home is so important for the inheritance of housekeeping. He knows that home-making of *jang* can't be imposed because everyone is busy nowadays. Yet, he thinks inheritance of the unique family taste should be definitely taken up by somebody. He said 'It's serious, it's tragic not to be able to treasure the unique taste, what should we do...' and he worried. Actually, if food factories take up this task, the taste in each house will be all the same. It's terrible, isn't it?*

... He is saying 'The housewives' role was so important in the past even if some might say women did nothing, just staying at home. They have preserved the precious taste. Now it's time to sell and buy food. It's a shame. It's important for women to keep the original taste as well as holding a job. Nobody is going to take up this role because it is bothering, time-consuming and so on.' He is deploring that I cannot even attempt to make them. (Interviewee 13)

A woman, who was employed full-time said that she tried to make *jang* for her family every year, even though she was always pressed for time:

*My husband asks me why I try to make such a complicated *Jang* at home for myself despite the fact that I'm so busy, and there are manufactured *jang* being sold everywhere. He asks me why I don't buy convenience food or Kimchi, but then I don't want to do it like that if I can manage no matter how busy I am. Fortunately, my mother is fit enough so far, she is not too senile, so she can cook and prepare most necessary food at home for us...*

[What is the hardest part for you then?] Time! Needless to say, it's time! (Interviewee 34)

The following letter expressed a woman's pride in the preservation of the traditional family taste:

Preparation of Jang in My Home Town

..... Our food culture has an original, wonderful, traditional custom that can be understood and cherished only by those who live in the same cultural context...

.....

The marvellously skilful hands of my aunt used to show me the secret recipe of the jang making process. She had her own preservation methods of Kanjang (soy sauce), Doenjang (bean paste) and Gochujang (pepper paste) in order to preserve them during the winter time. Her own secrecy emphasised the importance of the material of the jar to contain jang, and the temperature to leave jang outside... Since then on I do not leave the jang making and managing work with someone else. I have always looked after the various jang by myself.

.....

It is a secret taste which my mother's generation used to preserve. The secrecy comes from the devotion and faith which mothers always keep when they prepare food. When Full Moon Festival comes nearer, I get very homesick together with the memory of my aunt who used to look after the whole family making jang with devoted hands.

(Letter 11)

As we have noted, the force which people long for the maintenance of traditional food habits and tastes is rooted in personal histories and national sentiments. But as in other areas, the husband's stubborn attachment to the unique taste of the family, and women's constant efforts to be a 'proper' mother, have generated confusions and tensions.

Songpyon is another traditional food through which same tensions are manifest.

***Songpyon* (Pine Cake)**

Songpyon is a traditional cake cooked to celebrate the full-moon festival. It is made of rice powder, steamed on a layer of pine needles for an aromatic effect. The process of *songpyon*-making involves four stages. For the pastry, rice is soaked overnight, ground in a mill, and kneaded before putting the filling in individual pastries. For the filling, various types of ingredients such as sesame seeds, green beans and chestnuts are boiled or roasted, and then ground or mashed. Then individual small round pastries are moulded

with the filling inside. The last stage is steaming those small cakes on a layer of pine needles.

Songpyon making takes a considerable amount of time and effort since it requires delicate skills as well as many hands. Accordingly, women spend almost one or two full days on it in most families before the Full Moon festival. For women, the *songpyon* making process is one of the most important tasks at Chusok. Their sense of sharing and solidarity is reinforced as women in the family or in the community sit together and make the cakes.

My Family Celebration of Moon Festival

.....

There are only two women in my family, that is, my mother-in-law and me.

My family does not prepare many different festive foods. My mother-in-law and I cook only a few kinds of food which are my family's favourites. Because of this, women in my family can enjoy slow shopping and food preparation before the festival day. Songpyon making is the most essential work among the festive food preparation.

.....

I am the eldest daughter-in-law in my family. After cleaning the whole house early in the morning the day before the Full Moon day, my mother-in-law and I sit side by side and begin to launch the artistic process of songpyon-making. As it gets dark, other family members begin to join the songpyon shaping task one by one. It is said that the one who makes pretty shaped songpyon can give birth to a pretty baby. My mother-in-law teases me saying 'How could you give birth to such a pretty daughter while your songpyon looks so ugly?'¹³ My father-in-law, brother-in-law and sister-in-law are laughing all together. My five years old daughter is trying to imitate songpyon. My whole family talks and talks over and over sitting all through the night until all the songpyon is made up.

....

Chusok is a happy and pleasant occasion because of the time of family gathering, good food prepared on our own, and the family talks which we could not enjoy in our ordinary busy lives. I am eager for Chusok to come this year.

(Letter 7)

Women's attitude to *songpyon* making is complex, however. Women who have experienced *songpyon* making recognise that it is an extremely time-

13. There is a saying that women who make well-shaped Songpyon find handsome spouse, and have a good-looking baby in the future.

consuming, physically tiring and a demanding responsibility when they are busy with other food preparation during the festive period. For this reason, purchasing ready-made *songpyon* has been gradually considered as an option during the past decades. Yet, the process of making *songpyon* at home is still greatly valued. A housewife in her fifties explained how she felt about *songpyon* making and family gathering on a festive occasion:

My family (her whole extended family) usually have home-made songpyon every year. I used to prepare songpyon in my house and bring it to my mother-in-law's place until a few years ago. But I don't want to bother any more, and my husband shows great dissatisfaction with me. We quarrel because of songpyon-making... laugh. He asks me why I don't want to make them in recent years. What he likes is a festive spirit... He is missing the atmosphere of the past. He says we need a festive mood. Then I say 'why do you want to taste the feeling and the mood of those days? Now, it's gone already!' We often argue like that about making Songpyon at home... laugh.

... His idea is that 'Our daughters have to learn how to celebrate a proper festival since they are already grown up, they are old enough to learn, we should teach them so that they can say after they get married that our family used to do this and that, our family, in fact, don't have anything traditional to show others.', this kind of argument... laugh. (Interviewee 14)

However, unlike experienced housewives who know how demanding the process of *songpyon*-making is, single women and men who are not primarily responsible for the food preparation generally hold a romantic view of this traditional food, and the role of women in its preparation:

When I get married, I think I won't make too many songpyon because it will take too much time. But it will be fun to make some at home, and I will be able to have time to make it during the festival holidays, I suppose. (Interviewee 19)

The use of ready-made *songpyon* at the festival therefore stands for 'absence of family tradition' as *songpyon* has a special symbolic weight in signifying family relationship and women's role within them. The following two letters illustrate the value, which women nowadays attach to the tradition in the face of various changes:

The Unforgettable Taste of Mother's Food

There must be no one who is not proud of their mother. In fact, my mother had versatile talents in many ways. Especially, her cooking as well as sewing and poetry writing was so excellent that she was well known even in her neighbouring village. However, my mother had to leave this world even before the age of fifty. That sudden departure of my mother left me with unlimited longing for her. The more I think about my mother, The more I realise her hands were magic. Even the vegetables in the back garden became prosperous when my mother once looked after them...

She was an expert particularly in traditional delicate food. Since I had been accustomed to the taste of my mother's food, I had a hard time to adjust myself to the taste of my husband's family after marriage.

.....

My principle is to cook our traditional food for my family. I try to preserve the taste of my mother's cooking so that my family can inherit the valuable taste not only for me but also for my children... Whenever the recollection of my mother, my home town, and my childhood brings me a heartbreaking yearning for her, I imitate my mother's food of which I learnt the recipe by observing. As I am getting older and older, my nostalgia for the old tradition is getting stronger... The full moon of the tender image of my mother rises in my heart as Chusok is getting near. My mother's voice is still alive in my heart, saying "No matter how important woman's beauty is, a woman should be capable of cooking good food."

(Letter 14: Gina Lee)

The Food in My Family

The changes of the season, especially the beginning of the Full-moon Festival, Chusok, makes me realise once again that I am a married woman who has a family. Since I got married fourteen years ago, my home management skills have developed to a certain extent.

When Chusok season comes every year, my mother-in-law washes the millstone first of all, in order to prepare the long and complicated cooking process of traditional festive food. All women in my family gather together and start all the necessary preparation. My mother-in-law becomes a leader among us, all the daughters-in-law in order to launch the songpyon-making task altogether. A huge amount of dough is made with rice powder. Various fillings are made by boiling, frying and seasoning of home grown walnut, chestnut, peanuts, sesame seeds and the others.

.....

It is an opportunity to sit close with shoulders' touching, and to call each other's name exchanging our affections while we are preparing abundant food. The real sharing of family love takes place not in the exchanges of formal greetings on the phone but takes place in the kitchen among women...

When my mother-in-law, aunts-in-law, sisters-in-law and daughters-in-law, all the women in my family sit together, and when the flowers of chatting bloom, I do not realise how fast time passes by...

(Letter 17: Chungja Seo)

As noted, the women's devotion to the preparation of festive food is a treasured tradition. Although the wide range of convenience foods and ready-made foods are increasingly available, the sentiments associated to

women's cooking unchangingly keep the centrality of feminine identity and their virtue within this deep cultural tradition.

8.3. SUMMARY

In the above analysis of interviews with women and letters from the audience of a radio programme, we have explored the patterns in which women relate to food in various ways. Most of all, we have seen that women's food habits are highly people-oriented. For women, food provides emotional significance as well as physical nourishment. Their relationships to food has been revealed as complex, involving contradictory attitudes and values. In particular, women's attitudes to food as preparers and providers contrast with their attitudes as food consumers.

Women in general are expected to take a central role in all the activities of food preparation; shopping, cooking and washing up. Their decisions about taste, menus, and meal times are largely based on the preferences of others rather than their own. Similarly, they give men and children priority in the distribution of food, in terms of both quality and quantity. However, while women are expected to satisfy the food and diet requirements of the family, their role of food provision is greatly valued both by themselves and by the rest of the family because food activities carry various strong connotations; symbolisation of motherhood, manifestation of femininity, expression of 'love' and 'care', and the foundation of 'happiness' for the family.

Women's food activities change dramatically when they get married. Whereas married women are expected to be in sole charge of family food

provision, most young single women, the majority of whom are living with their parents, expect to be cared for by their mothers. Consequently, there is a wide gap between the roles and expectations of young single women who do not have experience of food preparation, and married women who are expected to be fully in charge of the family's food.

The pattern of women's own food consumption is complicated. In general, they are highly cautious about their eating since they are very conscious of the social value of slimness as a major criterion of physical beauty. Consequently, their dietary habits are largely constructed around their desire to be slim and beautiful rather than around their health and nutritional considerations. Women often tend to neglect meals, partly because they give priority to other family members' needs over their own, and partly because they are conscious of the need to control weight to maintain a desired body images. Accordingly, women are under pressure to control their own food intake despite spending a considerable amount of time on kitchen work.

The strong association between female beauty and slimness, often results in tempted eating habits such as unplanned fasting. Since women see their own physical image through others, especially men's, married women who go through biological changes such as giving birth frequently have feelings of insecurity or inferiority. Women in the family are expected to be at the centre of family food provision, but are largely located at the periphery of food consumption. While employed women use more convenience and ready-made food than full-time housewives, women in general try to prepare food themselves as much as possible unless it is unavoidable.

It is not clear from the evidence gathered here whether there is a consistent difference in attitudes to food between women who hold a professional job and those who hold a routine job. Regarding expectations of a mother's

role, single women who had a professional occupation shared basically the same idea as single women employed in routine work. Although full-time employed women had very little time for food preparation and kitchen work they still tended to devote all their spare time to catch up with the family's expectations of them. When women could not integrate the two demanding roles successfully, they often suffered from both feelings of guilt and others' criticism.

Women's attitudes and habits towards food vary by generation. Younger women have more flexible ideas about food activities. Yet, generational differences have not generated fundamental changes in the basic pattern of women's food activities. Women in their twenties or thirties show more or less the same pattern, the same sense of responsibility for family care, and similar perceptions and attitudes to food as those in their fifties or sixties.

Women's marital status, however, did emerge as an important factor structuring attitudes and habits related to food. Married women are basically in charge of organising family food, from shopping to washing up. The daily lives of housewives are therefore, largely food oriented. Married women at home gave priority to the food consumption of the rest of the family, and largely neglect themselves, keeping erratic eating habits. In contrast, young single women, who are generally living with their parents, are accustomed to being catered for by their mothers, and therefore have a highly limited experience of food providing activities.

In general, those who had not experienced married life had high aspirations both for marriage and for the role of husbands in regard to food practices. Consequently, newly married women often encounter difficulties and emotional conflicts when confronted with the gap between expectations and reality.

The plausible assumption that working class women may be more traditional than middle class women was not supported by the evidence gathered for this study. On the contrary, whereas a high percentage of working class women shared their food-related domestic work with their husbands, middle class women generally maintained a more traditional view of women's role in the family.

Women in extended families are likely to devote more time and to food-related activities than women in nuclear families, due to the increased amount of kitchen work required to cater for a larger family group. However, although women in a nuclear family were freer in terms of the quantity of work, the division of responsibility for food provision and the values women place on the role were fundamentally the same.

Women's concern about body images was almost universal within the sample. Accordingly, they are highly aware of the importance of diet and weight control, a concern which frequently generated psychological tensions with regard to food and eating.

The contradictory expectations of women are revealed in many aspects of their lives. Their idealised images of women in public space stress youth, charm and independence, and a lifestyle strongly associated with affluence, modernity and freedom. In contrast, married women, the majority of whom are still expected to be at home in spite of their changing roles and the multiple expectations placed on them in Korean society, are required to be good at home-cooking, frugal and homely, and to orientate their lives around the family.

Various social changes and technological development in Korea have created new confusions and anxieties, and generated multiple strategies of negotiation in women's everyday lives. As part of the general change to

eating habits, younger Koreans increasingly favour bread as a substitute for rice at breakfast. Women acknowledge the convenience of bread, but are still expected to provide a traditional, Korean hot meal as a breakfast for the family in spite of the advantages of the new way of convenient eating. Bread consumption in Korea has therefore widened the gap between generations and to a certain extent between genders. Drinking, especially among married women, who are firmly placed within the strong family ties, is not viewed positively. In contrast, young single women's drinking is encouraged by their colleagues and peer groups, and has become more acceptable. While women with a family are largely associated with the 'goodness' of traditional food, the fact that young single women's food habits have become more Westernised and versatile, is widely acceptable.

While women's traditional kitchen activities are highly valued, their desire to be free from the demanding role of family food activities has also increased. This research has revealed a variety of tensions in women's lives. These revolve around the strong allegiance to the goodness of home-made food, and the desire to cherish traditional food and traditional ways of cooking on the one hand, and the conflict with the desire for convenience, new lifestyle and modernity on the other hand. The fact that the movement towards modernity has often been associated with Western types of food, and Western styles of eating has created a contradiction; stubbornly embracing Korean identity and yearning for western identity at the same time.

CHAPTER 9. CONCLUSION

Modernity in the present world is largely understood to have an ambiguous nature. It is seen to be a 'double-edged phenomenon with security versus danger, and trust versus risk' (Giddens 1990:7), so the prediction of the direction of future society inevitably remains unclear. The confused nature of modern identity has been mentioned at the starting point of this research. Although the discontinuities with the traditional order which modernity presents are often painful, they can also be a transient condition of progress.

This thesis has aimed to examine the impact of modernisation on changing female identities in Korea by exploring women's complex relationship to food and eating. It has mainly focused particularly on the contradictions and tension created between the new forces of modernity and deeply rooted traditional values. Tracing the patterning of Western values that has permeated public cultural representations in the name of modernity, and people's interaction with this formation through their daily lives has been a major task. For Korean women, food stands for their pride as well as their duty, pleasure as well as guilt, and sexuality as well as motherhood.

Throughout the previous chapters it has been shown that for women, food is a symbolic means through which their femininity and motherhood are established, and their female identity is solidified. Women's eating is a people-oriented activity, and their everyday food habits are patterned on

the basis of the strong collective identities of family, community and society.

Most of all, this research has sought to argue that

- 1) the forces of modernity have resulted in the coexistence of multiple values and attitudes with regard to food habits, through the interplay of tradition and modernity,
- 2) the higher the waves of modernity introducing new foods and eating habits, the stronger people's struggle to cling to their traditional values,
- 3) this paradoxical climate has created a sharp dichotomy in female identity structured around two poles; married women in the domestic sphere versus single women in the public domain.

In the process of modernisation, women have been increasingly drawn into public spaces outside the home. The compressed symbolisation of modernity is manifest in the images of these 'new' women in public. These are mainly created by and promoted in public cultural representations and particularly in advertising. They have several consistent features; generational distinction (young), marital status (single), and physical appearance (slimness and sexuality). Their food habits are shown as predominantly consumption-oriented in the name of freedom, progress, glamour and the new imperatives of structural change that modernity has created. They seek personal pleasure, leisure and entertainment through food and eating. Their food activities are largely carried out in the context of fun, play, excitement, luxury and special occasions rather than the day-to-day routines of food for nourishment. For them, food choice and eating are ways to satisfy their own desires, construct a lifestyle, and assert their individuality.

In contrast, married women are still expected to be the central axis of everyday family eating in the domestic domain, despite the social changes

over the last several decades. Their food habits are strictly family-based, and consistently cooking and serving-oriented, based on traditional gender roles. For them, family food provision is a pivotal part of their lives, and a major area in which to demonstrate love and care. Whether they are young or old, full-time housewives or employed outside the home, from an extended family or a nuclear family, there is almost no exception to this pattern. Food activities are the primary means through which they confirm their sense of belonging, achieve status within the family, and manifest the traditional virtues of femininity and motherhood.

Our analysis reveals clear contradictions within promotional culture. The representation of women in advertising both embraces these virtues of traditional femininity and motherhood, and celebrates the new values of modernity, constantly upholding fragmentary and conflicting lifestyles around food and eating. Consequently, these images within public culture do not provide resources for personal integration.

The traces of Western cultural influence are evident everywhere in public culture. The image of 'modern' women and their food habits have been coloured predominantly by 'Western' features. Domestic settings furnished in affluent and urban styles, new types of food and modern diet, new intimate relations based on the nuclear family, new lifestyles and women's employment, women's increased public involvement, luxurious dining out and social activities, and even physical appearances, are all charged with strong connotations of 'Westernised' modernity. The clash between Korean and Western identities, between what is actually available in most women's everyday lives and what is suggested 'out there' in the mass media has created uncomfortable strains. The tensions and anxieties between these contradictory, often irreconcilable gender identities has been explored through the close examination of women's own writing and speech. Several conclusions can be drawn from this exercise.

Firstly, the most striking discovery in our analysis of private culture is the consistent flow of deeply rooted traditionalism. In contradiction to expectations at the beginning of this research, the scope of Western influence in women's real lives has proved to be remarkably narrow. In spite of variations and differences in women's interaction with the new messages of modernity, their fundamental attitudes towards food and eating are still rooted in traditional notions of female identity, which have been constructed from Confucian ideas, and inherited from generation to generation.

Secondly, the majority of women hold contradictory views on their gender roles in relation to food. Even though they believe strongly in the virtues of tradition, they actively welcome the opportunities that modernity has presented. On the one hand, women's domestic food activities are perceived as a 'sacred' feminine role to be protected and maintained. On the other hand, as women increasingly become aware of the burdens of domestic work and the uncomfortable collective identity constructed by their relationships, they strongly in favour of sharing their domestic responsibilities with men. Ironically, mothers expect their daughters to be freer than themselves, and yet, they still hope that their sons' female partners will be 'proper women' who fit traditionally desired feminine roles. The younger generation hope that their married life will be different from their mothers' and yet, continue to hold even more strongly traditional visions of happy marriage and gender relationships, and are constantly trying to demonstrate the quality of their femininity and motherhood.

Thirdly, the generation gap has widened as a consequence of modernity and its impact on food and eating. While the older generation remain the

guardians of tradition, the younger generation's greater choice is largely interpreted as a risk and a threat to traditional order.

Fourthly, women's concept of beauty has been considerably transformed by the new look promoted by Western images. The majority of women, the younger generation in particular, are concerned about the maintenance of an ideal body image based on Western criteria. For single women, for whom future marriage is crucial, the pressure to maintain a slim figure, has resulted in excessive concern about diet. For married women, for whom the biological changes of ageing and childbirth are inevitable, feelings of insecurity about their body images have created contradictory food habits; obsessive negation of food for themselves in contrast to their expected role within the family, of providing abundant food for others. Similarly, while female attraction and sexuality is stressed for single women in public places, the expectation of married women in domestic places is to maintain a motherly appearance, thereby producing strong binary images of women as a partner and as a mother.

The group most vulnerable to the above contradictions is the younger generation. For them, marriage becomes a sharp turning point in their lives. Their suddenly reversed role is extremely confusing and embarrassing due to their lack of experience or their illusory expectations of marriage. However, newly married women are commonly willing to change, give up, and conform to their husband's wishes for the sake of maintaining 'happiness' of their marriage.

An enormous amount of guilt has been encountered throughout the examination of women's lives revealed here. It could be argued that any attempt to live in the gap between tradition and modernity will produce guilty feelings. The typical response is reactive. The more the new opportunities of modernity are promoted, the stronger their attempt to go

back to the traditional values. It seems that feelings of guilt is the product of the gap between structural changes and the attempt to maintain traditional values at the individual level.

People's strong nostalgia for past ways of life is expressed in a particularly condensed form in the preparation and eating of festive food. Attachment to tradition is revealed through the vitality of festive food customs. There is a strong desire to protect the taste of the tradition for its powerful symbolic meanings, which confirm collective identity and further social solidarity. In the same way, the passion with which people strive to maintain their traditional food habits has been also observed, along with the contradictory attitudes that underpin women's constant struggles with food choices and eating habits.

The still powerful ideology of what constitutes a 'proper woman' has created a paradoxical phenomena. Women's complex attitudes of favour and disfavour towards convenience foods reveal that although the opportunities of convenience are available as a gift of modernity, they are not seen as desirable for a 'proper' woman. The more women are subsumed under the category of modernity, the stronger they strive to maintain the traditional concept of female identity. As one professional working mother said, *'I cook exactly what my mother used to cook in the old days'* .

Food habits in Korea have been influenced by the two broad changes; the revolution in food, and more general changes in the social structure. The advancement of food manufacturing technology has introduced both pre-prepared versions of traditional foods and new, largely Western, foods. These developments have coincided with a broader transformation of people's ways of life caused by the process of industrialisation which has

produced the unique contemporary Korean food culture. In the public domain; increased eating outside the home from early morning till late at night due to the world's record breaking hours spent at work places, the prosperity of the catering industry targeting employees, business strategies involving wining and dining. In the domestic domain; the transformation of the family eating habits due to the absence of the breadwinner, largely the father, at the family meal table, irregular family meal times due to the children's competitive school education, changing family structure from the extended family to a various modified types of nuclear family. Even though economic changes have increasingly drawn women as labour into the public domain of production, the impact of female employment on family eating habits seems to be almost nil. This is because the opportunities for female employment have been predominantly focused on young and unmarried women in their late-teens or early twenties, and because married women, regardless of their employment, continue to perform the traditional female role in the domestic domain. In spite of the structural changes, people's traditional values, attitudes and beliefs about female identity and family relationships, which are based on Confucian ideology, seem to remain surprisingly solidly fixed and powerful.

It could be argued that the gap between these structural changes and resilient traditional values has been filled by the intervention of consumerism. Pursuit of a modern lifestyle, organised around Western images, becomes largely consumption-oriented. Individual households' increased financial capability alongside the country's economic improvement has boosted women's consumption-oriented food habits resulting in the pleasure of family dining out, cookery as a home fashion, growing interests in modern kitchen interiors, the increasingly stylised food shopping. However, these trends do not seem to be supporting women's search for individual identity, but rather to be reinforcing their dependency on the new logic of consumerism.

It has been argued that advertising plays a central role in cultural formation, and thereby actively contributes to the creation of consumer culture by creating and circulating symbolic meanings around commodities and consumption. The role of advertising seems to be important in contemporary Korea in two ways.

Firstly, advertising as an economic institution which promotes commodities and circulates information for the purpose of profit-seeking, plays a significant role in lubricating the rapidly expanding capitalist system, and has been growing rapidly throughout the modernisation of Korea. Both the public and private spheres have been greatly influenced by consumerism during its progress towards modernisation, and the inclination to materialism has permeated every sector of society.

Secondly, the ambiguity of modern times, which I have argued have resulted in a 'cultural void' in Korea, have constantly required modified forms of identity. Advertising seems to supply cultural meanings that fill this hollow space in various ways. Obsessive concern with self-image, and the pursuit of image construction through consumption-oriented activities appears to be greater and stronger than ever before, and the friction between the two edges of the traditional values and modern phenomena seems greater and sharper.

The way in which advertising exploits modernity in the above contextual setting has been clearly revealed in this study. In promoting their products and corporate image, the major Korean corporations, whose sizes and profits are rapidly expanding, and which have contributed greatly to shaping the country's economic structure, have successfully upheld both the virtues of traditional ways of life and the new images of modern life at the same time. As a consequence, the ways in which the symbolic

meanings of food and eating are created and propagated in public culture, and perceived in people's everyday lives, has been shown to be problematic. The interviews and letters reveal over and over again that women's attitudes towards new food habits such as the consumption of bread, convenience foods, drinking, and eating out, are both complex and ambivalent, involving constant trial and rejection, needs and hesitation, favour and disfavour.

It seems that Korean society is entering into a phase of advanced capitalism where the market place, advertising and Westernised popular culture supersede earlier traditional modes of life (Jhally 1987). And yet, for a substantial number of people, including young people, the older cultural tradition remains valid and powerful, thereby generating transitional tensions. This is partly explained by the fragmentary, and often contradictory messages of advertising, in which old and new values are simultaneously presented and celebrated. It appears that the old values cannot be easily given up, and at the same time the new ideals are continuously promoted along with the structural shifts of modernity and the power of capitalism during this transition period.

Bauman's (1991) argument, modernity's 'privatisation of ambiguity' is exactly right in this context. He argued that one major consequences of this process is a heightened dependency on consumerism. The present research supports this idea by finding that the accentuation of women's individuality and freedom and the creativity of available lifestyle is strongly linked with consumption and leisure-oriented solutions. In this way, the structural problems move from the public to the private sphere, and become personal affairs requiring personal choices and solutions.

At the same time, the formation of culture in contemporary Korea needs to be addressed in relation to the process of cultural globalisation. The

influence of Western values and images on public representations is stronger than ever before. Nevertheless, while public culture obviously celebrates 'Westernised' modernity, individual in their everyday lives appear to pursue much more diverse solutions including the re-emphasis on tradition. What does this tell us? In contradiction to our prediction at the start of this research, it has been discovered that in the case of food habits, the mainstream of private culture is still anchored around traditionally constructed female identities, and consistently displays resistance and friction in the face of Westernisation, in spite of the powerful promotion of modern identity in public culture. As a number of the women in this study emphasised; '*We Koreans are different from Western people. aren't we?*', and their identities remain deeply rooted in ways of living which have been inherited from generation to generation.

It could be argued that it is precisely the complexity of the inter-relationship between public images of female identity and individual self identity at the private level that makes cultural investigation difficult. In fact, some interviewees explicitly said that public images of women in an idealised world had nothing to do with their own day-to-day living. They reiterated the importance of their own search for meaning through the maintenance of everyday life within a given situation. This is right because social structural patterns are not a matter of their choice. And yet, it could also be argued that the constantly publicised modern ideals of female identity also delineate the scope of the choices given to women within the contexts of everyday living. It may be true that the majority of women do not envy or dwell in the fantasy worlds of advertising. Nevertheless, women have to choose from what is available and acceptable within their cultural boundaries, and what is not. In this sense, public culture and private culture feed each other, and overlap in intricate mutual interactions.

Despite their disavowals, women in Korea often related themselves with the images of women presented in the world of media. This is because their everyday lives are both a reflection of and a source of public culture, and vice versa. While people as viewers/readers can freely select, and manipulate the messages the media offer them, the overall institution of the mass media surreptitiously controls them at a distance, so that both parties maintain a relationship of mutual 'remote control' (Seiter et al 1989). Although it was beyond the scope of the present study, the ways women interpret and interact with public cultural representations would be a key area for future research wanting to provide a fuller understanding of the formation of identity in contemporary Korea.

The current critique of cultural homogenisation has been relevant to a certain extent in this study, and yet, it is questionable in the Korean context where ethnic origin and national cultural identity have remained uniquely singular. The argument for cultural homogenisation, which assumes a largely uni-lateral process between the dominating and the dominated, may be too simplistic. Unlike citizens of multi-ethnic, multi-cultural societies, people in Korea have preserved their own strong and clear cultural home, and this study has found that the majority of women have continued to maintain their gender identity on the firm ground of 'Korean' culture. It might be more appropriate to think of this process as a part of a distinctive modern Korean cultural experience rather than a version of Western cultural imperialism. I have argued that people's everyday lives are still highly resilient to change and still powerfully organised around notions of 'national' culture. Nevertheless, this is not to suggest that the seriousness of their struggle in interacting with the force of new cultural imperatives should be overlooked. The pervasiveness of Western influence on contemporary public culture may yet undermine national integrity in the future.

If Korean culture is seen as 'peripheral' in contrast to the 'centres' of Western culture, to what extent is concept of a 'shifting power balance' within cultural globalisation (Featherstone 1991) correct in a Korean context? Although the East Asian region has been described as a new hegemonic zone in a world context (Friedman 1994), they may prove to be a short-lived phenomenon if the power of commodity capitalism continues to expand, and to dominate the construction of public culture vigorously promoting Western values, ideas and way of life. This may jeopardise the integrity of Korean identity even if ethnic cultural resistance remains strong.

The hotchpotch of cultural multiplicity will continue as long as the expansion of capitalism and the constant commodification of everyday experiences continue to be the core of modern development in this society. Even stronger reactionary attempts to go back to traditionalism may raise their voice at the same time. The dichotomy between women's images and women's positions may become even sharper. The gap between the ideal of traditional femininity and motherhood and the ideal of free modern female individuality may be widened, creating continual clashes and struggles. This in turn, may contribute to a loss of coherence and integrity in female identity. At the same time, it may pave the road to emancipation and equality. Society may be entering into a new post-modern era, in which 'a cultural dominant is absent' (Kellner 1992:171).

In spite of the wide range of intriguing, stimulating, and problematic aspects of cultural dynamics and transformations in contemporary Korea, this research had to narrow down its scope in order to provide a clear focus for exploration. However, I hope that this study has provided a useful starting point for understanding the complexity of gender identity in the process of modern development in East Asia, and more specifically in Korea. Further explorations of the tensions and contradictions which men

experience in the present phase of modern development would be an obvious next step to a fuller analysis of shifting gender relationships in East Asia. In addition, a detailed examination of the ways in which Western values and attitudes are viewed and adopted in both public cultural representations and in private lives in East Asian societies may provide additional insights into the changing dynamism of modernity in regard to cultural globalisation. Lastly, a fuller investigation of the construction of promotional culture, its ideological processes, and the linkages between public culture and private lives would also be essential in understanding the formation of modern self-identities in East Asia where capitalist expansion and consumer culture are growing rapidly.

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APPENDICES

**APPENDIX 1.
CODING SCHEDULE ON TV AND MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS**

BACKGROUND OF DATA

1. Case Number (column) 1-3

2. Source 4-5

TV

01 SBS

02 KBS II

03 MBC

magazine

04 Young Lady 7

05 Young Lady 8

06 Young Lady 9

07 Yeowon 7

08 Yeowon 8

09 Yeowon 9

10 La Belle 7

11 La Belle 8

12 La Belle 9

3. Television Time (hour/minute/second) 6-11

4. Magazine Page Number 12-14

VOICE OVER 15

5. a. Narration b. Actor's Talk c. Song

(When there is no narration, actor's talk will be coded.

When there is neither narration nor actor's talk, song will be coded.)

1 female

2 male

3 both male and female

KINDS OF ITEMS

6. What kind of advertisement

16-17

COOKING EQUIPMENT

- 01 cooker(oven range)
- 02 refrigerator
- 03 microwave oven
- 04 rice cooker
- 05 coffee maker
- 06 water purifier
- 07 mixed kitchen electric appliances

DRINK

alcoholic drink

- 08 beer
- 09 wine
- 10 spirit

non-alcoholic drink

- 11 fruit juice/soft drink
- 12 sports drink
- 13 milk
- 14 coffee
- 15 health drink

FOOD

sweet or snack

- 16 biscuits/nuts/candies/crisps
- 17 chocolate
- 18 chewing gum
- 19 cake/pie
- 20 yoghurt
- 21 ice cream

cooking ingredient

- 22 pasta/noodles
- 23 cooking oil
- 24 seasoning/sauce

convenience food

- 25 frozen food
- 26 processed food/convenience food
- 27 ready-to-eat food
- 28 cereal
- 29 baby food

- 30 health supporting food
- 31 health supporting medicine

RESTAURANT

- 33 restaurant

SETTING OF THE ADVERTISEMENT

7. Setting 18

(Setting means all kinds of background picture. Setting will be examined only when actor exists.)

no actor

- 1 no actor, setting only
- 2 no actor, no setting (products only) --- end

actor without setting

- 3 actor only, no setting--- go to actor

actor with setting

- 4 actor in outdoor setting
- 5 actor in indoor setting

8. What kind of space 19-20

- 99 no setting, no actor: not applicable

PUBLIC SPACE

place of production

- 01 factory
- 02 office
- 03 laboratory
- 04 farm

place of consumption

- 05 supermarket/shop
- 06 restaurant
- 07 office-consumption
- 08 night club
- 09 outdoor public space (in general)
- 10 nature/sea/field
- 11 school
- 12 indoor public space in general

DOMESTIC SPACE

place of production

13 house in general-production

place of food preparation

14 kitchen

15 well

place of consumption

16 living room

17 dining room

18 study

19 garden

20 house in general- consumption

21 other domestic space

22 irrelevant space to food practice

9. Style of the space (indoor setting only)

21

9 outdoor setting: not applicable

1 traditional (Korean)

2 Western

3 modernised urban Korean

5 not clear/ not distinguishable/ the rest of the above

ACTORS CHARACTERISTIC

ACTOR I

22-26

10. Gender

22 _

9 no actor

1 female

2 male

3 not clear

11. Age

23

9 no actor

1 baby

1 child

2 teenager

- 3 young adult
- 4 mature adult
- 5 elderly

12. Ethnic origin (The image of the actor)

24

- 9 no actor
- 1 Korean
- 2 other Asian
- 3 Western/white
- 4 Black
- 5 not clear/ cartoon character

ACTIVITY

13. Activity

25-26

- 99 no actor
- 01 simple juxtaposition
- 02 recommending the product

food producing

- 03 manufacturing
- 04 farming
- 05 food home-making

food exchange

- 06 giving/presenting food
- 07 receiving food

food shopping

- 08 buying
- 09 selling

food preparation

- 10 preparing for cooking
- 11 cooking
- 12 serving
- 13 helping serving/ helping food preparation

consuming

- 14 being served
- 15 eating/drinking
- 16 tasting

other

17 observing others' activity

18 discussing/talking about food (choosing consideration)

19 other (irrelevant to food practice)

ACTOR II	27-31
ACTOR III	32-36
ACTOR IV	37-41
GROUP	42-46

**APPENDIX 2.
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR AN OPEN INTERVIEW**

I. BACKGROUND DATA

PERSONAL BACKGROUND

1. Name

Address

Age

2. Marital Status

Married: Duration of marriage)

Single: Never been married

Engaged

Separated

Divorced

3. Family Structure

Alone

With the family:

husband/ partner

parents/ parents-in-law

brothers/ sisters

other

4. Children

Number of children

Gender

Age

Other

5. Occupation

Not employed:

has been employed before

never been employed

Being employed:

full-time

part-time

Type of job

6. Occupation of the husband/ partner

7. Educational Background

8. Husband's Educational Background

9. Social Activities

- Volunteer Work
- Hobbies
- Club activities
- Other

LIVING CONDITION

1. Housing

- Type of housing:

- house
- flat

- Ownership:

- owned
- rented

2. Car Ownership

No

Yes:

- available for herself during the daytime?
- not available

3. Kitchen Facilities

Traditional

Modern/Western

Any opinion about kitchen interior?

4. Kitchen Appliances

- What kind of equipment do you have?

- Food processor
- Rice cooker
- Fridge/freezer
- Cooker with oven and grill
- Dish Washer
- Microwave oven
- Others

- What kind of crockery do you have?

traditional/modern/Western

- Any opinion about kitchen equipment?

II. FOOD AND EATING HABITS

DAILY EATING

1. Budget for food

Who decides the budget?
What percentage/ How much?
Other opinion

2. Food Shopping

- Where:

open market
super market
corner shop
mobile stall
direct purchase from a farmer

- Who is responsible?

herself
with husband (How frequently?)
with mother/ mother-in-law
with friend/s
other

- How often?

- What type of foods do you buy?

fresh food
frozen food
ready-made food
processed/ tin food

- Other opinion about food shopping

3. Eating

- Preparation:

Cooking pattern

Eating pattern
Distributing pattern
Washing up pattern

- Meal type:

Breakfast
Lunch
Dinner
Snack
Other

- Weekday
- Weekend
- Holiday
- Special Occasion

4. With whom do you have meals each time?

5. Responsibility for food preparation

- Who is responsible?:
If he/she is not available?
- Do you receive any help? /How?
- Who do you cook for?
- Any different at the weekend/ holiday?
- Other opinion

6. Decision-making

- Menu
- Taste/ Recipe
- Serving/ Distribution
 - quantity
 - quality
 - type of food
- Meal time
- Other opinion

7. Cause for the changes of family meals/ eating

- Changes of family members:

husband
parents/ parent-in-law

children
other

- Wife's employment/ social activities:

How does it change (cooking/ eating pattern)?
Husband's attitude (help/ moral support/ other)?
Receiving help from?:
 family members
 maid (full-time/ part-time)
 other

- New type of foods (taste, convenience, price and other)
- Cost/ budget
- Other opinion

8. Comparison with the Past Eating Habits

- Childhood/ past

family relationship
any eating habits
mother's role
differences of foods (taste, nutrition, quality, quantity)
anything to cherish/ improve?
other opinion

- Opinion about traditional food

taste
cooking/ recipe
nutrition and diet
cost (money/ time)
other opinion

- Festival food preparation

How do you prepare?
How is your family food customs?
any opinion about festive food?

- Foreign food

- Traditional *Jang/ Kimchi/ Kimjang* making

INVITATION COOKING

1. Which Occasion?

family occasion
social occasion
other

2. How often?

3. Food Preparation and Consumption

- Who is largely responsible?
shopping/ cooking/ washing up
- What kind of food?
- Any other opinion?

EATING OUT

1. How often?
2. With whom?
3. On what occasion?
4. Where do you eat out?
5. What do you eat?
6. Why do you eat out/ How do you feel?
7. Any other opinion

YOUR OWN EATING HABITS

1. How is your health?
any stress?
comparison with the family health
2. How is your own eating?
nutrition
regularity
quantity/ quality
comparison with the family
3. Diet and Slimming

- Is your body image important?
 - opinion about your own body image
 - comparison with husband/ children
 - Other's opinion about your own body image
- How much are you concerned?
- Any present slimming/ diet practice?
 - any past experience?
 - motivation
 - result
 - other's opinion about your diet
- Your own drinking/smoking habits

4. Other

APPENDIX 3.

**DISTRIBUTION OF THE INTERVIEWEES' BACKGROUND
(by Age, Marital status, Occupation, Family, Employment and Class)**

Age 10-30: unmarried

Interviewee	age 10s	age 20s	working	not working
2	v			v
22		v	v	
31		v	v	

Age 20-30: married

Inter- view- ee	profe- ssion- al	routi- ne job	not work- ing (wor- ked before)	not work- ing (never work- ed before)	exte- nded family	nucle- ar family	midd- le class	work- ing class
7		v			v			v
26	v				v		v	
29		v				v		v
20			v			v	v	
24								
25				v	v		v	

Age 30-40: not married

Intervi- ewee	profess- ional job	routine job	not working (worked before)	not working (never worked)	middle class	working class
6	v				v	
8		v				v
19	v				v	

Age 30-40: married

Inter- view- ee	profe- sion- al job	routi- ne job	not work- ing (wor- ked before)	not work- ing (never work- ed before)	exte- nded family	nucle- ar family	midd- le class	work- ing class
1	v					v	v	
3			v		v		v	
4	v					v	v	
13			v		v		v	
23		v			v		v	
15	v					v	v	
16		v				v		v
17		v				v		v
18	v				v		v	
30		v				v		v
33	v				v		v	
34	v				v		v	

Age 40-60: unmarried

Interv iewee	in char- ge of dom- estic work	not in char- ge of dom- estic work	exten ded family	nucle- ar family	midd- le class	work- ing class	profe- sion- al job	routi- ne job
21	v			v		v		v

Age 40-60: married

Intervi- ewee	working (routine)	not working	extend- ed family	nuclear family	middle class	working class
28	v			v		v
32	v			v	v	
5		v	v		v	
12		v		v	v	
14		v		v	v	
27		v		v		v

Age over 60: unmarried

Intervi- ewee	in charge of domestic work	not in charge of domestic work	extend- ed family	nuclear family	middle class	working class
9		v	v			v
10	v		v			v

Age over 60: married

Intervi- ewee	in charge of domest- ic work	not in charge of domest- ic work	extend- ed family	nuclear family	middle class	working class
11	v			v	v	

APPENDIX 4.
LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

Interviewee 1 (age 37)

Seoul, Dongdaemungu, Chongryangri
Married, family: husband, son(10)
employed: part-time (language lecturer)

Interviewee 2 (19)

single, family: mother, father, younger sister(18), younger brother(15),
not employed

Interviewee 3 (37)

Seoul, YanhChonKu, MockDong
Married, family: husband, mother-in-law, 2 sons(12,9)
not employed: was working for 2 years (teacher)

Interviewee 4 (38)

Seoul, MockDong Apt
Married: husband, daughter(11), son(9)
employed: part-time(high school teacher)

Interviewee 5 (47)

YangChonKu, MockDong
Married for 21years: mother-in-law(91), husband(51), 2 daughters(20, 19)
not employed

Interviewee 6 (34)

SeoDaeMunKu, YonHee 3 Dong
single, family: younger brother
employed for 8 years(librarian)

Interviewee 7 (29)

YangChonKu, MockDong
married: husband (33), brother-in-law(28), daughter(1) looked after by
sister-in-law(43)
assistant shopkeeper, was employed for 4 years before marriage

Interviewee 8 (38)

GalHyunDong
widowed, was married for 9 years
family: 2 sons(12, 11)
shopkeeper

Interviewee 9 (78)

SuwonShi, GodeungDong

widowed: son(44), daughter-in-law(39), 2 grandchildren
not employed

Interviewee 10 (74)

UiJungBuShi

widowed: son(29), daughter-in-law(24), 2 grandchildren
not employed

Interviewee 11 (65)

ShinGilDong

married for 42 years: husband
2 sons(40, 36), daughter(38)
not employed

Interviewee 12 (47)

ShinrimDong

married for 20 years: husband
3 sons
not employed

Interviewee 13 (32)

HwaGokBonDong

married for 1 year and 3 months: husband(32), daughter(5 months),
mother, father
not employed, has been working for 8 years(professional)

Interviewee 14 (43)

BandPoDong JuGong

married for 20 years: husband(48), 3 daughters(19,17,13)
not employed

Interviewee 15 (33)

YoungDeungPoKu, YeoEuiDo

married for 1 year and 7 months: husband, expecting a baby
employed for 11 years (news letter editor)

Interviewee 16 (30)

SungSu 1 Ga 1 Dong

married for 5 years: husband, daughter(4)
part-time employed (insurance seller)

Interviewee 17 (29)

SungSu 1 Ka

married for 6 years: husband, son(4)
employed(factory worker)

Interviewee 18 (32)

SuYuRi

married for 3 months: parents-in-law, husband, sister-in-law, brother-in-law
employed for 9 years(secretary)

Interviewee 19 (33)

SeoChoKu BangBaeDong

single

editor in a publishing company

Interviewee 20 (28)

MapoGu Ahyun 1 Dong

married for 2 years 6 months: husband, son(4 months)
not employed: working for 6 years until marriage

Interviewee 21 (58)

YoungDeungPoGu, Dangsan 6 Dong

divorced for 23 years: daughter(21), independent son
employed for 31 years (chef)

Interviewee 22 (23)

GuangMyungShi, HaanDong

single

employed (factory worker)

Interviewee 23 (33)

YoungsanGu DongBuIchonDong

married for 4 years: husband, mother-in-law
employed (clerical worker)

Interviewee 24 (26)

YeokChonDong

married for 2 years: husband, parents-in-law
not employed

Interviewee 25 (29)

SongPaGu, SeokChonDong

married for 3 years: husband, a son(1 year 6 months)
not employed

Interviewee 26 (29)

SeongDongKu, HangDangDong

married for 1 year and 6 months: husband, no child
employed for 6 years

Interviewee 27 (42)

Kuroku Gochuck 2 Dong

married for 20 years: husband, 2 sons(19,18)
not employed

Interviewee 28 (48)

MockDong

married for 27 years: husband, son, 2 daughters, 1 independent daughter
part-time employed(manual worker), occasionally

Interviewee 29 (30)

SungSu 2 Ka

married for 5 years: husband, son(4)
part-time employed(cleaner)

Interviewee 30 (33)

SungDongKu, SungSu 1 ka

married for 13 years: husband, 2 sons(12, 3)
employed for 8 years (factory worker)

31. MyungHee Lee (24)

DongJackku, SangDodong

single, family: father, mother

employed for 2 years(Radio programme presenter)

Interviewee 32 (43)

KangNamKu, DaechiDong

married for 19 years: husband, son(20)
shopkeeper for 2 years 5 months

Interviewee 33 (37)

EungPyungKu, DaeJoDong

married for 9 years: husband, father-in-law, 2 daughters(7,1), son(5)
employed for 12 years(university lecturer)

Interviewee 34 (35)

DongJackKu, SaDangDong

married for 11 years:husband, parents, son(10)
employed for 10 years (university lecturer)

APPENDIX 5.
LIST OF LETTER WRITERS

1. KwonSoon Ok
2. SungO Shin
3. HyeOk Park
4. OkJa Park
5. OkHwa Kim
6. PilYoung Song
7. EunHye Son
8. SangSoon Park
9. JuYoung Yoon
10. TaeYim Choi
11. GumDan
12. MyungSook Li

APPENDIX 6.
TABLES ON CONTENT ANALYSIS

Table 1. Total cases sampled on television

Channel	Number of advertisements
MBC	61
KBS 2	59
SBS	53
Total	173 cases

Table 2. Total cases sampled in magazines

Magazines issue	Number of advertisements
Young Lady 7	10
Young Lady 8	12
Young Lady 9	10
Yeowon 7	23
Yowon 8	22
Yowon 9	26
La Belle 7	8
La Belle 8	2
La Belle 9	4
Total	117 cases

Table 3. Major types of food-related products promoted in advertisements

Advertised product	TV	Magazines
Convenience foods	24	6
Biscuits	23	7
Juice	14	7
Chocolates	12	-
Seasoning	11	12
Coffee	11	2
Yoghurt	10	3
Ice Cream	9	-
Health drinks	7	2
Sports drinks	7	1
Baby food	6	6
Frozen food	6	3
Cakes	6	-
Beer	5	-
Cookers	3	6
Chewing gum	3	7
Ready-made food	3	2
Microwave oven	2	4
Milk	2	4
Restaurants	2	3
Cooking oil	2	-
Cereals	2	-
Noodles	1	2
Wines	1	1
Spirits	1	-
Health-supplementary medicines	-	18
Health-supplementary food	-	6
Cooking Electric appliances	-	5
Rice cookers	-	4
Water purifiers	-	3
Coffee makers	-	2
Refrigerators	-	1
Total	173 cases	117 cases

Table 4. Major foods advertised

Categories	TV	Magazines
Sweets and snacks	63	17
Convenience food	41	17
Non-alcoholic drinks	41	16
Cooking equipment	5	25
Health supplementary food	-	24
Cooking ingredients	14	14
Alcoholic drinks	7	1
Restaurant/ Cafe	2	3
Total	173	117

Table 5. Settings of TV advertisements

Actor	Indoor setting	Outdoor setting	No setting
Setting with actor	104	46	14
Setting with no actor	-	2	-
No setting, no actor (Products only)	-	-	7

Total = 173

Table 6. Settings of magazine advertisements

Actor	Indoor setting	Outdoor setting	None
Setting with actor	20	13	30
Setting with no actor	-	3	-
No setting, no actor (Products only)	-	-	51

Total = 117

Table 7. Advertisements by setting

Place of the setting	TV	Magazines
Outdoor in general	33	1
House in general	29	2
Dining room	19	4
Night club	17	-
Nature	12	7
Kitchen	10	1
Office	6	2
Shop	5	-
Indoor in general	5	-
Restaurant	4	3
Living room	2	3
School	3	-
Farm	1	2
Laboratory	2	-
Study	2	-
Well	-	2
Factory	1	-
Garden	-	1
Other	1	8
No setting	21	81
Total cases	173	117

Table 8. Distribution of advertisements by setting and activity

Place	TV	Magazine
Public Place - consumption	54.6% (83)	27.8% (10)
Public Place - production	3.9% (6)	8.3% (3)
Public Place - other activity	-	5.6% (2)
Domestic Place - consumption	28.3% (43)	25.0% (9)
Domestic Place - preparation	6.6% (10)	8.3% (3)
Domestic Place - production	4.6% (7)	2.8% (1)
Domestic Place - other activity	1.3% (2)	22.2% (8)
Irrelevant to food activity	0.7%(1)	-
Total	100% (152)	100% (36)

(No setting = TV 21, Magazine 81)

Table 9. Gender of the voice-over by setting

Location	Female voice	Male voice	Mixed
Outdoor in general	12	15	6
Nature	1	11	-
House for consumption	7	10	3
Night club	6	8	3
Kitchen	-	8	2
Dining room	7	4	8
Shop	5	-	-
House for production	4	1	2
Office for consumption	3	1	-
Other	-	3	-
Indoor in general	2	2	1
Restaurant	-	2	2
Living room	-	2	-
Study	2	-	-
Office (Production)	-	2	-
Farm	-	1	-
Factory	-	1	-
School	-	-	3
Laboratory	-	-	2
Total	49	71	32

N=152 (no setting = 21)

Table 10. Style of setting

Style	TV	Magazine
Urban Korean	71 (46.7%)	17 (47.2%)
Western	28 (18.5%)	5 (13.9%)
Traditional Korean	6 (3.9%)	4(11.1%)
Not Clear/ Not distinguishable	47 (30.9%)	10 (27.8%)
Total	152 (100%)	36 (100%)

(no setting = TV 21, magazine 81)

Table 11. Total number of actors featured on TV

TV Channel	Total number of actors
MBC	88
KBS 2	86
SBS	80
Total	254 actors

Table 12. Total number of actors in the magazines

Magazine issue	Total number of actors
Young Lady 7	5
Young Lady 8	6
Young Lady 9	8
Yeowon 7	21
Yeowon 8	24
Yeowon 9	22
La Belle 7	7
La Belle 8	1
La Belle 9	4
Total	98 actors

Table 13. Distribution of actors by ethnicity

Ethnicity	TV	Magazines
Korean	243 (95.7%)	90 (91.8%)
Western	2 (0.8%)	1 (1.0%)
Other Asian	1 (0.4%)	-
Black	-	-
Not clear	8 (3.1%)	7 (7.1%)
Total	254 (100%) actors	98 (100%) actors

Table 14. Frequency of actors' appearance by gender

Gender	TV	Magazines
Female	142 (55.9%)	65 (66.3%)
Male	107 (42.1%)	33 (33.7%)
Not clear	5 (2.0%)	-
Total	254 (100%) actors	98 (100%) actors

Table 15. Distribution of actors by age group

Age	TV	Magazines
Young adult	128 (50.4%)	27 (27.6%)
Mature adult	52 (20.5%)	46 (46.9%)
Teenager	39 (15.4%)	3 (3.1%)
Child	32 (12.6%)	19 (19.4%)
Elderly	3 (1.2%)	3 (3.1%)
Total	254 (100%) actors	98 (100%) actors

Table 16. Distribution of age group out of total actors on TV

Age	Female	Male	Not clear
Young adult	31.5%	18.9%	-
Mature adult	11.9%	8.6%	-
Teenager	7.1%	8.3%	-
Child	4.3%	6.3%	2.0%
Elderly	1.1%	-	-
Total	55.9%	42.1%	2.0%

(N= 254)

Table 17. Distribution of age group out of total actors in the magazines

Age	Female	Male
Elderly	2.0%	1.1%
Mature adult	27.6%	19.3%
Young adult	22.4%	5.1%
Teenager	3.1%	-
Child	11.2%	8.2%
Total	66.3%	33.7%

(N= 98)

Table 18. Distribution of actors' activity by setting and gender on TV

Setting and activity	Female	Male	Not Clear
Domestic: consumption	41.5% (56)	33.9% (35)	33.3% (1)
Public: consumption	37.8% (51)	51.5% (53)	-
Domestic: preparation	10.4% (14)	3.9% (4)	-
Domestic: production	5.2% (7)	3.9% (4)	66.7% (2)
Public: production	3.7% (5)	6.8% (7)	-
Domestic: other activities	1.4% (2)	-	-
Total	100% (135)	100% (103)	100% (3)

N= 241 (actors with no setting = 13)

Table 19. Distribution of actors' activity by setting and gender in magazines

Setting and activity	Female	Male
Domestic: consumption	26.2% (11)	50% (8)
Public: consumption	23.8% (10)	25% (4)
Domestic: other activities	23.8% (10)	18.7% (3)
Domestic: preparation	19.0% (8)	6.3% (1)
Public: production	4.8% (2)	-
Domestic: production	2.4% (1)	-
Total	100% (42)	100% (16)

(N=58) (actors with no setting = 40)

Table 20. Distribution of activities by gender on TV

Activity	Female	Male	Not Clear
Eating	46	47	-
Being served	5	24	3
Serving	19	-	-
Recommending	18	5	-
Irrelevant activity	12	6	-
Buying	9	-	-
Cooking	7	5	-
Manufacturing	-	6	-
Tasting	5	-	-
Discussing	4	3	-
Giving	3	4	-
Juxtaposition	4	1	2
Receiving	4	1	-
Observing	2	3	-
Farming	1	1	-
Preparing	1	-	-
Helping/ Serving	1	-	-
Food preserving	1	-	-
Selling	-	1	-
Total	142	107	5

(Total = 254)

Table 21. Distribution of activities by gender in magazines

Activity	Female	Male
Juxtaposition	14	9
Other	11	3
Serving	9	-
Eating	6	4
Cleaning	6	-
Recommendation	5	1
Receiving	4	-
Being served	4	-
Giving	1	2
Cooking	1	2
Observing	2	-
Manufacturing	-	1
Buying	1	-
Food preserving	1	-
Total	65	33

(Total = 98)