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BRIDGING LOVES:
HOW KOREAN-AMERICAN MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS TROUBLE
“TRADITION AND MODERNITY” THROUGH LOVE

by

SU CHOE

Under the Direction of Jennifer Patico PhD

ABSTRACT

Experiences of love provide a rich source to reveal how people organize social life such as intimate relationships, family, and marriage, as well as how individuals perform and transform within specific cultural, historical, and gendered contexts. The primary goal of this thesis is to understand how social changes affect women’s understandings of love, or more precisely, how processes of modernization and immigration shape Korean-American women’s experiences of love and expectations of marriage cross-generationally. I explore the stories of first-generation and 1.5-generation Korean-American women in Duluth, Georgia to analyze how their different sociocultural experiences before and within immigration construct the women’s understandings of love, marriage, and most importantly, the creation of the self and family and the systems of gender and sexuality. Ultimately, I argue that the apparent dichotomy between “tradition” and “modernity” does not adequately describe generational differences nor geographic ones, as both modern ideals of intimacy and notions of Korean tradition travel between first and 1.5 generation women, though differently experienced and expressed.

INDEX WORDS: Korean-American women, the mother and daughter relationship, tradition and modernity, social change, immigration, love, marriage, family, and selfhood.

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SU CHOE

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in the College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

2018

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2018

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HOW KOREAN-AMERICAN MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS TROUBLE
“TRADITION AND MODERNITY” THROUGH LOVE

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May 2018

DEDICATION

For my mom and dad, the sacrificial parents and brave immigrants.

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I would like to thank my Korean-American mother and daughter informants who involved in this study and courageously shared their stories. Without their openness and participation, this thesis would not have been completed. I would like to express my deep gratitude to my advisor, Dr. Jennifer Patino, who encouraged me for completion of this thesis and inspired me to follow my passion for anthropology. With her patient guidance, continuous motivation, and immense feedback, I was able to achieve things beyond my own expectations. I would also like to thank my other committee members, Dr. Papavasiliou and Dr. Sinnott, for their thoughtful and insightful advice. Many thanks to my family and friends, whose unconditional love and support sustained me. Last but foremost, I am thankful to my Heavenly Father who has made me and given me life.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	V
1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Modernity, the Self, and Love.....	3
1.2 Social Change, Love, and Marriage	5
1.3 Love, Marriage, and Migration	9
1.4 Traditional Images of Korean Women	12
1.5 Modernity and the Transformation of Love and Marriage in Korea	15
1.6 Korean Mother and Daughter	17
1.7 Korean-American Women	19
1.8 Methods.....	23
2 IN-BETWEEN GENERATIONS.....	30
2.1 The Mothers.....	30
2.2 Korean Women of 7080 <i>sede</i>	35
2.3 <i>Joongmeh Gyulhon</i> (arranged marriage): Marry Before Love	39
2.4 The Daughters	42
2.5 <i>1.5-se</i> Korean-American Women.....	44
2.6 <i>Yeoneh Gyulhon</i> (love marriage): Marry Whom I Love	47
2.7 In-Between Generations	51
3 BRIDGING LOVES.....	52

3.1	<i>Jung (compassion)and Sarang (love)</i>	52
3.2	<i>Chingu gateun (friend-like) Mothers and Daughters</i>	55
3.3	About <i>Yeoneh</i> (romantic love)	60
3.4	About <i>Gyulhon</i> (marriage)	66
3.5	Bridging Loves	73
4	CONCLUSIONS	74
	REFERENCES	79

1 INTRODUCTION

As a woman of twenty-nine years, I have been sternly told that I have one more year left of being single. “Make sure you don’t turn over thirty unmarried.” “I had you and your sister when I was in your age.” “Your child is going to be weak if you are pregnant over thirty.” “Among my friends, I am the only one who is not a grandmother yet.” These are tiresome lines that I repeatedly hear every time I try to have a good dinner conversation with my mom. Thankfully, I don’t lose my appetite easily since I am so well-trained in listening to what she’s saying from one ear and disposing it through the other one. But still, I am anxious because she makes me anxious.

Seemingly, love was a negligible factor for my mom’s decision about marriage. Her husband was chosen by her parents, and the timing was just right. She was a young and beautiful college graduate, and he was the perfect match for her: his job, family background, and the fortunate age gap based on a Korean superstition that a four year age difference between spouses is the best. They married three months after they had first met. When I was younger, I asked my mom if she loved my dad so much that she decided to marry him soon. She said she did not have enough time to know and love him since they had met only a handful of times before marriage: “it was like that back then.” However, it is not like that now. I will not marry someone whom I do not love and I cannot marry just because I am getting older.

One time, I told my mom that *bihon* (“not married” based on the notion that marriage is a choice) is a current social phenomenon in Korea today. Many young people in Korea, predominantly Korean women in my age, shun marriage in favor of career and single life and due to the economic burden and the unequal division of labor in marriage. I tried to convince my mom that my life with marriage could be more difficult if I am not mentally, emotionally, and most

importantly, financially prepared. However, my shrewd mom instantly made me speechless. She replied: “You are not in Korea.”

This thesis explores mother and daughter generations of Korean-American women and their stories regarding love and marriage. However, this study is neither a cross-generational study between “traditional” and “modern” nor a comparison of Korean culture and American culture. Rather, the study focuses on how these two generations of Korean-American women negotiate traditional values and new concepts of love and marriage in the context of modernization, immigration, and transnationalism and how their love narratives in these specific social and cultural circumstances appear to challenge the tradition and modernity dichotomy. This thesis considers a few underlying questions. What historical, social, and cultural backgrounds have Korean immigrant mother and daughter generations experienced differently and/or similarly? How do their different/similar life experiences shape their definitions of love, and how do their expectations of marriage change subsequently, or vice versa? How does the mother and daughter relationship around love and marriage illuminate Korean-American women’s shifting values on the self, the family, and attitudes of gender roles? Lastly, how do these women’s narratives of intimacy create distinct discourses of tradition and modernity? I argue that under the processes of modernization and immigration, both generations of Korean-American women nostalgize the past and traditions. Moreover, they characterize and enact what it means to be modern subjects in their own senses. Thus, this cross-generational study does not anticipate the transformation from the traditional values to the modern ideals, but suggests the flexible interaction between tradition and modernity in the discourse of Korean-American women’s love

“Love is the original and central question of philosophy and a useful lens for social analysis, providing a site to view the complex interconnections between cultural, economic,

interpersonal, and emotional realms of experience” (Padilla et al. 2007, ix). Experiences of love provide a rich source to reveal how people organize social life such as intimate relationships, family, and marriage, as well as how individuals perform and transform within specific cultural, historical, and gendered contexts. The primary goal of this thesis is to understand how social changes affect women’s meanings of love, or more precisely, how processes of modernization and immigration shape Korean-American women’s experiences in love and expectations of marriage cross-generationally and how the complexity between traditional values and modern ideals of intimacy travels between two generations. I explore the stories of first-generation and 1.5-generation Korean-American women in Duluth, Georgia to analyze how their different sociocultural experiences before and within immigration construct the women’s understandings of love, marriage, and most importantly, the creation of the self and family and the systems of gender and sexuality in the failed dichotomy between tradition and modernity. Their generational differences shaped by different social and cultural contexts do not always conform to our expectation that the mothers are traditional and the daughters are more modern. The mothers can be seen as modern subjects who experienced shifting gender roles in the context of Korea’s modernization; in the context of immigration, they are still challenging traditional roles on behalf of their cosmopolitan daughters. Meanwhile, the daughters’ experiences as cultural in-betweeners and with immigrant parents make them fit models of the modern individual less well than might be expected; rather, they are more family-oriented. Circumstances that are distinctive to immigrant families strengthen the daughters’ willingness to take on traditional familial obligations.

1.1 Modernity, the Self, and Love

Giddens (1991) asserts that modernity changes our social life and personal experience (Giddens 1991, 1), and the mechanisms of self-identity are shaped by, yet also shape, the

institutions of modernity (ibid., 2). According to Giddens, modernity is a post-traditional order, which facilitates the transformation of time and space and propels social life away from pre-established practices. Thus modernity fosters reflexivity: “modernity’s reflexivity refers to the susceptibility of most aspects of social activity, and material relations with nature, to chronic revision in the light of new information or knowledge” (ibid., 20). In this context, the self becomes a reflexive project (ibid., 32), moreover, the body becomes part of the reflexivity of modernity. The self becomes responsible for the design of his or her own body (ibid., 102), attributing subjectivity to the self.

Giddens also argues that modernity and self-reflexivity lead to the ‘transformation of intimacy,’ producing the ‘pure relationship’ (ibid., 6). The pure relationship, a relationship of sexual and emotional equality, exists merely for the value of trust and mutual disclosure and commitment, thus may release one from kinship, social duty, or traditional obligation (Giddens 1991, 6; Giddens 1992, 2). Thus, romantic love, the model of modern kinship shaped by pure relationship, is a narrative of modernity and a product of modern transformations. Furthermore, romantic love is essentially feminized love (ibid., 40, 43). Romantic love, together with other social changes, is deeply involved with momentous transitions affecting marriage as well as other contexts of personal life (ibid., 44). Romantic love presumes some degree of self-interrogation; questioning “how I feel about the relationship” subsequently places a woman in an active role. Thus she actively produces love (ibid., 46). Romantic love also affects the changing relationship between parents and children. In modern society, emotional warmth between parents and children is considered to be significant, and the center of the family moved from patriarchal authority to maternal affection (ibid., 42).

To sum up, Giddens suggests that modernity creates the modern self and modern love based on individuals' freedom and gender equality. This is so in a general way, but in order to understand what drives modernity, the self, and love, we must look at the development of modern institutions led by different scales of social, cultural, and economic changes in different places and time. The global forces and social changes in different places shape people's perceptions of the self, which eventually change the local meanings of love and intimacy. Industrialization places increased demands on the workforce for both men and women, and the spread of global capitalism facilitates people's practices in material consumption. Such processes of modernization and globalization change people's lifestyle and family structures and subsequently shift the values and expectations of love. Furthermore, modernizing forces such as increased demand in the workforce, access to education, economic opportunities and material consumptive practices of global capitalism have allowed women to be aware of their own subjectivities. In this case, women become reflexive selves by articulating and reconciling their desire to be good modern subjects in the middle of their everyday experiences and global influences. One of the desires women express is their aspiration for intimacy and agency in love relationships. The relations between social changes and the transformation of women's intimacy in different cultures and generations will be examined in the following.

1.2 Social Change, Love, and Marriage

The experiences of and expectations for romantic relationship and marriage differ cross-culturally and generationally, and such differences are facilitated by the dynamics of various social and economic forces on a local and a global scale. The shifting expectations of marriage and the growing perception that intimacy and pleasure are fundamental elements of modern relationship and modern personhood have been examined with respect to not just cultural globalization but also

specific economic and social transformations (Hirsch and Wardlow 2006, 2; Padilla et al. 2007, x).

In the late 19th century and early 20th century in the United States and Europe, demographic transformations, fertility decline, and urbanization changed the familial structure. Consequently, the nuclear family ideal emerged, and people's dependence on extended families declined (Hirsch and Wardlow 2006, 8; Padilla et al. 2007, xii, 101). The expansion of the labor market and wage labor allowed women to be less financially dependent on potential husbands and shifted marriage expectations from economic security to emotional fulfillment (ibid.). Furthermore, literacy and media technologies developed individual achievement and consumption, which then reshaped people's attitudes toward intimate relations (Hirsch and Wardlow 2006, 10). These material and structural changes and globalized cultural forms have helped to reinforce modern forms of desire, passionate ideals, and familial structures.

Underlying how intimate experiences have shifted with the impact of political economic processes in the Western societies, anthropologists examine how global, structural, and material forces, notably the processes of modernization, shape the local meanings and values of love and intimacy in different places. These inevitably transform their familial structures, relationship expectations, and experiences of personal desire.

Paxson (2007) explores the globalizing forces of a public health campaign developed in Britain and the United States and market-driven consumerism in Greece to discuss their impacts on shifting local Athenian "structures of feeling" (Paxson 2007, 120). Athenian "structures of feeling" refers to the lived meanings and values of the "feelings" of *erotas* and *agape* and the relationship between these feelings. In Greek marriage, *erotas*, passionate and physical love, matures into *agape*, an enduring love (ibid., 121). However, global consumerism and imported

sex campaigns that failed to comprehend the cultural role of *erotas*, whose meanings encompass far more than a biomedical definition of sex (ibid., 125). Subsequently, the traditional meanings of *erotas* and *agape* are disrupted with the globalizing forces of public health and consumptive practices, in which *erotas* has merely become passionate, physical love that is distinct from *agape*. Furthermore, Paxson examines how global market capitalism is transforming women's demonstrations of maternal love (ibid., 127). In traditional Greek maternal practices, with the sense of *agape* places at the center, Greek women's maternal suffering and the pain and blood of birth justify the women's active social role (ibid., 128). However, in today's consumer society, as new consumer demands arise, women's employment becomes a prerequisite for raising children, in which good mothering is described as providing the best material goods and educational opportunities for their children (ibid., 129). Hence, consumerism materializes the self-sacrifice of motherhood, and maternal *agaphic* suffering becomes synonymous with economic sacrifice. The globalizing forces of public health and consumption opportunities inevitably transform Greek understandings of love and intimacy. New notions of sex and responsibility that are introduced by imported family planning campaigns disrupt the traditional meanings of *erotas* and *agape*, and consumerism offers Greek women new values of maternal practices in their relationship with children.

The dynamics of modernizing and globalizing social and economic forces have led to major social changes in local and global level, and these changes consequently reshape individuals' new definitions of love and realizations of the self. In the midst of these social changes, women are direct recipients to and adherents of modern forms of love and new selves. The investigation of different generations helps to understand how women's experiences in love and meanings of the self and others transform amidst social transition.

In the 1990s in China, the end of Maoist socialism had placed isolated China among global capitalism, and China focused on producing “desiring subjects,” highlighting the individuals who operate through sexual, material, and affective self-interests (Rofel 2007, 3). In her ethnographic encounters with the daughter generation in urban China, Rofel argues that cosmopolitanism is the central constitution of “desiring subjects,” which is embodied in young heterosexual women through their consumption and consumer identity (ibid., 111). Unlike a socialist world whose prestige rested on political power, a post-socialist world’s prestige rests on the wealth one accumulates in the market through jobs and commodities (ibid., 116). Thus, wealth and consumption make a better cosmopolitan person in a post-socialist world, and consumption that enables one to transcend the specific identity creates a new self and desire. The daughters who embody such desire differentiate themselves from their mothers, regarding the notion of the self. The daughters who place great emphasis on the self and “self-realization” attempt to transcend their mother’s generation’s “traditional culture” in order to become more desirable and globalized subjects (ibid., 126). In the discussion of marriage and kinship, these young women prioritize their “self-development” over marriage and having children. They also emphasize the experience of romantic love, drawing an opposition in which “their mothers married in order to have sons, carrying on the cultural practice of patrilineal succession, and that the husband was secondary in her affections” (ibid., 127). Therefore, global forces like neoliberalism and consumerism in China encourage the self-identity of Chinese young women and lead to the different understandings of love and marriage between mother and daughter generations.

In Chinese communities in Singapore and Hong Kong, jewelry reveals the changing meaning of patriarchal family and marriage (Chan 2006, 35). Chan’s study includes Chinese women from two different generations (older and younger) in Singapore and Hong Kong to

investigate how the appropriation of jewelry changes across the two generations and what this change tell about the emergence of romantic love. For the women of the older generation, their marriages were often arranged by their parents. The gifts of jewelry the women received as the dowry and the bride-price implied approval of marriage, and the amount of jewelry signified their status in their husband's family (ibid., 38). Moreover, although these women owned the jewelry, the items of jewelry were often heirlooms, so they did not have much control over the ownership (ibid.). However, the symbol of jewelry in marriage does not represent the same meaning for the women of the younger generation. These women are beneficiaries of industrialization and modernization in Singapore and Hong Kong, and their participation in the workforce, educational background, and financial independence now determine the women's status (ibid., 39, 44). The emergence of romantic love in this modern period represents weakened connotation of patriarchal control and less power of the extended family over marriages (ibid., 43). The younger generation women express full ownership of the jewelry given by their husbands' other relatives, which they sometimes exchange for cash to buy other items of jewelry they want (ibid., 44). Furthermore, a shift from wedding gifts by family members to wedding rings between brides and grooms indicates a symmetrical relationship between men and women in marriage, and they embody companionate marriage as a feature of romantic love, companionship, and mutual respect (ibid., 45).

1.3 Love, Marriage, and Migration

Under the social change of migration, people in different places and cultures undergo different sociocultural changes and transnational practices, so they create unique forms of love and intimacy, which are crafted by distinctive senses of the self and the family. The social, economic, and cultural changes with migration also redefine the self and the family and shape the meanings of love and intimacy among transnational families cross-culturally and cross-generationally.

Faier (2007) explores the stories of Filipina migrant women who married Japanese men in rural Japan and their professions of love in the context of transnational encounters. The Filipina women in rural Nagano who came to Japan as migrant workers in local hostess bars subsequently chose to marry rural Japanese men to stabilize their status in Japan. These transnational Filipina women saw that working in Japanese hostess bars allowed them to become beautiful, glamorous, and cosmopolitan “overseas performing artists.” Moreover, they had chances to encounter with Japanese male customers who were looking for a long-term relationship (ibid., 152). These transnational daily lives of the Filipina women helped craft their senses of the self through love relationships. These women who married rural Japanese men professed the love of their husband to articulate themselves as the individual, modern, and glamorous subjects who were free to form intimate and romantic relationships. On the other hand, the women’s profession of love helped to erase the stigma attached to both their work in hostess bars and their marriage, expressing their marriage was neither for securing their status in Japan through a spousal visa nor for financial support to their families in the Philippines. Thus, love enabled these transnational women to claim both global senses of modern personhood and a sense of humanity (ibid., 157).

Twamley (2013) provides a comparative study on understandings of love and intimacy among young heterosexual middle-class Indian descendants in India and the UK and how social and economic contexts shape cultural constructions of intimate relationships and sexual practice. The India-based participants delineate two kinds of love: physical love and true love. According to their definition, true love is similar to love for family members, an idealized ‘pure’ love untainted by physical attraction, a lower kind of short-term love. In relation to sexual practice, sexual restraint signifies the serious intentions for the relationship, thus the young Indians in Baroda, India believe sexual activities must be restrained in order to achieve ‘pure love’ (Twamley

2013, 332). However, the British-Indians in the UK describe two kinds of attraction, emotional and physical attraction, which together make sense as love, and the sexual nature in their relationship before marriage is the normal and expected step in a relationship (ibid., 335). Not only is sex in a relationship, but also avoiding sex indicates something wrong with the relationship. Furthermore, ideas about love at first sight presents differently in two groups. While India-based participants believe love at first sight equates physical love and is inappropriate basis for marriage, the UK participants align love at first sight with their understanding of romantic love and appropriate marriage, a union based on love alone without any material considerations (ibid., 336).

This study shows how socioeconomic contexts in India and the UK create unequal definitions of love and intimate relationship between the same generations of the same descendants in different locations. The analysis of ‘feeling rules,’ “where individuals are capable of shaping their own emotional experiences to fit the cultural feeling rules that dominate” (ibid., 328), used in this study supports that the local meanings and experiences of intimacy differ not by a generational gap but by different social and cultural interactions. Thus, the expectation that younger generations are less traditional and straightforwardly modern is not always absolute.

In her study of Mexican families in the U.S and Mexico, Hirsh (2003, 2007) discusses the generational shift of courtship from *respeto* (respect) to *confianza* (trust). The couples who married in the 1950s and 1960s consider their marriage was bonded to obligation, together by an ideal of *respeto* and the mutual fulfillment of gendered responsibilities. The men’s job was to bring money into the family, and the women’s was solely based on domestic responsibilities such as producing meals, cleaning house, and raising children (Hirsh 2007: 94). Moreover, the women of older generation talk about marriage as a question of destiny, in which they were marrying *el que le toco* (he for whom you are destined) (Hirsh 2003: 88). However, these women were not entirely passive

during the courtship process. They said that they chose their husband themselves, but their goal in marriage was endurance, neither pleasure nor intimacy (ibid: 89). In contrast, the younger couples stress the importance of their love relationship and marriage is *confianza*. They emphasize that the couples' intimacy is developed by the mutual pleasure of sex and enhanced through communication and emotional connection (Hirsh 2007: 95). For the younger women, marital success depends on their skills of choosing good mates, rather than submitting their destiny (Hirsh 2003: 90).

Hirsh argues this generational shift in an ideal courtship between the two generations needs to be understood by socioeconomic changes intertwining both the local and the global. The developments of mass media and education in Mexico have an important impact on Mexican sexual culture. People's increased access (especially for the younger generation) to popular and imported culture and new education about sex has shaped their new ideas about courtship (ibid: 83). Furthermore, Mexican's lived experiences with migration and the emergence of transnational communities in the U.S. have supported the development of a modern companionate ideal (Hirsh 2007: 98).

1.4 Traditional Images of Korean Women

As previously discussed, the transformation of intimacy emerges with various socioeconomic and cultural changes in local and global levels and one's experiences with these changes. Here, I am focusing on the processes of modernization in Korea and immigration of Korean-Americans as significant social changes among Korean-American women that transform their intimate lives and ideas about the self and the family. In order to understand how two generations of Korean-American women's understandings of love and marriage change in the contexts of modernity and migration, we must first look at how Korea's traditional values and

modern ideals of intimacy have transformed during major historical moments in Korean history as well as within immigrant social and cultural changes.

The ideals of love and marriage have shifted throughout Korean history with significant ideological and social changes. Confucianism was first introduced to the Korean peninsula in the seventh century, and its philosophy that shaped Korean social and cultural ethics and morals is still apparent in Korean society today. The middle of the Joseon Dynasty (1392 – 1897) was marked by a widespread implementation of Confucian practices (Kendall 1983, 33), and these practices imposed and strengthened patriarchal-based society, which after all affected Korean women's changing roles in society and the family, indeed notions of love and marriage.

In the pre-Confucian period in Korean history, notably during the Kingdom of Silla (57BC – AD 935), the notions of equal rights and free love between men and women were prevalent. During this period, the patrilineage was not the basic unit of society, and female lines were as important as male lines. The kingdom granted Korean women considerable rights and accepted women as full members of society (Kim 1979, 37). Married and unmarried women participated fully in the agricultural work of their village, and women were a major labor force in society. The women paid taxes and held rights to property (Kendall 1983, 42), men and women had equal responsibilities in driving society and supporting the family, and women's right to head the family was also acknowledged (Kim 1979, 39). Furthermore, Silla men and women performed marriages based on free choice rather than arrangement (ibid., 40).

In Silla, if a man and a woman liked each other, it was all right for them to marry. There are a few cases of love marriage recorded in the *Samguk Sagi*, a historical record of the three kingdoms of Korea: Goguryeo, Baekje, and Silla, referring free association between men and women during the Silla kingdom. The story of Kim Munhui and Kim Chunchu, later King Muyeol

of Silla, upon their marriage illustrated that Munhui and Chunchu fell in love at first sight, meeting days and nights, and discovered that Munhui was pregnant before marriage (Byun 2005, 21). This story shows both men and women of the Silla kingdom had free choice in dating and marriage and reveals the Silla period had a moderate emphasis on female chastity.

However, the Confucian belief that men were superior to women began shifting the preexisting notions of gender equality and free love between Korean men and women from the seventh century. The widespread implementation of Confucian practices in the middle of Joseon dynasty made strenuous efforts to incorporate Confucian morals of “virtuous women.” The moral of “virtuous women” established the ideal characteristics that women should possess; a virtuous woman should preserve her chastity before marriage, be a good daughter-in-law and a wife, and obey only one husband (Han 2004, 117). At marriage, Korean women had no voice in the selection of their future mates; parents arranged or gave consent to marriage based solely on family background (Byun 2005, 44). Also, Korean women did not have names. They were identified by their position relative to men. Before marriage, she was so-and-so’s daughter, after marriage, so-and-so’s wife, and in her old age, so-and-so’s mother (Kim 1979, 52).

Confucian beliefs valued Korean women’s collective identities with the men in their lives and families because that was the women’s primary means of survival and fulfillment (Pak 2006, 32). Traditional Korean beliefs are deeply rooted in Confucianism. In its milieu of love and marriage, the ascendance of patriarchy and familial solidarity prioritize Korean women’s individual rights and desires. In spite of modern western influences, urbanization, and industrialization in Korea today, the Confucian gender roles and images are entrenched in Korean women’s activities and thereby have molded their identity (ibid., 34).

1.5 Modernity and the Transformation of Love and Marriage in Korea

In *That Woman's World* (1934) by Yi Gwang-Su, the early modern Korean author and social activist, one middle-aged wife describes young girls' searching for love as an act of prostitution and argues that love is an odd ideology that does not apply to the husband and wife relationship – only respect and responsibility are appropriate in this intimate relationship. In the early twentieth century in Korea, love or romantic relationship were a new phenomenon, which had not been found in Korea's previously existing society. According to Kwon (2005), the concept of romantic, sexual love or *yeoneh*, came to East Asia through Western missionaries in China in the mid-nineteenth century, later to Japan in the 1880s and then to Korea through Japanese colonization in the 1910s (Kwon 2005, 186). Kwon points out “*yeoneh* was formed as the translation of foreign word[s] whose equivalent was non-existent in Korean” (ibid., 200).

Although the history of modernity in Korea is much longer, the most visible transition from traditional to modern Korea began in the 1960s. During this period, rapid economic development, industrialization, and urbanization in Korea encouraged change in the family structure, from the extended, rural collective family to the urban nuclear family (Cho 2002, 168). Korea's traditional extended family system centered on the patriarchal family structure and piety. The main purposes of traditional marriage were a union of two families and the production of economic labor (Jang 2015, 9), which had little to do with affection or love as a preliminary relationship (Kim 1993, 71). However, the nuclear family in urban industrial settings transformed marriage into a more egalitarian form, and modern marriage became a union of two individuals (Kim 1993, 73; Baldacchino 2008, 99). Moreover, with the rise of consumer society and the influence of western cultures in the 1980s, young Koreans in this period idealized a real romance and a love marriage, a life they glimpsed in countless Hollywood movies and Korea's popular cultures (Cho 2002, 172).

Rapid industrialization and modernization in Korea in the 1960s and the emergence of a prosperous consumer culture in the 1980s marked transformations in Korean society. Many young Koreans moved to urban areas, and both Korean men and women increasingly participated in the economy and higher education. The modern notions of individualism and the new forms of love marriage appeared in this period. Kendall (1996), in her ethnographic accounts of young urban Korean men and women in Seoul in the 1980s, explores modern courtship and marriage in the changing circumstances of gender relations during the late twentieth century capitalism in Korea. Kendall argues that during this period in Korea, notions of individualism arose and new work and educational opportunities available for both unmarried men and women undermined the moral authority of kinship (Kendall 1996, 118).

One of the phenomena Kendall observes is the rise of arranged meetings by professional matchmakers and love marriage. During this period, many young intellectuals advocated marriage by personal choice and mutual understanding in the name of individualism and free will, but the ‘personal choice’ was perceived differently by men and women. Korean young men’s personal choice reflected their choosing of their own wives, rather than being arranged by their parents, and they preferred beautiful and educated women whom they believed to be “beloved wives” and “wise mothers” (ibid., 101). For Korean young women, their personal choice indicated to be chosen by “good groom material” (ibid., 111). To achieve the demand for “rational” marriage (ibid., 89), the market for arranged meetings, *masson*, hiked during this time, and the goal of this market and matchmaking practices was to bring “love marriage.” This new ideal of love marriage in modern Korea, however, was still embedded the patriarchal standards of gender.

1.6 Korean Mother and Daughter

Sterk and Deakins (2012) introduce the mother and daughter relationship like this: “daughters seek knowledge about their mothers and grandmothers, hoping to find out who they themselves are as women and human beings... mothers express strong desires for connection with and care for their daughters, helping them to grow up strong, powerful people in their own rights” (Deakins et al. 2012, xvi). To both mothers and daughters, mutual interest and affection are push and pull forces to maintain mother and daughter relationship. Chodorow (1974) explores how “gender personality” is developed through psychological processes of the mother and child relationship. Arguing that women are universally responsible for early childcare, Chodorow argues that “feminine personality” is more based on connectedness and relationality (Lewin 2006, 43), which also defines the mother and daughter relationship. A young daughter is learning role identity through her mother immediate presence and feminine personality, while a son ultimately shifts to a masculine role identity by building an identification with his father (Chodorow 1974, 49). The daughter’s continuous personal identification with her mother develops her own feminine personality, and as the daughter becomes involved in the world of women and motherhood, the personal identification of mother and daughter continues.

While Chodorow (1974) defines the qualities of the mother and daughter relationship as she understands them to occur in cross-culturally universal patterns, Kwon (2013) examines Chodorow’s mother and daughter relationship and raises negative aspects that emerged from the connected and relational mother and daughter relationship in Korea’s case study. In the case where the bond between mothers and daughters is close, the mothers fail to separate their daughters from themselves. Also, when the daughters experience the processes of differentiation, they feel lonely and rejected as their identification is completely separated from the mothers’ (Kwon 2013).

Perhaps the most accurate word to describe the dynamics of the mother and daughter relationship in Korean culture is *aejeung* (love and hate). In this love-hate relationship, mothers' strong connection with their daughters becomes their ambition for the daughters, which often results in the conflicting relationship between mothers and daughters.

Cho (2002) discusses the conflicting views of Korean women from three different generations – grand-mothers, mothers, and daughters – in confronting patriarchal systems. Women in the older generation accept the patriarchal standards and identify themselves to be good wives and mothers. Thus, the older generation continuously polices the younger generation women, demanding their daughters to be suitable wives and mothers and reinforce their empowerment through successful men (Cho 2002, 181). As a consequence of this surveillance, younger women become extremely self-conscious about their looks and alter their physical appearance so they can have commercial value on the marriage market (ibid., 183). Korean women's transformation to powerful mothers, though, does not reverse the patriarchal standards of gender and sexuality. Because their power has already internalized the patriarchal norms, “[Korean] women of the mother's and grandmother's generations accepted the sexual double standard as a woman's fate and put their sexual energy into rearing children, identifying themselves as asexual, strong mother figures” (Lee 2002, 145).

Contemporary Korean mothers seek to teach their daughters to live differently from themselves. They encourage their daughters' self-realization, which supposedly asserts that women should be defined as individuals and free from traditional patriarchy. However, the mothers' teaching of self-realization does not attempt to challenge the patriarchal system; in fact, their teaching only appears in a way to affirm the existing patriarchal norms of gender roles. Although these mothers once had progressive ideas and feminist vision to change their mind, they

now seem to think that it is wiser to adapt to the existing patriarchal system than resist it. Then, these women realize that money derived from a husband's income is crucial and that a son is the source of power in the male-centered family structure (Cho 2002, 181). Thus, this self-realization is conducted to empower women to be 'beloved wives of successful husbands' (Kendall 1996, 117; Cho 2002, 181). Cho asserts that this contradictory attitude of 'self-realization' is the new form of the internalization of patriarchal norms of gender between Korean mothers and daughters.

1.7 Korean-American Women

The contemporary, post-World War II immigration flow from Asia to the United States is dominated by women (Espiritu 2008, 73). While the goals of the 1965 Immigration Act aimed to facilitate family unification and to admit skilled workers with special job skills, this policy has produced female-dominated flow (ibid.). The dominance of female immigrants reflects the growth of female intensive industries in the U.S. (Clement and Myles 1994, 26), and of all women, Asian immigrant women have recorded one of the highest rates of labor force participation (Espiritu 2008, 73). In the history of Korean immigration to the U.S., the impacts of immigration – together with structural, social, and cultural changes – on Korean immigrant women are evident. Korean immigrant women who came as wives, mothers, and daughters undergo socioeconomic transformations which reconfigure family, gender, and generational relations while negotiating various social changes.

Korean migrants began to enter the U.S. at the start of the 20th century. In 1903, approximately 7,200 Koreans arrived Hawaii to work on sugar plantations. Between 1905 and 1924, approximately 2,000 additional Koreans came to Hawaii and California. During the period, the number of Korean men in the U.S. outnumbered Korean women, and the Korean men insisted on marrying Korean women only. Therefore, the majority of Koreans who newly arrived that time

were “picture brides” of the Korean bachelor immigrants (Min 2011, 4). During the period between 1950 and 1964, there were about 15,000 Koreans immigrated to the United States, and the large number of them were either “war brides,” Korean women married to U.S. servicemen in South Korea or Korean orphans adopted by American citizens (ibid.). The abolition of the National Origins Act of 1924 in 1965 led the massive influx of Korean immigrants. Since this period, most Korean immigrants are based on “family immigration” that Koreans immigrate to the U.S. with their family members, and the majority of the immigrants are college graduated white-collar workers from largely urban areas in Korea (Pak 2006, 36).

The immigration of Koreans to the United States has led to significant changes in the traditional Korean family system, and the most remarkable changes are the increased participation of married Korean women in the labor force and of their husbands in housework. Min (2001) studies the changes in Korean immigrants’ gender role and social status. He observes that first generation Korean immigrant women's economic role has increased suddenly, dictated by the exigencies for their economic survival, without changing their own and their husbands' traditional patriarchal customs brought with them from their home countries (Min 2001, 302). Min argues that Korean immigrant women’s increased economic role and the concomitant decline in their husbands’ economic power (ibid., 303) are the main impetus for changing and unchanging their gender roles.

Since the late twentieth century, Korean immigrants to the U.S. are composed of urban, middle-class families, with growing numbers of immigrant children, 1.5- and second-generation Korean-Americans. The 1.5-generation Korean-Americans are immigrant children who were born in Korea and later immigrated to the U.S. with their parents, and the second-generation Korean-Americans are children of Korean immigrants who were born and raised in the U.S. (Pak 2006,

36). These younger generations receive increased attention in the Korean community as their bicultural identity emerges to face “existential limbo,” being marginalized and belonging anywhere (ibid.). In the dual cultural context, the younger generation Korean-American women encounter numerous social and gender roles. The 1.5- and second-generation Korean-American women have been able to receive their education in the U.S. and obtain greater social and economic opportunities than the older generation mothers could. These women are caught in between the public world of work in mainstream America and the private world of the Korean family and often juggle contrasting gender images: an “other-oriented” and selfless woman, which is taught by their mothers and tradition, versus an independent and assertive woman portrayed in popular western image of woman’s individuality and equality (ibid., 41).

Pak’s (2006) case studies of 1.5 and second generation Korean-American women in the Southern California area illustrate the women’s real-life experiences facing numerous social roles in a dual cultural context. Pak’s findings of the Korean-American women suggest that these women are fully aware and proud of their ethnicity, and their familiarity and comfortability with Korean ethnicity allows them to explore American culture fully (Pak 2006, 120). Also, Pak investigates how a close relationship with the family among these women is a primary source of their identity, providing a secure sense of who they are at the core (ibid., 121). However, their close family ties often make it difficult for the women to find their own paths, lost between the parents’ dreams and their own (ibid., 141). Despite the interviewees’ intelligibility regarding their ethnic identity and pride, these women express confusion about gender roles due to contradictory messages from the two cultures. What these women are taught in academics and career in the U.S., to value the success of individuals and “to think like a male” (ibid., 143), in many ways contradicts the parents’, especially the mothers’, expectations for their daughters’ relationships and marriage.

Although many studies discuss how the processes of modernization and transnational practices change traditional familial structures by liberating people from family obligation and kinship (Giddens 1992; Rofel 2007; Hirsh 2003; Tran 1998; Wong 1998; and Kitano and Kitano 1998), the lives of Korean immigrant families in the U.S., in fact, indicate that the families maintain traditional familial expectations such as filial piety. Yoo and Kim (2010) conduct in-depth interviews with adult children of Korean immigrants to show their attitudes around filial care and a strong sense of responsibility toward their parents. Through these in-depth interviews, Yoo and Kim find out that the adult children are likely to talk about future caring for their parents in old age as repayment for the nurture and support the parents provided earlier in their lives, and this strong sense of responsibility aligns with the adult children's concern about the language and financial barriers faced by their aging parents (Yoo and Kim 2010, 171). Moreover, the study finds that adult daughters often feel more pressure to take care of the details of their parents' needs because of the daughters' emotional bonds with their parents (*ibid.*, 177). The majority of Korean immigrants do not have a separate retirement plan, and the adult children of immigrants typically consider themselves to be their parents' retirement plan (*ibid.*, 178), thus the adult children's "repayment" to the parents' sacrifices in immigration maintains Korea's traditional notions of filial piety among Korean-Americans.

The goal of this thesis is to understand how processes of modernization and immigration shape Korean-American women's experiences in love and expectations of marriage cross-generationally. These processes ultimately create their generational and cultural identities and define their mother and daughter relationships in the midst of shifting ideas about the self and the family. As women share and transform their notions of romantic love and intimacy, so they

exchange understanding and caring, hence bridging the cultures of love between the mothers and the daughters.

1.8 Methods

For this ethnographic research, I recruited three pairs of Korean-American mothers and daughters in the Korean community in Duluth, Georgia: first-generation Korean-American mothers and 1.5-generation Korean-American daughters. The first-generation Korean-Americans are defined as immigrants who emigrated from South Korea to the U.S. of their own free will, without following their parents, and the 1.5-generation Korean American refers to those Korean immigrants who had to immigrate to the U.S. together with their parents because they were minors. In this research, the qualified informants are the first-generation Korean-American mothers who married in the 1980s in Korea, whose marriages were arranged by matchmaking, and immigrated to the U.S. in the 2000s with their husbands and children. The informants of the 1.5-generation Korean-American daughters are younger Korean women who were born in the 1980s and the 1990s in Korea and moved to the U.S. with their parents in their teenage years, so they were educated in both Korea and the U.S. and familiar with both cultures. The daughter informants, single Korean women in their late 20s and early 30s, have experiences in romantic relationships and expect their marriages to be based on their own decisions to choose their husbands.

Nearly half of the Korean-American population in Georgia resides around the Korean community in Duluth; according to the U.S. Census Bureau's 2014 American Community Survey, 22,001 of the 52,431 Korean-Americans that call Georgia home are living in Gwinnett County (including the city of Duluth) (Yeonams 2016). The recruitment of this research is based on respondent-driven sampling. Respondent-driven sampling is commonly used for hard-to-find or hard-to-study populations (Bernard 2011: 147). In this context, the Korean-American population

in the Duluth Korean community is not a hard-to-find population because a large number of the population is gathered in a distinct area. However, the qualified informants in this study are categorized explicitly as mother and daughter pairs and the first- and the 1.5-generation Korean-American women of specific age groups with similar lengths of immigrant experiences. Therefore, I conducted respondent-driven sampling to avoid randomly selecting informants and to meet the criteria from a large number of people. Two of the former informants from my pilot study helped to identify potential participants. These former informants are the first-generation Korea-American women who have immigrant experiences ranging from 10 to 15 years, and they have 1.5-generation children in their late 20s and early 30s. From my previous ethnographic encounters with these informants, I figured these women tended to socialize with other first-generation Korean-American women of their age and similar immigrant experiences, and they were helpful in finding qualified informants for this thesis.

One of the former informants from my pilot study recruited her daughter and herself (Sarah and Mrs. Park) to participate in this research. This first group of mother and daughter pairs fit the participant criteria. Another former informant of my pilot study and the daughter informant from the first group had introduced this research to other first-generation mothers and 1.5-generation daughters from their social circles, and a few of them expressed their interests in this topic. All of the introduced 1.5-generation daughters were qualified for this research, however, some of the first-generation mothers were unqualified, for their marriages were not arranged by parents or matchmakers in the 1980s. Also, some declined to participate, saying they did not have much to say about their love and marriage. From this respondent-driven sampling, I was able to find just one group (Mrs. Lee and Esther). For the final group selection, I used my email and mobile phone lists of my 1.5-generation friends from the church and school to send and introduce the purpose of

this research. My old friend (Grace) from high school replied to my email with her interest in the research participation and convinced her mother (Mr. Kim) to participate in this rare opportunity.

One strict qualification I intended for the mother informants was their practice of arranged marriage. Korea's modern arranged marriage appointed by matchmakers was not only common but also encouraged for young Koreans during the 1980s, but then it became less influential as romantic relationships and love marriage without the formal interventions of parents and matchmakers have become the norm in contemporary Korea. Juxtaposing the mothers' experience in arranged marriage with the daughters' expectation for love marriage enabled me to observe how the core feelings in marriage are produced and changed between the two generations. I expected examining the two generations' distinct types of marriage could provide a conventional generational study between traditional and modern. However, this would later be challenged by my findings and argument for the failed dichotomy in the case of Korean-American women specificity.

Furthermore, although I never intended to find participants based on a particular religious affiliation, all my participants were Christian. My former informants who helped to recruit qualified informants for this research were the church members of the biggest Korean community church in Duluth, so indeed the potential participants whom the former informants had introduced turned out to be Christian as well. None of my interview questions regarded faith-related opinions, however, it is possible that my informants' ideals of and conservative views on romance and marriage could be affected by Christian values rather Korea's traditional Confucian values. Mrs. Park and Sarah occasionally presented their religious beliefs as integral to their life experiences during the interviews, while the other informants never obviously expressed them; Grace noted that she was uncertain whether she was still Christian since she had stopped attending church or

maintaining a relationship with God for few years. Nevertheless, I attempted to analyze my informants' experiences and expectations of love and marriage based on Korea's traditional values on gender and sexuality, rather than those of Christianity.

This thesis is based upon qualitative ethnographic research, which requires in-depth interviews of the participants. The interviews were semi-structured with audio recordings and conducted in Korean; all participants chose the interviews in Korean when they had the choice between English and Korean. Each participant was asked to attend two interview sessions, approximately an hour long for each one. The first interviews were individual interviews, where each informant had one on one interview with me and was asked to share her life history. For the mother informants, the questions regarding historical events and social climate during their teenage and college years were asked first, and then the questions about their social life, perceptions about dating, and experiences of marriage and immigration were followed. For the daughter informants, their experiences with immigration and integration opened up the first interviews, which they shared the sociocultural shift from Korean to American and from teenagers to adults. Moreover, the daughters carefully narrated their dating experiences, expectations of future husbands and the ideal marriage. After the first interviews, I proposed a joint interview for each group. Two groups (Mrs. Park/Sarah and Mrs. Lee/Esther) agreed to the joint interview, but the third group (Mrs. Kim/Grace) dismissed the joint interview due to a conflicting scheduling with the mother, so the second interview for this group was held with the daughter only. For the joint interviews, I managed them to be more conversational in order to examine their mother and daughter relationship. The question about the mothers' expectations for the daughters' marriage was sought at first, and the daughters responded to their mothers with their own opinions. Throughout the joint interviews, there emerged a few sensitive topics concerning different values of emotion between

the mothers and daughters. For example, one mother's belief that her daughter's professing her love toward her boyfriend was immature and inappropriate displeased her daughter, and one daughter's distrust of her mother's true love for her husband made the mother uncomfortable. However, these informants were aware that their arguments over such issues were natural and even encouraged for healthy family relationships and were glad to have the conversations. Despite some tensions between the mothers and daughters, the joint interviews offered great opportunities to share their untold feelings and unexpressed love to each other. The interview questions based on the informants' life history and their stories of love and marriage aimed to compare and contrast changing experiences in dating and marriage between the two generations. The questions helped to examine how various social changes and practices before and during immigration on both generations have shaped their expectations of love and marriage differently and similarly. Furthermore, it illuminated their changing and unchanging values about the self and the family.

My own positionality as a 1.5-generation Korean-American woman in this research presented both benefits and challenges. As a 1.5-generation immigrant woman, I could understand what other 1.5-generation immigrant women struggle in the relationships with their mothers and overall immigrant experiences as 'in-between.' Together my and other voices of the 1.5-generation Korean-American women successfully raised the matters of what the 1.5-generation immigrant women encountered with their transnational practices, notably our shifting ideas about the self and the family and changing values on gender and sexuality.

However, there were also challenges because of my representing the 1.5-generation Korean-American women. Concerns about research ethics emerged in privacy and confidentiality issues. Although I did not have any personal relationships with most of my informants, as the interviews progressed, I found that two daughter informants and I shared some common church

friends, which concerned me as I wondered whether this would discourage the informants from sharing personal stories and sensitive materials such as immigrant legal status, sexual experiences, and family problems. I assured all informants that the information shared in the interviews was extremely confidential, using pseudonyms and solely oriented towards the thesis publication, and I tried not to probe too deeply any sensitive areas. On the other hand, the interviews with one daughter informant (Grace) brought another challenge. As we were old friends who knew much about each other, it was hard to conduct her interview in a formal way since Grace assumed that I already knew her stories. I assured Grace that any information that is not shared in the interviews would not appear in the writing and promised I would keep my role as a researcher, not as her old friend. Furthermore, my positionality as a younger woman in the interviewer and interviewee relationship was challenging. While all interviews were held in Korean, the relative hierarchy in age and the communicative uses of honorifics in the Korean language posed challenges to my ability to probe deeply into the participants' personal stories. Because I was younger than the mother participants and one daughter participant, I was automatically placed in a lower position in this interviewer and interviewee relationship. Asking personal stories and opinions sometimes could be deemed as impolite or rude, so I had to be especially careful with my word choices and the purpose of asking when I was interviewing older participants.

With my positionality as a 1.5-generation woman, my own experiences as a daughter of immigrants, and my human condition, I could not escape my own subjectivity. Thus, I conducted the entire interview process aware of the interaction between the informants' experiences and my expectations. As the interviews progressed and data were collected, I was able to engage and interact with the informants more personally, and at the same time, I never disregarded my role as a qualitative researcher who conducts "a good interview [that] lays open thoughts, feelings,

knowledge, and experience not only to the interviewer but also to the interviewee” (Patton 1990: 353).

2 IN-BETWEEN GENERATIONS

2.1 The Mothers

“Only *nalnari* were dating. Like players. Ordinary students were not interested in it.”

Mrs. Kim said that dating was inappropriate to young Koreans back then. In fact, all of my other mother informants would have agreed with her. Mrs. Park shared her memories from high school:

Some students were dating just like you guys today. I knew few from my neighborhood. But they were different. They were *noneun ehdeul*. You know, those students who altered their school uniform skirts short and put makeups on. They liked hanging out with boys, sitting back in the boys’ motorbikes.

Mrs. Lee had the same impression about dating when she shared the story about her housekeeper when she was in high school. Mrs. Lee was from a rich family, and her family hired two female housekeepers who were only two or three years older than her. Mrs. Lee remembered one of the housekeepers as *ggajida*, who smoked cigarettes secretly every day in the back of the kitchen and ended up quitting the job when she got pregnant by her boyfriend.

Nalnari, *noneun ehdeul*, and *ggajida* are different words but used in the same context: when describing someone who tends not to behave by instructed ways, often with the implication of one’s impurity. All of my mother informants are *7080 sede* (generation), referring to Koreans who lived their eventful 20s and 30s amidst Korea’s growing urbanization, industrialization, and democratization in the 1970s and 1980s. According to the mothers, dating between a man and a woman in this period was not common. They considered dating as a social taboo and described people who were dating as disobeyers. Much of this perception relates to how Korea’s traditional notion of gender has been disciplined and practiced since the Confucian transformation of Korea.

The spread of Confucianism in the Joseon Dynasty (1392 – 1897) Korea insisted *nam jon yeo bi* (men high, women low) and *sam jong ji do* (three virtues of obedience) in the relationship of men and women. *Nam jon yeo bi* demands that more respect be granted to men than women because men are high and women are low from birth, according to the Confucian rules of relationships. *Sam jong ji do* indicates that women cannot be social beings without being related to three men in their lives: father, husband, and son. Along with these principles, *nam nyu chil se bu dong suk* (the sitting rule for men and women), in which boys and girls cannot sit together after they become seven years old, reflects the strict rule of gender hierarchy and sex segregation in the Joseon Dynasty (Lee 2008, 204). The Confucian Joseon imposed and strengthened a patriarchal-based society that considered men to be stronger position in society and the family. The rigid Confucian gender roles restricted men's sphere to matters outside of the house, and conversely, women's to internal family matters (Han 2004, 115). Moreover, the Confucian moral of ideal women represented that a "virtuous woman" should preserve her chastity before marriage, be a good daughter-in-law and a wife, and obey only one husband (ibid., 117), including four fundamental virtues, which women should possess: virtuousness, a proper talking style, delicate features, and domestic skills including weaving and cooking (ibid.). The stringent sex segregation during the Joseon Dynasty attempted to embed the notion of chastity on women's bodies (ibid., 115) and separate women from men's sphere, which indicated the restriction on Korean women's lifestyles and the oppression of their sexuality under the Confucian influences.

Institutionalized sex segregation in Korea was implemented in the school system. Under the Confucian ideology, education was only for men, while women belonged in the home, where they were taught and "educated" to be virtuous wives and mothers: "Reading and learning are the domains for men. For a woman it is enough if she knows the Confucian virtues of diligence,

frugality, and chastity. If a woman disobeys these virtues, she will bring disgrace to the family” (Kim 1976, 154). During colonial modernity in Korea (1910 – 1945), educational institutions were established for Korean women by western missionaries; however, still, male and female students were strictly segregated. In 1984, Banpo high school in Seoul initiated Korea’s first public co-education, and many single-sex schools have transformed into co-educational schools since the co-education policy under Kim Dae Joong administration (1998 – 2003) for gender equality in education. In this administration, the Presidential Commission was upgraded to the Ministry of Gender Equality, and the primary goal of the Ministry was to build a democratic nation based on gender equality and the concept of gender mainstreaming for women’s competency development and women’s social participation in international society (Kang et al. 2017, 87). However, single-sex education remains in most high schools in Korea today and is seen as an observation of tradition as well as conducive to academic achievement. Moreover, facility issues impede organizational changes in schools.

The mother informants attended high school in the late 1970s, and all of them went to women’s schools. Although they did not have many chances to hang out with male students, it did not mean that they never had male friends. The young students of 7080 *sedae* Korea still found their ways to meet each other.

Su: So you never hung out with guy friends in high school?

Mrs. Park: We had *meeting* (a pseudo-English Korean word; a group blind date) back then. Usually, boys from other school request a date with girls by sending a note or a letter. The note says that there are five boys who like to have this group date. If the girls say yes, then they need to have the same number of people ready.

On a weekend or something, those five boys and five girls meet at the bakery and introduce each other. Then they become friends.

Su: Have you done any *meeting*?

Mrs. Park: Not in high school, but in freshman college. The boys from Military Academy asked out the girls from my department. We had four people from each side. So we had *meeting*. Then later, they invited us to their end of year party, so we went there as their partners. And I became close with my partner. We sent letters to each other a lot and went out for date couple times.

Su: Was he your boyfriend?

Mrs. Park: I've never had a boyfriend! But that was it. One day, my mom found out about the letters, and she met him and said to stop seeing me. She said we were too young for this [dating].

Meeting in the 1970s and the 1980s Korea is probably young Koreans' claiming themselves as modern subjects. *Meeting* was an initial stage for the young Koreans' forming intimate relationships between men and women. The young Koreans in this period enjoyed the modern culture. They met at a *dabang* (a coffee house with a disc jockey), had cups of coffee, and listened to the Beatles' songs. Then, they went to the cinema to watch a movie and had dinner at a *gyeong yangsik jib* (a light-western food restaurant), rolling spaghetti using forks and spoons. The rise of consumer society since the 1980s in Korea provided a new vision of subjectivity that was transformed by Korea's economic success and young Koreans related experiences of a global culture united by capitalism (Cho 2002, 168). This modern era's idealization of modern and urban cultural models allowed 7080 *sede*'s new lifestyles and practices in intimacy. Challenging the old notions of gender relationship and the practice of sex segregation, the young Koreans found

meeting as a path to express their desires for love and intimacy, ultimately, their modern subjectivity.

However, in the discussion of the desires for love and subjectivity, the young Korean women performed passive roles in their intimate relationships. Mrs. Kim also shared her story with the boy she met at the church when she was in college. She admitted that she had few dates with this boy. However, when I asked her whether he was her boyfriend, she said, “We were just friends, but special.” Mrs. Kim noted that she never introduced him to anyone as her boyfriend because she was afraid of people might misunderstand her:

Korean culture and society were very harsh to women. If a woman was dating one man and another, people easily assumed that she was cheap and not pure. So it was better not to have a boyfriend unless she was going to marry him. But for men, it was okay.

Then, Mrs. Kim talked about her mothers’ generation, where *il bu da chu je* (the concept of polygamy; one husband and many wives) was socially and culturally encouraged, although it was not legally allowed. She said that in her parents’ generation, the number of wives and offspring a man had equated his economic position in society because only a rich man could afford many wives and children.

This custom had been maintained since the neo-Confucian Joseon dynasty. Although polygamy was prohibited by law during this period, elite men could have multiple wives, including a legitimate wife and concubines. The men pursued sexual pleasure with concubines, whereas the legitimate wife was engaged in sex only for procreation (Shim 2001, 136). Meanwhile, Korean women’s preservation of chastity and sexual fidelity to their husbands was implemented by various means of state compensation and coercive law: “Widows who kept chastity to the end of their lives

were awarded, and those who remarried were punished by having their offspring barred from government service and thus from respectable society” (Kim 1979, 84). The polygamous patriarchal family system was still prevalent in the older generations. Consequently, the pre-established notions of gender and the double standards of sexual morality continued to be pertinent even during Korea’s modernization.

The preconceptions about the traditional concept of gender and sexuality were embedded in Korean women of *7080 sede*. When discussing women’s subjectivity in romantic relationships and agency in dating, the mother informants denied that they were proactive in participating in *meeting* and hesitated to profess that they actually had boyfriends before marriage. Because what the mothers had seen and taught from their families and society was to be chaste, passive women and subordinate wives, the mothers internalized and condoned the traditional norms about gender. In the early stage of modernization in Korea in the 1970s and 1980s, the traditional gender relationship was still relevant. Despite young Koreans’ attempts to discover their desires for love and intimacy during the 1970s and the 1980s with the culture of modernization, Korean women’s journey to the realization of the self and the agency in love was slower than Korean men’s.

2.2 Korean Women of 7080 sede

Even before I met Mrs. Kim, I already had a good impression of her. When I had an interview with her daughter, Grace, about a week ago, Grace kept referring to her mother as *sin yeosung*. *Sin yeosung* (new women) historically referred to the first generation of educated Korean women graduates of Protestant missionary schools during the colonial modernity, who emerged in providing a new vision for Korean women (Yoo 2008, 74). *Sin yeosung* sought to challenge the Confucian patriarchal system and encouraged self-expression by defying tradition gender expectations of docile and self-sacrificing women and developing their own definition of beauty.

“Discarding traditional dress, they wore raised skirts exposing their knees, stacked heels and cloche hats. Instead of modest feminine coiffures, they flipped their bobbed hair in a manner that hinted at a subtle masculinity with an air of sexual permissiveness” (ibid.). Furthermore, women applauded the western sense of “free love” and encouraged women to liberate themselves from their unhappy marriages and pursue their own happiness (ibid., 82). Nowadays in Korea, this term is used as a proper noun, indicating a woman with liberal and feministic visions of gender – *sin yeosung* raises voice to end violence against women, demands equality in the workplace and marriage, and precisely is an independent woman who does not expect dependency and security from men.

I held an interview with Mrs. Kim at Vincent Bakery in Johns Creek. I brought her a mini bouquet as a thank-you gift for participating this interview, and she smiled and said, “You did not have to.” The tone of her voice was very low and calm, and even cold. During this entire session of the interview, she maintained her calm voice and did not overtly express her feelings, which bewildered me sometimes because I was not sure if my questions made her uncomfortable or not. However, I could not be more satisfied after we completed the interview. Not only were her stories about love and marriage and the relationship with her daughter significant to this study, but also she was the exact kind of mother I am hoping to be. I wished I could write a whole book about her.

Mrs. Kim studied social work in college. Social work was a new field of study in the 1980s Korea, and it soon became a popular discourse of study as Korean society was in the process of implementing different types of social welfare and services after the rapid economic development in the previous decades. Mrs. Kim was a passionate student. She wanted to study in Japan after graduating college because during that time Canada and Japan were exemplary countries that had

great social welfare system and services. However, after she graduated school she got a job, not as a social worker but instead as a receptionist of a company:

After few years working as a receptionist, I found a job opening for social worker position in a new health center in Seoul. I applied for the job and had an interview. During the interview, an interviewer asked me if I was seeing someone. That time I was seeing Grace's father. I said yes, and he asked me again if it (the relationship) was by *yeoneh* (love) or *joongmeh* (arranged). It was by *joongmeh*. I was thinking whether I should say the truth or not. I did not want to lie, so I said it was *joongmeh*. Then he said, "You will be marrying soon." I did not get that job. If it was *joongmeh*, marriage was unavoidable since parents were involved. And a married woman could not work because she then would belong to home. It was like that back then.

Korea's rapid industrialization and modernization since the 1960s led to a critical shift on women in Korean society in the areas of culture, education, movements, and law and politics, as well as in the realm of daily lives including socioeconomic participation, the family, and sexual relations. Many women became better educated and were more able to participate in socioeconomic activities due to modernization. However, due to continued gender discrimination, most women continued to suffer from inequality in the workplace, in the family, and in their sexual relations. Although women's participation in economic activities increased dramatically during this modernization period, the employment structure for women remained underdeveloped in many aspects. By occupation, men heavily dominated well-paying, senior-level public administration and professional management. On the other hand, women performed mainly

auxiliary duties in these occupations and were mostly confined to "women's work," such as textile-making, sewing, electronics assembly, and food processing (Shim 2002).

Under Korea's patriarchal social system, marital ideology was reinforced by the prevalence of gender-related division of work. Upon marriage, a majority of men and women naturally formed nuclear families, and women assumed responsibility for housekeeping and child-rearing. In other words, the separation of public and private realms and the division of work by gender became institutionalized: in Korean, one way to call husbands and wives is *baggat yangban* (outside man) and *jib saram* (home person), and it is still widely used among many older Koreans today. Despite Korean women's growing participation in economic activities, this division of labor by gender was indispensable upon marriage. Married men continued to spend time outside the family as Korean society and employers expected men to toil arduously in the course of industrialization and modernization, while married women were obliged to take exclusive charge of family affairs like housekeeping, child-rearing, and maintaining relations with their parents-in-law.

All of my mother informants were very conventional examples of the women of 7080 *sede*. They were educated college graduates. Mrs. Park was a nurse. She studied nursing in college and worked as a nurse for seven years until she was married. I asked her if she had ever wanted to pursue her career, and she said, "It was impossible because I would have children after marriage. And children need mothers all the time. As a nurse, I took care of patients, and as a mother, I took care of my children. So basically I did the same job." Mrs. Lee was a computer engineering (back in the 1980s, this department was called electronic calculations) student, which amazed me a lot. She bragged that she studied the first generation computers that I have never seen. I wondered if there were many other female engineering students:

Mrs. Lee: There were girls, although boys were more predominant.

Su: What would the girls do after school? Did they get jobs as engineers? Or in related fields?

Mrs. Lee: Maybe... but of what I know, most of my female colleagues were married after graduation. I got married right after too, so I never got in touch with them after graduation. I was too busy with marriage life.

For these women, marriage seemed to be the priority in their lives. If so, what was regarded as the most essential to these women to make their decision for marriage? Could it be love?

2.3 *Joongmeh Gyulhon* (arranged marriage): Marry Before Love

Rapid industrialization and modernization in Korea in the 1960s and the emergence of a prosperous consumer culture in the 1980s marked transformations in Korean society. Many young Koreans moved to the urban areas, and both Korean men and women increasingly participated in work forces and higher education. The modern notions of individualism and the new forms of love marriage appeared in this period.

Kendall (1996), in her ethnographic accounts with young urban Korean men and women in Seoul in the 1980s, explores modern courtship and marriage in the changing circumstances of gender relations during the 20th-century capitalism in Korea. Kendall argues that during this period in Korea, notions of individualism arose and new work and educational opportunities became available for both unmarried men and women undermined the moral authority of kinship (Kendall 1996, 118). One of the phenomena Kendall observed is the rise of arranged meetings and love marriage. During this period, many young intellectuals advocated marriage by personal choice and mutual understanding in the name of individualism and free will, but the 'personal choice' was perceived differently by men and women. Korean young men's personal choice reflected their choosing of own wives, rather than arranged by their parents, and they preferred

beautiful and educated women whom they believed to be “beloved wives” and “wise mothers” (ibid., 101). For Korean young women, their personal choice entailed being chosen by “good groom material” (ibid., 111). To achieve the demand for “rational” marriage (ibid., 89), the market for arranged meetings, *masson*, hiked during this time, and the goal of this market and matchmaking practices was to bring “love marriage.” This new ideal of love marriage in modern Korea, however, was still embedded within the patriarchal standards of gender.

After graduating college, Mrs. Lee had more than ten *masson*:

From time to time, my mom brought me the dates and locations for *masson*. Mostly, it happened in hotel cafes in Seoul. On the *masson* days, I dressed up really nicely and visited a salon in the morning. I just needed to say it was for a *masson* day to a hairdresser, and she took care of me. At the meetings, I remember I was just sitting there quietly and listened to what men were saying. I never had any thoughts about those men. I did not do anything. I guess the follow up meetings were made between parents. Esther’s father was the only one who asked me for the second date. After three months, we were engaged, and then another three months after, we married.

Similar *masson* stories were shared by two other mother informants, Mrs. Kim and Mrs. Park. However, unlike Mrs. Lee, they only had one *masson* that led to their marriage. Both Mrs. Kim and Mrs. Park were working after college as a receptionist and a nurse respectively. They both said that they were not interested in marriage. However, as they entered their mid-20s unmarried, their parents were worried because they already missed the good age for women to be married:

Mrs. Kim: My *masson* was arranged by his sister. I knew her from the church group.

Because I knew she was a good person, I just assumed that her bother would be

good too. And he was. He was not a total stranger, so I thought why not. We dated for about a year then married.

and

Mrs. Park: I was working in Seoul, and my parents were in Gwangju province. When I turned twenty eight, my mom worried too much that I was still unmarried. She insisted me to meet this guy in Seoul, who was originally from Gwangju, and my parents and his parents knew each other. I did not meet him in Seoul, but one day I had to go back to Gwangju for my grandmother's funeral, and he was there too. Before I met him, my parents already had met him. They thought he was a good person, so they told me to meet him. I met him, and he seemed like a good *nampyon gam* (husband type). We married after two months.

In Korea, *masson*, the arranged meeting, aims to blend “traditional wisdom (marriage is too important to be left to the young) and progressive ideals (marriage should be a matter of individual choice made on the basis of mutual attraction) (Kendall 1996, 89). Based on the mother informants' personal experiences, *masson* was an essential step to achieve marriage, and the mutual attraction was secondary to this achievement. The mutual attraction between the candidates was supposed since their match was rational and carefully scrutinized and approved by their parents' lived experience and wisdom. Rational marriage in Korea's traditional arranged marriage and modern *masson* marriage shared commonalities. Their rationality was based on the interest of two families' unification and a husband's economic and social stability (a successful husband) and a wife's beauty and domestic ability to serve in both families (a beloved wife and a wise mother).

Asking questions regarding the mothers' actual feelings and romance for their husbands upon marriage was the toughest part of the interviews because I did not want to give them an

impression that I was suspecting their marriage lacked love. Thankfully, Mrs. Park brought up her “love story” first.

Su: Your marriage happened so quickly.

Mrs. Park: It happened unwittingly. But I guess we were destined. I did not know what the feelings of love were like before I was married. After marriage, it felt like we were *yeoneh* (romantic love) dating. I was very shy and nervous when I was with him, and I started liking him more because he was a very warm person. I had Sarah about a year later, and he was good with the baby too. My husband is very family-oriented and a good father, hardworking and responsible. I respect him a lot. I believe we have shown good parent figures to our children.

In the discussion of love, the mothers tended to place more emphasis on the love of family than the love between men and women, and their definition of love was based on respect and responsibility as parents rather than romantic and passionate attraction between men and women. The mothers’ experience in love heavily relied on the institution of marriage and was tied to duty and obligation as wives and mothers. For the Korean women of 7080 *sede*, love came after marriage.

2.4 The Daughters

Su: What do you think love is?

Grace: I knew you were going to ask that! Can I skip this question? (laugh) hmm... it’s hard.

Su: The question is?

Grace: No, love is.

Grace moved to the U.S. when she was thirteen with her family. “When we were coming here, my parents never told me that we were actually immigrating. I thought we were just traveling. I never got to say good-bye to my friends in Korea.” She went to middle school and high school in Duluth, Georgia. After graduating high school, she went to Manhattan to study fine art. However, after two years, she had to come back to Georgia because of financial and immigrant status issues. After a few years of working in the local area, she now attends an art school based in Atlanta and is living with her parents.

At my second interview with Grace, she finally revealed her love stories. I asked how her love life was going, and she said, “still recovering from a recent breakup.” The topic of love and marriage was not always a friendly subject, especially to single women in their early 30s like Grace:

I was always sincere about my love. I loved my ex-boyfriends, and I did my best to keep the relationships. But all my experiences in love were failure. Look, I am single again. And meeting a new man is much harder. If I meet someone now, I should seriously consider marrying him because I am over thirty now! I loved my exes, but they were not husband types. They were cute and stylish, but young, childish. If I want to meet a grown-up and mature man this time, I may have to give up his looks...but I do not want to give them up!

Grace continued sharing her very recent experience in *sogeting* (a combined Korean word *soge* (introduction) and *ting* derived from the English word *meeting*; a one-on-one blind date set up by friends) in the previous week:

I am not a big fan of *sogeting* because it is artificial. But anyway, I work in an OBGYN for part-time job. There is a young, newlywed couple who regularly visits

our office, and we have talked a few times. One day, the husband came to my reception desk and asked if I wanted to have a *sogeting* with one of his friends. The old me would have said no, but this time I said yes, and I met him last week. I have seen him only one time, but he seems nice and calm, and he is also funny. He seems like he can understand my craziness (laugh). But...he is not so attractive. He is not bad-looking, but his looks are not my type. See, this is what I was saying before. I like his personality, and he has U.S. citizenship! He has things I need, but not what I want.

Today's modern and cosmopolitan young women are the actors in their love relationships and seek for self-realization through love (Hirsh 2007; Faier 2007; and Rofel 2007). Unlike the women of older generations, who internalized and were restricted to the old notions of gender and sexual morality, the women of younger generations under the institutions of modernity challenge pre-established practices and orders (Giddens 1991, 2), and the constant interrogation of "how I feel about the relationship" subsequently places the woman in active roles in intimate relationships (Giddens 1992, 46). What institutions of modernity in the event of immigration have affected the daughters and their relationships in love?

2.5 1.5-se Korean-American Women

It was an icy morning, and the sun already brightly lightened up the day. When I arrived at the Dunkin Donuts located in Peachtree Industrial Blvd, Sarah was there. Among few takeout customers at the cashier's counter, Sarah, sitting at the very corner of the café, was looking at her laptop. I approached her, and she greeted me nicely. After a moment of saying hello and wishing a happy new year, I asked if she wanted any drink or food for breakfast. She refused my offer politely, saying she already had breakfast after the morning worship at the church. I quickly

grabbed a cup of coffee for myself and sat in front of her. She cleaned the table and took out a pen. I handed her out a consent form and briefly explained the purpose of this study and how our interview was going to be today. Looking at my eyes so enthusiastically, Sarah nodded few times with some “wows.” Sarah then started reading the consent form, and it became quiet all of a sudden. She was perusing it thoroughly, and at one moment she smiled then looked at me again. I caught her shy and hesitant expression at that moment. “This word sounds unfamiliar to me.” She pointed the word ‘Korean-American’:

I am aware of that I am a 1.5-generation immigrant, but I have never used this word ‘Korean-American’ to describe myself. I am so sorry if I have distracted you about this.

Sarah was right. Although this ethnic description of “Korean-American” is widely used in many scholarships and the fields of academia in the U.S., this term was never used among us, Korean immigrants. When I had my consent form translated into Korean, the literal translation of ‘Korean-American’ sounded very awkward to me, and I myself have never heard and used this word to describe Korean immigrants. Colloquially in Korean, the words that refer Korean immigrants differ by their generations upon immigration. He or she would describe him or herself as *1-se* (first-generation), *1.5-se* (1.5 generation), or *2-se* (second generation) and so on. Also, in a literary way, the word *hanin* (Koreans) is used to describe Korean migrants abroad, followed by the country they immigrated. For instance, the term for Korean immigrants in the United States is translated into *mijoo hanin* (the United States Koreans). In either version, the ethnic identity of ‘American’ is not found.

I was glad that Sarah had brought this topic up, and I encouraged her to continue sharing her opinions.

Sarah: It's so interesting. Americans are saying we are Korean-Americans. But I do not identify myself Korean-American. Ethnically defining, I am Korean. When someone asks me what my ethnic identity is, I would say I am Korean, not Korean-American...

Su: But technically, you have lived here longer than you lived in Korea. So do you think you can easily adapt to Korean society and culture?

Sarah: If I go back to Korea and live there? No, I can't. It's going to be difficult and different there. To think that way, I guess I am Korean-American because I am not fully Korean in that sense. I will be Korean-American if I am in Korea, but here I am just Korean. I guess I am just better off in this immigrant culture.

Su: What do you think the biggest difference between Americans and us?

Sarah: When I look at my American friends, they express things freely. When I first came to the U.S., I was shocked by the way they dressed, and couples did *skinship* (a pseudo-English Korean word; physical intimacy like touching, kissing, hugging, and sexual intercourse between couples). Also, how they talked back to teachers. So I guess Americans express well. And my immigrant friends, including myself, are not like that. We don't express freely I guess, or we do not know how to express. Sometimes, I feel jealous of their [Americans] freedom.

Su: What do you think the cause of that difference?

Sarah: Like how we grew up in the family I guess.

The daughter informants are *1.5-se*. They moved to the U.S. in their teenage years and attended middle school and high school in Gwinnet and Fulton counties, where the most Korean immigrant families reside. Like Sarah, my two other daughter informants shared their cultural

shock when they first came to the U.S. Interestingly, they all mentioned the teacher and student relationship. To them, how American students expressed their thoughts and opinion to teachers was quite new because it was very different from how they were taught in school back in Korea. “Good students were those who listened to teachers and waited for break time to use a bathroom,” said Esther. Moving from the culture where passivity is respected to one where expressiveness is valued, the daughters are stuck in-between these two distinct cultures.

The bicultural identity of the *1.5-se* daughters allows them to travel between Korean and American cultures freely, while assimilating to neither culture. The daughters recognize cultural differences between Koreans in Korea and Koreans in the U.S., differentiating them from typical Koreans from Korea. According to Grace, she is more ‘open’ and understanding to racial, cultural, and sexual diversity issues than typical Koreans are. While being able to integrate culturally and participate socially in American society with language proficiency, education, and a secure job, Esther is not interested in becoming American. Esther said she is proud of her ethnicity and cultural identity and comfortable with her social circle around Korean immigrant communities. Instead of staying in one or moving on to the other, the *1.5-se* daughters have formed and lived with this in-between character as their unique generational identity.

2.6 *Yeoneh Gyulhon* (love marriage): Marry Whom I Love

Based on the daughter informants’ dating stories, I was able to categorize men into four types: *yoohak seng* (study and work abroad Koreans), *1.5-se*, *2-se*, and non-Koreans. The informants had experiences in dating these types of men and shared their cultural challenges when dating non-*1.5-se* men:

Esther: I dated one *yoohak seng* in college. I went to Georgia Tech, and there were more *yoohak seng* than immigrants like me. I was in the Korean students club on

campus and got to know him. We dated for a half-year. It was good at first. He bought me many things and took me to fancy places. I did not know how rich his family was in Korea, but you know, most *yoohak seng* are from rich families. But at some point, I realized that we were so different. I would never understand his way of life, for instance spending money issue, and he would never understand how immigrant families were like. And he was a typical Korean. He was too self-conscious. He cared too much about what others thought about him, so he was always showing off with expensive stuffs. That was very tiring.

and

Grace: I have never dated foreigners. Well, I had a date with a Chinese-American once, but that was it. I have dated *1.5-se* and *2-se* Korean men. *2-se* are like Americans. They think they are Americans. For me, language was important. I mean, I did not have any problem with communicating in English with my ex-boyfriend. But when it comes to sensitive and emotional subject, I prefer speaking in Korean, and I want my boyfriend who can understand and share that sensitivity and emotional nuance that can be expressed only in Korean. With my *2-se* boyfriend, that part was extremely difficult. This will also be the same problem if I date foreigners. This is a cultural difference that I am experiencing with non-*1.5-se* Koreans.

In the course of the interview, the daughter informants emphasized that they were “not really Koreans and not Americans” on the topic of ethnic identity, and this identification became more comprehensible when they shared their experiences in intimacy and discussed expectations for marriage. The daughters’ experiences in intimate and love relationship directly reflected the

1.5-se identity in the U.S. The particular social change called immigration has placed immigrant children in dual cultural context. In the private sphere like home, the *1.5-se* preserved the traditional cultural values by maintaining the traditional familial structure and custom and the continuous communication with their parents. In the public sphere, school and workplace, the *1.5-se* learned and adapted new cultural values and became cultural mediators between the two cultures. However, due to this distinct and unique identity as “in-betweener,” the *1.5-se* daughter informants claimed that it is more challenging to them to find the right person to marry because of the limited numbers of *1.5-se* Korean men in the community.

Among my daughter informants, Sarah is the only one who is in a relationship. She met her boyfriend from the church community, who is a *1.5-se* like her. Grace and Esther are single and in their early 30s. In the discussion of love and marriage, Grace and Esther both noted that they now want to love someone in order to marry, not just for the act of love itself:

Su: You are still in your early 30s, but why do you want to marry soon?

Esther: I am not saying I want to marry in like next month or this year. Because I am thirty-one now, I need to meet someone now and date for at most two years, then I can get married before I turn thirty-five.

Su: Why is thirty-five so critical?

Esther: I can't be over thirty-five unmarried. Then I will be so old, and not many single men will be available then. I might have to find a divorcee by then. I know people in Korea now, they tend to marry old or not getting married at all. But here, people marry at a young age. My close friends from high school are mothers now. Korean men here do not need to go to military service so I think they are financially prepared much younger. And living expenses are much cheaper here. I heard if you

want to buy a decent two-bedroom apartment in Seoul, it costs around a million dollars.

Su: Do you get any pressure from your parents?

Esther: Not much from my mom, but my dad is like, "To whom should I sell you?"

I hate when he says that. I feel like an object. One time, my dad tried to set me up with one *yoohak seng* from his work, but I said no. That *yoohak seng* probably wanted my status more. I mean, I can happily help him getting a Green Card if we are in love, but he asked my dad if I had the citizenship or not. That's not nice.

On the other hand, Grace mentioned that she needs to find a man with U.S. citizenship. Grace was a DACA (Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals) recipient under the Obama administration, but now she is worried about how she can live in the U.S. Although Grace refused to talk more about her and her family's current legal status in the U.S., she expressed her concern regarding the Trump administration's rigid deportation policy for undocumented immigrants and mentioned, "The safest and the fastest way is to marry a U.S. citizen."

The daughter informants' expectations for love and marriage were much complicated and entangled with both idealistic desires and realistic matters. Ideally, the daughters prioritize love. They seek for someone whom they can love and who can love them. The mutual attraction is significant in initiating their intimate relationships. At first, mutual attraction is sparked between men and women for their attractive physical appearances, then it is maintained through mutual conversation and shared interests. However, realistic matters interrupt. The matters of anticipated age for marriage and legal status for the *1.5-se* daughters make love less powerful, and marriage becomes a more practical, survival issue for aging *1.5-se* daughters in the U.S. Thus, they are

caught in the dynamics of modern subjectivity, traditional gender values in marriage, and secure status in the U.S.

2.7 In-Between Generations

The Korean-American mothers and daughters undergo various processes of modernization in Korea and immigration in the U.S., and these processes ultimately shape their different generational identities and understandings of love and marriage. I define these two generations as in-between generations. The mothers of *7080 sede* entered the very beginning stage of Korea's modernization projects and were known as modern women who had higher education and career experiences. However, they were at the same time caught in between traditional values and modern ideals of love and marriage. Although the practice of *yeoneh*, romantic love, gradually became prevalent during the 1970s and the 1980s in Korea, the mothers in their 20s were still passive in performing this love and abided by traditional gender roles in marriage; their marriages were arranged by parents, and the romance of these women were secondary to their marriage decisions. The *1.5-se* daughters, the recipients of globalized ideals of romantic love, express their subjectivity in intimate relationships and perform *yeoneh* freely. This 'freedom' in *yeoneh*, in fact, is configured with their specific experiences as being *1.5-se* immigrants. The daughters' cultural identity as in-betweeners has formed their unique generational identity, and they seek to maintain social and intimate relationships with immigrants like themselves. Thus, they tend to freely perform *yeoneh* with only *1.5-se* Korean-Americans. The daughters expect emotional satisfaction as well as a sense of shared commonality from their current and future partners. However, love is not a sole actor in achieving marriage for the daughters. Practical matters emerging from their complex social and immigrant experiences make their expectations for marriage more materialistic; accordingly, romance may be secondary to their marriage decisions.

3 BRIDGING LOVES

3.1 *Jung (compassion) and Sarang (love)*

As discussed above, Paxson (2007) examines Athenian “structures of feeling,” which refers to the lived meanings and values of the “feelings” of *erotas* and *agape* and the relationship between these feelings. In contemporary Greek tradition, *erotas*, passionate and physical love, matures into *agape*, an enduring love (Paxson 2007, 121) in marriage. However, global consumerism and imported sex campaigns failed to comprehend the cultural role of *erotas*, whose meanings encompass far more than a biomedical definition of sex (ibid., 125). Subsequently, the traditional meanings of *erotas* and *agape* are disrupted with the globalizing forces of public health and consumptive practices, in which *erotas* has merely become passionate, physical love that is distinct from *agape*.

Paxson’s study investigates locally specific categories of feelings and their shifting meanings and values amidst the processes of modernization and globalization. In Korean culture, feelings of intimacy in marriage are defined by two categories, *jung* (compassion) and *sarang* (love). Based on my lived experiences with Korean culture, *jung* embraces broader aspects in feelings – encompassing love through hate – and *sarang* indicates instantaneous attraction like passionate love. Also, in generational perspective, *jung* is often described as older people’s way of love, whereas *sarang* is more common to young people.

Baldacchinno (2008) explores the emotions of *jung and sarang* as the core feelings in marriage in Korean culture, where *jung* matures by couples’ shared memories and remains to unite the couples, and *sarang* emerges to attract the couples but can also disappear (Baldacchinno 2008, 105). He argues that when Korea’s new and modern institution of intimacy allowed the transition from arranged marriage to love marriage, the attitudes toward *jung* and *sarang* have changed

between older and younger generations. According to his study, the older generation's marriage was not based on *sarang* but fueled by *jung*. However, the younger generation, the recipients of love marriage, places greater emphasis on *sarang* in marriage. Although *sarang* understood to be fleeting, it is essential in relationships for the younger generation (ibid., 108).

One of the common questions to my informants was to share their thoughts about *jung* and *sarang* in relationships. How would they define these emotions and how they should operate in *yeoneh* (romantic relationship) and *gyulhon* (marriage)? The results were not surprising. Their meanings and values of *jung* and *sarang* based on their experiences are central to the narratives of generational difference, the difference built on the emergence of modern intimacy, *yeoneh*.

Mrs. Lee: I did not worry about *sarang* when we were getting married back then.

We were arranged, so the marriage was going to happen anyway.

Su: How can you define *jung* and *sarang* in marriage?

Mrs. Lee: I think *jung* is deeper than *sarang*. As marriage life goes, *jung* comes gradually. And it is more than *sarang*. You will feel compassionate for your husband, for all his hard work to support family, and knowing he is the person you will live forever makes you feel more attached to him. I know young people say *sarang* is really important, but it will transform into *jung* eventually.

Then, I asked Esther, Mrs. Lee's daughter, which emotion, *jung* or *sarang*, was essential in relationships:

Esther: *Sarang* of course. *Jung* is for friends and family, not for romantic relationship. Even when a couple gets married and becomes family, the couple needs to be attractive to each other. They should be attractive as a man and a woman, not attached as a husband and a wife or as a father and a mother. My mom

sometimes says she is still with my dad *jung ddehmooneh* (because of *jung*). It sounds like she unwillingly stays in this relationship because of the time she spent with him.

Like Esther, Grace also emphasized romantic attraction between married couples, which cannot be sustained by *jung*: “*Jung* is an interesting concept, but is not exclusive between men and women.” She defined marriage as a union of two individuals founded on *sarang* and said that marriage can end when *sarang* fades.

Linguistically, *jung* and *sarang* require different verbs. A verb that commonly accompanied by *jung* is *deulda* (enter), and for *sarang* is *hada* (to do). When claiming *sarang*, “I” is the active subject, while “me” becomes the direct object when using *jung* in a sentence. Giddens (1992) argues that romantic love presumes some degree of self-interrogation; questioning “how I feel about the relationship” subsequently places a woman in an active role. Thus she actively produces love (Giddens 1992, 46). The relationship between romantic love and self-interrogation is examined in the transition from arranged marriage to love marriage; the attitudes toward *jung* and *sarang* have changed between older and younger generations. According to my daughter informants, marriage begins with *sarang*, and they take active roles in *sarang*. However, for the mother informants, *jung* is a key that sustains their marital relationship. The modern institutions of intimacy – *yeoneh* (romantic relationship) and *yeoneh gyulhon* (love marriage) – grant the daughters the birth of the self through professing their feelings and emotions. Although the mothers were less active in the profession of the self and *sarang*, they also negotiate their intimacy through compassionate love, *jung*.

3.2 *Chingu gateun* (friend-like) Mothers and Daughters

In ancient Korea's patrilineal agricultural society, fecundity was highly valued, and children, preferably sons, were great economic and social assets. According to the Confucian principle *chil guh ji ak* (seven evils), women who did not bear sons could legitimately be thrown out of the family, and the women were recognized as indispensable members of society and respected for their role as advisors only by their ability to bear sons (Kendall 1983, 43). The preference for sons in traditional Korea was persistent, but it has gradually eroded with the emergence of nuclear family policy and campaign under the processes of industrialization and modernization since the 1960s.

During the industrialization and modernization of Korea in the 1960s, the state reinforced family policy for 'nuclear family formation' in response to Korea's rapid economic development. The promotion of the modern nuclear family encouraged the "family wage system," in which the division of labor was efficiently separated in public and private domains, where husbands participated in economic activities and wives took care of domestic duties (Kim 2011, 12). Along with the state's rigid five-year economic plan, the family policy in the 1960s was a major national project whose primary goal was to restrict multiple births, prompting the recognition of public values for a balanced development of population and resources. As a result, in the 1970s, the rate of reproduction gradually declined as active policies from magazine, television, and other media continued to support birth control. The popular state slogans promoted the limit of two children per household, saying "A population explosion is scarier than a nuclear explosion," and "Don't discriminate between boys and girls, have only two children and raise them well" (ibid., 13). With such effort, the birth rate continued to decrease. However, son preference persisted throughout the fertility decline. The abortion rate for baby girls increased while additional birth rates for sons

rocketed. In the 1980s, the family policy launched a new birth control campaign aiming for one child per household and attempted to dissolve the gender preference issue by advertising, “A well-raised daughter is better than ten sons.” The family planning campaigns in industrializing Korea were considered to be significant processes of modernization (ibid.). These processes not only transformed Korea’s family structure, but also affected the gendered division of labor and gender preference discussions in the family. Consequently, as the process of forming a modern family structure was central to the modernization project and a mother’s role in the nuclear family was centered in the house, this modernization process encouraged a new family identity, the matrifocal family.

All my mother informants had their first child in the late 1980s and were well aware of the family planning campaigns of the 1980s. I wondered about their experiences of becoming the wives and mothers under that modernization process. Mrs. Lee had two daughters. Although the births of her two daughters were celebrated and blessed by her husband and families, she did not deny that she felt pressure to bear a son by her husband’s family:

Mrs. Lee: My husband is the eldest son in his family, and my father-in-law always wanted us to have a son. But who could guarantee the third child would be the son? And during that time having three children was not normal. It was embarrassing.

Su: Were you blamed for not having a son?

Mrs. Lee: Not overtly. My father-in-law never said bad words to me. But he constantly suggested we adopt my husband’s brother’s son legally in paper, so the family *jok bo* (genealogy) was kept by the eldest son’s son.

Mrs. Lee said that despite being stressful, not having a son did not bother her too much. Because Mrs. Lee lived far from her father-in-law, she did not face that issue every day, and she

knew that the adoption would not happen without her and her husband's brother's wife's permission. "Wives' decisions are critical in the family," said Mrs. Lee.

Giddens (1992) argues that the power of romantic love gives women rights in the family, and the nuclear family centered on the 'invention of motherhood' becomes an ideal. Patriarchal power in the domestic milieu becomes weakened with the division of labor in the modern family structure, and women's control over child-rearing grows as families become smaller and as children are in need of long-term emotional training (Giddens 1992, 42). With the division of spheres in the family, the separation of the home and the workplace, the fostering of love becomes predominantly the task of women. Although this idea about romantic love indicates women's confinement to home and relative separation from the outside world, the development of such idea, conversely, expresses women's power at home, allowing motherhood as a new domain of intimacy (ibid., 43).

Using Giddens' idea about romantic love and the invention of motherhood in the modern family structure, I argue that Korea's modern matrifocal family identity shapes an intimate relationship between mothers and children as the mothers' control over domestic responsibilities and emotional support for their children become stronger. Here, I am developing Giddens' invention of motherhood in the context of transnationalism and immigration. The experiences of immigration change the division of labor not only between husbands and wives but also between parents and children.

Many studies discuss how processes of modernization and transnationalism change traditional familial structures by liberating people from family obligation and kinship (Giddens 1992; Rofel 2007; Hirsh 2003; Tran 1998; Wong 1998; and Kitano and Kitano 1998). However, the lives of Korean immigrant families in the U.S., in fact, indicate that the families maintain

traditional familial expectation such as filial piety. Yoo and Kim (2010) conduct research on adult children of Korean immigrants to show their attitudes around filial care and a strong sense of responsibility toward their parents. The study shows that the adult children are likely to talk about future caring for their parents in old age as repayment for the nurture and support the parents provided earlier in their lives, and this strong sense of responsibility align with the adult children's concern about the language and financial barriers faced by their aging parents (Yoo and Kim 2010, 171). Moreover, the study finds that adult immigrant daughters often feel more pressure to take care of the details of their parents' need because of the daughters' emotional bonds with their parents (ibid., 177). Changing familial roles in immigrant families in the midst of immigration create an even more affectionate relationship between immigrant parents and children, and especially between immigrant mothers and daughters. This affectionate relationship is what I called, *chingu gateun* (friend-like) mother and daughter.

Every Sunday, I wake up at seven in the morning and attend the early morning service with my mom. After the service, my mother and I go to the greeting room at the church and have cups of coffee and snack. We sit down and chat for a while and come back home. That is our Sunday routine. On one Sunday, my mom and I were sitting in the greeting room as usual, and one elder came up to us and said she was jealous of seeing a mother and a daughter together. The elder had two sons who lived in the other states. She said being the mother of sons was not a pride anymore: "A mother with daughters wins *geum medal* (gold medal) and a mother with sons gets *mok mehdal* (hanging)." She used this hilarious pun to highlight today's changing gender preference for children and said, "Aging mothers need *chingu gateun* daughters."

When I asked my daughter informants about their relationships with their mothers, they emphasized they were 'very close' and '*chingu gateun*.' The daughters often planned ladies' days

out with their mothers, and the mothers said that with their daughters, they could enjoy things that they had never experienced themselves as young girls. “Young people know all good places and pretty cafes in the city. My daughter is so kind that she always wants to take me new places to shop and eat,” said Mrs. Park, and Sarah, Mrs. Park’s daughter added:

Sometimes I feel sympathy for my mom. She likes to enjoy good things too. But most immigrant mothers are busy with life and just do not know what and how to enjoy. They are restricted to many opportunities because of the language mostly. So I think it’s my job to have her experience more. Like taking her to musicals and foreign cuisines. Without me, she can never leave the Korean town in Duluth.

It was not only the daughters who felt sympathy for their mothers, but the mothers also expressed deep caring for their daughters. Mrs. Kim, the mother of two daughters and two sons, cared for her daughters more than her sons: “To be honest, men are better off in any society. That’s why I never took deep care of my sons. But for my daughters, because I have been experienced that [inequality], I poured more attention to my daughters and wanted to them to be different from me.” Besides, Mrs. Lee said she was still sorry to Esther for not being able to help her when she was in high school: “Like us, the language was a big challenge for Esther too. Even though I knew she was struggling with her school work, all I could do was to tell her to do her best.”

The shifting gender roles brought by the change in family structure have created an emotional relationship between mothers and children, and the experiences of immigrant mothers and children have shaped the relationship to be even more affectionate. From my informants’ accounts, social and cultural changes upon immigration have shifted immigrant parents’ and children’s roles in the family. In Korea’s traditional family structure, patriarchal authority caused the parent and child relationship to be highly hierarchical. Under this family model, a father was

the ultimate decision-maker and was expected to exhibit dominance and guidance towards his children in return for filial piety, respect and obedience. In the modern nuclear family structure, both father and mother now share a disciplinary power over their children, but the hierarchical relationship between parents and children still perpetuates (Evanson 2016). In the shifting familial roles of immigrant families, the parents are no longer in the position where they teach and supervise their children. The children, who are more adapted to the new culture and language, take adult roles and responsibilities in the family, for instance, completing and translating family paperwork and bills, and they feel more obligated to care for their parents who are less privileged in social and cultural integration in the event of immigration. The experiences of immigration change the parent and child relationship, and the hierarchy that existed between them becomes less visible. Thus, immigrant parents and children tend to become more *chingu gateun*. In the affectionate relationship between the mothers and daughters, how do they then share about their ideals for love and expectations for marriage? And how can their deep emotional attachment bridge the love and marriage expectations between two generations?

3.3 About *Yeoneh* (romantic love)

I had a joint interview with Mrs. Park and Sarah at McDonald's on Duluth Highway in Duluth. Driving from Buford Highway to Satellite Boulevard along the Duluth Highway road, I could see big and small Korean community churches in every block on both sides. When I arrived at the McDonald's, there were numbers of Korean adults in the playground area chatting and babysitting their grandchildren. Among them, I saw Mrs. Park and Sarah, and they waved and beckoned me to join. I came closer, and Mrs. Park introduced me to those adults, saying I was a good friend of Sarah and an intelligent sister from KCPC (Korean Community Presbyterian Church). They asked how old I was and if I was married. When I answered I was twenty-nine and

unmarried, one lady said to me, “The best way to do *hyodo* (filial piety) is to bring grandchildren to your parents.” I smiled and looked at Sarah, and Sarah smiled me back and excused us from them. We got the table a little far from the playground area, ordered drinks, and sat down. Sarah said she was sorry about the moment earlier and added that she, too, often receive that advice from elders in the church. I asked Mrs. Park if making her a grandmother was the best way of *hyodo*, she answered that getting married was the first step.

After my interview with Sarah, I thought her joint interview with her mom would be impossible. During her individual interview, Sarah shared that she was going through a conflicting time with her mom regarding her boyfriend issues:

He is my first boyfriend, and he liked me for two years. Actually, he was not the type of person I was looking for. Since I was studying theology, I wished to meet someone to become a pastor or a missionary so we could do God’s work together. Even though I knew he liked me a lot, I did not make a move easily because I was not sure if he was the right person that God assigned to me. However, no matter what, he waited for me until I became certain. He is a very honest and sincere person, and I am certain about him now. But the problem now is my mother. When I first confessed my relationship to my mom, she told me to break up with him and to be just friends with him. My mom still wants me to meet a pastor- or missionary-to-be person. She says that is the best for me.

Mrs. Park also admitted the conflict with her daughter about her boyfriend:

I asked her to break up with him by the end of last year, but she did not listened to me. I feel so bad for him. He must be the valuable son from his family, and he must not be treated like this from our family. But I am her mother. I know my daughter

the best. From her mother's point of view, I can tell they are not for each other. They are just so different. I know that my daughter will commit her life in doing God's work, but he is not the one who can do the work with her and assist her. That was why I asked my daughter to end this relationship before it gets serious. But they are still dating.

I did not want to make their conflict even worse by pursuing the joint interview. However, Mrs. Park and Sarah were very thoughtful that they appreciated the purpose of this study and expressed their willingness to do all they could for the project's completion. Despite their ongoing dispute over Sarah's relationship, Mrs. Park and Sarah seemed like an exemplary *chingu gateun* mother and daughter relationship. They often joked around with each other and were not afraid of telling each other's shortcomings, but with deep affection evident between the mother and the daughter.

I carefully opened up the discussion about their expectations for love and marriage by asking how these expectations differ and travel between them. Mrs. Park and Sarah stared at each other for a moment, and Sarah began:

My mom wanted to become a missionary, but she could not. So, she promised God that she would raise her first child to be used for God's work, and that was me. God accepted her promise. At one point in my life, I wanted to live my life for His world and knew my mission was to spread God's words. I wanted to be a missionary. That was why I decided to study theology and have M.Div. degree. In reality, though, it is harder for single women to become missionaries. The church prefers a couple and tends to hire male missionaries more. I also wanted to meet someone who was a missionary, so we could start and settle our family in a mission field. I understand

why my mom is not happy about my *yeoneh* because I am the one who changed the mind.

Sarah's boyfriend is not a professional church minister, but a devoted server of the church, according to Sarah. Her boyfriend has been volunteering as a youth group leader for several years and is known as one of the most diligent and faithful young adults at the church. "Although he did not study to become a pastor or was not appointed to become a missionary, he is still serving God's world in his own ways. I no longer believe mission attaches to church-appointed missionaries' work in harsh and barren lands. What we do here in everyday life is as doing His mission." After Sarah finished the sentence, Mrs. Park followed:

Sarah is right, and I agree her boyfriend is a really kind and healthy-minded person.

I am not saying what he is doing is not enough for God's work and what Sarah's going for. I have met him once by Sarah's introduction. As soon as I saw him, I could sense that they were not for each other because their auras were different.

This is mother's intuition. Mothers know their children the best.

Sarah listened to her mother attentively, but soon her face glowed with hope. Sarah said, "You know this proverb, "Parents always end up giving in to their children." This is the wisdom of our ancestors."

Cho (2002) examines the surveillance of Korean mothers over daughters in confronting the patriarchal standards of gender during the modernization era in Korea. Cho's daughter informants are at the same generation of my mother informants. Cho defines this daughter generation (my mother generation) as the generation caught between her mother's desire and her own self-realization and argues that this generation has adapted to the existing patriarchal system rather than resisting it, as their mothers' teaching of self-realization never attempted to challenge but to affirm

the existing patriarchal norms of gender roles (Cho 2002, 181). From this interpretation, we may analyze that there exists an ongoing attempt for inculcation of values and ideals from mothers to daughters. In the mother and daughter relationship between Mrs. Park and Sarah, Mrs. Park continuously attempts to instill her desire and expectation for *yeoneh* and marriage to Sarah. However, Sarah, who self-realized her subjectivity through her actual experience in *yeoneh*, does not give up her ideal love and marriage for her mother's desire. When the *chingu gateun* mother and daughter relationship erases the hierarchy between mothers and daughters, the mothers' words are less of absolute truth, and both mothers and daughters are inclined to share and express their ideas and feelings.

Grace defined herself as a mama's girl, except for the fact that her mother never told her what to do: "My mom is too cool. She does not give me any instructions. She always tells me to follow my heart and make my own decisions. But I just love to tell and ask my mom. I share literally everything with her." I asked Mrs. Kim how she felt when Grace shared her *yeoneh* with her. Mrs. Kim said she felt thankful.

Mrs. Kim: Unlike her sister, Grace is very talkative and always wants my attention.

For moms, it is good to have daughters like Grace. She really keeps me from being lonely.

Su: Grace says she tells you everything. Do you know about her *yeoneh* stories?

Mrs. Kim: I try not to interrupt in her *yeoneh* life. But Grace tells me everything like what she liked and disliked about him, what happened to them, and whether she should break up with him... things like these.

Su: Grace even told you about her first sexual experience. How did you feel?

Mrs. Kim: I was shocked. Really. I am very conservative about that. It is because I never really had any real *yeoneh* experience. To be honest, what seems ideal to me is to meet the right person and marry, and sex must be within marriage. But things are different today. *Yeoneh* is natural today, everyone does it. Even I tell Grace what I think about ideal relationship, she would not listen to me anyway.

Similarly, Mrs. Lee also emphasized chastity must be remained before marriage and added that too many *yeoneh* experiences are not appropriate to women. However, Mrs. Lee also said she did not stress her thoughts to her daughter, Esther, saying “I don’t think she will listen to me.”

In today’s modern and cosmopolitan world, conservative views on love and sex seem less appealing. Although the mother informants still are aligned with the Confucian-based traditional gender roles and morality, they do not express and inculcate their ideals, or they know that these ideals are less influential to their daughters because they know that the traditional ideals are less desirable in today’s society. While *yeoneh* enables the daughters to transcend the “traditional culture” and to assert a new self and desire, the daughters’ *yeoneh* helps the mothers to acknowledge “desiring subjects” embedded in their daughters, the individuals who operate through sexual, material, and affective self-interests (Rofel 2007, 3). The experiences of the daughters’ *yeoneh* allows self-realization for both generations in the ways in which the daughters express their desire and agency through romantic relationship, and the mothers acknowledge their daughters’ modern forms of the self through romantic love.

Furthermore, the *chingu gateun* relationship between mothers and daughters makes their positions shift. In the immigrant family structure, not only the hierarchy between parents and children becomes invisible as parent and child roles change, but also this changing power dynamics grant the children more power since the children are benefited from higher levels of cultural and

social integration in immigration. Thus, in the discussion of *yeoneh* between Korean-American mothers and daughters, the recognition of the mothers' undesirable traditional values and the daughters' desirable modern ideals emerges due to the shifted power dynamics in the *chingu gateun* mother and daughter relationship.

3.4 About *Gyulhon* (marriage)

The most intriguing part of the interviews with the mother informants was to learn about their expectations for their daughters' marriage. Based on my experiences with the daughter informants, marriage seemed like the ultimate goal they hoped to achieve in their early 30s. I wondered why marriage became such an urgent issue among the daughter informants and worried if there was much pressure from their mothers regarding marriage. Interestingly, the mothers' response to their daughters' marriage expectations did not bear out my concern. The mothers placed less stress on their daughters' marriage but expected their daughters to become independent, self-sufficient career women.

Although the mothers were educated professionals before marriage, their socioeconomic statuses were changed upon marriage based on those of their husbands. After marriage and before immigration, all my mother informants were full-time housewives. The families relied solely on their husbands' income, and the primary role of the mothers was the housekeeping jobs including assisting the husbands and nurturing children. All my mother informants said that their main impetus to immigrate was for their children's education. Mrs. Lee's husband was a pilot in the Korean air force for twenty years before immigration, so Mrs. Lee, as a wife of the colonel, held a higher socioeconomic status in Korea. Mrs. Lee's family still could own a house in the U.S., but her family's socioeconomic status was downgraded when her husband started working as a building cleaner with immigration. After working in different fields such as a cellphone assembly

line, a daycare, and an elder care, Mrs. Lee is now working as a part-time cleaner helping her husband cleaning business. Mrs. Park, too, enjoyed relatively a higher socioeconomic status in Korea. Although she gave up her profession as a nurse and became a full-time housewife upon marriage, her husband ran two restaurants and her family was economically fulfilled before immigration. Once immigrated to the U.S., Mrs. Park's family sold the restaurant business and spent much money getting Green Cards and training her son to be a professional golfer. So her husband found a job as a laundryman and Mrs. Park became a caregiver. With immigration, the mothers have entered the labor force in order to bring extra income to the house, as their husbands experience a decrease in their social status and economic power compared to the ones they had back in Korea. The mothers were able to find jobs through the help of the Korean immigrant community and managed different occupations such as cleaning, serving, and care-giving based in the Korean community.

Mrs. Lee: I am very thankful that I am still able to work in my age. People in my age in Korea are retired already. They just depend on their children and live unproductively. This is why American society is good. That's why we call it's the land of opportunity. I don't speak English but I can still make living. My children are highly educated and speak English well. They can do whatever they want.

Mrs. Park also expressed her daughter's great potential to be included in the mainstream society and have a better career:

So far, Sarah has worked only in the Korean immigrant churches. I have been telling her she should apply jobs in the American churches and other non-profit organizations. She can learn more from them, and maybe later she can come back

to the Korean community and work for Korean immigrants. I wish she can move on to a higher level.

Furthermore, Mrs. Kim also said that the main reason her family moved to the U.S. was to give her children more freedom. She hated how Korea's school system restricted students' creativity and put them into high competition. She was glad that Grace could continue to study art despite many breaks in between due to financial and status issues and said that this slow achievement would be impossible in Korean society.

In the discussion of the daughters' marriage expectations, the mothers expressed concern that marriage would be an obstacle for the continuation of the daughters' career. They hoped their daughters to marry good men, but said marriage would change women's life.

Mrs. Lee: Esther is still young. She has a good job. But once she gets married, things change. She may have to give up her career if she has a baby and needs to take care of both families, hers and in-law. Marriage is reality. She should enjoy her life more.

and

Mrs. Kim: Sarah can start thinking about getting married when she turns thirty-four or thirty-five. Meanwhile, she should build up her career. Today, thirty-five is not an old age to have a baby. Once she is settled with her career, it will be easier to handle her family and job together.

To the mothers, marriage comes with practical issues like reproducing children and managing their own and in-law's family, and these familial duties are solely on women's shoulder. Because the mothers' marriage was based on a distinct division of labor – husbands in the

workplace and wives in the house – they do not expect women’s concomitant fulfilment of work and family roles. However, the daughters conveyed different opinions.

Esther: Who would give up her career for marriage today? In our generation, husbands and wives take equal contribution and responsibility at home and work. Also, some men would want to be stay-home dads, and women want to be working-moms. So then they can take those roles. Today, the traditional gender roles that existed in my mom’ marriage do not work anymore. Individuals’ roles really depend on their ability and inclination.

Sarah also projected cultural and generational difference that she experienced with her mother regarding career and marriage. “My mom is just so into American dreams. She thinks I can become someone for big missions and who is really influential. But I am just living my life here. I want to live ordinarily. Just keep working in this job and settle down with my boyfriend eventually.”

The mothers of 7080 *sede* experienced change in their socioeconomic statuses with marriage and immigration. They were educated and professional independent young women, but upon marriage, they had to give up their education and career and become full-time wives, and their social statuses and economic power were then decided by their husbands’. With immigration, the mothers again experienced change in their socioeconomic statuses by becoming ethnic minorities and working-class immigrants in the U.S., but their decreased statuses offered the mothers new opportunities to enter the workforce and provide substantial economic contributions to their families. Interestingly, the downgraded immigrant families’ socioeconomic statuses upon immigration result in immigrant mothers’ upward status, granting the mothers economic power. The mothers’ moving statuses with marriage and immigration eventually influence their daughters in respect to their expectations for the daughters’ career and marriage.

The mothers believed America is the land of opportunity and freedom, which provides new vision for women. From their experiences and their daughters' integration in American society, the mothers find that women's roles are not restricted to home and that women can also be self-sufficient. Thus, the mothers are proud of their daughters being active members in society and discover the daughters' possibility for social mobility without depending on men. The daughter's self-sufficiency becomes the mothers' new desire. The mothers instill this desire to their daughters, hoping the daughters do not give up their potency with the entrance to marriage. To the mothers, marriage is a private sphere that perpetuates gender inequality, where wives' sacrifice follows.

However, the daughters' expectation for marriage is fairly different from their mothers' experience in marriage. *Yeoneh* (romantic love) produces the ideal of 'pure relationship' between men and women, in which their relationship is based on sexual and emotional equality and the value of trust and mutual disclosure and commitment, which may release one from kinship, social duty, or traditional obligation (Giddens 1991, 6; Giddens 1992, 2). Furthermore, women's increased social and economic participation has allowed them to be less financially dependent on potential husbands and shifted marriage expectation from economic security to emotional fulfillment (Hirsch and Wardlow 2006, 8; Padilla et al. 2007, xii, 101). Therefore, the gendered division of labor and the patriarchal system are inconspicuous in the marriage institution of the daughter generation. For the daughters, marriage is the domain for individuals' psychological and emotional stability, rather than the reproduction of structural inequality of gender.

Esther wants marriage for a longing for her soulmate. Because she has successfully completed her education and achieved economic stability, she said that she now needs to move on to the next chapter of her life:

Esther: I have accomplished everything in the first chapter of my life. I have a degree and a job. Now, I want to make my own family and settle down with the man I love. Marriage is something I need to achieve in the second chapter of my life.

Su: What will be achieved in next chapters of your life then?

Esther: To become a mother I guess. And have a stable and happy retirement with my husband and children.

The daughter informants all agreed that marriage is an essential part in their lives and stressed the importance of making a family in human condition. “Humans cannot live alone. Living intimately together is what God has granted us. That is why God created family” said Sarah.

Moreover, the daughters argued that the achievement in marriage is aligned not only with their individual needs, but also with their obligation to endow extended families to their parents.

Sarah: Unlike families in Korea, immigrant families are lonely. We have no other relatives nearby, it’s just us. We children are okay with that, but I see my parents seem very lonely without their parents and siblings living close together. If I get married, I can make other family members to my parents. My husband, his family, and our children can add up more family members to my parents.

Esther: My sister got married two years ago with an American man. There was some drama, but now my parents love him. Because my sister and her husband live in the other state, they come to visit only few times in a year, but every time they visit, my mom makes huge meals and my dad cannot stop smiling. Especially my dad never had a son, and now my *hyungbu* (brother-in-law) is his son now. Even though my parents can barely communicate with him, they still love to take time

with their son-in-law. By looking at how much they love their son-in-law, I feel like I should make one for them, with whom they can freely communicate. This is one of the reasons why I want a Korean man.

Grace: My mom has told me that she does not want to be burden to me and said I should go to the other states if I need to. But I do not want to live away from my mom. I have been taking care of my parents all my life in the U.S., even for their banking transaction stuff. I don't think they can do that stuff without me. I wish to marry a man who can do those things for my parents with me and who can understand taking care of the parents is not a weird thing. Immigrant children would understand.

As the beneficiaries of *yeoneh*, the daughters' expected marriage is based on 'pure relationship'. They believe marriage built on love and mutual attraction is an ideal image of marriage. Giddens argues that 'pure relationship' founded on sexual and emotional equality and the value of trust and mutual disclosure and commitment may release one from kinship, social duty, or traditional obligation (Giddens 1991, 6; Giddens 1992, 2). However, from the daughters' experiences of immigration, we find the traditional familial obligation of filial piety grows stronger. Although modern intimacy declares 'pure relationship' between men and women and modern marriage stresses a union of two individuals, when it comes to the experiences of immigrant families, the daughters' ideal relationship for marriage becomes less 'pure' and less individual. Knowing their mothers' loneliness and sacrifice in keeping the families in the midst of immigration, the daughters find one way to reciprocate their mothers' love and support is by committing filial obligations, marrying men whom their mothers would like and taking care of their aging mothers.

3.5 Bridging Loves

The impact of processes of modernization on modern family structure have granted women new roles in the family as an emotional fosterer and subsequently reshaped the mother and child relationship. Furthermore, the sociocultural and familial role changes with immigration have engendered a non-hierarchical and more affectionate relationship between immigrant mothers and daughters called *chingu gateun* mothers and daughters. *Chingu gateun* immigrant mothers and daughters freely express their own ideals of romantic relationships, which often lead to disputes between the two generations. The daughters' desire as modern individuals to love whom they want clashes with the mothers' desire of motherhood, wishing to teach and instill their embodied ideals to the daughters. However, these women's conflicts are not always arisen from the daughters' individualistic and the mothers' instructive intention but from obligation and care for each other. The mothers' desires for self-sufficient daughters conflicts with the daughters' desires to grant extended families to their mothers. The expectations for marriage between the immigrant mothers and daughters are caught in between the mothers' freeing their daughters from traditional familial obligation and the daughters' attempts to repaying their mothers through the same filiality. Despite their conflicting nature, the mothers and daughters' desires also delineate a realm of exchange in which the two generations' provide care for each other, bridging the love between mother and daughter.

4 CONCLUSIONS

Korean-American women's experiences of love and marriage reveal how they organize social life and intimate relationship and how they create family and selfhood. The women's experiences of love and marriage differ cross-generationally and shift amidst various social changes. For Korean-American mothers and daughters, the differences in meanings and values of love and marriage are evident, and their differences illuminate the women's distinct sociocultural experiences with the processes of modernization and immigration.

The Korean-American mothers underwent the early processes of modernization and urbanization in Korea in the 1970s and the 1980s. During these periods, Korean men and women increasingly participated in higher education and workforces, the new idea about courtship began to emerge with modern and urban cultural models of subjectivity and love. However, the mothers in their young age were still passive in romantic relationships and dating, when Korea's previously existing subordinate role and chastity of women were yet imposed on these young women. Moreover, the modern type of arranged marriage and the urban nuclear family structure became popularized during these periods. As the rationality of this arranged marriage focused to create a modern urban family with the notion of a 'successful husband' and a 'beloved wife,' the mothers participated in this arranged marriage where that mutual attraction between men and women was less important.

Having grown up in both Korean and American cultures, the Korean-American daughters form a unique bicultural identity, where they travel and negotiate both cultures while not assimilating to either one. In this in-between sphere, the Korean-American daughters create their own sense of belonging by maintaining social and intimate relationships with immigrants like themselves. In the context of romantic love experiences and marriage, the modern and

cosmopolitan daughters profess their subjectivity in love relationships and value mutual attraction between men and women as primary to marriage achievement. However, when the daughters encounter certain practical matters in immigration such as financial security and legal status, love cannot solely be significant in their decision to marry.

While the modern family structure forms the distinct division of labor – husbands participated in economic activities and wives took care of domestic duties – it also engenders the matrifocal family identity as the mothers' control over domestic responsibilities and emotional support for their children become stronger. Furthermore, immigrant experiences reshape the parents and children relationship. Social and cultural changes upon immigration shift immigrant parents' and children's roles in the family. When immigrant children, who are more adapted to the new culture and language, take adult roles and responsibilities in the family, they feel more obligated to care for their parents who are less privileged in social and cultural integration in the event of immigration. The experiences of immigration change the parent and child relationship, and the hierarchy existed between them becomes less visible, so the immigrant parents and children relationship become more affectionate.

In this affectionate relationship, the Korean-American mothers and daughters share their ideas about love and marriage freely. This is not to say that there is not conflict between them. Based on their own generational experiences with romantic love and marriage, the mothers and daughters are caught in their own expectations and desires for love and marriage. The mothers believe their daughters' excessive romantic experiences are not appropriate for women, while the daughters expect their participation in romantic experiences is a way to claim their own subjectivity. Also, the mothers' desire for their self-sufficient daughters to achieve careers first

and marry later conflicts with the daughters' desire to find life-long partners and fulfill filial duties for their parents.

The Korean-American mothers and daughters' different generational experiences of love and marriage under different forces and phases of social changes define who they are. Moreover, bridging these differences reflects how certain social changes affect the meanings of love and marriage and transform the self and the family cross-generationally. This cross-generational study not only displays the generations' different values of love but bridges the differences, so that it can provide deeper understandings between mothers and daughters.

We look at the experiences of older and younger generations and their negotiating traditional values and modern ideals of love and marriage. However, the shift from traditional to modern in this study does not attempt to illustrate the mothers' traditional values as something 'old' and 'worn' that needs to be replaced by the daughters' modern, 'new' or 'better' ideals. It is valid to say that modernity is a tool for particular kinds of self-realization and associated with claiming women's subjectivity, but it may be wrong to presume that tradition restrains and modernity liberates women's subjectivity entirely. This flexible interaction between tradition and modernity is observed by the Korean mothers' and daughters' experiences of intimacy in the discourses of specific Korean culture in modernization and immigration of Korean-Americans. While the mothers, working with traditional Korean notions and values of intimacy, did not prioritize nor achieve individualistic choice in their intimate relationships and marriage decisions, these values contributed to create the mothers' sense of caring and compassionate love for their husbands. Ultimately, the mothers have become emotional and intimate subjects in familial relationships and accomplished it through their negotiation and recognition of both traditional values and modern ideals of intimacy. On the other hand, the modern daughters, who are

supposedly ‘free’ in their choice of partners and ‘pure’ in their intimate relationships, encounter constraints in this modern intimacy due to the complexities in immigration experiences. The daughters’ longing for the similarity with their partners, secure legal status, and filial obligations in repaying their parents’ sacrifice makes their marriages more like traditional ones, where material and practical needs and familial responsibilities overpower one’s emotional satisfaction and individualistic desire.

The mothers and daughters create and define their own distinctive identities and it is crucial to study these in the context of their own generational, cultural, and social experiences, most importantly the mother and daughter relationship. The mothers’ and the daughters’ shifting values and ideals of love and marriage provide a useful site to observe how ideas about intimacy change generationally as well as a significant domain to address how the love between the mothers and daughters is delivered and received. In these ways, women’s experiences of love and marriage construct the basis of womanhood.

To conclude, this study effectively observed and analyzed the fields of modernization and immigration, intimate relationships, mother and daughter relationships, and women’s desire between first-generation Korean-American mothers and 1.5-generation daughters. Future research may focus on a generational study between 1.5-generation Korean-American mothers and second-generation daughters. The 1.5-generation mothers’ social and cultural identity as ‘in-betweeners’ in both Korean and American cultures may contrast with the narratives of assimilation and belonging of the second-generation daughters – second-generation Korean-Americans who were born and raised in the U.S., with no direct experiences in Korean culture aside from its significance as the alleged culture of their ancestry. Compelling insights may come from learning how ideas about intimate relationships and notions of subjectivity are shaped between these two generations

in the context of post-immigration and multiculturalism. Another research topic worthy of investigation is the transformation from Korea's modern *yeoneh* (romantic love) to the postmodern *some* (a word derived from the English term 'something'; Korea's new type of intimate relationships, indicating there is 'something' between the couple, but no dedication is required as it is in *yeoneh*) for younger generation Koreans in today's Korea. This phenomenon shows contemporary Korea's changing values around romantic and sexual relationships with the rise of individualism and neoliberalism.

Stories about love and desire are personal, but these personal stories are created by one's interaction with various factors and processes of social change. In the field of love, where the forces of social and cultural change and people's lived experiences and feelings are equally important, the methods and perspectives of anthropological research provide powerful insights to organize people's emotional experiences and analyze the socioeconomic and cultural processes affecting such experiences. Therefore, the anthropology of love draws together personal desires with the structures that shape them. In this sense, it addresses some of anthropology's most essential questions about humanity.

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