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The marital adjustment processes of Korean working-class couples

Sook-Hyun Lee Choi
Iowa State University

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The marital adjustment processes of Korean working-class couples

Choi, Sook-Hyun Lee, Ph.D.

Iowa State University, 1987
The marital adjustment processes of Korean working-class couples

by

Sook-Hyun Lee Choi

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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DEDICATION

Dedicated
to
the Korean working-class couples
who shared their stories of their marital lives
with me and made this dissertation possible
CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

In 1976 Lillian Rubin published an extraordinary study of American families. She interviewed in-depth fifty white, American, working-class families, in a suburb in California. In Worlds of Pain, Rubin was concerned with "class differences--differences in the subjective and objective experience that lead to differences between working-class and middle-class families in attitudes and behaviors, in ways of being and doing" (1976: 9).

Her book was about some of the men and women who live in white working-class families which are so often neglected in marriage and family studies. It was about their origins, courtships, the quality of family life, their definitions of a good marriage, their work, and their dreams for the future. She described the life in the working-class family as worlds of pain. The families were suffering from early marriage, unplanned parenthood, insecure economic realities, distinct role segregation, and a lack of models for companionate marriage--pains that are rooted in class situation and experience.

Rubin's work is very culture-specific: white, American, working-class families in California. Would the findings be different for other cultures? Would we find a world of love or pain and the same family and heterosexual dynamics for Korean couples in Korea, some of whom have extended family
living in the same household? What happens when a dyad (husband-wife) is a triad with grandmother in a Korean extended family structure? Would the pain of marriage Rubin found remain the same or be different in Korean families? One of the purposes of this research is to replicate Rubin's masterful study from the Korean perspective, while focusing more specifically on the marital adjustment process and on other aspects of family life which seem to affect the Korean couples.

In Korea, the extended family system still exists, although it is rapidly changing into the nuclear family system. Under the teaching of Confucian philosophy, the continuity of a family was more important than an individual. Thus, marriage was recognized as an affair of a family rather than as an affair of an individual. A woman was married into the family of her husband, not to him as an individual. A wife was expected to obey her parents-in-law and to dedicate herself to serve their needs. So, in the early stage of marriage, the adjustment of a wife to her parents-in-law and to other old relatives was considered more important than the adjustment to her husband.

Consequently, the emphasis on the continuity of the family, the 'we-ness', the harmony of family members and the structure of the extended family itself contributed to keep the family from breaking into pieces, although an individual's happiness was sometimes sacrificed for the mainte-
nance of the family structure.

Despite the process of industrialization and urbanization, Koreans continue to have expectations that the first son should take care of his parents, living together with them. They also continue strong kin ties, even after they constitute their own independent family. Young people, especially women, are expected to have responsibility for their parents-in-law whether or not they live together. Thus, good relationships with in-laws have been regarded as one of the factors leading to a successful marriage for Korean couples. Therefore, the evaluation of only the couple's relationship cannot predict the success or failure, or stability or unstability of their marriage in Korean culture. This research focuses on the similarities and differences of the marital adjustment process between Korean working-class couples who are living with their parents (parents-in-law) and couples who are living independently.

Statement of the Problem

"Marital adjustment" is a widely used and but an unclear concept. According to a review of the research on marital quality (Spanier and Lewis, 1980), during the decade of the 1970s alone, there were 150 articles and 182 American doctoral dissertations published which primarily examined the quality of marriage. However, most studies have relied upon the evaluation or assessment of a marital
relationship on a continuum ranging from high to low at one point in time, rather than marital adjustment as a process.

Based upon the literature, marital adjustment is defined in this study as "an everchanging process to reduce differences between marital partners and to get used to marital situations." When we regard marital adjustment as a process, not a state, the concept of the family life cycle becomes very important. Thus, this research deals with:

(1) adjustment to marriage (or adjustment to the spouse)—adjustments in important family issues (i.e., family roles, social activities, self-disclosure, sexual adjustment, etc.);
(2) adjustment to in-law relationships; and
(3) adjustment to parenthood.

A number of studies have demonstrated relationships between social class and parental values and socialization practices (Kohn, 1963; Rubin, 1976), social activities (Komarovsky, 1964; Adams and Butler, 1967; Rubin, 1976), conjugal roles and communication styles (Komarovsky, 1964; Shostak, 1969; Hawkins et al., 1977; Locksley, 1982), and marital stability (Galligan and Bahr, 1978). However, the majority of studies on marital quality have tended to use white, middle-class subjects for the researcher's convenience. We need more varied samples.

As Spanier and Lewis noted in their 1980 review, we must pay more greater attention to changes of marital relationships over the life cycle. There has been much pre-
vious research which has examined the quality of marriage over the family life cycle. However, the majority of studies using the family life cycle approach have employed cross-sectional data which inevitably have the problem that age and cohort effects may interact with stage effects (Spanier et al., 1975; Schram, 1979; Anderson et al., 1983). Anderson et al. (1983) have also suggested that the study of the family life cycle move their emphasis to the transitions between stages of the family life cycle as periods of change from the more static stage concept.

Furthermore, it has been pointed out that the research in this area is still dominated by the application of survey techniques. Now more innovative approaches are needed. As Rubin suggested, we need social science that is so designed—qualitative studies that can capture the fullness of experience, the richness of living and that takes us inside the family dynamics.

Taking into account these needs for research on marital adjustment, this study investigates how living arrangements have affected the marital adjustment of Korean working-class couples examining the subjective experiences of the couples with changes over the life course using retrospective assessment.

To summarize, the purpose of this study is to replicate Rubin's work which intensively studied family life of white American working-class people, in Korean culture, and fur-
ther to extend the work to include the extended family which still exists in Korean society. In other words, this research is a cross-cultural study on the reality of marriage, especially the marital adjustment process of working-class couples, and also is a comparative study of Korean couples who live independently of their parents and those who live together with their parents in the same household.
CHAPTER II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Definition of Marital Adjustment

The concept of marital adjustment has received much attention in the literature on marriage. All of the recent reviews of research on marital adjustment, however, point to the lack of consensus on the meaning of marital adjustment (Lively, 1969; Hicks and Platt, 1970; Burr, 1973; Spanier and Cole, 1976; Lewis and Spanier, 1979; Spanier and Lewis, 1980). The concept has been used as a synonym for marital "success," "happiness," "stability," and "satisfaction."

In one of the earlier studies on prediction of marital success, Burgess and Cottrell (1939) defined a well-adjusted marriage as "a marriage in which the attitudes and acts of each of the partners produce an environment which is favorable to the functioning of the personality of each, particularly in the sphere of primary relationships" (1939: 10). More specifically, they provided five indications of marital adjustment: (1) essential agreement upon matters critical to the marital relationship; (2) a substantial number of common interests and joint activities; (3) frequent overt demonstration of affection and mutual confidences; (4) few complaints about their marriages; and (5) feelings of belongingness and self-confidence.

Using a factor analysis, Locke and Williamson (1958: 569) described marital adjustment as "an adaptation between
husband and wife to the point where there is companionship, agreement on basic values, affectional intimacy, accommodation, euphoria, and certain other unidentified factors."

As one of eight criteria for evaluating marital success, Burgess, Locke, and Thomes (1963) defined a well-adjusted marriage as "a union in which the husband and wife are in agreement on the chief issues of marriage, such as handling finances and dealing with in-laws; in which they have come to an adjustment on interests, objectives, and values; in which they are in harmony on demonstrations of affection and sharing confidences; and in which they have few or no complaints about their marriage" (1963: 294).

According to Bowerman (1964), marital adjustment is "that behavior which serves to reduce differences between marital partners with respect to a particular marital situation, or interaction sequence" (1964: 239). He classified three areas of adjustment: (1) adjustments in family-centered matters including the areas of family expenditures, household duties, and responsibilities, bringing up children, and philosophy of life; (2) adjustments in person-centered matters including sexual adjustment and recreation; and (3) adjustments in activities taking place primarily outside of the home and including friends, in-laws, and religious practices.

Bernard (1964) emphasized the marital adjustment as a process rather than a state. She wrote:
Adjustment refers to the process of making functional changes in a relationship. The image is not of a static fait accompli, but rather of an ongoing interaction between partners, an interaction determined by the institutional specifications of the relationship, by the nature of the partners themselves, and by the quality of the relationship between them (1964: 678).

Lively (1969) argued that marital adjustment is a valuable concept for emphasizing the dynamic nature of marriage. For him, marital adjustment referred to "the continuing development of the relationship between husband and wife and the continuity between them" (1969: 111). He criticized that many times the concept was used as if there were levels or stages of adjustment which can be achieved and maintained by following an appropriate course of action and as if the term involved the assumption of knowledge about the consequences of marital interaction without establishing the dimensions of the interactional process. He recommended that we abandon the term "adjustment" because it is evaluative and unclear.

Noting the unclear conceptualization of marital adjustment and related terms (i.e., success, happiness, and satisfaction), Burr (1970) chose the concept of "satisfaction" and defined it as "a subjective condition in which an individual experiences a certain degree of attainment of a goal or desire" (1970: 29).

Spanier and Cole (1976) recognized that the problem with the concept "marital adjustment" is that everyone seems to know what one is talking about when one uses the term,
but the lack of a common definition leads to a lack of consensus with regard to operationalization and measurement. According to them, marital adjustment might be viewed in two distinct ways—as a process or as a qualitative evaluation of a state. They recognized that current measures of marital adjustment generally do not assess a changing process, but rather measure a position on a continuum from well-adjusted to maladjusted.

They accepted both views of adjustment and then subscribed to the notion that "adjustment is an everchanging process with a qualitative dimension which can be evaluated at any point in time on a dimension from well-adjusted to maladjusted" (1976: 127). Consistent with this point of view, they derived a multidimensional definition:

Marital adjustment is a process, the outcome of which is determined by the degree of: (1) troublesome marital differences; (2) interpersonal tensions and personal anxiety; (3) marital satisfaction; (4) dyadic cohesion; (5) consensus on matters of importance to marital functioning (1976: 127-128).

Constructing a theory about the quality and stability of marriage, Lewis and Spanier (1979) tried to clarify the concepts. They employed the general concept of "marital quality" to encompass the entire range of terms (i.e., marital "satisfaction," "happiness," "role strain and conflict," "communication," "integration," "adjustment," etc.) which have been the traditional dependent variables in marriage research. They also acknowledged that these
concepts have in common their representation of qualitative dimensions and evaluations of the marital relationship. Then, they defined "marital quality" as "a subjective evaluation of a married couple's relationship" (1979: 269).

In the decade review of the seventies on marital quality research, Spanier and Lewis (1980) noted the continued definitional ambiguity of such concepts as quality, satisfaction, adjustment, and happiness. For the review, they defined marital quality as "the subjective evaluation of a married couple's relationship on a number of dimensions and evaluations. High marital quality, therefore, is associated with good adjustment, adequate communication, a high level of marital happiness, integration, and a high degree of satisfaction with the relationship" (1980: 826).

Controversy about whether or not it is useful to continue to use the concept of marital adjustment is still unsolved. Recently, Trost (1985) argued that we abandon the term "adjustment," as Lively (1969) did. He stressed that the term "adjustment" is unclear and in fact not defined, and, furthermore, instruments (i.e., the Dyadic Adjustment Scale) do not measure any "process" or any changes. In contrast, Spanier (1985) suggested that we improve, refine, recast, expand, and clarify the concept, not to abandon it. He refuted Trost's criticism on the grounds that it is circular, saying that the definition is bad, thus the concept is bad, thus the measurement and its statistical
basis are bad, thus the concept is bad.

Correlates of Marital Adjustment

Snyder (1979) reviewed the changing characteristics of marital research around 1960 as follows: (1) prior to 1960, marital research was characterized by general investigations of marriage focusing on the identification and exploration of a broad range of sociodemographic and psychological correlates of marital satisfaction; and (2) since 1960, marital research has tended to be less general focusing more on specific dimensions or areas of marital interaction.

Snyder concluded that three areas have been studied most since 1960. First, communication has been the area of marital interaction most extensively studied. Second, a large amount of research has investigated specific areas of marital contention such as finances, sexual relationships, and concerns regarding children and childrearing. He mentioned emerging attention to the effects of children on marital satisfaction and changes in satisfaction across the family life cycle. Finally, a substantial amount of research has focused on personality and attitudinal predispositions as determinants of interpersonal attraction and marital compatibility.

Although considerable attention has been devoted to factors contributing to marital satisfaction, the results generally have been inconclusive and often contradictory
(Glenn and Weaver, 1978; Rhyne, 1981). However, researchers are still attempting to discover new correlates which may explain more of the variance in marital adjustment or marital satisfaction. Based on the literature, correlates which contribute to marital adjustment can be categorized into three groups.

The first one is sociodemographic correlates including age, sex, education level, family income, husband's occupation, length of marriage, age at marriage, number and spacing of children, and wife's employment outside of the home. Recent studies, however, have found that sociodemographic attributes account for very little of the variance in marital adjustment or satisfaction (Miller, 1976; Glenn and Weaver, 1978; Rhyne, 1981; White, 1983).

The second group includes instrumental correlates which are necessary for the marriage to serve as a social and economic unit. Those correlates represent marital role perceptions and performances, sex-role orientations, sex-role congruency, and conjugal power and decision-making patterns. Several studies have found that husbands more than wives tend to emphasize the instrumental dimension of the marital relationship (Wills et al., 1974; Miller, 1976; Rhyne, 1981; Rettig and Bubolz, 1983).

Finally, affectional correlates have been studied most extensively recently. These variables, labeled in a variety of ways, have been found to contribute consistently
to marital adjustment by numerous researchers: (1) Love and affection (Lewis and Spanier, 1979; Snyder, 1979; Rhyne, 1981; Rettig and Bubolz, 1983); (2) self-disclosure and communication (Ingoldsby, 1980; Jorgensen and Gaudy, 1980; Wachowiak and Bragg, 1980; Hendrick, 1981; Davidson et al., 1983; White, 1983; Hansen and Schuldt, 1984); (3) companionship (Miller, 1976; Snyder, 1979; Rhyne, 1981); and (4) conflict resolution (Snyder, 1979; Rands et al., 1981; Funk, 1982; Syna, 1985).

Each recent study will be reviewed in order of affectional and instrumental correlates. The effect of children on marital adjustment will be reviewed in the following section.

**Affectional correlates**

Using a path analysis, Miller (1976) examined a multivariate developmental model of marital satisfaction. Exogenous variables included amount of anticipatory socialization, length of marriage, and family social economic status. The endogenous variables were: ease of family role transitions, number of children, child spacing, and amount of companionship. From interviews with 83 wives and 57 husbands, he found that of the seven antecedents of marital satisfaction which were examined, only the two—the ease of the most recent family role transition and frequency of companionate activities—affect marital satisfaction direct-
ly. Furthermore, companionship had a stronger positive effect on marital satisfaction of females, whereas the ease of role transition had a stronger positive effect on marital satisfaction of males.

To avoid the limitation of measuring an entire marital dimension with a single question, Snyder (1979) developed a multidimensional instrument, the Marital Satisfaction Inventory (MSI). The MSI included various dimensions of marital interaction: global distress; affective communication; problem-solving communication; time together; disagreement about finances; sexual dissatisfaction; role-orientation; family history of distress; dissatisfaction with children; conflict over childrearing; and conventionalization. In two studies, he found that measures of a couple's affective and problem-solving communication are consistently the best predictors of overall marital satisfaction.

As one type of marital communication, self-disclosure has been identified as a key factor in the development of fulfilling and stable marital relationships. Jorgensen and Gaudy (1980) defined "self-disclosure" as "a process by which a marriage partner expresses feelings, perceptions, fears, and doubts of the inner self to the other partner, allowing relatively private and personal information to surface in the relationship that normally would not be revealed in the course of day-to-day interaction" (1980: 282). Thus, couples who self-disclose are believed to be on the path toward
building a strong relationship for a foundation that will enhance each partner's satisfaction and promote more efficient and effective interpersonal problem-solving techniques.

With 120 married couples from all socioeconomic levels, Jorgensen and Gaudy (1980) found that the more self-disclosure partners receive from their spouses, the greater the reported marital satisfaction. They confirmed that communicating to each other about personal and intimate matters constitutes an important step in the process of need and goal fulfillment in marriage.

Ingoldsby (1980) investigated the relationship between emotional expressiveness and marital adjustment cross-culturally. Using samples from the U.S. and Colombia, he found that: (1) females are more expressive than males in each of the emotions (i.e., love, sadness, and happiness) except anger; (2) U.S. females are more expressive than the other groups; (3) there is a significant positive relationship between emotional expressiveness and marital adjustment for U.S. sample, but not for the Colombians; (4) there is a significant positive relationship between marital adjustment and the degree of similarity couples manifest in their level of emotional expressiveness for Colombians, but not for the U.S. subjects; and (5) for the U.S. sample, the expression of the "positive" emotions of love and happiness are most conducive to good marital adjustment. He suggested that in a more traditional marital style the focus might be on task
completion rather than emotional sharing.

To assess the variables relevant to marital satisfaction, Hendrick (1981) explored self-disclosure, attitude similarity, self-esteem, and several demographic measures. With 51 couples who were recruited from several churches and from married student housing at a nearby university, she found that women have higher self-disclosure scores than men and that self-disclosure has a significant negative relationship with the length of the time a couple had been married and a highly positive relationship with a couple's educational level. Her results also revealed that the highest correlations with marital satisfaction were attained by self-esteem, self-disclosure, and attitude similarity.

Based upon equity theory, Davidson et al. (1983) tried to assess the curvilinear relationship between marital adjustment and discrepancies in affective self-disclosure. They considered both inputs—the degree to which persons perceived that their spouses affectively self-disclosed emotions to them—and outputs—the degree to which emotions are affectively self-disclosed to one's spouse. Data from 266 married student couples confirmed that the more affective self-disclosure one perceives receiving, relative to what one reports giving up to the level of equity, the greater one's marital adjustment; but above the level of equity, the less one's reported marital adjustment. Their findings provided support for the notion that imbalances or
discrepancies in affective self-disclosure exchange were related to lower levels of marital adjustment.

In their study of 50 young married couples, Hansen and Schuldt (1984) found that spouses' disclosure to one other was positively related to husbands' marital satisfaction. Although wives' disclosure was positively related to their marital satisfaction, husbands' disclosure was not predictive of wives' marital satisfaction.

Assuming that disagreement and incompatibility between two persons' aims are inevitable in any close relationship, and conflicts cannot be adequately resolved unless they are expressed openly, Rands et al. (1981) examined how a couple's experience of conflict and its resolution are connected to their marital satisfaction. They obtained data about perceptions of disagreement regarding family planning and other important issues, and about openness of communication on these issues. From the analysis of 244 young married couples' perceptions of their spouses' behavior, they found three major styles of conflict resolution: (1) The spouse attacks—spouses are seen to say things to hurt the respondent's feelings, to get mad and start yelling, and to be sarcastic; (2) the spouse avoids—spouses are seen to avoid talking about the conflict, and to get cool and distant; and (3) the spouse compromises—these spouses are seen to try to work out a compromise, to use reason, and to try to understand. Further, they reported that perceiving
the spouse as either attacking or avoiding was negatively associated with marital satisfaction, whereas describing the spouse as compromising was positively associated with it.

They were also concerned with the reported outcome of efforts to resolve conflicts. Perceptions of outcomes of conflict were clustered into two categories: (1) "Escalation refers to an outcome reported by respondents who expected to argue about lots of things, to feel angry, annoyed, or hurt, to feel that talking was a waste of time, and to have one's words used against one later on. (2) Intimacy is an outcome reported by respondents who expected that after conflict spouses would feel closer, understand each other better, have fun making up, and tend to compromise" (Rands et al., 1981: 304). Escalation was negatively related to marital satisfaction and intimacy was positively related to it. Conflict and its resolution are crucial aspects of marital relationships, and open discussion about conflict and attempts at mutual understanding reduce conflict and enhance intimacy in marriage.

Funk (1982) conducted a longitudinal study of problems and satisfaction in marriage. In his study, the Marriage Adjustment and the Confidential questionnaire were administered to 60 participants in 1973 and again in 1981. He reported that females showed significant increase in numbers of problems over time, whereas males did not; females also showed significant decrease in satisfaction levels, whereas
males did not. There was an inverse relationship between number of problems and level of satisfaction in 1981 for both females and males, but not in 1973. Further, he noted that sex and communication problems were the highest ranked categories in both years for both sexes, and tended to persist and increase in number with time.

Syna (1985) assessed the relationships among conflict resolution strategies, perceptions about sources of conflict and dyadic adjustment in forty intimate heterosexual couples. She predicted that nondistressed couples would be more inclined to use the problem-solving, or the avoidance strategies than the win-lose strategy to resolve conflict and would be able to regain intimacy with the partner following controversies. Well-adjusted couples were also expected to show a tendency to take some responsibility for problems in the relationship. She also predicted that distressed partners would have a tendency to assign blame for problems primarily to the other.

There were positive relationships between the use of win-lose strategies to deal with conflict, escalation of conflicts, blaming primarily the partner for problems and a stressed intimate relationship.

Instrumental correlates

Much research has focused on how consensus on role expectations, similarity of perceptions of role behavior,
and discrepancies between role expectations and role behavior are related to such variables as marital adjustment, marital satisfaction (Ort, 1950; Mangus, 1957; Luckey, 1960, 1961; Dyer, 1962; Kotlar, 1965; Burr, 1971; Nye, 1976; Chadwick et al., 1976; Bahr et al., 1983). In a generic sense, marital quality seems to be related more to the congruence between the role expectations of one spouse and the role performances of the other spouse than to any specific pattern of roles.

Several studies have investigated the effects of conjugal power and decision-making patterns on marital satisfaction (Centers et al., 1971; Kolb and Straus, 1974; Corrales, 1975; Bean et al., 1977; Szinovacz, 1978; Gary, 1984). The findings have generally indicated that husband-dominance and equalitarianism are associated with high marital satisfaction, while wife-dominant marriages tend to have the lowest marital satisfaction.

A few studies have examined the relationship between sex-role attitudes and marital quality (Scanzoni, 1975; Snyder, 1979; Bowen and Orthner, 1983). Scanzoni (1975) and Snyder (1979) failed to find a significant relationship between traditional versus nonconventional orientations and marital quality. In contrast, Bowen and Orthner (1983) reported that the congruency of sex-role attitudes of husbands and wives was related to the quality of the couple's relationship.
Adjustment to Parenthood

There is consensus that adding a new child to the family necessitates change in the marital relationship. Parenthood means new responsibilities, new tasks, and a variety of potential adjustments (Harriman, 1983; 387).

Results of prior research on the transition to parenthood have been inconclusive. In the earliest studies, the transition was reported to be an "extensive" or "severe" crisis for the majority of couples (LeMasters, 1957; Dyer, 1963). Later studies have suggested that the transition to parenthood is not a crisis. Instead, those studies have stressed the gratifications and positive consequences of having a child (Russell, 1974; Hobbs and Cole, 1976; Miller and Sollie, 1980).

Russell (1974) extended the focus of parenthood research, including a variety of subjectively positive as well as negative outcomes of becoming a parent for the first time. Using a large urban sample, he reported that there was a slight or moderate degree of crisis and wife's crisis score was higher than husband's. He also found that the proportion of "gratification" items checked by parents was far higher than the proportion of "crisis" items, but the gratifications were more likely to be personal ones rather than benefits to the husband-wife relationship. However, over 85 percent of the respondents indicated that the marital relationship has improved (42%) or has remained the
same (43.5%) since the baby was born. As variables which were related to the ease of dealing with the first year of parenthood, he listed: (1) a pattern of communication which has resulted in effective family planning and high marital adjustment; (2) high commitment to the parent role; and (3) good maternal health and a calm, nonproblematic baby.

In a replication study by Hobbs and Cole (1976), only slight amounts of difficulty with the first child were found, and mothers reported significantly greater amounts of difficulty than did fathers. They argued that initiating parenthood may be slightly difficult, but not sufficiently difficult to warrant calling it a crisis experience for parents and that it would be more accurate to refer to beginning parenthood as a "transition."

Fein (1976) explored a major and neglected topic in the study of parenthood, men's experiences before and after the birth of a first child. Data from 32 middle-income couples who were interviewed at home four weeks before and six weeks after the baby's birth, revealed that men decreased significantly their wishes for emotional support, general anxiety, and infant related anxiety from before to after the births. Fein suggested that the "crisis" for these men came before the birth, and that by six weeks after the birth men were adjusting to lives as "family men" without high levels of anxiety, compared to prenatal periods.

Comparing marital adjustment of mothers and childless
women by choice, Houseknecht (1979) found that women with children are less likely than women who are voluntarily childless to engage in outside interests with their spouses, exchange of stimulating ideas with their spouses, calmly discussing something with them, and working together on a project. Nevertheless, the difference between voluntarily childless women and mothers was small in magnitude. She argued that this small difference may suggest that it is not the presence or absence of children per se but rather education, employment, or religion that has the major impact on marital adjustment.

Considering the transition to parenthood as a normal developmental event, Miller and Sollie (1980) studied changes in stress that occurred during the transition to parenthood. Personal well-being, personal stress, and marital stress were measured at three points in time: first, when the wife was in midpregnancy; second, when the baby was about five to six weeks old; and finally, when the baby was about six to eight months old. Both new mothers and fathers reported high scores on personal stress after the birth of the baby. However, new mothers reported higher stress in their marriages after they had become parents than before, whereas new fathers' marital stress scores remained the same across the three points of the study.

Waldron and Routh (1981) examined if a decrease in marital satisfaction with the birth of the first child would
vary according to the sex-role characteristics of the spouses. They expected that couples in which one or both spouses were androgynous or feminine typed would have less adjustment to make after the birth of their first child and, thus, experience a smaller decrease in marital satisfaction; conversely, masculine-typed husbands might have more adjustments to make and, thus, have a greater decrease in marital satisfaction. They failed to find a significant relationship between sex-role orientation and marital satisfaction. However, wives' marital adjustment decreased significantly, while husbands' mean scores remained the same from pretest to posttest.

With data from U.S. national surveys conducted from 1973 through 1978, Glenn and McLanahan (1982) estimated the effects of the presence of children on their parents' marital happiness. The data indicated that the negative effects are quite pervasive among spouses in the United States of both sexes, of all races, of all major religious preferences, educational levels, and employment status. They suggested that "it may be that in a society in which values are highly individualistic and hedonistic and in which marriage is expected to involve a high degree of emotional and sexual intimacy and to be the spouses' primary source of companionship, there is an inherent tendency for children to lower marital happiness and satisfaction, whether or not they are planned and wanted" (Glenn and McLanahan, 1982: 69).
Harriman (1983) found that mothers perceived more overall life change and more change in their personal lives than fathers, confirming the findings of Miller and Sollie (1980) and Hobbs and Cole (1976). The personal changes having the most negative impact on the lives of both husbands and wives centered on having less time for self. Husbands, especially, perceived the wife's sexual responsiveness negatively.

Using multi-method strategy (i.e., interview, questionnaire, and observation), Belsky et al. (1983) revealed the small, but significant decline in self-reported marital adjustment from the last trimester of pregnancy through the infant's first year of life. With regard to the subscale assessing affectional expression of the Dyadic Adjustment Scale, a significant decline was discerned between the first two measurement periods, with only slight change occurring thereafter. In general, the birth of the baby exerted its greatest impact early in a couple's transition to parenthood. Individual and couple scores on marital adjustment remained relatively stable over time (Belsky et al., 1983).

In general, marital satisfaction or quality declined modestly from before to after the birth of the first child, the decline is greater for women than for men, and but marital satisfaction is stable over time for individuals and couples (Belsky et al., 1985).
Sample

The sample for this research is thirty-two Korean couples with the following characteristics: neither husband or wife has more than a high-school education; the husband works in a blue-collar occupation; and the couple has at least one child of elementary-school age (under twelve). For purposes of comparison, about one half of couples were living in an extended family. All of them were living with either one or both of the husband's parents. I intentionally selected those who lived with the husband's parents because in Korea the joint living arrangements with the wife's parents are still very rare. All the families I met live in Seoul, Korea.

The working-class couples were recruited in a variety of ways: through a relative who leads a small company which has many blue-collar jobs; a friend who teaches nursery school in a working-class neighborhood; and other relatives or friends who have close working-class neighbors (i.e., part-time housekeepers, chauffeurs, beauticians, and tenants). In those few cases in which a respondent did suggest someone, that person was contacted only if the respondent gave assurance that the person was an acquaintance or neighbor, not a close friend.
The Interviews

As a way of obtaining more information on the marital adjustment process in Korean culture, in-depth interviews were used. There are several important reasons to employ in-depth interviews. First, it is needed to understand the dynamics of rapidly changing Korean families. Second, it is based upon the fact that most research on marital quality has been done with middle-class subjects (Hicks and Platt, 1970) by researchers who have middle-class backgrounds and educations. A questionnaire used in earlier studies which deals with middle-class families may disregard important aspects of working-class family lives. Rodman (1965) argued that the social scientist who studies lower-class families should pay more attention to the language of the lower class itself. Third, it is assumed that in Korea, the marital life of a couple is still crucially influenced by other external factors besides just the couple's relationship. As mentioned earlier, the good relationships with in-laws have been regarded as one of factors leading to successful marriage for Korean couples. Recently, the overtime work enforced by many industries seems to harm the marital life of young Korean couples. It is one of the purposes of this study to explore the factors which influence marriages of working-class couples.

Both husbands and wives were interviewed separately under the assumption that his and her marriages do not coincide (Bernard, 1972), and that both perceptions are important
for understanding the reality of a marriage. Both spouses participated in an intensive interview which often took two or three hours. One third of them were interviewed in their work places because they go home after ten or eleven o'clock at night, and they work even on Sunday. In Korea, an 8-hour labor law is not practiced yet. The rest of the participants were interviewed in their homes. Usually wives were interviewed first and then they arranged the meetings with their husbands. The problem of privacy was managed by the wife or the husband staying in other rooms with children or leaving the house. When that kind of management was impossible, I and the interviewee went to a close coffee shop for privacy.

The interviews were tape-recorded with confidentiality assured beforehand. An introductory statement was verbally given to all participants:

"This research is being undertaken for my dissertation on marital adjustment processes of Korean couples. I'd like to ask several questions about how you feel about your marriage, parenthood, and relationship with your in-laws. Please view this as a chance to look back on your marital life and feel comfortable. Tape-recording will be used in order to ensure accuracy and completeness. However, the tapes will be kept confidential and will be erased after the interview."

Surprisingly, most men and women, especially women enjoyed talking about their marital lives with a strange woman. They might need a listener who was genuinely interested in and respectful of another's point of view. Even though the women had friends and sisters to talk to, they might not have enough time for that due to their long
hours of work outside of the home.

Before the interview took place, I worried about how I could make the Korean working-class men comfortable enough to talk openly about the story of their marital lives to me. Korean culture and the school system separate boys and girls beginning in junior high school. Thus, Korean males usually do feel uncomfortable when they talk informally with other women except their mothers, sisters, or wives. Two husbands rejected the interview due to this reason, despite several requests for help through their wives. Two other husbands were not accessible because of their irregular work schedule.

Although unexpected, the working-class husbands I interviewed talked freely about even delicate subjects such as sexual adjustment between couples and extramarital intercourse. A few husbands hesitated to talk and did not look at my face when the interview began. However, as the interview went on, they smiled, looked comfortable, and talked frankly about their side of story. As Rubin suggested, "it is women, not men, who nurture, who comfort, who teach young boys. It is to women they run with their earliest pains and triumphs; it is to women they first confide fears and fantasies" (Rubin, 1976: 21).

Measures

As mentioned in the Statement of the Problem, this study regards marital adjustment as a process and deals with three
stages of adjustment. These three stages are: (1) adjustment to marriage; (2) adjustment to relationship with in-laws; and (3) adjustment to parenthood. For Adjustment to Marriage, questions about adjustments in family roles, conjugal power and decision-making, disclosure of affection, communication, conflict resolution and sexual adjustment were asked. For Adjustment to Relationships with In-laws, questions about quality of interaction with parents-in-law, exchanges with them, kinds of conflicts which cause problems between couples, kinds of benefits and costs from coresidence were asked. To assess Adjustment to Parenthood, respondents were asked whether they had a difficult time adjusting to being a parent, what kinds of changes they made in the marital relationship after the birth of the first child, and their evaluation of their marriages (see APPENDIX A for details).

This study also involved completion of a structured questionnaire. At the end of the in-depth interviews, self-administered questionnaires on marital adjustment (Dyadic Adjustment Scale: Spanier, 1976) were given to the couples including four husbands who were not interviewed. Dyadic Adjustment Scale consists of four subscales: Dyadic consensus, Affectional expression, Dyadic satisfaction, and Dyadic cohesion and has been widely used in marital research (see APPENDIX B for details). The questionnaire was left with respondents and picked up in a sealed envelope.
Sampling Characteristics

The couples I met ranged in age from twenty-three to thirty-seven years for the wives; and from twenty-eight to forty years for the husbands. Their mean age is thirty-one years for the wives and thirty-four years for the husbands. They have been married for from two to thirteen years and the median number of years married is seven years. Sixty percent of the couples have two children; thirty-four percent have one; and six percent have three children. The husbands have 11.5 years of education and the wives have 10.9 years.

All the husbands are engaged in blue-collar occupations and about seventy percent of the wives work outside the home or help their husbands at their stores. There are thirteen couples who live with their parents (in-laws) and nineteen couples who live alone. Among those who live with parents (in-laws), seven couples are living with the husband's single parent and six couples are living with both of the husband's parents.

Analyses

The data from the in-depth interviews are presented in an edited descriptive form. The data are organized around certain themes and the subjects' words are quoted to illustrate interpretations of the interviewer.

To examine the relationship between marital adjustment and demographic characteristics, chi-square tests are used.
T-tests are employed to examine the differences in marital adjustment between husbands and wives and between couples who live with their parents and who live independently.
CHAPTER IV. RESULTS

The Korean Working-class Couples

Among the couples I met there are thirteen who live with their parents (in-laws) and nineteen couples who live alone. Thirteen husbands who take care of their parents living under the same roof are the first or the only son in their families of orientation. Of course, there are the first sons among the nineteen couples who constitute their own families. The nineteen couples who live apart from their parents do so for several reasons: (1) because they do not have extra room for their parents; (2) because of their financial hardship; and (3) because their parents do not want to give up farming. Some of them feel guilty and plan to bring their parents to Seoul and live together in the near future.

Most of the couples did not get much from their parents, in terms of education and money. But they usually do not blame their parents. They understand that their parents' life was hard and deprived. Thus, they try to help their old parents financially and support them emotionally. They recognize that their parents earned less money because of less education, and thus they have high educational aspirations for their children. That is the main reason these young couples work so hard.

They work from nine in the morning to eight in the
evening and most wives are forced into employment by chronic economic needs. Half of the husbands, who own a booth or small store, close the shutter after eleven o'clock or later at night. Their wives have to work at the store to help their husbands and to save for personal expenses. They bring their children with them and let the children play around the stores because they do not have grandmothers or relatives nearby and because their financial situation does not allow them to hire part-time or full-time housekeepers. If they live with their parents (in-laws), they are benefited with child care. Otherwise, some wives quit their jobs to take care of children at home until they go to school.

The Korean working-class couples live in very small one- or two-bedroom apartments or rented old houses. Most people occupy one room with their children. In the room, there are a cheap wardrobe, dresser, and television set. Outside the room, some people have a living room and others do not. In their living room, there is a cupboard, book shelves and some plants. This space is not decorated with pictures or wall-hangings. For others who do not have a living room, the kitchen and bathroom are there outside their bedroom. In the kitchen, a small refrigerator and gas range dominate the room. Those who are better off possess a washer in the corner of the bathroom. These are all their furniture and belongings.
Adjustment to Marriage

Unlike the white American working-class couples Rubin (1976) interviewed, the Korean working-class couples were not so young when they married. The average age was twenty-four years for the wives, and twenty-seven years for the husbands; the youngest were nineteen and twenty-three years respectively. In Korea, both men and women are not exposed to the other sex until they graduate from high school. If they go to college, they have many chances to meet their mates. However, these chances are rare for working-class girls and boys. The boys are expected to find a job to be independent and to contribute some money to their family. The girls stay at home and learn the housewife's role from their mother until they meet their husbands through matchmakers. Or, some girls work outside the home to help their poor family and there they meet their present husbands.

Of the people I interviewed, 60 percent got married through matchmakers. The matchmakers are usually friends, relatives, or professional matchmakers. The couples who got married through matchmakers experience a little different adjustment process. A typical response came from a housewife:

I was introduced to my husband through a matchmaker. Five months after that we got married. I think we got married before we knew each other very well. (Interviewer: "Did you regret anything because of that?") In the beginning of my marriage, I did. However, now we know each other better and we understand each other better. We had trouble in the beginning because we didn't know each other very well. After having two
kids, we felt closer to each other and our relationship became smooth.

[Thirty-year-old housewife, mother of two, married eight years]

It was a common response, expressed by over two-thirds of the couples who got married through matchmakers. They got married before they fell in erotic love. They "plant" love with their marriages, and then "cultivate" their love through the process of parenthood. Experiencing the hardship to adapt to a dyad and a triad in marriage, they build strong commitment and solidarity.

From the beginning years of marriage to the present, most of the Korean working-class couples struggle with hard economic reality and problems with in-laws. Those two factors have crucial impacts on their feelings about marriage:

"How do you feel about your marriage, in general?"

Well, I think money is quite an important factor in marriage. I am satisfied with about 70 percent with it. In the beginning, due to poverty, we used to argue over money.

[Thirty-eight-year-old fruit seller, father of two, married seven years]

Before we married, my parents-in-law promised to give some money for buying a house. But they broke it. I didn't expect this kind of living. We are living in a rented studio room with a baby. Whenever I went to my friend's very nice apartment, I was depressed.

[Twenty-three-year-old housewife, mother of one, married two years]

If we had much money, living would be easier. Our lives are really hard. My husband works as a gardener's helper. He earns very small income. I know he could not do better than this. Thus, I decided to work in the shoe factory. I couldn't stay at home when I thought
of the future of our children. My mother-in-law takes care of her grandchildren and she also does rough work in a site of construction.

[Thirty-three-year-old factory worker, mother of two, married nine years]

Many more wives than husbands speak of problems with mothers-in-law and a few with fathers-in-law as the greatest problem in their marital lives. For most wives who live with their parents-in-law, the complaints are more intense:

"How do you feel about your marriage, in general?"

In the beginning of my married life, I was in distress in many ways. Particularly it was hard because of poverty and the relationship with my mother-in-law. I cried a lot because of her. I accepted my situation as fate. I think now the situation is much better, because we have a decent life and I have adapted myself successfully to living with my mother-in-law.

[Thirty-seven-year-old dried food seller, mother of three, married eleven years]

Because we live with my parents-in-law, it's hard and I have to be very careful about everything. We cannot go on a picnic on our own. Life with my husband is not very free.

[Twenty-seven-year-old housewife, mother of two, married seven years]

It has been harder than I expected. I didn't think of the married life seriously before I got married. I do not have any problems with my husband. But the problems with my mother-in-law makes my life hard. I suppose my husband was a good son before getting married. Even though my husband is the second son, because he is good to his mother she wants to live with us. Since I said I wouldn't live with her, she doesn't like me. And she complains about everything. I think she is not on good terms with her first daughter-in-law either.

[Thirty-five-year-old proofreader, mother of three, married six years]

Regardless of living arrangement, the issue of the relationship with in-laws is mixed with their marriage itself
for the Korean working-class couples so that they mentioned the problems in haste before I asked. The relationship with in-laws will be explained more in detail in the section on Adjustment to the Relationship with In-laws.

Family roles

Earlier studies of working-class family life describe that their family roles are distinctly separate: he does man's work; she does woman's work (Komarovsky, 1964; Shostak, 1969; Rubin, 1976). Not surprisingly, one-third of the Korean working-class husbands hardly ever help with wives' household roles. They are saying that "it's her job" with one voice:

I don't care much, because I think it is proper for a wife to take care of the household affairs. [Thirty-two-year-old electronics appliance shopkeeper, father of two, married six years]

Husbands who live with their parents tend not to share their wives' tasks. For some husbands, they do not have to do these tasks because their mothers do a lot. For other husbands, they cannot do the women's household tasks and their wives cannot ask them to do the jobs, in the presence of parents (in-laws).

Another third try to decrease her burdens, doing caring for children or cleaning whenever it is needed or if she asks:

Whenever I get time and she asks, I help her. Usually I do cleaning the room, watering plants, and washing
big blankets by hand. I do the dishes occasionally. 
[Thirty-three-year-old maintenance 
man, father of two, married eight years]

The rest help even with jobs traditionally done by women 
such as cooking, laundry, doing dishes, and of course, 
cleaning and caring for children frequently or regularly:

I help my wife with all kinds of simple housework. 
When both of us are busy, I cook, wash dishes, do the 
laundry, and clean the house. Though sometimes I shout 
at my wife that she is a slave-driver. (Laughs) I do 
that to demonstrate benevolence. 
[Twenty-nine-year-old electronics 
factory worker, father of one, 
made four years]

However, considering that they are Korean males, it
should be noted that the numbers of those who try to help 
with their wives' tasks are greater than expected. Under 
the influence of Confucianism, Korean men have been confined 
to outside of the home and women to the inside. The separa­
tion of men's and women's place did not begin with the 
Industrial Revolution as it did in many western countries. 
Recently, with the spread of egalitarianism, many more Korean 
men tend to be involved in the household roles and many more 
Korean women tend to work outside the home.

Several studies on sex-roles (Osmond and Martin, 1975; 
Tomeh, 1978; Huber and Spitze, 1981; Yogev, 1981), however, 
have reported that men are still conservative in accepting 
equal involvement in the family roles, while they allow their 
wives' employment outside the home. There is the same phe­
nomenon in Korea. For these Korean working-class people, it
seems that they share wives' work due to practical role changes, not due to the ideology of equalitarianism. It might be explained well by the fact that these working-class men do understand the difficulties of their wives' position in the family.

There are more than four times as many husbands who think that a man's life is easier than a woman's than those who think the opposite. And the answers are similar in content. In answer to the question "Whose life would you say easier--a man's or a woman's?":

In some ways, I think I have an easier life than my wife. One Sunday I watched my wife and she was busy all day long. Before we had a baby I thought she had an easier life than me. But now with a baby, I think her life is harder than mine.

[Thirty-one-year-old electronics factory worker, father of one, married two years]

Of course, mine is simpler. I usually come home earlier than my wife and sometimes do drink with my friends. But my wife comes home from work after eight or eleven in the evening. She should do some household chores at late night, even though my mother does a lot to keep the house and children. She should also care about in-laws because we are a big family. We live with my grandmother, mother and father, and three brothers.

[Thirty-seven-year-old maintenance man, father of two, married nine years]

Interestingly, wives think the converse. Over half of the wives respond that a woman's life is easier than a man's. Especially, those who do not have outside jobs are least likely to complain about the division of labor in the family:

I live easier than my husband. I can have a rest and take a nap at home if I want. I guess my husband would
be tired due to the work and the relationship with boss and colleagues.  

[Twenty-three-year-old housewife, mother of one, married two years]

Definitely, I'd say the man's life is harder. I know his work is really hard. It needs physical strength. But I have a good time with my baby at home.  

[Twenty-eight-year-old housewife, mother of one, married two years]

Even some of the wives who do work outside the home or at their store agree with that notion. They add:

I have to do so many things after I come home. My life is physically hard. But I don't have to worry about responsibility for making a living. That's his. I think his life is hard mentally, thus harder than mine.  

[Thirty-one-year-old milk delivery woman, mother of two, married six years]

The wives who do work outside the home and cannot get help from husbands or relatives are most likely to complain about role segregation. A wife who helps her husband at the bookstore cries out:

My husband's life is a lot easier; no doubt about it. If I come down to the store with two kids after I do laundry and the dishes in the morning, then he goes home and takes a nap. I have to do all the household tasks alone. Besides that, he drinks with his guys every night after closing the store. The money he spends on drinking is more than food expenses.  

[Thirty-one-year-old bookstore keeper, mother of two, married eight years]

Handling finances

The median monthly income of these working-class families is W300,000 ($400). This figure is higher than the poverty level, W150,000 ($200), and below the moderate living standard, W500,000 ($650). Two-thirds of the working-class
families require two incomes (the wives who work at their husbands' store are included, even though they do not get their paychecks).

They spend the money only for living expenses and for children's education. They cut down expenses for leisure, the comforts, and anything unnecessary. They do not even have time for leisure:

I manage the family finances. We pay all the bills and the costs of piano lessons for my kids and spend money on the investment for the store and foods. That's all. We do not have enough time for spending money on entertainment.

[Forty-year-old dried food seller, father of three, married eleven years]

Two-thirds of the working-class couples agree that their wives handle the family finances. One husband comments:

My wife handles the money in the family. I think 90 percent of young generation do the same way. Sometimes it seems to me that is wrong. But, I am sure that we can save some money if the woman takes care of it, especially when there isn't enough money. A man tends to spend a lot of money.

[Thirty-five-year-old chauffeur, father of one, married four years]

The wives who do not manage the money have their husbands do it because they think he can do it better and because he has to do so in order to run the store.

For the couples who live with their parents (in-laws) together, the issue of who manages the money is related to whether parents are more dependent in terms of economic capability. If the parents have their own earnings, they
tend to manage theirs and their adult children take care of their own. In these cases, the living expenses are paid by parents or split "fifty-fifty." If the parents are dependent, their children usually handle it. Only one couple is an exception:

Mainly my mother-in-law takes care of the money. When we get paid we give the money to my mother-in-law. That way taking care of the house is more interesting for her.

[Thirty-three-year-old shoe factory worker, mother of two, married nine years]

Decision-making

The fact that so many women handle the family finances does not indicate evidence that they have a great deal of power and influence in the family. It is the husband, not the wife who decides where the money is spent.

"How are decisions made in the family?"

As Rubin found out from white American working-class couples, Korean working-class couples do say "we discuss together, and then decide," or "fifty-fifty." When I probe "who decides what?", the illusion of egalitarianism disappears. One man's answers are typical:

As to the business of the store, I make all the decisions alone. And as to the household affairs, my wife makes the money decisions.

[Thirty-eight-year-old bookstore keeper, father of two, married eight years]

Another man adds:

I discuss things with my wife, but usually I make 90
percent of the decisions. For example, when we buy a
house, or TV or camera, I make the decisions.

[Thirty-eight-year-old fruit seller,
father of two, married seven years]

Not only the decisions on the job that are traditionally
thought to be determined by the man, but also some on the
household affairs are made by the husband:

My wife decides small things, and I make the bigger
decisions. For example, when we need a washer or re-
frigerator, I decide. And then she chooses one she
likes.

[Thirty-three-year-old maintenance
man, father of two, married eight
years]

Most women respond without any anger or frustration:

My husband has the power to make decisions. We discuss
something first, but then he makes the decision. (Inter-
viewer: "If he makes the decisions all the time, don't
you have any complaints?") I don't, because we discuss
things together. If I say no, he's not the type of
person who goes ahead and does something anyway.

[Thirty-one-year-old milk delivery
woman, mother of two, married six
years]

A few husbands do not even talk to their wives before
making decisions:

I do not compromise with my wife. If I ask her opinion,
we usually argue with it. Thus, I make a decision alone
and do it. And then I talk to her. She gets mad at me.
(Interviewer: "What kind of decisions are made by your-
self, for example?") My friends' matters, for instance,
I drink with my friends whenever I and they want. And
I used to give some money to my sister's kids because
they are poorer than us.

[Thirty-seven-year-old maintenance man
father of two, married nine years]

I don't discuss things with my wife very much. If I
have something that I want to do, I just do it. (Inter-
viewer: "For example, what kind of things do you make a
decision about alone?") When we moved to this house, I
took care of everything alone. And I told my wife about
that three days before we moved here.
[Thirty-year-old miller, father of two, married five years]

The wife complains:

My husband makes a decision alone and then tells me about it. I'm very dissatisfied with that. If he wants to buy something for his parents or sisters, he does it and then talks to me. I often nag him: "If you want to act like that, why bother getting married?"
[Twenty-seven-year-old miller's helper mother of two, married five years]

Generally, the decision-making patterns in these working-class couples are traditional like those of white American working-class couples. Women decide what to have for dinner, what they need for kitchen utensils, and what the children need at school. Men make the important, bigger decisions: when they buy a house, what kind of TV, camera, refrigerator they own, their jobs, and sometimes their parents' affairs.

There is no difference in decision-making by living arrangement. It is, almost always, the husband who decides, regardless of whether or not they live together with parents (in-laws). Some couples who do live with their parents (in-laws) and who have a good relationship with them tend to involve the parents in the discussion and decision-making process.

Usually we discuss things with my mother-in-law when we're making a decision about what to buy. After that we all go out together and buy the things. We are all one family. Do you think it's possible for us to really do something behind her back?
[Thirty-three-year-old factory worker, mother of two, married nine years]
Companionship

In modern marriage, affective dimensions such as companionship, sharing, self-disclosure, and communication are considered crucial for marital happiness by many researchers (Miller, 1976; Snyder, 1979; Rhyne, 1981; Davidson et al., 1983; White, 1983). However, previous studies have indicated that couples in the middle-class are more concerned with psychological and emotional interaction, while the lower-class couples see financial problems as more salient in their lives. In other words, until the instrumental needs are met in marriage, one cannot be concerned with companionship or visit relatives once a month or less.

As one man comments, they cannot afford to enjoy leisure-time activities with their spouses. There are several barriers. The first one is their overtime work. A wife recalls:

We don't have time. I work here until ten o'clock everyday including Sunday. I have never gone out with my husband except several times after our marriage. Sometimes
I feel bored, and want to go to park or some other place with our kids. But we can't because we have to close our store in order to go out.

[Thirty-one-year-old fruit seller, mother of two, married seven years]

Another wife adds:

I'm really tired. So, if I have day-off, I want to stay at home and take a deep rest.

[Thirty-seven-year-old dried food seller, mother of three, married eleven years]

A second barrier is the tendency to spend time with the same-sex friends, especially for Korean males. It is common for Korean men to stop off for a beer on the way home from work and to enjoy outside activities with males only. This kind of strong mono-sex network might hinder the establishment of companionship marriage:

I usually go out alone to meet my friends. My wife wants me to stay at home with her and our son. Sometimes I come home very late, then she nags me. But I think the man has his private life. I cannot give up the friendship which was established before our marriage.

[Twenty-eight-year-old truck driver, father of one, married two years]

A third barrier is related to their hard economic situation:

I'd like to travel to see some of the country. We couldn't do that when the kids were so tiny. Right now, they are grown up. But we still cannot go for travel due to our tight financial situation at this time.

[Thirty-eight-year-old office clerk, father of two, married eight years]

Without enough money, they cannot go out very often. That is why their social activities are mainly confined to visiting relatives and going to churches.
Fourth, it is due to their children:

Before the baby was born, we enjoyed climbing a mountain. Now, we stop it due to the baby. We plan to continue climbing with our son when he becomes school age.

[Twenty-five-year-old housewife, mother of one, married four years]

Most Korean working-class couples take it for granted that if they go out, they should bring their children with them. Otherwise, they think they had better stay at home or go out in turns. They are not comfortable with the idea that it is good to take their children to strangers or neighbors in order to entertain their leisures and recreations. If they can make arrangements with grandmothers, they do rarely without any guilt.

Finally, the joint living arrangement with their parents (in-laws) makes it hard for them to share much time alone at home and to go out with their spouses. Most couples in joint residence point out the lack of freedom for their behaviors as costs of coresidence most frequently:

We cannot enjoy our own life. Sometimes I want to eat out with my husband and our kids. But I have never done that. If I talk to my husband, he says that with that money, all the family members can eat very well at home.

[Thirty-two-year-old textile factory worker, mother of two, married nine years]

Communication and self-disclosure

The fact that the Korean working-class couples do not share interests and activities does not mean that they do not communicate and disclose themselves at all. They
communicate with each other, especially about the subjects of rearing children, while they, especially men, do not talk much about their feelings and do not disclose their affections. It is the women who are the discontented, and who demand far more communication, sharing, and expression of feelings. Women are more concerned with companionship and verbal interaction in their relationships than are men. A woman who helps her husband in a butchery, is dissatisfied:

He can't foster an atmosphere where we can have a nice talk. Particularly on special days, I want him to say nice words to me and make me feel assured that I'm cared for, but he never does that. I am disappointed with him.

[Thirty-year-old butcher's helper, mother of one, married five years]

Another woman recalls acidly:

He is not the type of man who can easily say, "I love you." He said it is not necessary to express love verbally because he loves me in his heart. However, women sometimes want to be told that they are loved, don't they? Want to be sure. We argued many times over this matter in the beginning of the marriage. I didn't understand my husband's character very well then.

[Thirty-two-year-old housewife, mother of one, married eight years]

Her husband responds:

I usually do not disclose affection to my wife. I think that's my character. But, in the beginning of our marriage, my wife suspected that I might have extra-marital affairs. I'm not that kind of man. But, she always complained about that.

[Thirty-two-year-old chauffeur, father of one, married eight years]

Most women talk to their husbands when they have a bad day or when they worry about something. But over two-thirds of the husbands do not want to bring their bad feelings at
work home. A man's answer is typical:

I don't talk about work at home to anybody. When I feel gloomy I sing some hymns or pop songs while I'm walking on the road. That way I can forget all the unhappy things and I can go home without them.

[Thirty-seven-year-old maintenance man, father of two, married nine years]

A wife says:

He tried to keep his cool. Sometimes I felt he is depressed. So I asked to him, "what happened at work?" he didn't answer to me. He has told me rarely when he came home drunk.

[Thirty-year-old housewife, mother of two, married eight years]

These--repressing his feelings alone and drinking with his friends--are the most frequent ways of coping with bad days. However, drinking with his friends is not the satisfactory way for some men. Listen to a construction worker:

I do not tell about what happened at work, because she doesn't know much about my job. I try to keep my cool alone, but sometimes it's been talked out when I drink. (Interviewer: "Do you talk out your bad feelings, drinking with your friends?") Well, I cannot say I do. Frankly speaking, I cannot say they are my close friends because I move from one construction place to another. I just drink beer with them. That's all.

[Thirty-five-year-old construction worker, father of two, married six years]

Even though they spend time with their friends or colleagues, they do not seem to talk about their feelings; they talk about things. They just try to forget what bothers them, drinking alcohol with their companions.

This is the dilemma of modern marriage experienced at all class levels, and both husband and wife are the victims
of divergent socialization patterns for boys and girls. In Rubin's words: "They are products of a process that trains them to relate to only one side of themselves--she, to the passive, tender, intuitive, verbal, emotional side; he, to the active, tough, logical, nonverbal, unemotional one" (Rubin, 1976: 116).

The communication style in a marriage is in part a function of the class system. The higher educated couples are able to engage in more open and less closed communication behavior in a situation which promotes emotional arousal (Hawkins et al., 1977). It is because middle-class parents tend to value self-direction while working-class parents tend to value conformity (Kohn, 1963). Thus, children in the middle-class have more training in exploring the socio-emotional realm, and have less rigid sex-role distinctions.

Besides this stereotypical sex-role socialization, there might be other factors for these Korean working-class couples. In Korean culture, one has been taught not to express their feelings too much and disclose their affection even to their spouses in front of others and in front of their children, although the younger generations are changing. A man experiences some difficulties:

To disclose affection to my wife becomes more difficult, with growing kids. When they were little, I kissed my wife almost everyday before I went to work. Lately, I do not kiss her often because of the eyes of two kids. [Thirty-three-year-old fishing shopkeeper, father of two, married ten years]
Another factor might be the living circumstances in which these couples cannot have their own room. For Koreans who tend not to express their feelings and disclose their affections even between couples in public, they might need their private space. Thus, those working-class couples who use one bedroom with their children might feel less comfortable. A husband says:

I don't express affection very much. (After a while) I sometimes say that you look prettier and--since the kids are with us--at the most, I kiss her on her cheek.

[Thirty-eight-year-old office clerk, father of two, married eight years]

If they live with their parents (in-laws), the situation would be worse. A wife replies:

Yes, I do express my affection to my husband. (Interviewer: "In what ways?") (smiles) I guess everybody does it same way. I say "I love you" and kiss him, only in our bedroom where my parents-in-law are not present.

[Twenty-six-year-old housewife, mother of one, married two years]

Another wife adds:

I do not do that because I am a blunt person. And because we live with my mother-in-law. The style of Korean traditional house does not keep our privacy, you know. So I behave so carefully.

[Thirty-seven-year-old dried food seller, mother of three, married eleven years]

**Sexual adjustment**

The sexual lives of the Korean working-class couples still seem very conservative, especially for the wives. They think that sex is for the men and do not recognize that sex is one of the important dimensions of a successful marriage.
Once in a while, a few husbands mention:

I think that a sex life is important for all couples and that women have a right to enjoy it as much as men do. So I care a lot about my wife.
[Thirty-nine-year-old office clerk, father of two, married thirteen years]

A wife says:

We have nothing to complain of in our sex life. I've heard a lot that if a man is not fully satisfied with sex in his marriage, he will become unfaithful. So I read books about it and try hard not to be dull.
[Thirty-year-old cook's helper, mother of one, married five years]

Mostly, however, women say: it's a duty,

I do not enjoy something like that (sex). I do it because I think it's my duty. I don't know whether I'm satisfied or not.
[Thirty-one-year-old milk delivery woman, mother of two, married six years]

It's just life,

Not many difficulties, it seems to me. My husband sometimes asked me how I feel about our sex. Then I answer that I'm satisfied. I've never known any other man in my life, so I just guess that this is life.
[Thirty-two-year-old textile sales woman, mother of two, married seven years]

I just accept it,

I didn't know much about that. Because I didn't know much about sex, I thought it was dirty and immoral. Now I'm getting older, so I accept it. At first I really hated it.
[Thirty-five-year-old housekeeper, mother of two, married eleven years]

In sexual lives, wives and husbands are split off again--wife, the passive; husband, the active. The difference in male-female sexuality is often explained as an expression of
the differential socialization patterns for women and men. For women, the expression of her feelings has been encouraged in all but sexual expression; while, for men, the expression of deep feelings has been constricted in all but sexual expression (Simon and Gagnon, 1969; Rubin, 1976).

Thus, except for a few cases where the men are inclined to be sexually less strong, he wants sex more often than she. Most women accept it if their husbands ask even though they are tired and are not in a good mood. Despite the fact that their wives are passive, not pleasurable, and never initiate it, most husbands do not complain about that because women are supposed to behave that way. Only one husband says:

Not many problems so far, though, my wife is not very responsive. Maybe she is very conservative. She refuses at first, and then accepts my proposal. She's never initiated it (smiles).

[Twenty-nine-year-old electronics factory worker, father of one, married four years]

They do not talk about sex together very often except a few couples who tend to speak out about what they want. A woman says:

I say openly to my husband that he doesn't have great vigor. Often he says that he is tired from the work at the store. I don't find satisfaction in my sex life. People say they are sexually fulfilled in their thirties. But, I guess it's all over for me.

[Twenty-nine-year-old record tape seller, mother of one, married three years]

Most women, however, reply this way:

We don't talk much about it. Even though I was not fully satisfied I sometimes pretended that I was.
Without thinking much about it, we just live our life like this.

[Thirty-seven-year-old dried food seller, mother of three, married eleven years]

No differences are found in sexual adjustment between the couples who live with parents (in-laws) and those who live alone.

Marital conflicts

Disagreements and conflicts between the marital partners are inevitable. For these working-class couples, the issues related to drinking and in-law problems are the ones most frequently argued. Such issues as irritation due to hard work and fatigue, differences in personality, disagreements in trivial things, and financial problems are rank ordered in frequency. In the beginning of their marriage, they tend to argue over differences in personality and disagreements in small things. As they understand each other better, and their power structure has been settled down with time, those conflicts become reduced. Drinking and in-law problems still last in their middle years of marriage.

Patterns of conflict resolution are crucial aspects of marital relationships because intimacy between couples can be enhanced or reduced according to the patterns. One-fourth of the Korean working-class people work out a compromise and try to understand each other. The rest avoid talking about the conflict, get cool, and distant, or try to smooth things
over. A woman says:

All the hard feelings are gone after we sleep together. When I get mad at my husband and try to sleep in the living room, my husband comes to get me, and kindly carries me back to our room.

[Thirty-one-year-old fruit seller, mother of two, married eleven years]

A man's response is typical among husbands:

I do not talk when I am angry. If my wife argues over conflicts with my parents, I listen to her. And then I say, "stop it, that's enough." If she goes on, I go outside and smoke a cigarette and take fresh air. That's all I can do.

[Thirty-four-year-old textile factory clerk, father of two, married five years]

Only a very few couples hurt each others' feelings, get mad, yell, and throw things on the floor. The wife is rarely hit.

The joint living with parents (in-laws) is sometimes helpful in that their being there makes young couples be cautious, not yell, and not attack each other. A woman comments:

We didn't have quarrels because we live with my husband's parents. I think that is only advantage of living with parents. We should behave very carefully.

[Thirty-one-year-old housewife, mother of two, married five years]

In another sense, it is harmful because the living arrangement prevents the couples from having open discussion about the conflict. A wife says:

We can't even argue loudly. I don't think it's good to make a big issue over here. I just put up with it for the peaceful family. Sometimes I pray to God and that helps me.

[Twenty-seven-year-old housewife, mother of two, married seven years]
Results from Dyadic Adjustment Scale (DAS)

There was no significant relationship between marital adjustment and demographic characteristics, such as age, education, number of years married, number of children, and living arrangement with in-laws. The chi-square values are presented in Table 1.

To identify any significant differences between husbands and wives, means and standard deviations on the total and subscales of the DAS were obtained for the 26 couples and t-tests were conducted (Table 2). Wives tend to report lower marital adjustment scores than husbands do. Wives also show a wider range of DAS scores (44-136) than husbands (83-136) (see APPENDIX C for details). The two groups, however, are not significantly different on the total score as well as on all subscale scores (Table 2).

Table 1. Chi-square values for the relationships between demographic characteristics and DAS scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demographic characteristics</th>
<th>Husbands</th>
<th>Wives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>1.507</td>
<td>5.255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>4.031</td>
<td>5.233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of years married</td>
<td>5.391</td>
<td>0.432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of children</td>
<td>3.213</td>
<td>1.746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living arrangement</td>
<td>1.811</td>
<td>1.178</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2. Means and t-values for the DAS scores obtained by husbands and wives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Mean (Standard Dev.)</th>
<th>t-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Husbands</td>
<td>Wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consensus Subscale</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>44.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(6.5)</td>
<td>(11.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction Subscale</td>
<td>37.1</td>
<td>35.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(4.1)</td>
<td>(5.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cohesion Subscale</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(4.4)</td>
<td>(4.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affection Subscale</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.6)</td>
<td>(2.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Scale</td>
<td>105.6</td>
<td>101.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(14.3)</td>
<td>(20.7)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 presents the means and t-values for the DAS scores reported by couples who live with parents (in-laws) and couples who live alone. Surprisingly, the couples who live with parents (in-laws) report higher marital adjustment scores than do those who live independently. The two groups are not significantly different except on the Dyadic Satisfaction Subscale. The small sample size may affect the significance.
Table 3. Means and t-values for the DAS scores obtained by couples who live with parents (in-laws) and couples who live independently

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Mean (Standard dev.)</th>
<th>t-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Couples who live with parents</td>
<td>Couples who live alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consensus Subscale</td>
<td>46.0 (5.0)</td>
<td>44.0 (11.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction Subscale</td>
<td>37.6 (4.0)</td>
<td>34.6 (5.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cohesion Subscale</td>
<td>14.1 (4.3)</td>
<td>13.6 (4.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affection Subscale</td>
<td>9.4 (1.8)</td>
<td>8.5 (2.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Scale</td>
<td>108.1 (11.6)</td>
<td>100.0 (20.5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05.

Adjustment to Relationships with In-laws

Quality of interaction with in-laws

For Korean working-class couples, the relationships with in-laws are very crucial in the marital adjustment process. If the wives have a good relationship with their parents-in-law, they can adjust to marital life without any serious problems, regardless of whether they live together or not. A wife who lived together with her mother-in-law and had a good relationship comments:

My mother-in-law treats me very nicely. People talk
badly about the only son of a widow. But my mother-in-law treats me like her own daughter, and looks after the children kindly. We are poor, but happy family with a nice grandmother.

[Thirty-three-year-old shoe factory worker, mother of two, married nine years]

If the wives have a strained relationship with parents-in-law, their marital adjustment process becomes harder, regardless of whether or not they have problems with their husbands.

A husband replies:

My marriage is not very satisfactory, contrary to my expectations. My marriage doesn't fulfill what I desire. My wife is not very willing to follow my family's policy. (Interviewer: "What about your relationship with your wife itself?") No problem with it.

[Thirty-two-year-old cook, father of one, married five years]

In-law relationships are, of course, not always strained. Following Komarovsky (1964), three categories of relationship with parents-in-law are distinguished. The first is a "good" relationship, when positive satisfaction and frequent contacts are coupled with minor conflicts. An "average" relationship is one in which favorable comments and frequent contacts are interpersed with some dissatisfactions, and one in which infrequent contacts and positive satisfaction are coupled with minor conflicts. Finally, the "strained" relationship is characterized by serious problems and uncomfortableness. The parents-in-law relationships of the Korean working-class couples are good in 26 percent of the families, average in 32 percent, and strained in 42 percent. Their relationships remain relatively stable over time: the wives
who established a good relationship in the beginning of marriage tend to continue a good quality of interaction, whereas the wives who had a stressful relationship with in-laws tend to still suffer from it. Only three couples mention that they improved an uncomfortable relationship with parents-in-law to a comfortable one. A wife who lives independently recalls painfully:

My parents-in-law didn't like me very much. They opposed our marriage. At first they didn't think that I was proper for their son. Frankly, I've done my best. But when my father-in-law became intolerable, I considered even getting a divorce. I thought I could have nothing to do with those people only if I got a divorce from my husband. Then suddenly I felt free and easy. But as time has passed, they've gradually come to like me because I do what they want me to do and I don't do anything they don't want me to do.  

[Twenty-five-year-old housewife, mother of one, married four years]

Another wife who has lived with her mother-in-law for eleven years adds:

My mother-in-law does not have good character. She reproached me for all about what I did. If my husband tried to persuade her, she cried out, "you always take your wife's side." I cried a lot. Once I gave myself up to despair, accepting my situation as fate. I never told this to my husband. He would never know how many tears I shed. I sobbed on the road without letting anyone see my tears. Now, as time goes by, I try to understand my mother-in-law from her point of view.

[Thirty-seven-year-old dried food seller, mother of three, married eleven years]

Most Korean working-class couples tend to exchange a lot of aid with their old parents. Over two-thirds of the young couples contribute some money in terms of allowances for parents, tuition for siblings, and money gifts for birthdays
or holidays. They give other gifts such as clothing and food to their parents. Some couples whose parents live in Seoul visit regularly once a week or twice a month. If they live together with their parents (in-laws) and the wives stay at home, the wives usually do cooking, housekeeping, laundry, and other maintenance activities. They receive some farm products and food such as soy sauce, soy bean paste, and kimchi (fermented Korean cabbage) from their parents. If they live with parents (in-laws) and the wives work outside of the home, they receive many benefits in housekeeping and child caring from their mothers-in-law.

However, the aid between older people and their children seems to be largely ritualistic, based on obligation. The aid does not take place with warmth and closeness, especially for the wives. Most wives mention just material exchanges, not mental or psychological aid. This might be one reason that recently many parents are forming closer relationships with their daughters and sons-in-law rather than with sons and daughters-in-law. Only a very few women say that they confront their mothers-in-law or fathers-in-law with high degree of intimacy:

I try to communicate with my mother-in-law without emotional distance. I also try to carefully listen to my mother-in-law when she grumbles at something, hence she says that she likes me because I console her.

[Thirty-five-year-old beautician, mother of two, married eight years]

We bring small things which my mother-in-law likes, even though these are not expensive ones. And when our
children get up early in the morning, we urge them to go to grandmother and say good morning. She is really pleased with that and cares for her grandchildren with warmth.

[Thirty-one-year-old fruit seller, mother of two, married seven years]

In-law problems

Emotional loss of son: The conflicts around in-laws are mainly caused by an emotional loss of their own son, especially for mothers-in-law. A wife who lives with mother-in-law complains:

My husband is the only son, and my mother-in-law is still young and has a lot of affection for her son. I guess she is very jealous of me when my husband cares for me and the children very much. She said very often that her son has been changed after he got married.

[Thirty-year-old housewife, mother of two, married ten years]

Her husband agrees:

I think that the conflict between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is inevitable in our country. It seems to me that Korean mothers love their sons too much and so become jealous after their sons got married. It was really hard for me to keep neutral between my mother and my wife.

[Thirty-three-year-old fishing shopkeeper, father of two, married ten years]

In Korea, a son has special meaning for the parents. Koreans regard the continuity of the family as important. The son is supposed to succeed in the family's name, and take care of his parents when they become old, and take charge of ancestor worship after the death of parents. Thus, if a woman gives birth to a son, she could get some power in her husband's family. This tendency has been reduced with the
spread of nuclear family system and family planning policy. A Korean family sociologist estimated that 30-40% of Korean young couples live with their parents (in-laws). But Koreans still prefer a boy to a girl.

For the old Korean generation, the high commitment to the parental roles has been emphasized. They were expected to be a good mother and father when they got married. The wife-husband marital relationship becomes secondary to the parental roles. Thus, mothers experience some panic when their son departs from the family because they feel the loss of maternal functions which have provided the core of their identity for a long time and because they have not developed deep emotional and affectional interactions with their husbands yet.

Interference from parents: Due to the primary emphasis on the parental roles, Koreans have high expectations for their children and continue strong kin ties after their children get married. Young couples have the kind of relationship with parents that keep them actively intertwined in their lives. The interference from parents becomes more serious when they live together under the same roof. The young couples cannot insist upon their independence and their privacy.

My father-in-law interferes with our lives a lot. If he doesn't like the dishes I make, he lifts it up and down and compares with others' cooking. Strangely, my father-in-law stays in our room, so even if I want to lie down to take a rest, I can't. And sometimes when
children are playing, making noise, he scolds them.  
[Thirty-two-year-old textile sales woman, mother of two, married seven years]

My father-in-law is a strange person. He was an ex-soldier and so he wants everything his way. When he comes home, everybody should stop what they are doing and run into the door and say "good evening, father." I don't like this kind of non-democratic life. He doesn't like me going out, so I couldn't go to church.  
[Thirty-one-year-old housewife, mother of two, married five years]

Their husbands perceive the same problems. It is the wife, however, who feels the interference from parents more often and finds it more unfavorable because it is she who spends more time with in-laws at home.

Discrimination against daughters-in-law: Others complain that their parents-in-law never treat them well like their daughters. The wives who live independently are more likely to speak out this kind of complaint than the wives who live with in-laws. Husbands do not express these conflicts.

I saw many other mothers-in-law who treat their daughters-in-law very nicely. But my mother-in-law has been so cool. For instance, when I was pregnant, she gave me much more laundry. She has never bought such things as strawberries or some other fruits. Now she goes to her daughter's house more often and thus loves her daughter's kids more than ours, at least I feel that way.  
[Twenty-nine-year-old record tape seller, mother of one, married three years]

We do not have serious problems because we live apart far from each other. But I am sometimes dissatisfied with my mother-in-law. She's not tolerable as much as other mothers-in-law. And she discriminates between daughter-in-law and daughter. She is taking care of her daughter's twin girls, but she did not help me at all when I had hard time raising two kids born in two suc-
cessive years. [Thirty-four-year-old housewife, mother of two, married seven years]

This seems to be a new conflict which emerges from the changing kinship roles of daughters and changing expectations of daughters-in-law. In the past, it was the son and daughter-in-law who were expected to care for the old parents. Thus, the parent tried to keep their married daughter distant emotionally and geographically because their daughter becomes a daughter-in-law of her husband's family. Nowadays, this phenomenon is changing rapidly. As many couples live independently, a woman has more power in her own family than ever before and thus, can keep frequent contacts with her parents. A daughter wants to care for her parents voluntarily, not out of obligation. And the expectation of the parents-in-law are changing. So far, her relationship with parents-in-law was not reciprocal; traditionally a daughter-in-law should obey her parents-in-law, should follow their lifestyle, and should take care of them. Young women are challenging the one-way relationship; they desire reciprocal relationships. They want to be cared for and treated like a daughter of their parents-in-law as much as they are obligated to care the parents-in-law.

In-law conflicts cause some problems between spouses, although not serious. Almost half of the working-class couples who have strained relationships with in-laws often argue over it. In the other half, wives try not to talk
about the conflicts with their husbands because their husbands do not like it and because they do not want to hurt the parent-son relationship. In this case, in-law problems cause much depression for the wives.

**Conflict resolution**

Over half of the working-class people mention that to build an ideal relationship with parents (in-laws), daughters-in-law and parents-in-law should have more open communication and should try to understand each other. They recommend that daughters-in-law attempt to understand the mothers-in-law's point of view and mothers-in-law treat the daughters-in-law like her own daughters. Among others, more wives (27%) prefer independent living arrangements than husbands (17%) do.

Nevertheless, in their real life, most couples act passively to resolve the conflicts in the in-laws relationship. There are no different means of conflict resolution by whether or not they live together with parents (in-laws). Some people just try to forget about it or endure it:

We try not to say anything offensive. Most of all we don't have enough time to argue with each other, so we usually ignore trifles.

[Forty-year-old dried food seller, father of two, married eleven years]

There is no way to solve the problem. We cannot argue with our parents-in-law. We just have to have patience.

[Twenty-three-year-old housewife, mother of one, married two years]

I try to endure it, but it is very hard. I guess I can
hardly change the characters and lifestyles of my parents-in-law. If I try to do, this family will be broken.

[Twenty-six-year-old housewife, mother of one, married two years]

Some people turn to time:

I think time will solve the problem. (Interviewer: "Now it has been already ten years?") Still I am too young and my mother is young. I think we need more time.

[Thirty-three-year-old fishing shopkeeper, father of two, married ten years]

As time goes by, and while raising children, I, little by little, understand my mother-in-law from her point of view.

[Thirty-five-year-old beautician, mother of two, married eight years]

A very few husbands try hard to make the in-law relationship better. They attempt to persuade each side—mother or father and wife—to see the good points. Sometimes it works:

I tried to put myself "in the middle" between my mother and my wife. I used to talk to my wife to please regard her mother-in-law as her own mother. I also talked to my mother to be tolerant with her daughter-in-law as much as she can. That works! They are getting along with each other.

[Thirty-eight-year-old fruit seller, father of two, married seven years]

I think that the husband should play an important part on this matter. I speak frankly to my mother that my wife is nice woman and to my wife that my mother is not so bad. And I pray to God with my wife to let us to love our mothers.

[Thirty-five-year-old optical frame salesman, father of two, married six years]

But sometimes it does not work:

I just listen when my wife complains about my father's nagging. And then later I talk to my father and ask him not to do that. But I cannot change him. He is seventy years old. I give myself up to despair and decide to
endure it.  

[Thirty-six-year-old maintenance man, father of two, married seven years]

Benefits and costs of coresidence

Coresident living with in-laws has both positive and negative effects on the marital adjustment process of the young couples. Ten wives and nine husbands among thirteen couples who live with parents (in-laws) see both benefits and disadvantages of coresidence. The answers are much the same in content: benefits are child care and housekeeping; and cost is relinquishing privacy. However, wives tend to underemphasize advantages and overemphasize disadvantages of coresident living with in-laws than husbands do.

Frankly speaking, what good is it to live together with my mother-in-law? We had no choice but to live together, so we do so now. I miss the days when my husband and I lived alone. Now I don't have as much freedom as before out of deference to my mother-in-law. It is good that she keeps the house and looks after the children, though when I go out or go to visit my parents, she doesn't seem to be pleased with me.  

[Thirty-one-year-old electric appliances shopkeeper, mother of two, married six years]

I think keeping the house very well is an advantage. Sometimes, however, I want to exchange jokes with my husband. But when my mother-in-law is present, I can't. She is alone (father-in-law is dead), so I have to always be careful in words and deeds.  

[Thirty-seven-year-old dried food seller, mother of three, married eleven years]

I received big help from my parents-in-law when I raised my kids. They had many experiences, you know. But often I feel uncomfortable with them. When my husband calls me, I cannot talk freely what I want to say. And it is hard for me to tell them that I should go out for
I think that my wife learns a lot from my mother about how to keep the house well and how to cook. I know my wife is not satisfied with living together with my parents. She says that it is depressed hours for her. But I think the good image of a woman is established through this hard time. The bad point is that we cannot enjoy our own lives. Sometimes I want to buy something for my wife and I want to take her to a nice restaurant, but I cannot do that because my parents may misunderstand that I take care of only my wife after I got married.

Three wives and one husband point out only disadvantages: they have frequent arguments between spouses.

I don't find any good points about living together under the same roof. Bad points are first, my husband and I often argue over her, and it's inconvenient to live together in everyday lives.

In our case, there is only bad point because of conflict between my wife and my parents. My wife complains about in-laws so often, and I don't like to listen. I don't see any good points.

Only one husband replies a different way:

I think there's no bad point. It is proper to live together because that's our Korean's tradition. And that makes the family stronger and happier. I think living together with grandmother is good for the education of children.

When the living arrangement is positive, it eases the role transition to parenthood for the young Korean working-
class couples, providing them with much help in caring for babies. On the contrary, it makes the marital adjustment process of the couples difficult, interrupting their companionship, disclosure of affection, and open discussion of marital conflicts.

Adjustment to Parenthood

Unplanned but expected parenthood

Most Korean working-class couples do not plan for the parenthood. Indeed, over two-thirds of the couples have their children within one year after the wedding. Among those studied, eight wives of the 32 were pregnant before their marriage. Rubin (1976) found that 44% of the fifty couples got married because the woman became pregnant.

They are similar to the white American working-class couples Rubin met in that they do not plan for having babies. But they are different in their reactions; while white American working-class couples responded with an uncomprehending sense of loss for a past, an angry and restless discontent with an uncomfortable present, and fear about an unknown future, Korean working-class couples take it for granted that having a baby accompanies marriage. Thus, most people seem to enjoy the birth of their first baby, who is related by blood. Some couples mention that they were happy they had the first son, or they were happy even though they had the first girl, or they were disappointed with the first
That may be because of cultural differences between Koreans and Americans. For Koreans, it is expected that they will begin their marriage as a group, not as a dyad. In the beginning of marriage, the young couples must adapt to parents (in-laws) as well as husband-wife roles. Regardless of the young couples' preferences, their parents (in-laws) expect they will soon have a baby. Thus, their marital adjustment process begins by requiring interaction in a series of roles: daughter-in-law and son, wife and husband, and mother and father. Furthermore, in Korea, the parent-child relationship which is linked by blood has primary importance, thus, subordinating the husband-wife relationship which is linked by marriage as the secondary one. Because they have these expectations and are ready, young Korean couples may not regard children born within a year after the wedding as emotional and economic burdens to the adjustment process.

There is another possibility. American working-class couples Rubin interviewed got married when they were younger --on the average, eighteen for the women, twenty for the men. The Korean working-class couples I met got married when they were adults--on the average, twenty-four for the women, twenty-seven for the men. The former may be too young to be a mother and father psychologically and emotionally in a society in which marriage is expected to be the spouses' primary source of companionship.
Crisis or transition

Korean working-class couples report only slight amounts of difficulty with the first child. They think, however, it is natural for the transition to parenthood, not a crisis.

I think both of the parents have a hard time at least once after having a baby. For instance, when they have to wake up at night and feed the baby, etc. But I think that's common experience to be a parent.

[Thirty-eight-year-old bookstore keeper, father of two, married eight years]

Not much time to rest. But we think that's life, so we don't find it difficult not to have much time to rest.

[Forty-year-old dried food seller, father of three, married eleven years]

Not many problems. In the beginning, of course, we couldn't sleep enough. But it's natural with a baby, isn't it? Sometimes, when I was tired, however, I felt it was too much trouble to take care of the baby. But soon I forgot about all the troubles, looking at the pretty face of my baby. Come to think of it, my mother-in-law played a great part in raising the child.

[Thirty-one-year-old fruit seller, mother of two, married seven years]

As found in earlier studies on the transition to parenthood (Hobbs and Cole, 1976; Miller and Sollie, 1980), wives tend to report a greater amount of difficulty than do husbands. Some wives say:

I was embarrassed because I didn't know much about how to care for the baby. I think I raised the first kid from a mere sense of duty.

[Thirty-five-year-old housekeeper, mother of two, married eleven years]

I had a little hard time because the second baby was born when the first one was just one year old. Both my mother and mother-in-law live far from Seoul. So I had to raise the children by myself.
[Thirty-four-year-old housewife, mother of two, married seven years]

But, the majority of the wives received help from their mother or mother-in-law or other relatives:

When we had our son, we didn't live together with him. He lived with my sister because we were deadly busy running our store. We just brought him to our home for only one week every month. So, I didn't have hard time adjusting to being a mother.

[Thirty-year-old butcher's helper, mother of one, married five years]

For the first one month right after the baby was born, I stayed at my mother's house to take good care of my health. Besides that, I had a chance to see closely how to care for the baby because my mother was used to taking care of my older sister's babies. So I didn't have any serious problems while I was raising my kids.

[Thirty-five-year-old beautician, mother of two, married eight years]

Whether or not they can get help from others seems to affect the responses to parenthood, regardless of living arrangements. Those who have much help in caring for babies adjust to parenthood without crisis.

Changes in the marital relationship

Generally, studies on the transition to parenthood have found that marital satisfaction or quality declines modestly from before to after the birth of the first child (Belsky et al., 1983; Belsky et al., 1985). Surprisingly, one-third of the Korean working-class wives and husbands answer that they do not notice any changes in the marital relationship. One reason why they do not observe any differences may be because they did not have enough of a honeymoon period. They were so
busy making a living:

I haven't felt many changes. We spend almost all our time at the store, so even after we had a baby I have never thought that the time we spend alone was being reduced. My mother-in-law took care of the baby while I worked at the store.

[Thirty-one-year-old electric appliances shopkeeper, mother of two, married six years]

And they had a baby right after they got married:

Other people seem to have their first baby a couple of years after the wedding, and enjoy the time alone. But we had our first baby right away, we didn't really have time to enjoy our newly-married life. Maybe that's why we don't find many changes.

[Thirty-two-year-old needle woman, mother of two, married thirteen years]

One woman who is living with her mother-in-law adds another reason:

All the same, because my mother-in-law takes care of the children and sleeps with them, I haven't felt that we have less time alone than before.

[Thirty-three-year-old shoe factory worker, mother of two, married nine years]

Even though two-thirds of the working-class couples report little change, most of them mention that their marital relationship has improved. They emphasize the positive consequences of having a child and recognize some benefits to the husband-wife relationship and in-law relationship. A wife who lives with her mother-in-law recalls:

I think that after our baby was born, the atmosphere of our home became gentler. Looking at the baby, all the family members were joyous. A baby even softened the relationship between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law.

[Thirty-seven-year-old dried food
seller, mother of three, married eleven years]

It seems that we are getting maturer. We got to know each other better and even have come to have a feeling of oneness.

[Thirty-four-year-old postal clerk, father of one, married three years]

There are some changes. Because of the baby we argue less than before. And I feel stronger than before that this is a real family.

[Twenty-eight-year-old shop woman, mother of one, married four years]

There are, of course, some husbands or wives who see the negative changes in the marital relationship after the birth of the first child. Interestingly, the couples who got married for love tend to feel these changes more than the couples who got married through a matchmaker. A wife who was matched for love and has a three-month-old baby says:

In fact, I pay less attention to my husband. And we have less time alone together and that's what we are dissatisfied with. We had no problems in our sex life. But after having a baby, I don't feel like having sex very much. I am afraid of becoming pregnant soon and I don't feel like having sex.

[Twenty-three-year-old housewife, mother of one, married two years]

Some husbands indicate a kind of resignation:

After the baby was born, I think we drifted apart from each other a little. We have less time alone. But now I am a father of a child, I think, I must get over such things.

[Thirty-three-year-old fishing shopkeeper, father of two, married ten years]

In conclusion, the transition to parenthood seems to occur without an accompanying crisis in a society in which it is taken for granted that couples will have a baby right
after the marriage, in which the parent-child oriented family life has greater value than a couple-oriented one, and in which a young parent can get much aid from relatives after the birth of the first child.

It should be noted here that most Korean working-class couples I interviewed experienced the birth of the first baby several years ago and so their answers are based upon the recollection of the past. Due to the method of retrospective assessment, the perceptions of difficulty in dealing with the first year of parenthood may have diminished somewhat during the intervening years.
CHAPTER V. CONCLUSIONS

In general, the Korean working-class couples show much similarity to the Rubin's white American working-class families in their adjustment to marriage. They struggle with economic hardship and in-law problems from the beginning to the middle years of marriage. They are traditional in family roles, decision-making, and sexual life, as indicated by earlier studies on working-class marriages (Komarovsky, 1964; Shostak, 1969).

Their family roles are still segregated, although some husbands are willing to share their wives' work because their wives work outside the home and because they understand that their wives' lives are harder than theirs. Women tend to make decisions relating to internal household affairs and bringing up the children, whereas men make the important, bigger decisions. In their sexual lives, they are conservative. They think that sex is for men and that women are supposed to be passive.

As Rubin found out from the white American working-class couples, Korean working-class wives' marriages are different from husbands' marriages. As indicated in earlier research (Bernard, 1972; Rhyne, 1981; Rettig and Bubolz, 1983), wives seem to be more dissatisfied with their marriages than husbands do. Results from the in-depth interviews indicate that it is the women who demand far more communication, companion-
ship, and expression of feelings, although the results from the Dyadic Adjustment Scale (DAS) do not support the difference between husbands and wives. The stereotypical sex-role socialization patterns for women and men—she is passive, verbal, expressive, and emotional; he is active, nonverbal, inexpressive, and rational—may become dysfunctional to the marital relationship, as Balswick and Peek (1971) argued.

Wives tend to complain about their marriages when they are not satisfied with affectional aspects of the marital relationship rather than when they are dissatisfied with the division of household tasks and decision-making. This finding confirms the previous studies which have found that affectional correlates are consistently the best predictors of marital satisfaction (Miller, 1976; Snyder, 1979).

Korean working-class husbands and wives experience the transition to parenthood differently. Although the couples report only slight amounts of difficulty with the first child, wives report a greater amount of difficulty than do husbands, as found in earlier studies (Hobbs and Cole, 1976; Miller and Sollie, 1980). It is because the wives have the responsibility for taking care of their children and because their husbands cannot be involved actively in child-rearing due to their overtime work and their strong mono-sex network.

The most striking finding of this study is that Korean working-class couples are different in their reactions to parenthood from Rubin's white American working-class couples.
While the latter regard children born within a year after the wedding as emotional and economic burdens, the former take it for granted and feel stronger that this is a real family. Of course, Korean working-class couples recognize the difficulty of child care, however, they regard it as natural to being a parent.

It could be explained in part by cultural differences. In Korea, it is expected that young couples will have a baby right after the wedding, and the parent-child relationship has primary importance than the husband-wife relationship. There may be another possible explanation. American working-class couples Rubin met may not be ready for burdensome parenthood since they got married when they were younger—on the average, eighteen for the women, twenty for the men.

Korean's attitudes toward parenthood influence their perceptions of changes in their marital relationships. Most of them mention that their marital relationship has improved and emphasize the positive consequences of having a child. This finding does not support the earlier studies on the transition to parenthood which have been done in America and which have found that marital quality declines modestly after the birth of the first child (Miller and Sollie, 1980; Glenn and McLanahan, 1982; Belsky et al., 1983).

The difference in the perceptions of changes in the marital relationship between Koreans and Americans might be explained by the fact that among the Korean working-class cou-
pies, 60 percent got married through matchmakers. Those couples who got married through matchmakers do not know each other very well in the beginning of their marriage. Experiencing the birth of a baby who is linked by blood of both husband and wife, they seem to have a feeling of oneness and try to build a strong commitment. This explanation can be confirmed by the fact that the couples who got married for love tend to feel the negative changes more than the couples who got married through matchmakers.

The marital adjustment process of Korean working-class couples who live with their parents (in-laws) is not the same as that of those who live independently. The former begins with their marriages as a triad or a quad, not as a dyad. Their parents (in-laws) tend to be involved in household tasks and decision-making process. Young couples can get much help for child care and housekeeping if the mothers-in-law are willing to do so. However, the joint living arrangement with their parents (in-laws) makes it difficult for the young couples to share much time at home, to express their affection, and to have open discussion about marital conflicts. The young couples cannot insist upon their independence and their privacy. Wives tend to underestimate benefits and overestimate costs of coresident living with in-laws.

Many more wives than husbands speak of in-law problems as the greatest problem in their marital lives, whether or not they live together with parents (in-laws). In-law
problems cause much depression for the wives because it is the wives who feel the conflicts more and because many of the wives do not talk about the conflicts with their husbands.

Nevertheless, the data from DAS indicate that the couples who live with parents (in-laws) report higher marital adjustment scores than those who live alone, although the difference is not statistically significant except for one subscale.

There is one possible explanation for this contradictory result. The DAS measures a current state of the marital relationship on a continuum from well-adjusted to mal-adjusted. The scale does not measure any process or any changes, as Trost (1985) argued. Thus, the scale might not detect the troublesome adjustment process of the couples who live with parents (in-laws) during the intervening years. Another explanation is also related to the DAS instrument. The scale is based upon the evaluation of only the couple's relationship. Finally, despite the various disadvantages, joint living with parents (in-laws) might contribute to the marital adjustment of the young couples in that their presence may encourage young couples be cautious and not attack each other. More research should be done to explore whether joint living is helpful or harmful to the marital relationship of Korean young couples.

This research provides information on how the marital partners adjust to each other and various marital situations, unlike the majority of studies which have relied upon the
evaluation of a marital relationship on a continuum ranging from high to low at one point in time. Future studies should pay more attention to transitions in marital relationships over stages of the family life cycle and use more innovative methods.

This study also indicates that the couples' relationship cannot exist in vacuum. The marital life of a couple is crucially influenced by other factors such as children, in-laws, overtime work, economic hardship. It is suggested that future research explore influences outside the marriage in order to fully explain the dynamics of the marital relationship.

It should be also noted here that the Dyadic Adjustment Scale which measures the evaluation of only the couple's relationship be used with caution, when it is applied to the working-class couples who suffer from economic hardship and work dissatisfaction and to other racial groups who have different cultures and norms. Recently, for example, Casas and Ortiz (1985) raise empirical questions on the appropriateness of using the DAS with Mexican Americans, a group on which it has not been normed.

As mentioned earlier, Korean working-class wives tend to demand for more communication, sharing, and expression of affections than husbands do. It seems that the norms of middle-class companionate marriage are spreading to the working-class wives. One implication of this finding is that
future studies should examine the process of adjustment to the new marriage norms and should address the affectional aspects of the working-class marriages as well as those middle-class marriages.

One of the findings of this research is that most Korean working-class couples report only slight amounts of difficulty with the first child and emphasize the positive changes after the birth of the first child. However, those couples I interviewed experienced the transition to parenthood several years ago and so their perceptions of difficulty within the first year may have diminished. It is recommended that future research focus on the immediate experiences of the young couples who have one- or two-year old babies.
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APPENDIX A.

QUESTIONS FOR IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS
Marital Adjustment (Adjustment to Marriage):

. How do you feel about your marriage, in general?
*. What do you value most in your husband/wife?
*. Whose life would you say is easier - a man's or a woman's?
. How do you evaluate your husband's sharing of household tasks?
*. Who manages the money in the family?
*. How are the decisions made in the family? Who decides on what?
*. Would you describe a typical evening in your family?
. Do you talk to your spouse about your job?
. Do you talk to your spouse when you have a bad day or when you worry about something?
. How do you feel about the understanding you get of your problems?
. Do you express your affection to your spouse? In what ways?
. Do you and spouse engage in outside interests and activities together?
. Do you discuss your child's (or children's) future plans?
. Do you discuss the discipline for them with your spouse?
. It is supposed that most couples experience disagreements and conflicts in dealing with important family issues (i.e., family planning, in-laws relationships, husband's job, household tasks, and the amount of time spent to-
gether and so on). Which family issues have been most frequently disagreed upon?

- How do you and your spouse react to those situations?
- Have you had problems and conflicts in sexual adjustments? Have they played themselves out?
- Do you reveal feelings about the sexual relationship?

* Those questions are come from Rubin (1976)

**Adjustment to Parenthood:**

- When did you have your first child?
- Was it planned or not?
- Did you and your spouse enjoyed the birth of your first child?
- Did you have a hard time adjusting to being a mother/father?
- Do you think being a parent made changes in the relationship between you and your spouse?
- Comparing with your friend's husbands, how would you evaluate your husband's contribution to child-caring? (Comparing with your friends, how would you evaluate your contribution to child caring?)
- If you and your spouse had to go somewhere, whom would you ask to care for your child?
- How would you evaluate your marriage since your baby was born?
Adjustment to Relationship with In-laws:

1) For the couples who do not live with parents-in-law:
   - Would you tell me about your relationship with your parents-in-law? (quality of interaction)
   - What were some of the adjustments you made after you were married?
   - What kind of relationship is ideal for young couples and their parents-in-law?
   - What do you exchange with them?
   - Are there some conflicts between you and your parents-in-law? If any, what kind of conflicts?
   - How do you solve these conflicts?
   - Do you think that these conflicts cause some problems between you and your spouse?
   - How do you rate your spouse's ways of dealing with in-laws?
   - Are you satisfied with the relationship with your in-laws?

2) For the couples who live together with parents-in-law:
   - How long have you lived with your parents-in-law?
   - Would you tell me about your relationship with your parents-in-law?
   - What were some of the adjustments you made after you were married?
   - What kind of relationship do you think is ideal for
young couples and their parents-in-law?

. What kind of benefits do you think you can have from coresidence?

. What are some of the disadvantages have from coresidence?

. Are there some conflicts between you and your parents-in-law? If any, what kind of conflicts?

. How do you usually solve these conflicts?

. Do you think that these conflicts cause some problems between you and your spouse? If yes, what kind of problems?

. How do you rate your spouse's ways of dealing with in-laws?

. Are you satisfied with your relationship with your in-laws?
APPENDIX B.

SELF-ADMINISTERED QUESTIONNAIRE
QUESTIONNAIRE
FOR
STUDYING
MARITAL ADJUSTMENT

Please answer all questions.
If you want to add comments, use margins or the last page.
Please do not consult with your spouse.

Thank you for your help.

Sook-Hyun Choi
Sociology Department
Iowa State University
Q-1. Most persons have disagreements in their relationships. Please indicate below the approximate extent of agreement or disagreement between you and your partner for each item on the following list.

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<td>7. Conventionality (correct or proper behavior)</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Philosophy of life</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Ways of dealing with parents</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Aims, goals, and things believed important</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. Amount of time spent together</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Making major decisions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Almost agree</td>
<td>Occasionally agree</td>
<td>Frequently disagree</td>
<td>Almost disagree</td>
<td>Always disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>13. Household tasks</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>14. Leisure time interests and activities</td>
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<tr>
<td>15. Career decision</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>16. How often do you discuss or have you considered divorce, separation, or terminating your relationship?</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. How often do you or your mate leave the house after a fight?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>18. In general, how often do you think that things between you and your partner are going well?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>19. Do you confide in your mate?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>20. Do you ever regret that you married?</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# How often would you say the following events occur between you and your mate?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Less than once a month</th>
<th>Once or twice a month</th>
<th>Once or twice a week</th>
<th>Once a day</th>
<th>More often</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25. Have a stimulating exchange of ideas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Laugh together</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Calmly discuss something</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**Questions:**

21. How often do you and your partner quarrel?

22. How often do you and your mate "get on each other's nerves?"

23. Do you kiss your mate?

24. Do you and your mate engage in outside interests together?

How often would you say the following events occur between you and your mate?
These are some things about which couples sometimes agree and sometimes disagree. Indicate if either item below caused differences of opinions or were problems in your relationship during the past few weeks. (Check yes or no)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Less than once a month</th>
<th>Once or twice a month</th>
<th>Once or twice a week</th>
<th>Once a day</th>
<th>More often</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28. Work together on a project</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yes No

29. _____ _____ Being too tired for sex.
30. _____ _____ Not showing love.

31. The dots on the following line represent different degrees of happiness in your relationship. The middle point, "happy," represents the degree of happiness of most relationships. Please circle the dot which best describes the degree of happiness, all things considered, of your relationship.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

Extremely Fairly A little Very Extremely
Unhappy Unhappy Unhappy Happy Happy Happy Perfect

32. Which of the following statements best describes how you feel about the future of your relationship?

_____ I want desperately for my relationship to succeed, and would go to almost any length to see that it does.

_____ I want very much for my relationship to succeed,
and will do all I can to see that it does.

I want very much for my relationship to succeed, and will do my fair share to see that it does.

It would be nice if my relationship succeeded, but I can't do much more than I am doing now to help it succeed.

It would be nice if it succeeded, but I refuse to do any more than I am doing now to keep the relation going.

My relationship can never succeed, and there is no more that I can do to keep the relationship going.
APPENDIX C.
SUMMARY TABLES OF FINDINGS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Husbands</th>
<th>Wives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>34.2 (yrs.)</td>
<td>30.8 (yrs.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>28-40 (yrs.)</td>
<td>23-37 (yrs.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>11.5 (yrs.)</td>
<td>10.9 (yrs.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>6-12 (yrs.)</td>
<td>6-12 (yrs.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Years of Marriage</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>6.5 (yrs.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>2-13 (yrs.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of Children</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2-C. Frequency distribution of the DAS score by husbands and wives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DAS score</th>
<th>Husbands</th>
<th>Wives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-60</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61-70</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71-80</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81-90</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91-100</td>
<td>30.8%</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101-110</td>
<td>23.1%</td>
<td>38.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111-120</td>
<td>23.1%</td>
<td>19.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121-130</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131-140</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>105.6</td>
<td>101.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>83-136</td>
<td>44-136</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>