

Korean Women's Social Advancement and Changes in Their Time-Use Patterns¹⁾.

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I. Introduction

One of the most notable features of Korea's rapid economic growth and social change during the past three decades is an impressive progress and social advancement of women.

Women in Korea, a traditional Confucian patriarchal society, had basically been confined to homes with little employment opportunities as late as the 1970s. A few women who were fortunate enough to find jobs also had to give up their jobs on their marriages.

But presently women in Korea comprise more than 41% of the nation's work force, and their contribution to society is highly recognized. Women's social participation in politics and other cultural and social affairs as well as in economic activities have vastly increased in a relatively short period of time.

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Their importance and influences are felt throughout the society.

Female government ministers and members of National Assembly (Parliament) are numerous these days, let alone many CEOs and top executives in the industries. During the past two decades, many discriminatory laws and social practices against women have been abolished or revised, and important laws for women's rights have newly been enacted including "the Equal Employment Act," "the Anti-Sexual Harassment Act," and the like. This, of course, owed much to a heightened social recognition of women's rights and the gender mainstreaming movements throughout the world since the 1970s.

Does women's advancement in their social participation affect their life styles? More specifically, will this changed social and political status of women be reflected in their daily activities as recorded in their time-use patterns? Or conversely, do changes in women's time-use patterns describe their improved social status? Unlike in many advanced Western societies where social change had been relatively gradual, the Korean data are believed to shed some light on this relationship between social development and time-use patterns, as the country's development has been very rapid.

This paper purports to delve into these questions by analyzing Korean women's time-use patterns. The data employed for the present analysis are a series of nationwide time-budget studies data collected every five years since 1981 by Korean Broadcasting System (KBS) and the Institute of Communication Research of Seoul National University. These surveys are almost identical in their sample sizes and data collection methods as well as their analyses schemes, and, thus, provide the most consistent time-series data on the Korean people's time-use behaviors.¹⁾

II. Social Change and Women's Advancement

1. Economic Growth and Industrialization

1) for the detailed methods, please refer to Choo (2001)

Korea's economic growth during the past three decades has been one of the fastest in the world. The country during this period has been transformed into a full-fledged industrial society from a backward agricultural economy until the late 1960s. The country was a typical underdeveloped traditional society with not much of industry. Agriculture was the biggest economic sector with some 63% of the population living in rural areas. In 1960, Korea's per capita GNP was less than US\$ 100, and the export total was mere \$ 30 million.

But as a result of an unprecedented economic growth since the early 1970s, which is often called "the Miracle on the River Han," the country's per capita GNP in 1995 reached \$ 10,823, an increase of more than 100 times in 40 years. And the export total in 2000 exceeded \$ 461 billion, showing a 15,000-fold increase. Korea now ranks 12th economically in the world, and joined OECD in 1995. The following <table 1> summarizes some of these changes.

<table 1> Indices of Social Change in Korea

	Unit	1970	1980	1990	2000
total population	1,000 persons	31,435	37,406	42,869	45,985
rural population	1,000 persons	15,654	11,460	7,498	5,600
rural population(%)	%	49.80	30.64	17.28	12.18
life expectancy	year		65.8	72.8	76.4
birth rate			2.83	1.59	1.47
divorces per 1,000	case			1.1	2.8
GDP	\$ billion	8.0	62.2	252.5	461.7
GNI	\$ billion	8.0	60.9	252.3	459.2
GNI per capita	\$	249	1,598	5,185	9,770
export total	\$ million	840	17,505	65,016	143,685
import total	\$ million	1,980	22,292	69,844	119,752
Employed					
total	1,000		13,683	18,085	22,244
female	1,000		5,222	7,376	8,242
male	1,000		8,461	10,709	14,002
Unemployed	1,000		748	454	626
Households	1,000		7,969	11,355	14,312

Source : Compiled from *the Bank of Korea Yearbooks*

Korea is now fast taking shape as an Information Society with the world's highest percentage of the Internet users and the subscribers to the state-of-the art IT technologies such as DSL, IMT-2000 and the like.

This rapid industrialization has brought about an equally abrupt urbanization as a result. Now more than 80% of the population live in urban areas, and the rural population consists only about 12% of the total. More than 54% of the population is concentrated in the small "Capital Area" of Seoul and its vicinity. Industrialization and urbanization have accelerated the demise of a traditional society as a natural result.

The traditional large families have been broken into so many "nuclear families," and the number of households has more than doubled since 1980. Many traditional social systems and customs also have been replaced by more Western values including individualism and consumerism.

2. Social Advancement of Korean Women

The rapid economic growth has created a huge demand for more workers, and Korean women have become an integral part of the country's work force required for a continued growth. Currently, as <table 2> shows, some 48.8% of Korean women, 16 years or above, are employed comprising 41.2% of the country's total work force. Korean women's potential has been fully recognized by the society for the first time.

<table 2> Economic Activity Rate of Women in Selected Countries

Country	Total Percentage	Country	Total Percentage
Korea	48.8	Mexico	38.0
Australia	55.2	Netherlands	54.4
Canada	59.7	New Zealand	57.2
Finland	56.8	Poland	49.5
Austria	49.0	Portugal	54.1
Germany	48.8	Sweden	76.2
Japan	49.2	USA	60.1

Source : ILO, *Labor Statistical Yearbook (2002)*

Increased women's opportunities for employment and social participation in turn motivated women for more education to enhance their potential. Korean women's average years of schooling rose to 9.8 years in 2000. This figure is only 0.4 year shorter than that of males. This is quite a substantial growth from 1980 when the average was 6.6 years (males, 8.7 years). The gap between the genders has almost disappeared.

<table 3> School Enrollment Ratio of Selected Countries as of 2001

unit : %

Country	Primary Level			Secondary Level			Tertiary Level		
	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M
Korea	101	101	101	94	94	94	78	57	97
China	114	114	114	68	58	77	13	-	-
Japan	101	101	101	102	103	102	48	44	51
Philippines	113	113	113	77	81	74	31	-	-
Turkey	101	96	105	-	-	-	24	20	27
Austria	104	103	104	99	97	101	58	62	54
Belgium	105	104	105	-	-	-	58	62	54
France	105	104	106	108	108	107	54	59	48
Germany	104	104	104	99	99	100	-	-	-
Italy	101	100	101	96	95	97	50	57	43
Netherlands	108	106	109	124	122	126	55	57	53
Norway	101	102	101	115	116	113	70	85	56
Spain	105	105	105	116	119	113	59	64	55
Sweden	110	111	109	149	166	132	70	85	56
United Kingdom	99	99	99	156	169	144	60	67	53
Canada	100	100	100	106	106	107	59	68	51
Mexico	113	113	114	75	77	73	21	20	21
USA	101	101	101	95	96	95	73	83	63
Australia	102	102	102	161	161	160	63	70	57
New Zealand	100	100	100	112	116	109	69	84	55

Source : Korean National Statistical Office, *International Statistical Yearbook* (2003)

The rates of school enrollment of women in 2000 were, 101% (primary), 94% (secondary), and 57% (tertiary) respectively. The primary and secondary rates were the same with the males' percentages, but the figure was somewhat behind in tertiary education (male, 94%).

However, the Korean women's enrollment ratio in higher education is almost on a par with the rates of France (59%), Italy (57%) and the Netherlands (57%), though it still is far behind of Sweden (85%), USA (83%), New Zealand (84%) and a few other advanced countries.

During the same period, Korean women's fertility rate has plummeted while their divorce rate has soared. The total fertility rate (TFR) of Korean women, the total number of children an average woman gives birth to in her life, has gone down to 1.17 in 2002 from 6.0 in 1960. The rate is now one of the lowest in the world. It is a historical irony that the country, which staged an all-out birth control campaign in the 1960s to curb a population explosion, is now urgently promoting population growth with lucrative incentives and subsidies.

Divorce, a social taboo in many Confucian societies, was almost unthinkable for Korean women until the 1970s. But it is so common that the current divorce rate in Korea is 2.8 per 1,000 people, the third highest in the world, showing the changed attitude of Korean women about divorce. It is not considered a stigma or disgrace any more.

3. Increase in Women's Social / Political Participation

The rapid social development has also heightened Korean women's sense of their rights and gender equality. The traditional male preference in childbirth and discrimination against women in employment and social participation have been greatly mitigated, if not completely eliminated.

Progress in women's political participation has been quite substantial. For example, the number of Congresswomen (National Assembly Members) has

soared enormously. In 1948 when the country regained its independence, women's suffrage was guaranteed by its Constitution, but only one Congresswoman (0.5%) was elected in the general election in that year. But in 2004, thirty-nine women were elected (13%).

<table 4> Number of Korean Congresswomen since 1948

Year	Total	Women	%
1948	200	1	0.5
1950	210	2	0.9
1960	233	1	0.4
1971	204	5	2.5
1981	276	9	3.3
1992	299	8	2.7
2000	279	16	5.86
2004	299	39	13.0

Source : B. J. Lee (1998)

Though it still seems to be far from a complete equality in gender representation in National Assembly, the progress seems to be well on its way towards that direction and welcomed by the society to help improve Korea's male-dominant political systems. This, of course, owes much to the gender mainstreaming movement throughout the world championed by U.N. since 1975.

By the same token, the number of public servants has been on a steady rise as well. Some 28.7% of government employees are women as of 1997, showing a vast increase since 1970 when the percentage was only about 11%. (Kim, 2004)

As of 1996, more than 2,200 women's organizations were registered throughout the country. These groups vary from typical feminist activist groups to simple consumer advocates and social services groups in their objectives, but

they seem to reflect the heightened sense of power and equality of Korean women since the early 1990s. And their political efficacy and social impacts on the society appear to grow steadfastly.

4. Improvement in Legal Protection of Women

The continued pressure and demand by women have compelled the government to adopt many new policies and laws in order to accommodate the changed status and influences of women, particularly since the 1980s. Accordingly many new laws and regulations have been enacted or revised to eliminate discriminations against women and guarantee and protect their rights.

Most fundamentally, gender equality is guaranteed in Korea by its Constitution which was promulgated in 1948 on its independence. The Article 11-1 of the basic law declares, "All citizens are equal under the laws. No citizens will be discriminated against in their political, economic, social and cultural lives due to their sex, religion or social status." The law also provides that women shall not be discriminated against in employment, wages, and working conditions (Article 33), and the government should strive for the improvement of the welfare and the rights of women (Article 34).

Despite these stipulations, the Constitution has been more of a declaration than practical guarantees of women's rights until very recently. Another pertinent law in this regard is "the Family Law" enacted in 1958 and revised a few times since. The law at first contained a few discriminatory clauses against women. But it has been revised to acknowledge the equal inheritance rights of women and their right to an equal division of properties on divorce.

A landmark progress in women's rights legislation came in 1987 when "the Gender Equality in Employment Act" was enacted. The law provides that women shall be given equal opportunities in employment and wages. The law specifically prohibits discriminatory practices against women in hiring, training, placement and promotion because of their sex, marital status, pregnancy or

childbirth. It also makes it illegal to require women's sexual and physical features as prerequisites of employment. This law has provided the biggest impetus for women's rights movement, and many similar laws have ensued since.

"The Employment Protection Regulation" passed in 1995 grants equal rights to part-time workers as their full-time counterparts. Further to this, a law which provides the most specific guidelines for women's protection in employment, "the Basic Law of Labor," is enacted in 1997. The law contains many detailed clauses protecting women and minors in employment contract, work conditions, wages, working hours and rest in addition to various safety and health provision and accident prevention clauses. The law also prohibits all types of sexual harassment in work places and numerous kinds of "indirect" discriminations. It also guarantees paid furloughs of up to 90 days to both female and male workers for baby care after a childbirth.

These laws, of course, are the results of continued demand and pressure by the feminism activists movement which gained a strong global support in the last couple of decades. The strongest impetus for the mainstreaming of women was provided by U.N. in 1975 when the international organization declared the year as "the Year of Women", and adopted a special program of WID (Women in Development). This move by U.N. ignited a worldwide gender mainstreaming movement. The program acknowledges the importance and indispensability of women in social development, and it stresses that social development in turn will ultimately promote women's status in every society.

Owing to these movements, various other laws of similar nature, have been enacted since 1980 in Korea. They include "the Mother and Children Welfare Act (1987)," "the Prevention of Domestic Violence and Protection of Victims Act (1997)," and "the Punishment of Sexual Violence and Protection of Victims Act (1998)." These laws have significantly contributed to the enhancement of the rights of the socially underprivileged including women, children and minors, the handicapped and the mentally retarded.

<table 5> Gender Development Indices of Selected Countries

unit : %, age

	GDI Rank	Life Expectancy at Birth 1996-2000		Adult literacy rate 1995		Combined primary, secondary and tertiary gross enrollment ratio 1995		Earned income share(%) 1995-	
		F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Korea	30	76.0	68.8	95.5	98.9	84.0	94.0	40.0	60.0
Singapore	22	79.5	75.1	87.0	95.9	71.0	74.0	33.4	66.6
Japan	8		76.4	99.0	99.0	83.0	86.0	30.1	69.9
Philippines	65	70.2	66.6	94.3	94.8	85.0	80.0	35.7	64.3
China	79	71.7	70.5	74.5	90.8	67.0	71.0	39.9	61.1
Hong Kong	24	81.8	76.1	88.4	96.1	67.0	64.0	31.7	68.3
Turkey	73	71.7	66.5	73.9	92.4	54.0	67.0	40.0	60.0
France	10	82.9	74.6	99.0	99.0	94.0	91.0	38.8	61.2
United Kingdom	11	79.8	74.5	99.0	99.0	100	99.0	37.8	62.2
Germany	15	79.9	73.4	99.0	99.0	87.0	89.0	39.3	60.7
Italy	18	81.0	74.7	97.8	98.8	83.0	80.0	30.8	69.2
Spain	21	81.4	75.1	96.2	98.4	94.0	89.0	29.8	70.2
Austria	17	80.1	73.7	99.0	99.0	85.0	86.0	31.7	68.2
Netherlands	9	80.6	75.0	99.0	99.0	97.0	100	40.8	59.2
Belgium	6	80.6	73.9	99.0	99.0	100	100	30.1	69.2
Norway	2	80.6	74.8	99.0	99.0	98.0	93.0	42.6	57.4
Sweden	5	80.8	76.2	99.0	99.0	100	95.0	45.0	55.0
U.S.A	3	79.7	73.0	99.0	99.0	97.0	91.0	40.5	59.5
Canada	1	81.8	76.1	99.0	99.0	100	96.0	38.3	71.7
Mexico	48	75.5	69.5	87.9	92.3	69.0	71.0	27.3	72.7
Australia	4	81.2	75.4	99.0	99.0	100	100	40.8	57.3
New Zealand	16	79.7	74.7	99.0	99.0	99.0	92.0	40.8	58.2

Source : UNDP, *Human Development Report* (1999)

Women's mainstreaming and gender equality movement in Korea gained a big momentum in 1995 when the government enacted "the Basic Law for the Development of Women." The law mandates the government to draw a basic plan for the development of women and review it every five years to incorporate necessary changes in order to better reflect changing social realities with regards to women's rights and welfare.

In response to this law, the government launched a Special Presidential Commission for Women's Affairs in 1998. The commission was to oversee and coordinate government policies and practices concerning women. The commission was culminated in the launching of the Ministry of Gender Equality in 2001. This new ministry, whose name in Korean is the Ministry of Women's Affairs, has consolidated various women's affairs policies that were scattered in different agencies, and now is solely in charge of carrying out the duties concerning women's rights and gender equality.

In sum, Korea has shown an impressive progress and advancement of women in the past two decades. However, a perfect gender equality has yet to be achieved as in other countries. A recent UNDP report reveals that Korea's Gender Development Index (GDI) ranks only the 30th out of 146 countries, lagging behind most of the Western advanced countries.

There still exists numerous obstacles that hinder women's advancement and social participation in politics, employment and education. Women's wages are still lower and their jobs are more of part-time than full-time compared with their male counterparts. These "glass ceilings" are very subtle and invisible as the term implies, but are still persistently defying the trend towards a true gender equality.

However, it is also true that Korean women, during a relatively short span of time, have achieved a truly remarkable progress towards equal rights and fair share in their social participation. It is widely believed that social development has been the key factor for this progress of women.

III. Changes in Women's Time-Use Patterns

An analysis of the data has revealed a few significant changes in Korean women's time-use patterns during the 20-year period. The following <table 6> is a summary of the data compiled since 1981.

<table 6> Korean Women's Time-Use Patterns (1981-2000)

unit : minute

Activity	Year Day	1981			1990			2000		
		Week	Sat.	Sun.	Week	Sat.	Sun.	Week	Sat.	Sun.
sleep		454	454	490	473	483	535	461	467	518
meals		96	96	104	101	101	111	106	105	110
personal care		65	67	67	61	61	66	50	54	61
work		151	136	93	167	143	73	180	154	70
study		194	144	69	185	128	65	112	71	28
domestic work		199	206	221	151	152	151	175	177	156
socializing		48	61	88	52	72	101	54	71	96
rest		46	48	51	47	50	47	40	37	37
leisure		25	31	39	25	31	39	45	57	84
moving		65	69	58	63	68	55	66	71	70
print media		25	25	25	23	22	23	12	14	13
radio		49	44	34	36	31	26	11	11	8
TV		112	149	193	132	173	221	165	193	229
new media								20	22	18
home-staying		969	1,015	1,119	931	981	1,113	931	962	1,039

An overall trend of change during the period is that women these days spend much longer time for their work and leisure while their domestic work has drastically decreased. Korean women's average time spent for work has increased by 29 minutes on a weekday and by 18 minutes on Saturday. But it has fallen by 23 minutes on Sunday, showing a sharp contrast between working

days and Sunday. People in Korea work four hours in the Saturday morning.

<table 7> Comparison of Time Uses by Korean Adult Males and Females

unit : minute

Activity		Year Day	1981			1990			2000		
			Week	Sat.	Sun.	Week	Sat.	Sun.	Week	Sat.	Sun.
sleep	T	458	458	496	476	482	535	455	460	518	
	M	460	458	493	475	475	522	451	451	510	
	F	453	447	483	472	476	525	463	466	509	
work	T	198	178	118	217	185	101	272	235	103	
	M	365	323	205	391	332	184	448	386	105	
	F	213	190	129	232	197	161	212	181	82	
domestic work	T	116	125	142	88	94	98	95	99	95	
	M	36	46	62	22	31	40	16	22	88	
	F	281	274	258	206	197	185	210	211	182	
leisure	T	35	44	66	40	53	44	44	65	99	
	M	40	47	74	34	47	62	51	77	90	
	F	25	27	32	25	28	37	57	64	88	
socializing	T	50	64	88	50	73	102	45	65	92	
	M	68	84	98	59	83	113	40	64	89	
	F	59	69	90	65	82	108	61	74	98	
printed media	T	29	29	29	25	25	26	13	14	16	
	M	38	38	38	33	32	32	14	15	21	
	F	28	25	21	26	26	22	14	12	28	
radio	T	46	41	34	29	25	31	12	11	9	
	M	53	46	37	31	29	20	14	12	22	
	F	58	50	33	40	32	22	12	11	8	
TV	T	109	146	195	123	165	220	144	172	226	
	M	113	137	183	117	144	201	133	152	241	
	F	129	157	189	144	171	205	182	198	228	
home staying	T	895	944	1,067	857	914	1,055	824	865	992	
	M	825	854	955	766	805	934	716	743	1,043	
	F	1,063	1,070	1,103	987	1,004	1,083	976	982	1,025	

Note : T=total national average, M=adult male average, F=adult female average

Similarly, women's leisure time has soared by 48 minutes on a weekday, by 58 minutes on Saturday and 69 minutes on Sunday respectively, indicating a dramatic change in their life styles. In this connection, a sharp decrease of women's home-staying time (38 minutes, 52 minutes, 80 minutes respectively) also is believed to be related to this trend. However, women's average time for domestic work has fallen sharply. The decreases are 29 minutes on a weekday, 24 minutes on Saturday and whopping 65 minutes on Sunday.

While time for mass media use such as radio or print media shows a steady decline over the period, TV watching has risen very steeply. The amount of increased time for TV watching on a weekday is 53 minutes, and on Saturday it is 44 minutes while on Sunday it is 34 minutes.

How would this change in women's time-use pattern compare with that of their male counterparts?

Korean males also show a similar general trend of change in their time use. They work more, spend more time for leisure including TV watching while spending less time for domestic work. But their speed and degree of change are not as fast or as profound compared with women. A further analysis of the detailed adult women's data has revealed the following features of Korean women's changes in their life styles.

1. Sharp Decrease of Women's Domestic Work

One of the most remarkable changes in Korean women's life styles is their significantly reduced time for domestic work. The amount of time for this has plummeted over the period. The adult women's average time for domestic work has fallen by 71 minutes on a weekday, 63 minutes on Saturday and by 76 minutes on Sunday.

This is the biggest decrease of all activities in terms of the length of time. Korean women without much opportunities for employment until the 1970s, mainly engaged in domestic work such as cooking, washing or cleaning and

house-sitting, but they now seem to have been more or less freed from much of their time-consuming chores. This change is believed to be largely due to the following factors.

Firstly, fewer women do domestic work than before. A separate analysis (Choo, 2001) reveals that the percentage of Korean women who do any domestic work on a given day has fallen very significantly since 1981 from 85.7% to 72.3% on a weekday, from 89.5% to 74.6% on Saturday and from 92% to 76.6% on Sunday respectively. This appears to be closely related with the increased employment opportunities of women in Korea. As described earlier, Korean women work much more than before, and thus, many of them do not seem to be able to find enough time for domestic work.

This decrease also seems to be partly because of the help and relief women get from their male members of family. Korean males used to be barred from the kitchen area because of the chauvinistic Confucian tradition. But this inhibition appears to have almost disappeared. These days young male adults are very common in sharing or helping domestic work with their spouses. As shown in <table 7>, the average of male adults' time for domestic work has increased very steeply by 26 minutes on Sunday.

Another factor contributing to the decline seems to be the wide availability of many types of time-saving home appliances such as rice cookers, washing machines, dishwashers and vacuum cleaners. With the increased dispensable personal incomes, almost all homes own these appliances now. Thus, it is inferred that the biggest factor conducive to the decrease may be the country's economic development, and Korean women certainly seem to be the major beneficiaries of the development. They appear to gradually take after the life styles of many Western advanced countries.

2. Changes in Women's Leisure Patterns

Another drastic change in Korean women's time-use patterns is found in their

leisure activities. First of all, during this period, the absolute amount of women's average leisure time has risen very steeply by 68 minutes on a weekday, 58 minutes on Saturday and another 69 minutes on Sunday.

This whopping increase, more than an hour everyday, is very striking when "the relative constancy" of leisure time is considered. The theory of relative constancy of time posits that people's time for a particular leisure activity or mass media use is not very likely to abruptly change in a short period of time because time is not as flexible as money or personal incomes. Everybody has only 24 hours a day, and their available leisure time is very limited when the essential activities needed for physical sustenance such as sleep, eating or personal care are excluded. (McCombs & Nolan, 1992)

At a first look, the increase in Korean women's leisure time seems to have derived from the increased time for TV watching which has risen by 53 minutes (weekday) 44 minutes (Saturday) and 36 minutes (Sunday) respectively.

However, a detailed examination reveals a somewhat different picture. The rise in TV watching seems to have been at the cost of traditional media like radio and the print media. Time spent for these media has fallen by 51 minutes, 44 minutes and 38 minutes on average. These diminutions are almost equal with the increased TV watching time, and are not sufficient enough to account for the net increase of leisure time during the period. Therefore, it appears that the striking increase must have been due to some qualitative changes in Korean women's life styles and their perception of leisure during the period.

A breakdown of women's leisure activities supports this. As <table 8> reveals, though the total amount of leisure has gradually gone up, the amount of passive leisure time which includes TV watching has not increased as much as the amount of active leisure. The women's passive leisure time total has increased by 10 minutes (weekday), 4 minutes (Saturday) and 5 minutes (Sunday) only.

<table 8> Breakdown of Women's Leisure Activities

unit : minute

Activity	Year	1981			1990			2000		
	Day	Week	Sat.	Sun.	Week	Sat.	Sun.	Week	Sat.	Sun.
Active Leisure										
spots		2	4	5	4	4	5	7	6	5
games		1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1
walk / hiking		3	5	13	4	9	16	17	25	44
hobbies		4	4	4	7	5	5	4	5	11
playing		2	2	5	2	2	3	0	0	0
socializing		48	61	88	52	72	101	95	71	96
computer								11	15	16
Subtotal		60	78	117	71	114	132	136	124	173
(national average)		(76)	(98)	(143)	(74)	(107)	(145)	(86)	(121)	(179)
Passive Leisure										
music & movies		13	13	10	5	7	8	10	5	9
printed media		25	25	25	23	22	23	12	14	13
radio		49	44	34	36	31	26	11	11	8
TV		112	149	193	132	173	221	165	193	229
DBS / CATV								11	11	8
Subtotal		199	231	262	196	233	278	209	234	267
Grand Total		259	309	379	267	347	400	345	368	440
(national average)		(269)	(326)	(412)	(259)	(333)	(425)	(265)	(329)	(439)

Whereas active leisure, particularly time for outdoor activities like walk, hiking and socializing has increased enormously. Women's active leisure has increased by 76 minutes (weekday), 46 minutes (Saturday) and 56 minutes (Sunday) respectively, accounting for most of the total leisure increase.

Leisure in modern society is believed to enhance peoples' quality of life by facilitating their individual self-fulfillment and self-actualization. (Cohen, 1991) Therefore, as Diener suggests, the quality of life in a society depends much on the people's perception of their leisure quality. (Diener, 1984)

Leisure, especially active or autotelic leisure, is considered to be an end in itself, and enhances people's assessment of their sense of happiness and satisfaction of life as well as their psychological well-being. Brooks and Elliot (1971) found that people who enjoyed more active leisure were more satisfied with their lives than people who preferred more passive leisure. Williams even foresees that in the post-industrial society, or the Information Society, people's success with leisure may become more important than their success with work. (Williams, 1983, p.121) Leisure, in this sense, can be a measure of quality of life in a society. It can serve as an important index of social development.

Korean women, with their heightened sense of individuality and equality that were brought about by rapid social development certainly seem to have developed different attitudes towards leisure than before. Many leisure researchers in Korea concur on this changed women's perception.

For example, Jo (1985) found that Korean housewives valued leisure more highly than their work as a means to improve themselves. Cho (1995) also found that Korean women were more positive than males in their perception of leisure. Lee (2000) even found that Korean housewives believed leisure as the most important means to achieve their self-fulfillment and self-satisfaction. They were found to believe that leisure was "something of their very own" which enables to demonstrate their true ability and capability. Korean housewives valued leisure as "a bridge that connects them with outside world, or society, and relate them with people other than their family or relatives."

Korean women certainly appear to have become very keen and conscious about the importance and quality of their leisure. Thus, it was felt safe to conclude that this changed attitude of women towards leisure brought about by social development was the main factor for the unprecedented increase of leisure time. Women's increased active leisure resulted in a sharp fall of their home-staying time. This has been reduced by 87 minutes (weekday), 88 minutes (Saturday) and 78 minutes (Sunday), implying more out-of-home activities by Korean women.

Another factor conducive to more active leisure may be the vastly enhanced people's mobility and freedom to move about because of automobiles. With their increased personal incomes, unlike until the 1980s, automobiles are readily available and within the reach of most of ordinary people in Korea. Korea produces more than 4 million cars a year, and the number of cars now far exceeds the number of households. Thus, more people than ever enjoy outdoor activities like picnic, hiking, excursion or travel with their newly acquired freedom and mobility.

As described thus far, Korean women's current leisure pattern appears to be the result of their positive attitudinal change towards leisure which was brought about by social and economic development, and it is strikingly similar to the patterns of many advanced countries.

3. Sharp Contrast Between Weekdays and Weekend

Still another distinct feature is a sharp contrast in women's time-use patterns between weekdays and weekend. As the previous <table 6> shows, in 2000 an average Korean woman does less work, less domestic work, but sleeps more and enjoys much more leisure on Sunday than a weekday.

Compared with the 1981 data, this contrast has become much sharper. In 1981, on Sunday, an average woman slept 36 minutes more than a weekday, and she worked 58 minutes less. But in 2000, her sleep on Sunday was 58 minutes longer than a weekday. And she worked 110 minutes less. The difference in domestic work has been reversed. In 1981, women spent 22 minutes more on Sunday than a weekday, but in 2000, they spent 19 minutes less on Sunday for domestic work.

Similarly, the difference of leisure time in 1981 between a weekday and holiday was 120 minutes. But, in 2000, this was increased to 143 minutes on Sunday. This widening gap between a weekday and Sunday is thought to reflect Korean women's "time famine" just like their male counterparts. Korean women

work more than ever and they seem to experience a time crunch during the weekdays as Lindner (1970) aptly describes. They look to be postponing or procrastinating most activities except work until Sunday which is the only day-off for the Korean workers, thus, the true weekend. This contrast is also very similar to that of many advanced countries.

IV. Summary and Conclusion

This paper has analyzed Korean women's changes in life styles during the past two decades as recorded in their daily use of time. This was to find out whether or not Korean women's social advancement in economic, political and social participation brought about by rapid social development affect their time-use patterns.

The data for the present analysis were a set of five national surveys conducted every five years since 1981 in Korea. The nationwide surveys are almost identical in their sample sizes and sampling methods employed as well as their data collection diaries, and, thus, provided a very consistent set of time-series data.

Korea has undergone a truly significant social change during the period. With rapid economic growth, the country has been transformed into a full-fledged industrial society from a typical agricultural society until the 1960s. The consequent industrialization and urbanization have forced many traditional values and customs to change as rapidly. Large families have broken down into so many "nuclear families," and the number of households has more than doubled since 1980. In place of the male-dominant Confucian philosophy, more modern values such as individualism and consumerism have taken roots deeply in the society. For example, divorce, a social stigma until the 1970s, is so common now that one out of three marriages ends up in a divorce.

One of the most profound changes seems to have been in Korean women's

social status. Currently women workers comprise more than 41% of the nation's total work force. Until the early 1970s, Korean women were forced to resign from their jobs when they got married. Many social practices and pertinent laws have been changed to accommodate the improved women's status and their rights.

Discriminations against women in politics, employment, work conditions and wages as well as in many other areas have been substantially diminished, if not completely eliminated. With the heightened sense of women's rights and gender equality championed by many feminism and gender mainstreaming activists in an alliance with various international organizations, Korean women have achieved a truly remarkable social advancement.

How would this improved status of women be reflected in their time-use patterns or life styles? An analysis of the data clearly reveals that Korean women's time-use patterns have indeed changed significantly during this period of social development.

In a relatively short period of time, Korean women's life styles have become very similar to those of women in advanced countries. To be more specific, Korean women's time-use patterns show the following general trends of change.

- (1) Substantial increase of work time
- (2) Sharp decline of domestic work and home-staying time
- (3) Steep increase of leisure time
- (4) Sharp contrast between weekdays and Sunday

Korean women are found to work much more than before as a natural result of increased employment opportunities brought about by the nation's rapid economic growth. They have become an indispensable force for the nation's economy. They are less discriminated against than before as the women's rights and gender equality have been recognized by the society.

Korean women's average time for domestic work, on the contrary, has fallen very sharply. This decrement is believed to be partly due to the wide availability

of many time-saving home appliances, but mainly because of women's increased work time. It seems that women these days can not find as much time for domestic work as before, especially during their work days.

The sharpest increase in Korean women's time use patterns is found in their leisure. Despite the heavy dependence on TV as the easiest and most economical pastime, Korean women's active leisure has increased enormously. Their time spent for active leisure such as skills-learning, hobbies, exercises and various outdoor activities has vastly increased while passive leisure has more or less be on a stalemate.

This was inferred to reflect the Korean women's changed perception and attitudes towards leisure as a result of social development. Korean women were found to consider leisure as uniquely their own time conducive to self-enhancement. They believe that leisure provides an important means to relate them with the outside world or society and associate with people other than their family members and relatives.

Active leisure is considered by Korean women as the most important activity to improve their lives and an end in itself, thus, autotelic. As such, Korean women's leisure patterns certainly appear to have become very similar to the advanced patterns of the West.

Korean women also show a sharp contrast between weekdays and Sunday in their use of time. Their amounts of time for sleep, work, domestic work and leisure between working days and off-days show distinctive differences just as their male counterparts.

This reflects a time famine, or a time crunch, Korean women experience currently because of their increased work outside of home. They are not able to find much time during the weekdays and postpone almost all other activities except work until Sunday. Therefore, such activities like sleep, leisure (including TV watching) are basically concentrated on the weekend. This again resembles the patterns of most advanced countries.

Time-use patterns, an indirect record of people's life styles, are culture

specific and reveal the social contexts including values, perceptions and attitudes towards various social practices and activities. The current data have provided much insight into Korean women's advancement and changes in their social status and life styles during the country's developmental period.

Korean women certainly seem to have made long strides towards more rights and gender equality in a very short span of time.

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