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FAMILIAL SEX ROLE ATTITUDES
AMONG COLLEGE STUDENTS IN KOREA

by

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Abstract: The present study examines Korean male and female familial sex role attitudes, with emphasis on structural and ideological factors in the formation of such attitudes. Based on a sample of 266 Korean college students, the data reveal that along three dimensions of familial sex role attitudes men are more traditional than women. Socioeconomic status and ideological factors have a differential effect on men's and women's sex role attitudes, while the demographic effects on both sexes are relatively low. Comparison to a similar American study is discussed to provide a cross-cultural perspective. Interpretation of results focuses on sex role socialization and the cultural conditions of the Korean society.

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FAMILIAL SEX ROLE ATTITUDES AMONG COLLEGE STUDENTS IN KOREA¹

The burgeoning number of sex role studies in the last decade has contributed to the notion of sex role as central to the study of the family. Much of this research, however, has been limited to modern industrial societies with the comparative cultural perspective largely neglected. Thus, the need to subject present findings in this area to cross-cultural tests is of utmost importance to determine the degree of cross-cultural validation of our findings. Without such an attempt, much of what is known about the family will be culturally bound and theoretically limited (Berardo, 1980; Osmond, 1980). It is this concern that stimulated the pursuit of the present investigation in Korea with a special focus on the factors that contribute to the formation of familial sex role attitudes.

In view of a similar study in particular (Tomah, 1978) and other related studies in general (Vanfossen, 1977; Bayer, 1975; Meier, 1972; Yorburg and Arafat, 1975; Osmond and Martin, 1975; Martin, et al., 1980) based on American samples, the present study on a different culture will provide a comparative cultural view. Although Korea has a large collection of materials on the status of women, especially in relation to fertility behavior, the familial status of women in terms of decision-making and role playing in the family has been relatively neglected (Chung, 1976; Lee, et al., 1978). Moreover, what exists in the way of studies on the status of women has not been readily available to outsiders or disseminated internationally.

In a rapidly changing society such as Korea, systematic analysis of familial sex role attitudes becomes rather important, particularly when such a society has been typified as a family-oriented culture. In this context, it is essential to briefly examine some of the changes that have been taking place in the Korean family since the end of the Second World War and following the political unrest of the early sixties. Traditionally, patrilineal and patrilocal nuclear family units formed clan villages that represented economic and social classes. Families were large, marriages were arranged, and child training was strict. The father, as the patriarch of the family, commanded a considerable degree of dominance and authority while women were submissive and dependent (Chang, 1971, 1979). Under the Confucian system of ethics which emphasizes hierarchial social relationships between the sexes, women were considered inferior. Like women in traditional Japan and China, Korean women were house-bound, voiceless, and under strict domination of their parents and in-laws (Hong, 1978; Moon, 1974: 72-75).

The Korean family today has a new image due to a number of factors such as urbanization, industrialization, education, increased mobility, western influence, new ideologies, the mass media. All have altered the structure and functions of the family including sex role relationships (Roh and Ireland, 1972; Lee, 1971a, 1971b) and non-familial institutions have assumed roles that were previously the province of the family. The

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family has become smaller and more nuclear (Choi, 1970:3). There is evidence of changes from a traditional to a modern reproductive pattern in terms of the universal use of contraception, abortion, and family planning by married Korean women (Donaldson and Nichols, 1978).

Another noteworthy development in modern Korea is the emancipation of family members with some emphasis on individual choice, freedom, and equal rights. The position of women is improving (Roh and Ireland, 1972) and the undisputed husband-father rights and male superiority over the female are being challenged. Presently, more than one-half of the Korean urban women work before marriage and the birth of the first child (Chang, 1979) and the number of dual career families has increased (Hong, 1978).

The above changes have not been taking place across all stratas nor have they been resolved completely. Some aspects of the traditional family are still prevalent. Ideologies and values do not change instantaneously, and culture remains a part of one's heritage--a heritage that is not too remote from the present. As in western societies, however, progress toward greater equality between the sexes has been slow in Asian countries like Korea. It is within this cultural context that the familial sex role attitudes of Korean men and women will be examined.

Theoretically, the findings of this study should shed some light on the relevance of functional theory (Parsons and Bales, 1955) which emphasizes sex role segregation versus the shared role family model (Tomen, 1975; Bem, 1975) which stresses egalitarianism. If the sources for the formation of sex role attitudes are different for Korean men and women, the results will support a functional theory of the family where sex role differentiation is the likely pattern. On the other hand, if the processes which contribute to the development of sex role attitudes are similar for Korean men and women, their sex role outlook will also be similar. Indeed, if this is the case, the results will suggest a shared role model based on flexibility in the relationships between the sexes in the modern Korean family.

Methodology

Data Sources

The data presented in this study were gathered during the first two weeks in June, 1980, as part of a larger study designed to give information on various issues related to sex role attitudes and behaviors. At the time the data were collected, political unrest in Korea prevented the presence of all college students at their respective universities. Consequently, it was not possible to choose a random sample as originally planned. The political condition, however, did not involve sex role issues. Hence, the net effect on sex role attitudes should be minimal.

The present sample consists of 266 university students who completed self-administered questionnaires in the Korean language. The data were obtained from students enrolled full-time in various universities in the Seoul area. Thus, sampling was primarily based on available respondents

at the time the data were collected. While the sample size is small, it is relatively diversified to allow a partial test of the effect of population characteristics on sex role attitudes.

More specifically, 57 percent are males, 43 percent are females representing different academic interests; 52 percent are freshmen and sophomores, 39 percent are juniors and seniors, and 8 percent are graduate students; 46 percent are between 18 and 21 years old, 34 percent are between 22 to 25, and the rest are over 26 years old; 39 percent are Christian, 18 percent are Buddhists and Confucianists, and 42 percent have no religious preference. Some variation exists with respect to rural-urban experience and socioeconomic status of parents, and the distribution is slightly skewed toward urban middle or high status groups, typical of a university population in a developing country. The demographic characteristics between the sexes are not significant. Thus, any differences in the sex role attitudes of Korean males and females cannot be attributed to the distribution of sex in the sample.

Clearly, college students tend to represent a highly selective population. Hence, conclusions drawn from these data cannot be generalizable to other populations. Nevertheless, since sex role changes are depicted basically in the middle class (Vanfossen, 1977), the use of a college sample can provide insights based on variation from within as well as provide clues of possible emergent trends in sex role attitudes that may later appear in the general population.

Measurement of Variables

Three dimensions of sex role attitudes are examined within the family unit. (1) The wife-mother role is defined as representing an emphasis in which the interests of husband and children are neither of greater significance than nor placed ahead of those of the wife or mother. Greater role egalitarianism is indicated by stronger preferences for the wife-mother's individualistic interests. Role traditionalism is indicated by weaker preferences for the wife-mother's individualistic concerns and by guarding family loyalties related to husband and children. (2) The husband-father role is a departure from the orientation of patriarchy in which the greater significance of the husband-father's interests and authority are based on the exclusive ascribed status of sex. Nontraditionalism is indicated by objecting to this kind of ideology, whereas adherence to a patriarchal orientation indicates traditionalism. (3) Problematic husband-wife alterations role involves an emphasis on the husband's interests which basically remain ahead of or more significant than those of the wife, with the real possibility of temporal and tentative sacrifices in the husband's interests to accommodate those of the wife. Here, also, nontraditionalism is indicated by a preference for wife's individualistic benefits, as compared to husband's or familial interests, while a traditional response is a preference for husband's rather than wife's interests (items used and factor analyzed originally by Scanzoni, 1975, 1976; later revised by Tomeh, 1978). These dimensions represent roles that are considered intrinsic to marital and parental structural positions in the family. Korea's increasing modernization is likely to be reflected in these basic familial sex role relationships.

The response pattern to the items in each of the above dimensions used a four-point format ranked from "1" to "4," respectively: strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree. A nontraditional response is designated as "1" and a traditional response as "4." Thus, on the one end of the continuum are sex role attitudes that reflect a nontraditional or modern response emphasizing egalitarian relationships between the sexes, while at the other end of the continuum are attitudes that indicate a traditional endorsement of sex roles--the male as the breadwinner, the female as the homemaker (Bernard, 1975; Laws, 1979; Osmond and Martin, 1975; Tomeh, 1978; Martin, et al., 1980).

The reliability of the sex role attitude measures, tested by correlating each item to the total score of a given scale (Pearson r), is significant at the .001 level with a coefficient of reproducibility equal to .90 for the scale on the "wife-mother role," .75 for the scale on the "husband-father role," and .82 for the "problematic husband-wife alterations role." Although the latter two scales do not meet the 90 percent reproducibility criterion for a Guttman scale, the results suggest a "quasi-scalable" pattern with a reasonably consistent focus on familial sex role attitudes for the measures in question.

The correlation coefficients between the different scales are moderate to low and statistically significant at the .05 level. The largest obtained correlation is between the wife-mother role and the problematic husband-wife alterations role ($r = .34$, $N = 266$), and the lowest correlation is between the wife-mother role and the husband-father role ($r = .16$, $N = 266$). These results suggest sufficient independence among the different scales to warrant treating them as separate dimensions.

The independent variables - socioeconomic status, demographic, and ideological - are used to predict the variation in the familial sex role attitudes discussed above. The sub-categories for the first two variables are as follows: education of father and mother - some college or more, high school, less than high school; occupation of father - professional, semi-professional, skilled, unskilled, farmer; mother's work experience - some work experience, no work experience; annual family income - \$20,000 or more, \$10,000-19,999, less than \$10,000 (the Korean won monetary value was transferred to dollar value); college status - upper class and graduates, freshmen and sophomores; age - 13-19, 20-21, 22-23, over 24 years; religious preference - Christianity, Buddhism and Confucianism, no religious preference; rural-urban experience based on size of hometown where the respondent grew up until age 16 - farm or village, small town, large city.

The ideological variables represent: (1) attitudes toward women's employment based on fifteen items about female roles in a work context; (2) t-tests for the significance of mean differences in male/female scores on each item of a given scale; and (3) the use of Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA) (Andrews, et al., 1967). The MCA procedure treats each category of each independent variable as a dummy variable. Using additive multiple least squares regression, it adjusts the mean of the dependent variable for each category of the independent variables by

the amount of deviation from the total sample (grand) mean due to inter-correlation with other independent variables in the analysis. In other words, the MCA relates a number of predictor variables to a dependent variable, in the context of an additive model. Eta represents the ability of each predictor to explain variation in the dependent variable; as a measure of correlation, it can be compared with other etas from the same or different MCAs. Beta is the ability of the predictor to explain variation after adjusting for the effects of all other predictors; as such it can only be used to compare the relative importance of predictors within one MCA. The multiple R is adjusted for degrees of freedom and the adjusted multiple R^2 may be thought of as the amount of intercorrelation the analysis corrected for. Cases with missing data are deleted from specific statistical analysis.

Findings

Male and Female Familial Sex Role Attitudes

Attitudes toward the wife-mother role by sex are shown in Table 1. The data show that on one-half of the items of this scale, Korean women oppose a modern view of the wife-mother role while men tend to be even more traditional in their responses. It is apparent that both sexes consider maintaining strong family relationships the woman's major responsibility, while her commitment to professional roles is secondary. More specifically, Korean women and men oppose women's work if it temporarily inconveniences the husband and children. They also hold the view that a working mother cannot have warm relationships with her children. Other opposed options relate to a woman working while having young children or postponing having a family to increase her opportunities in life.

A study based on the attitudes of Korean college students toward women's occupational activities (Lee, 1974) shows that: (1) while the majority of college women want a permanent job after graduation for the purpose of self-development, most of them do not want to engage in occupational activities after marriage; and (2) Korean college men have a negative attitude toward women's participation in activities outside the home, especially occupational pursuits. Clearly, for Korean women and especially for Korean men, family and work roles are perceived as incompatible.

By contrast, American college women take a nontraditional attitude on most of the above attitudinal items, whereas men tend to have some reservations particularly relative to the welfare of husband and children. Both sexes, however, are not as conservative as their Korean counterparts (Tomch, 1978).

Some of the wife-mother role characteristics that elicit a nontraditional response on the part of Korean women relate to sharing in decision-making, moving ahead the same way a man would, preparing daughters and sons for family and work roles, as well as combining such roles for themselves. In other words, as long as women's interests do not interfere

TABLE 1

SEX DIFFERENCES IN MEAN SCORES ON ATTITUDES
TOWARD THE WIFE-MOTHER ROLE

Wife-Mother Role	Females (N = 113)	Males (N = 153)
In marriage, the wife and husband should share making major decisions.**	1.41	1.63
One of the most important things a mother can do for her daughter is to prepare her for both family life and work.***	1.70	2.00
In marriage, the major responsibility of the wife is not limited to keeping her husband and children happy.**	1.56	1.33
One of the most important things a mother can do for her son is to prepare him for both family life and work.	1.47	1.42
A married woman's greatest satisfaction comes through a combination of family and work.*	1.75	1.94
If a woman works, she should try to get ahead the same way a man would.***	1.89	2.35
A wife may want to work even if it sometimes inconveniences her husband and children temporarily.***	2.29	2.99
A mother of young children may want to work if the family needs the money.	2.69	2.84
A mother of young children may want to work if it makes her personally happy.**	2.61	2.94
A working mother can establish just as warm and secure relationships with her children as a mother who does not work.***	2.25	2.74
A parent gets equal satisfaction when a daughter gets ahead in her occupation as when a son gets ahead in his occupation.**	2.04	2.33
A working mother may want to postpone having children in order to increase her opportunities in life.***	2.42	2.97
TOTAL SCALE SCORES***	24.08	27.48

* p < .05 (t-test)
 ** p < .01 (t-test)
 *** p < .001 (t-test)

with traditional functions of the family, Korean women emerge as non-traditional. Similarly, Korean men are likely to support a few of women's non-traditional concerns as long as the welfare of the husband and children is not disturbed. Thus, the sample data do not completely support Chung's (1976) claim that the wife's status has changed from that of obedient spouse to one of equal partner in the home in East Asia.

Analysis of the husband-father role is shown in Table 2. The data reveal that Korean women are more in favor of a nontraditional husband-father role than men. Women believe that the husband alone should not be the head of the family, that a man should not expect his family to adjust to the demands of his profession, and that a father should socialize his daughter for dual family and work roles. On the former two issues, Korean men support a patriarchal orientation. On the remaining husband-father role items, the response is nontraditional, though not to the extent of women's modern responses, especially with respect to the item on fathers' preparing their daughters for family and work where the difference is significant.

Interestingly, American men have a traditional outlook on the majority of the husband-father role characteristics and tend to be more traditional than their Korean counterparts. American and Korean college women, however, seem rather similar in their nontraditional responses with one exception; American women favor concessions on the part of the family to support the husband's career (Tomeh, 1978). Although in principle there is some support for an overall nontraditional husband-father role especially as perceived by Korean women, if this ideology interferes with the performance of the wife-mother traditional role or disturbs the more important aspects of a patriarchal orientation, men are likely to oppose nontraditional parental roles as evidenced in Table 1.

The familial sex role attitude examined in Table 3 emphasizes the tentative and problematic nature of the situation that the husband has to consider in connection with the wife's occupational interests. Here Korean men and women show the most traditional responses compared to the previous familial roles. Obviously, the nature of this dimension which deals with making adjustments in marital roles is perceived to be critical and central to Korean family relationships. More specifically, both sexes do not favor a wife's taking a job that requires her to be away from home overnight while her husband takes care of children. Korean men, however, are significantly more traditional than women. The same sex role issue is not favored by either American men or women, though their objection is not as strong as the Korean's (Tomen, 1978). The fact remains, however, that the presence of young children is perceived as a barrier to the employment of the mother in both social structures, implying the primacy of the woman's domestic role over her professional role.

The only other similarity between the Korean and American college respondents is in their objection to wives' earning a higher salary than the husband. Although the difference between the sexes is not significant, both cultural groups feel that a sex role reversal in earnings would affect the balance of power in the family. The implication here may be that women competing for jobs with men may settle for a lower

TABLE 2

SEX DIFFERENCES IN MEAN SCORES ON ATTITUDES
TOWARD THE HUSBAND-FATHER ROLE

Husband-Father Role	Females (N = 113)	Males (N = 153)
A married man's chief responsibility should be equally divided between his job and family.	1.91	1.97
The husband alone should not be the head of the family.***	1.79	2.21
A man should not expect his family to adjust to the demands of his profession.**	1.89	2.07
In marriage, the major responsibility of the husband to his wife and children is more than economic.	1.34	1.41
One of the most important things a father can do for his daughter is to prepare her for a working life and for a family.*	1.81	1.97
TOTAL SCALE SCORE***	8.74	9.63

* p < .05 (t-test)
** p < .01 (t-test)
*** p < .001 (t-test)

TABLE 3

SEX DIFFERENCES IN MEAN SCORES ON ATTITUDES TOWARD
PROBLEMATIC HUSBAND-WIFE ALTERATIONS ROLE

Problematic Husband-Wife Alterations Role	Females (N = 113)	Males (N = 153)
A wife should be able to take a job which requires her to be away from home overnight while her husband takes care of the children.***	2.73	3.28
When a child of working parents is ill, the husband and wife should be willing to stay home and care for the child.	2.43	2.37
If the wife makes more money than her husband, it would not upset the balance of power.	2.29	2.44
A married man should be willing to have a smaller family so that his wife can work if she wants to.***	2.49	2.90
Qualified women who seek positions of authority should be given such positions as equally qualified men.***	1.48	2.06
TOTAL SCALE SCORE**	11.42	13.05

** p < .01 (t-test)

*** p < .001 (t-test)

salary. Thus, the discrepancy in salary between men and women may not be so much the result of economic exploitation as much as women's concern for having smooth family relationships. Whatever the reasons, the net effect may be a continuation of the differential in salaries between men and women as evidenced in several studies (Hudis, 1976; Treiman and Terrell, 1975; Chung, 1976; McLaughlin, 1978).

Although Korean men and women are against making adjustments in family size to promote the interests of the wife, Korean men take a significantly more traditional attitude than women. Both sexes agree, however, that the mother should assume responsibility for a child when his or her welfare is in question. American men and women take a more liberal view on these issues as compared to their Korean partners (Tomeh, 1978).

Korean women are significantly more nontraditional than men only in their support for sex role equality in seeking positions of authority. It must be recalled, however, that once labor force participation interferes with the family, Korean women tend to oppose work roles. In other words, egalitarianism is supported only when it does not disturb the traditional family structure. On the other hand, Korean men object to sex role equality in positions of power regardless of family conditions. This finding raises the question of whether or not male attitudes will prevent women from attaining high positions and moving ahead in the social structure. This ideological position on the part of Korean men may pose real problems for women's mobility in a developing society.

In all, Korean women are more likely than men to accept changes in women's status under certain conditions, while Korean men are relatively resistant to altering their traditional roles even on a temporary basis. This pattern of findings is repeated in studies on American college students (Osmond and Martin, 1975; Martin, et al., 1980; Tomeh, 1978; Yorburg and Arafat, 1975; Bayer, 1975). Korean women, however, have not caught up with the modernism of American women while Korean and American men show some overlap in their sex role perceptions. On the basis of a Korean study, Lee (1968) suggests that although the traditional value of familial relationships may be changing, even university students still adhere to them.

For the Koreans, marriage and children take precedence to women's nonfamilial roles. Indeed, socialization processes in the family created preference for familial interests that facilitated the achievement of marital and parental roles. These cultural values appear to be relatively consonant with current perceptions. Thus, the welfare of the family has to be protected before other interests. Only when the family is functioning according to traditional sex role expectations are Korean women and men willing to support women's labor force activities. Men, however, do not want to grant women the same equality as men in the work role. It is not only the conflict between a traditional family and the demands of a working life that may face the Korean woman, but also the inequality encountered in nonfamilial roles.

If the attitudes of a college group can be taken as indicators of sex role change, the findings of the present study indicate that sex role changes in the family are extremely slow. One might expect greater sex role traditionalism in a more heterogeneous sample than the one under study. Hence, within the limitation of this analysis, it appears that the Korean family of a young educated group still tends to be insulated from the effects of modernization in the transitional phase of industrialization.

MCA Analysis of Familial Sex Role Attitudes

Socioeconomic Status: The relative contribution of socioeconomic variables to variation in dimensions of familial sex role attitudes both before and after controlling for all independent variables is shown in Table 4. It is observed that the total impact of socioeconomic status on familial sex role attitudes varies by sex as well as by the sex role dimension in question. More specifically, for females, socioeconomic status of parents taken together explains an extremely small portion (a maximum of three percent) of the variation in the wife-mother role, whereas for males twenty percent explained variance is shown. Father's education and mother's work experience are significant predictors of the son's attitude toward the wife-mother role ($\eta = .21$ and $.23$, respectively). Mother's work experience is equally significant ($\eta = .19$) in predicting the son's attitude toward the husband-father role. Although the large majority of the respondents' mothers in this sample are housewives (89 percent), not unusual for better educated mothers of middle-upper socioeconomic families in a developing urban city (Kim and Kim, 1977), the few mothers who have some work experience tend to impart less traditional attitudes to their sons.

The importance of mother's work experience in shaping sex role attitudes has also been observed in American studies. Vanfossen (1977), Tomer (1978), and Klecka and Hiller (1977) report that it is whether the mother worked at all rather than her occupational status that is associated with children's sex role attitudes. It is argued that involvement in nonfamilial roles implies that mothers are able to articulate their maternal roles in distinctive ways, and can present models to their children of what women can do in terms of their home setting and the accommodations they are able to make between home and work roles. Thus, as more Korean mothers become involved in roles outside the home, their influence on the attitudes of their children is also likely to increase. An indirectly related Korean study (Park, 1974) shows that mothers who are club members have greater participation in decision-making in the family and a greater tendency to reach decisions by consensus of husband and wife than mothers who are non-club members.

Interestingly, neither the mother's nor the father's socioeconomic standing contributes much to the daughter's attitudes toward the wife-mother or husband-father roles. The absence of a relationship may indicate that in view of Korean women's mixed perceptions of the wife-mother role and the nontraditional perception of the husband-father role, their attitudes may be undergoing some change. Thus, the family social class may have less of an impact on the sex role perceptions of daughters

TABLE 4

RELATIVE CONTRIBUTION TO VARIATION IN FAMILIAL SEX ROLE ATTITUDINAL SCORES FOR SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS, DEMOGRAPHIC AND IDEOLOGICAL VARIABILITY BEFORE AND AFTER COVARIANCE ADJUSTMENT* FOR EACH SEX

Predictors	The Wife-Mother Role				The Husband-Father Role				Problematic Husband-Wife Alterations Role			
	Females		Males		Females		Males		Females		Males	
	Eta	Beta	Eta	Beta	Eta	Beta	Eta	Beta	Eta	Beta	Eta	Beta
<u>Socioeconomic Status</u>	(N = 77)		(N = 107)		(N = 77)		(N = 107)		(N = 77)		(N = 107)	
Father's Education	.01	.07	.21	.29**	.11	.00	.15	.12	.22	.08	.03	.09
Mother's Education	.14	.12	.07	.13	.21	.14	.16	.08	.38	.28	.07	.13
Father's Occupation	.09	.06	.30	.27	.21	.16	.14	.19	.28	.20	.19	.17
Mother's Work Experience	.02	.01	.23	.23**	.05	.06	.19	.27**	.13	.09	.16	.16
Family Income	.09	.06	.09	.09	.28	.22	.16	.16	.33	.30**	.08	.10
Multiple R ²	.03		.20**		.13		.13		.27**		.07	
<u>Demographic Characteristics</u>	(N = 111)		(N = 150)		(N = 111)		(N = 150)		(N = 111)		(N = 150)	
College Status	.14	.24**	.00	.10	.04	.19	.03	.10	.06	.27**	.05	.03
Age	.11	.20	.14	.18	.19	.25	.16	.15	.22	.32	.13	.12
Religious Preference	.15	.15	.13	.14	.18	.17	.20	.17	.09	.11	.03	.04
Rural Urban Experience	.03	.04	.10	.07	.13	.12	.26	.23**	.21	.18	.05	.05
Multiple R ²	.08		.05		.10		.12**		.13		.02	
<u>Ideological Variables</u>	(N = 113)		(N = 153)		(N = 113)		(N = 153)		(N = 113)		(N = 153)	
Employment of Women	.15	.10	.48	.41**	.47	.29**	.26	.16	.49	.35**	.24	.21**
Personality Disposition	.27	.26**	.33	.21**	.57	.40**	.42	.37**	.49	.34**	.14	.08
Women's Movement	.04	.05	.22	.09	.41	.25**	.23	.12	.30	.12	.15	.10
Multiple R ²	.08		.29**		.46**		.22**		.37**		.08	

* Covariance adjustment refers to controlling for all of the other independent variables listed.

** Significance of F probability $\leq .05$ level.

because of the greater influence of other factors as shown later in the analysis relative to college experience, specific ideologies, and possibly other variables not tapped in this study. The results do not appear to be culture bound. Similar findings based on American studies (Tomeh, 1978; Martin, et al., 1980) give further support to this explanation.

Another interpretation, from the sex stratification perspective (Nielsen, 1978: 8-10), is that parents tend to place great emphasis on socializing their male children not only into traditional male roles but also into the essence of traditional female roles. Men's work roles are normative role expectations in both western and nonwestern societies. Consequently, parents may take greater pains to socialize sons into appropriate male roles than the daughter's normative female role. American scholars (Nielsen, 1978; Acker, 1973; Brittain, 1977; Laws, 1979) view power, resources, privilege, and status inheritance as male domains. This is the case in both preindustrial and industrial settings with the result that parents become less concerned with daughter's than son's knowledge of appropriate male and female roles. The fact that American studies (Tomeh, 1978; Martin, et al., 1980; Vanfossen, 1977) also show a stronger relationship between family socioeconomic level and son's sex role conceptions (on specific dimensions) than with the daughter's provides some support for the explanation based on sex differentiation and the commonality of this pattern in the two cultural groups.

When the daughter's attitude towards the problematic husband-wife alterations role is examined, however, socioeconomic status of parents explains the highest variation (27 percent). Here family income is a significant predictor ($\eta^2 = .33$), followed by mother's education ($\eta^2 = .38$) and father's occupation ($\eta^2 = .28$). The reduced beta values suggest that each of these variables alone is not a sufficient predictor of the measured sex role attitude. Data not reported here show that less traditional sex role attitudes are associated with a higher socioeconomic level, thus, indicating the declining role of the father in a society traditionally characterized by a stable patriarchal family structure (Kim and Kim, 1977; Kim, 1973a). For sons, the economic position of the family contributes only seven percent to variation in the problematic husband-wife alterations role. Perhaps the reality of this role is still remote from the experience of Korean men to be of concern to parents. If in effect Korean men have to sacrifice to promote the interests of wives, sons may well be the recipients of more explicit social class socialization cues and pressures regarding the implementation of this role.

The high explained variation shown for women suggests that some aspects of familial sex role attitudes are still linked to factors associated with women's socioeconomic origin. Thus, features of women's socioeconomic background (e.g., family income, father's occupation, and mother's education) during the formative socialization period may affect specific sex role attitudes later in life. Moreover, it is possible that the husband-wife alterations role might be of central importance to Korean women because of the dual nature of the role, its complexity, the marital sacrifice involved, and the change in the status quo. Since it is the parents who are major socializing agents, one would expect a relationship

between the daughter's personal values on a complex debatable issue and the values of parents. What influences the daughter's attitude in this case is the parents' socioeconomic background via the internalization of a set of values.

In a comparative sense, the socioeconomic status of parents is of greater consequence to the formation of familial sex role attitudes among Koreans than Americans. In particular, to the extent that mother's education and employment outside the home are indicators of a modern orientation, an increase in these trends means a departure from the traditional mode of father dominant sex role patterns and an increase in family egalitarianism. In a developing society, the process of change from traditionalism to modernism is rather slow, and Korean women's efforts in this direction are far from being substantial thus far.

Demographic variables: Taken together, college status, age, religious preference, and rural-urban experience account for a maximum of 13 percent of the variation in familial sex role attitudes (see Table 4). Demographic variables explain less variation than socioeconomic status in sex role attitudes. For females, college status is a significant predictor of the wife-mother and problematic husband-wife alterations roles. Here, preference for wife's individualistic benefits is supported primarily by women who are in upper-class levels. Although age does not have a strong effect on women's familial sex role perceptions, younger women (18-21) seem to support low traditional views except in the case of the wife-mother role where the support for a low traditional profile characterizes women over 24 years of age. Thus, with educational attainment and greater maturity Korean women become better equipped to handle their own role in the family, i.e., the wife-mother role. Kim (1973b), on the basis of a Korean study, shows that age and education are important factors in determining attitudes toward marriage in that young and more educated women have more modern attitudes.

For men, college status is not relevant to the formation of familial sex role attitudes, whereas age is of some importance. Younger men (18-21) tend to report less traditional attitudes. Once they are older, however, traditional sex role attitudes become predominant.

Further analysis of the data shows no appreciable effects of the religious factor. This result may be a function of the sample which is largely composed of Christians and students with no religious preference. In Korea, Christians constitute a large proportion in universities (Area Handbook for the Republic of Korea, 1975). Thus, excluding college students as well as the effect of Christianity as liberal forces (Lee, 1971b; Moon, 1974), one might expect the impact of religion to be greater on the vast majority of men and women in Korea.

Some American studies show the significance of religion as an institutional influence on sex role attitudes (Hesselbart, 1978; Mason and Bumpass, 1975; Vanfossen, 1977; Martin, et al., 1980), while others show the religious factor as a weak force in the formation of such attitudes (Tomem, 1978; Scanzoni, 1976; Brogan and Kutner, 1976). Thus, cross-culturally, the effect of religious identification on sex role attitudes is inconclusive.

Rural-urban experience produces a strong effect only on men's attitudes toward the husband-father role ($\eta = .26$). Supporters of a modern viewpoint are males who grew up in an urban large city. The same is true for women, though rural-urban experience is a weak predictor of their attitudes. A Korean study (Kim, 1973b) also shows the relevance of urban residence to contemporary attitudes toward marriage. Thus, to the degree that urban exposure in childhood serves as an important structural element in the communication of values and aspirations promoting modernism, this factor has a limited effect on the formation of the sex role attitudes of a Korean college group.

Some American studies show that the effects of rural-urban experience are greater for men than women (Tomeh, 1978), others show the reverse (Martin, et al., 1980), and the Korean study shows some variation by sex. In view of these inconsistent results, a clear pattern is not apparent within a given culture.

Although demographic variables do not emerge as strong predictors of the attitudes under study, they contribute more to the formation of familial sex role attitudes in a developing society such as Korea than in a western society (Tomen, 1978).

Ideological variables: The effects of ideological factors to variation in familial sex role attitudes are revealed in Table 4. For women, the impact of these variables on the wife-mother role is similar to that of demographic characteristics, a low explained variance. Although personality disposition is a significant predictor ($\eta = .27$) in this respect, beliefs on female work roles or the women's movement have negligible effects. For men, ideological factors are by far more important than socioeconomic or demographic effects on perceptions of the wife-mother role. The 29 percent explained variation appears to be largely the result of attitudes toward the employment of women and personality disposition.

The general low impact of the women's movement on Korean men's and women's sex role attitudes may be due to the fact that the movement has not had tremendous progress in Korea. Chang (1979) claims that, when the new feminist movement is popularized by the nation's press, more noticeable changes in the status of women will be observed.

It is further observed that women's and men's attitudes toward the husband-father role are significantly affected by ideological beliefs (46 and 22 percent explained variation, respectively). Among females all three ideological factors contribute significantly to attitudes toward this role, whereas for males only personality disposition is a significant predictor ($\eta = .37$). For both sexes, however, ideological factors are more important than socioeconomic or demographic characteristics in the formation of attitudes toward the husband-father role. This result suggests that a change from a traditional to a modern husband-father role is likely to come about primarily as a result of one's position on other supportive issues, especially in the case of women. Perhaps women believe that unless they liberate themselves from the traditional role of husband-father by aligning themselves with a liberated ideology, they will not

free themselves from the traditional wife-mother role. In other words, the traditional status of women will change following a change in men's roles. This may be a conceivable strategy in countries that have witnessed a long history of a patriarchal family structure.

The significance of the ideological factors continues to hold for women relative to the problematic husband-wife alterations role. Attitudes toward the employment of women, personality disposition, and the women's movement explain about thirty-seven percent of the variation in this role conception as compared to eight percent variance for men. For the most part, none of the ideological factors separately is a sufficient predictor of sex role conceptions as evidenced by the reduced beta values. Nevertheless, their explanatory power cannot be ignored.

Comparatively speaking, while the ideological effects are more consistent in the American (Tomeh, 1978) than in the Korean college sample, in both cultural groups, their socializing influence on women is stronger than on men relative to specific familial sex role attitudes.

Conclusion and Implications

The study results show that Korean men are significantly more traditional than women on all three aspects of sex role attitudes. This same pattern of findings is observed in American studies (Scanzoni, 1976, 1978; Duncan and Duncan, 1978; Iglehart, 1979; Thornton and Freedman, 1979; Sexton, 1979; Tomeh, 1978). Although Korean women are more traditional than their American sisters, it is also clear that cross-culturally there is a gradual shift in the attitudes of women toward less traditionalism.

On the wife-mother role, Korean women have mixed feelings in that they are likely to support their own individual interests as long as they do not interfere with the interests of husband and children. Once the welfare of the husband and children is at stake, however, they are of the view that the family has primacy over their own individual interests. In a complementary fashion, Korean men promote the importance of the family over and above women's benefits. Nonetheless, within this traditional sphere, women emerge as less traditional than men.

The husband-father role dimension elicits a nontraditional response on the part of Korean women, whereas men partially support this view with the guarantee relative to their supremacy as the patriarch of the family. As for the problematic husband-wife alterations role in which the emphasis is on the husband's considerations in connection with the wife's occupational interests, both Korean college men and women have serious reservations and the most traditional responses as compared to the other familial roles. Again, within this traditional attitude, women emerge as less traditional than men.

On a substantive level, present evidence supports a functional sex role model where attitudes, expectations, opportunities, and responsibilities are defined, for the most part, along sex lines with a slight

shift toward nontraditionalism on the part of women. Traditional Korean culture stresses the importance of the family unit at the expense of the individual. Thus, retaining certain traditional values and traditional roles of husband-wife relations are not unexpected. As long as men insist on their traditional status and women continue to give preference to the family over other options in life, however, the sex role differential is likely to persist and result in status differences.

The effects of men's and women's traditional attitudes are critical in developing countries where educational and occupational opportunities are becoming open to women. The question is whether Korean women feel dampened by traditional perceptions of their role to take advantage of new opportunities. Once traditional restrictions are removed, the importance of the maternal role is likely to diminish and pave the way to reduced fertility, later age at marriage, small family size (Germaine, 1975; Donaldson and Nichols, 1978) as well as to other modern behavioral and ideological changes in the status of women that facilitate entry into non-familial roles. In this vein, Hoffman (1974) argues that high levels of educational attainment expand perceptual horizons, thereby increasing aspirations for role alternatives to childbearing. And Wong (1972) supports the thesis that factors such as education and occupational levels have led to a world-wide proliferation of the conjugal family pattern.

To shed some light on the processes through which the above sex role attitudes may have occurred, this paper has also analyzed the effects of socioeconomic status and demographic and ideological factors.

The relevance of family social class to men's sex role attitudes suggests sex differentiation in socializing men into what is considered the appropriate "male role" and "female role." To the extent that men control more power and resources, parents want to make sure that the division of labor between the sexes is maintained. In fact, men's ideological commitments reinforce the sex role differential based on the wife-mother role. Socioeconomic status, however, is not completely irrelevant of women's sex role attitudes when the husband's and wife's interests require sacrifices or negotiations to promote the benefits of the other spouse. Korean women consistently rely on explicit socialization cues from parents as well as on their own educational level and a supportive ideology to handle an "inter-related familial complex role." The small effect of the same factors on men's conceptions regarding the problematic husband-wife alterations role possibly suggests that Korean men do not foresee the importance of this role. In view of their traditional values, however, the cognitive reality of this role is likely to trigger the values associated with their background characteristics should the situation arise.

From a cross-cultural viewpoint, social class as a more powerful predictor of the sex role attitudes of males than females receives some support and calls attention to the importance of specifying the sex role dimension under study. The low impact of demographic characteristics in the formation of sex role attitudes is evident cross-culturally. Korean men's and women's sex role perceptions, however, are to a greater extent the consequence of their structural position in society than is the case

with their American counterparts. Moreover, the effects of the predictor variables are more along sex lines in a developing society like Korea than in an industrial society (Tomah, 1978).

The overall importance of ideological factors in both cultural groups suggests that issues such as the employment of women and personality role behavior are, indeed, cross-cultural concerns. The focus on ideological commitments and sex role attitudes is essential to the understanding of sex role relationships within as well as outside the family.

Conceptually, the analysis cautions against the use of a unidimensional concept of sex role attitudes. Only when the multidimensional status of such a concept is empirically investigated are the men's and women's distinct sex role attitudinal patterns by structural and ideological factors likely to be revealed. Furthermore, the multidimensionality of sex role attitudes has relevance to family or community oriented programs designed to reduce traditional values in specific areas.

Theoretically, however, there is need for greater elaboration of the implications of the change from a traditional to a modern sex role orientation across other cultures in terms of the processes involved in the influence of various structural and social psychological variables. Identification of the dynamics through which the family reinforces traditional sex role conceptions is needed in various cultures.

Finally, conclusions drawn from this data await further rigorous testing in the larger Korean society and in other less or more developed countries.

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