# The Meaning of 'Filial Piety' and Ethics of Care in the Korean Family<sup>1</sup>

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The Korean society which has entered the aging society very quickly is facing a new family problem concerning the aged and the big issue about caring for the aged socially. Filial piety has always been considered a hot issue in Korean society with its strong sense of Confucian familial emotion. An oppressive meaning inherent in filial piety cannot be overlooked even though filial piety practices traditional virtues and is related to humanism.

Premised on this critical eye, this paper proposes that a discourse on filial piety in modern times is a way to minimize the problems caused by emphasizing the consciousness of traditional filial piety, while putting an emphasis on the ethical side of care that filial piety has. This paper suggests the above in the following three points. First, this paper emphasizes that filial piety should not be a virtue confined to family relations and something solely dependent on maternity, but should be extended and applied to the male area beyond sex and social relations. Second, this paper emphasizes that filial piety should be discussed not from the viewpoint of care coming from the intimacy caused by special relations but from the viewpoint of right, equality, and justice among the people who exchange the acts of care. Third, this paper emphasizes that to practice filial piety should be based on responsibility and the self-nurture attendant on difficult works.

Keywords: family, traditional Confucianism, moral emotion, intimacy, filial piety, ethics of care

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#### Introduction

From the traditional point of view, family can be understood as a community 'sharing the same blood'. This is based on the assumption that each generation is connected through lineage and such connected people are one. The relation between parents and sons has been understood as the most intimate and deepest love and, accordingly, parents and sons have been regarded as the foundation of morality in traditional Confucian society. It is connected with this context that familial love has been particularly emphasized and filial piety has been remarkably emphasized in traditional Confucian society.

Meanwhile, can the meaning of family be similarly recognized by those of us who are living in a 21<sup>st</sup>-century society? Despite our affection toward traditional family, isn't the stronghold of kinsfolk collapsing rapidly in modern society? Therefore the existing familiar concept of family seems anachronistic and even doubtful. The exclusive qualities inherent in kinsfolk is considered to be duly overcome and the meaning of family has been changed and recognized not as a blood community based on marriage and living persons but as the group of people loving and taking care of one another. In the overwhelming situation of seeing family from the empirical point of view rather than in any particular form, family is understood as an enlarged concept, including all the various meetings of human relations presupposing emotional common care.

Nevertheless, it is an undeniable fact that family has an emotional narrative based on distinctive intimacy from other community and family discourses that are formed in relation to daily and intimate affairs. The reason we don't abolish the concept of 'family' despite many conflicts and oppression within the family is that we think family is a unit which establishes a certain emotional and sentimental solidarity different from other groups. Such a situation appears clearly in a Korean family that has been strongly affected by traditional Confucianism. Also, the discourses about family in such a Korean situation are not confined only to institutional and biological groups but are applied to the social community as well. In this context, filial piety seems to be connected with loyalty in traditional Confucianism. It can be understood in this context that the problem of supporting the aged in a Korean society that has already entered an aging society is being discussed in the phase of family discourses, such as the strengthening of the education of filial piety, inspiration of the consciousness of filial piety, campaign for respecting the aged, a respect-for-age week, the awarding for filial

conduct, and a drive for legalizing filial piety<sup>2</sup> rather than in the phase of social welfare.

Keeping such a real Korean situation in mind, this paper will survey the problem of supporting the aged and the values of filial piety in the aging period in the context of the feminist ethics of care.3 Though we cannot deny that filial piety has been realized in the patricentric direction of oppressing women in traditional society, the altruistic side and the ethics of care inherent in filial piety will be virtues still necessary to those who are living in the modern world. In fact, the problems of oppression and violence around filial piety within the family will be raised on both sides of receiving and practicing filial piety. It is very difficult to balance the equality of power within relations as it appears very complicatedly in the context of right and obligation. This paper will discuss whether it will be possible to rule out the oppressive quality of filial piety while encouraging the spirit of relational ethics and, if possible, how it will be done.

To develop these thoughts effectively, this paper will raise the following questions. What is the essential meaning of filial piety that has been emphasized by Confucianism? Is filial piety a problem of private emotions occurring between parents and sons or a problem of individual self-control? Does it have a value as an ideology of public morality? Is filial piety oppressive submission or willing care? What meaning does such traditional filial piety have in modern Korean society? When viewing filial piety as the ethics of care, is it different or the same from the feminist ethics of care? These problems are connected with

<sup>2.</sup> Recently, such an effort to legalize filial piety including 'the legislation of filial law' has been discussed in the process of deciding policies.

<sup>3.</sup> As a comparative study on the ethics of Confucian jen (benevolence) and the feminist ethics of care, see Chenyang Li (1994). Chenyang Li argues that Confucian jen and the feminist ethics of care are compatible. Li, who understands Confucian jen and care as exchangeable concepts, maintains that the center of the Confucian jen concept is to love others and it can be understood as the care of a natural tendency to take care of others. Li contends that Confucianism can be defined as 'care-oriented humanism' and Confucian love can be understood as 'responsible caring love'. On the contrary, Shin Ok-hi's "Feminist Ethics-Theory and Application" (1988) raises the strong question whether Confucian jen can be identified with the feminist ethics of care while recognizing that Confucian jen can be introduced as a kind of ethics of care. For the purpose of defining the direction of Korean feminist ethics, Shin Ok-hi, based on the views of ethics of Wonhyo and Jaspers instead of Confucian jen, tries a unifying approach between ethics focusing on care and ethics focusing on power. Kim Hye-suk (Kim Heisook) also approaches from a slightly negative point of view as to the possibility of Confucian feminism. Kim (1998) argues that "the major characteristics of Confucianism should be lost in order for Confucianism to meet feminism." Also refer to Yuan 2002 and Li 2002.

whether filial piety is spontaneous or something made artificially based on a kind of control and responsibility. Also, when viewing filial piety as the ethics of care, it is the problem of the ethical status that the acts of care have.

### **Essential Meaning of Filial Piety in Traditional Confucianism**

1. Filial Piety as Moral Emotion: Between Private Intimacy and Public Authority

Jen (仁) in Confucian philosophy is humanity and altruism. 'Altruism,' interpreted as loving humans and other people, begins with the practice of filial piety, which becomes a virtue to realize humanity. Meanwhile, the meaning of filial piety in traditional Confucianism can be understood as authoritative hierarchy and the enforcement of obedience of the next generation according to vertical hierarchy between the previous and the next generation. Of course, such an evaluation of filial piety is justifiable in a way because the continuing obligation of the next generation, by means of sacrifice and obedience to the intention of the previous generation, whether the previous generation is alive or dead, is demanded. It is also because, irrespective of the acts of the previous generation, the unilateral acts of the next generation rather than the bilateral dutiful relations between the previous and the next generations are demanded to a considerable degree. "Those who are obedient to their parents and love their brothers seldom disobey the orders of the elders. Also, those who don't disobey the orders of the elders seldom raise a disturbance" (Analects 2:2). This is a typical foundation to make us understand that filial piety means absolute submission of the next generation to the previous generation.

Beforehand, it must be recognized that filial piety in traditional Confucianism is a way of love coming from the most intimate relation with me, that is, the relation between parents and sons. It also stems from this fact that filial piety can be defined as private emotion of intimacy and, therefore, we can mention filial piety as 'emotional care'. The contents of filial piety in traditional Confucianism can be summarized as follows: "One must respect his parents with great care at home; when one serves his parents, he must please them with great care; when parents are ill, he must look after their illness with great care; when one is in mourn-

ing after his parents' death, he must grieve for their death with great care; when one makes sacrifices to their parents' spirit, he must be grave with great care. (Book of Filial Piety, Chapter 13)

This shows that filial piety is based on the emotion of intimacy because emotions change according to the conditions of parents, and one's mind and behavior also change according to one's emotion. Therefore, filial piety in traditional Confucianism is premised on love and respect and emphasizes the love toward parents without the exchange of emotions, and only material services without respect are not the real meaning of filial piety.

Today's filial piety means to serve parents with food. However, even a dog or a horse receives man's service. Therefore, what is the difference without respect? (Analects 2:7)

Even a small-minded person serves his parents with food. How can a virtuous person without a mind of respect be distinguished from a smallminded person? (Book of Rites, Chapter 30)

The above shows that filial piety is connected with emotional care. It is said that a filial son "doesn't comb his hair with worry about his parents' illness, doesn't walk too fast, doesn't make a joke when talking with people, doesn't play a musical instrument, doesn't eat meat until he loses appetite, doesn't drink until a change comes over his face, doesn't show his teeth and grin when laughing and doesn't speak critically of others when he becomes angry" (Book of Rites, Chapter 1). The Confucian warning against emotional sympathies like respect, pleasure, worry, sorrow, and graveness and the behaviors of betrayal like pride, indecency, and argument also show that filial piety is an emotional exchange between parents and sons.

Filial piety as emotional care is shown very well in Confucian funeral formalities.<sup>4</sup> Confucianism makes it a rule to place a parent's body in a coffin on

<sup>4.</sup> At the beginning of the Joseon dynasty, in order to try to fortify the foundation of the dynasty through emphasizing filial piety, funeral formalities were strictly observed, and the numerous memorials to the throne by the Office of the Inspector General and the Ministry of Rites prove this. www.kci.go.kr

the third day after the parent's death and this is also discussed in connection with the emotional condition of sons facing the death of a parent.

A certain person said, 'Why is a parent's body placed in a coffin on the third day of the parent's death?' He answered. 'When a parent is dead, a filial son is in agony. Therefore, he collapses crying over his parent's death, as if doing so will make his dead parent rise from the dead. Then, how is it possible to place the dead parent in a coffin contrary to the intention of the filial son? Thus, we usually prepare the body for burial on the third day'. (Book of Rites, Chapter 35)

Also, traditional Confucianism makes it a rule to observe three years of mourning when a parent dies and this was an emotional re-compensation for the parent's love and affection, like an infant parting from its mother's breast three years after its birth. In response to Jaea's saying that three years of mourning is too long, Confucius' retorts: "Will you feel it comfortable to eat with relish and put on beautiful clothes during the parent's mourning? If you feel it comfortable, do it. A virtuous person doesn't feel it delicious to eat tasty food, nor feels pleased with music, nor are his daily life and behavior comfortable. Therefore, he doesn't do so" (Analects 17:21). Thus, after the parent's death, "at any time he feels sad, a filial son always cries and observes a three-year mourning. It comes from longing for his parent. It is the feeling of a filial son and a truth of human feeling. Therefore, funeral formalities are mainly based on the feeling of sorrow" (Book of Rites, Chapter 35). When crying with severe sorrow, "women grieve beating their breasts and men bow touching their heads on the ground" (Book of Rites, Chapter 35). These are expressions of extreme sadness.

Confucius judged that a son's complaint against his father's theft was not real honesty (Book of Rites 13:18), and when the father laid a complaint against his unfilial son, Confucius only detained, didn't try him, and released him after three months according to his father's withdrawal of the suit. Such management by Confucius is premised on natural moral emotion between parents and sons and is a good example showing that such private emotions are superior to public norms. Such a situation can be seen in regulating the laws during the Joseon period that adopted Confucian ideology. In the codes of the Joseon dynasty, such as *Gyeongguk daejeon* (Grand Code of Managing the Nation), *Sok-daejeon* (Supplement to the National Code), *Daejeon tongpyeon* (Comprehensive National Code), and *Daejeon hoetong* (Comprehensive Collection of National

Codes), familial crimes between a lineal ascendant and a collateral descendant, an elder brother and a younger brother, or wife and concubine, were punished more severely than other crimes. This shows the tendency of Confucian thought that the intimacy between parents and sons is prior to legal norms.<sup>5</sup>

### 2. Filial Piety as a Mediating Mechanism: Is It a Private Norm or a Social Norm?

In traditional Confucianism, it was understood that family was a medium to connect the state with an individual and was an essentially basic system to maintain social order. Therefore, the Confucian state recognized family as part of the ruling organization and pursued a policy to take positive advantage of this. It was connected with this that the state encouraged people to respect parents of other people like their own parents and made the aged be respected not only with family and kinsmen but also within society through filial piety. It is in this context that Confucian society understands family order as a model of all social orders and applies familial norms to social relations.

Thus, the thought of denying familial order and establishing an extra public area irrespective of familial order doesn't appear in a Confucian society. In traditional Confucianism, family becomes not only a private area to be overcome for establishing a public area, but also becomes a model of the public area and is recognized as a starting point of public activities. On the contrary, family in

<sup>5.</sup> The contents of the punishment for a murder case shown in Salok (Murder and Imprisonment) of Daejeon hoetong (Comprehensive National Code) show the Confucian ideology of Joseon toward family. When parents murder their son or daughter and an elder brother murders a younger brother on cruel purpose, they should be flogged or imprisoned for 1-3 years (徒刑). When a son murders an adulterer at his mother's adultery scene, he should be exiled in consideration of the extenuating circumstances. When a father receives a severe wound from a beating and his son beats the offender to death, the son should be exiled except for a death sentence. When a father is murdered and a lawsuit is proceeding, the one who arbitrarily revenges his murdered father without waiting for the final decision should be exiled except for a death sentence. When a father is murdered, the one who doesn't note the murder to the authorities, makes peace with the murderer privately, receives expenses for the funeral, and arbitrarily revenges his murdered father later on should be flogged one hundred times and be imprisoned for three years in accordance with the reconciliation rule instead of the revenge rule. When a wife arbitrarily murders her husband's enemy or a mother an enemy of her murdered son or daughter, she should be flogged sixty times. When an unmarried woman is raped and her father beats the rapist to death on the spot, the father should be flogged one hundred times instead of receiving the death sentence.

Western tradition is considered something given naturally prior to a public area and its originality is recognized. However, family is devalued as an obstacle to the unity of the state. Such a thought of traditional Confucianism toward family and society unites a private familial area based on kinship with the public political area based on non-kinship according to the same principle of a patriarchal order.

The patriarchal order to mediate between blood group and non-blood group thinks highly of the head of a family (father) as 'the Most Revered' and considers him the center of all familial relations. Placing private ethics, familial ethics and social ethics altogether in the same category, the key to connecting them is considered the respect toward the head of a family, that is, filial piety. It is in this context that the relation between filial piety and loyalty is recognized very closely in Confucian society. Therefore, the relation between parents and sons in a family is often compared to the relation between the sovereign and the people in a society. As the sovereign is also born and nurtured by parents in a family like all the other people, it is emphasized that the sovereign should practice filial piety and friendly love in his own family. In this context, it is understood that the participation of the sovereign and the people in politics can be accomplished through practicing filial piety and brotherly love in a family. Only the way of practicing filial piety and brotherly love appear differently according to status and position.6

Filial piety and brotherly love within a family and loyalty toward the sovereign are compared like this and are in the same relation. In traditional Confucianism, filial piety is a virtue that is emphasized prior to loyalty and a virtue as familial and racial ethics prior to loyalty as social ethics. *Bujacheonhap* (relation between parents and sons is established by the Heaven) and *gunsinuihap* (relation between the sovereign and the subjects is established by justice) indicate clearly that the relation between parents and sons is prior to the relation between the sovereign and the subjects, and that the relation between parents and sons is established by the heaven and cannot be broken artificially (Classified

<sup>6.</sup> In Book of Filial Piety, the discussion about the way of practicing filial piety from the emperor to the common people shows this very well.

Conversations of Zhu Xi, Chapter 20). Thus, it is recognized that love by blood in the traditional Confucian family is too special to be compared to any other human relation.<sup>7</sup> It is understood that, though the relation between the sovereign and the subjects is often compared to the relation between fathers and sons, it is a relation suitable to common purposes and justice and can be broken off whenever it doesn't serve the purpose. Thus it was demanded that, while one should advise his father or brother with a smile on his face not to harm kindness and affection, one should advise frankly the sovereign according to justice without considering the sovereign's feelings (Book of Filial Piety, Chapter 20).

The filial piety of traditional Confucianism is not restricted to private emotions or familial norms of the relation between parents and sons but has a quality of public norms applicable to non-kinships. The idea that filial piety in Confucianism is not restricted to only private areas clearly appears in the explanation that Confucian human relations begin with love by blood and are extended to human relations and the natural world beyond the closest relation between parents and sons. In Confucianism, an individual is recognized not as an individual body but as an individual closely connected with its parents and ancestors. The body of an individual is a branch stemming from the trunk of the parents; accordingly, body, hair, and skin are the inheritance and it is recognized that not to harm them is the beginning of filial piety (Book of Filial Piety, Chapter 1). However, it is discussed that filial piety and brotherly love and affection are not restricted to binding the bodies of an individual and parents altogether but should be extended. Daehak's (Great Learning) explanation, that extends the body of an individual and family to society, the state, and the world and considers them as an organic connection, is in the same context.

The function of filial piety as a public moral ideology was enlarged and strengthened through the Confucianism of the Han and Sung dynasties. As society grew bigger, the change of tying mechanism among social constituents was demanded and the necessity of connecting filial piety with loyalty, parents with the sovereign, and family with the state was strongly rising. The search of the Han dynasty for a new imperial order based on courtesy was related to changing the world into a familial area. This appeared in enlarging and applying the system of status based on the then task of establishing an absolute monarchy. That

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<sup>7.</sup> This was explained in the theory of chinchin' (love toward family and parents) and jonjon' (love toward non-family members). Such a Confucian theory criticizes the Motzu's theory to love equally all the people in the world (Mencius Chatper 5).

is, it means the establishment of a patriarchal hierarchy to take the sovereign as the head of a family, bureaucrats as elder brothers, and subjects as sons. According to this theory, the state became a large family. Just as sons and daughters of a family must obey the head of the family, so to must the constituents of the state obey the ruler. It was natural in this context that *Book of Filial Piety* was of importance during the Han dynasty.<sup>8</sup>

Such a work was also the task of Neo-Confucianism during the Sung period. In *Seomyeong* (西銘), Chang Tsai, a Neo-Confucian scholar, considers filial piety an important moral norm and explains in detail the aspect of taking the sovereign as the head and the subjects as the eldest sons.

Geon (Heaven) is called father and gon (earth) mother. My tiny body lies within them mixed with heaven and earth. Therefore, gi (the material force) plentiful in heaven and on earth becomes my body and the main material of heaven and earth becomes my surname. The people are my brothers and all things are with me. The sovereign is the eldest son of our parents and his subjects are retainers of the eldest son. (Complete Collection of Zhu Xi, Chapter 4)

'Our parents' are not only real parents but also all the ancestors, and the sovereign is understood as the great eldest son of the head family. Every meaning in the order by blood is concentrated only on the sovereign. As shown above, private and public areas in traditional Confucianism aren't clearly distinguished and filial piety is a key to connecting them.

3. Filial Piety in the Unbalance of Power: Oppressive Submission or Voluntary Consideration?

In general, there is obvious unbalance between parents and sons. In particular, in a society like a traditional Confucian society where patriarchal consciousness is dominant, the decisive power of the head of a family is compulsory to a considerable degree. It is a general tendency to understand filial piety as the meaning of obeying the head of a family.

<sup>8.</sup> During the Han period, though *Book of Filial Piety* wasn't one of the Ogyeong (Five Confucian Classics) nor established an institute, it was viewed as important and actively studied.

For sons and daughters-in-law to be obedient and respectful is not to disobey their parents and parents-in-law and not to be negligent. When they are asked to eat food, they must taste it even though they don't like it and must wait for parents' order. When they are given clothes, they must try them even though they don't like them and must wait for parents' order. When they are given something to do and are replaced by others, they must have others do the work for a while and then take the work again. (Inner Lessons, Chapter 2)

However, it is doubtful whether the understanding of filial piety as unconditional and absolute obedience toward parents is a complete understanding of the traditional Confucian context. It is because it is emphasized in many Confucian books that subjects and sons should advise the sovereign and parents not to make mistakes. Many Confucian scholars maintained that it was not filial piety for sons to obey parents' orders unconditionally even though they knew it was wrong. Confucius also emphasized that unconditional obedience to parents' orders was not filial piety.

If there are sons who indicate parents' errors and argue with them, their parents won't have to commit injustice. Therefore, when injustice is committed, sons must advise their parents and subjects must advise the sovereign. If parents commit an injustice, sons must advise them not to do it. Can it be filial piety at all to obey parents' orders unconditionally? (Book of Filial Piety, Chapter 20)

There is an anecdote showing that unconditional obedience to parents' orders is not filial piety.

When Tsengtzu (曾子) removed weeds at the cucumber field, he happened to cut the root of the cucumber. His father got angry and hit his son on the back with a big stick. Tsengtzu fell, fainted, and regained his consciousness pleasantly after a while. He came to his father and said, "A short while ago, I made a big mistake. Father made me realize my mistake by force. There is nothing wrong with my body." Then, he came back to his room and played lute and sang. To hear this anecdote, Confucius got angry and said to his disciples, "If Tsengtzu comes, don't let him in." Not knowing any reason for Confucius' anger, Tsengtzu asked Confucius. Confucius said, "Long ago, Gosu had a son named Sun. When his father made Sun work, Sun was always beside his father. If his father seemed to kill him, Sun always ran away out of his father's sight. Sun was pleased to get punished with a small stick but ran away in case of a big stick. Therefore, his father couldn't commit a crime to kill his son against paternal morality and Sun could accomplish filial piety. On the contrary, you thoughtlessly entrusted your body to your father and didn't escape even in a deadly embarrassing situation. If you were dead and your father committed a crime to kill his own son, can there be impiety worse than this?" (Words and Deeds of Confucius, Chapter 4)

In books for children from the Joseon period like *Gyeongmongyogyeol* (The Secret of Striking out Ignorance) and *Dongmongseonseup* (Children's First Learning), it was thoroughly criticized to overlook parents' mistakes and was emphasized to positively persuade parents to behave well.<sup>9</sup> From this point of view, it cannot be a complete understanding of Confucian filial piety to evaluate filial piety simply as oppressive and submissive ethics.

If Confucian filial piety cannot be asserted simply as oppressive and submissive ethics, is there room for interpreting Confucian filial piety as spontaneous ethics of care? Considering that filial piety has not been given wholly from the outside but is already innate, it is recognized that the practice of filial piety is based on spontaneity. Therefore, the one who has not practiced filial piety properly cannot be treated as a moral subject in traditional Confucianism. The contents of Confucian books, emphasizing that saints and saint kings were dutiful sons, of can be understood in this context. In traditional Confucianism, to have a family means the first step toward a human as a moral subject and this also means to have responsibility for oneself and other people. That is, the personality as the moral subject is considered a model of true humanity and is defined as the subject of the community of love. Filial piety is a basis of the moral subject

<sup>9.</sup> The following can all be understood in this context: Neo-Confucian scholars criticized the Crown Prince Sinsaeng as an undutiful son because he blindly obeyed Heongong's mismanagement and died; Confucius called harming one's body impiety concerning the anecdote that Tsengtzu was beaten with a stick by his father; on the contrary, Confucius called King Sun a dutiful son because he ran away from his father when Gosu tried to kill him.

<sup>10.</sup> It can be understood in this context that *Mencius*, *Book of Filial Piety* and *Inner Lessons* reveal the filial piety of kings Sun, Mun and Mu. "The reality of *jen* [benevolence] is to serve parents well and the reality of *ui* [righteousness] is to follow elder brothers well" (Mencius 8:27). "The governing morality of King Yo and King Sun is only filial piety and respect" (Mencius 12:2).

and, therefore, can be a moral emotion occurring spontaneously.

Confucius explains how to accomplish *jen* (benevolence) as loyalty (忠)<sup>11</sup> to oneself and consideration (恕) of others. The Confucian explanation that a basic virtue realizing *jen* is filial piety and the ways to accomplish *jen* are loyalty (忠) and consideration (恕) means that filial piety is to practice consideration of others to the persons nearest to oneself, parents. To practice filial piety to one's parents means the accomplishment of duty to serve them and provide them with necessities. In Confucian philosophy, the reason sons should practice filial piety to parents can be explained in the phrase that parents bore me (Book of Rites, Chapter 24) and brought me up. And the practical ways to practice filial piety are to respect and take care of one's parents by providing them with services needed by parents (Mencius, Chapter 7).

The letter 恕 meaning consideration that Confucius mentioned can be divided into the two parts 如中心, which signify to make other's mind equal to my mind. It is difficult for me. How about him? I am hungry. How about him? It means consideration by stepping into another's shoes. The meaning of consideration (恕) is not to do to others what I don't want and to do to others what I want. To speak precisely, it means to support my parents as much as I want my sons to support me and to serve my elder brothers as much as I want my younger brothers to serve me (Book of the Doctrine of the Mean, Chapter 13). And the filial piety of traditional Confucianism can be called 'a kind of' ethics of care. Consideration (恕) is "Don't force the junior to do what the senior dislikes; don't serve the senior with what the junior dislikes; don't force the posterior to do what the anterior dislikes; don't let the anterior follow what the posterior dislikes; don't make friends with the left with what the right dislikes; don't make friends with the right with what the left dislikes" (Great Learning, Chapter 10). That is, consideration (恕) is an ethical consciousness occurring from making relations among people and a kind of reciprocal relation and duty that each one should practice inherently. Accordingly, the ethics based on consideration (恕) can be regarded as a kind of ethics of care.

<sup>11.</sup> The character of loyalty (忠) appears eighteen times in Analects: three times in chapter 12, twice each in chapters 1 and 5; the others appear in chapters 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 13, and 14. The meaning of loyalty (忠) in Analects is sincerity and not to deceive others. All of them mean to be sincere and to do one's best.

## **Characteristics of Korean Familial Culture and the Meaning of Filial Piety**

#### 1. Characteristics of Korean Familial Culture

The traditional Korean family system is founded on the familial consciousness, focusing on the house which has a considerable influence on modern Korean familial culture. The Korean family still stands strongly for the Confucian ideology that the identity of the paternal line is inherited permanently. Accordingly, it views absolutely ancestor worship and patriarchy representing the present family members and internalizes Confucian tradition to think highly of the eldest son, the future heir. Aiming for continuity of the paternal line, marriage and the living people are valued. Though family is formed mainly according to conjugal relations and father-and-son relations, father-and-son relations are superior to conjugal relations when the paternal line and familial continuity are emphasized.<sup>12</sup>

In the midst of the rapid industrialization and urbanization since the 1960s, the Korean family has shown that the family system in a direct line has decreased conspicuously and the nuclear family system has increased. In fact, the Korean family has had the appearance of a revised large family, composed of the union of nuclear families, and there are a considerable number of aged who are living with male family members in a direct line (Lee 1989:43). In the Korean family that has internalized familial consciousness ideologically, the interdependency among family members appears very high and the characteristics of the Korean family appear very clearly, which cannot be far away from the consciousness of a large family that is interdependent and helping one another among family members and kinsmen (Choe 1990:540; Shin 1996:21).

The structural change of family occurring in Korean society cannot be regarded in the same light with the change of the family system or the change of familial relations. It cannot be denied that the separate formation of family by the respective generation of parents and sons will have an influence on the inter-

<sup>12.</sup> For Korean traditional family, refer to Kim 1994 and Choe 1996. In general, the traditional family based on Confucian philosophy is characterized by patriarchy, ancestor worship, respect toward the aged and followers. The system of the male line, predominance of men over women, an extended family system, preference for many children, concubinage, heredity between father and son, filial piety, and the characteristics of Korean traditional family are almost the same (Wei 1990).

relation to strengthen the solidarity between the two generations. However, the spatial separation caused by the formation of family doesn't mean the separation of the relations between parents and sons in the family system in a direct line. The relation between the families of parents and sons isn't confined to simple contact or correspondence. Not to speak of spiritual and economic support, the relation as a family is still maintained in spite of spatial separation (Choe 2006:249).

That is, though the Korean family is mainly composed of a nuclear family, focusing on husband and wife, the real circumstances like familial consciousness or relations are different from the reality.

Another characteristic of Korean familial culture is that family or relatives are valued over individuals. The Korean family strongly maintains the ceremony sharing family precepts or values, property, symbol and statue by the family and the belief in 'a familial community'. Thus, the consciousness is strengthened that all family members are one body that has a moral, economic, religious and social right or obligation equally (Choe 2006:541-51).

Therefore, the profit or loss of an individual and the purpose of life are regarded as those of the whole family he belongs to, and the relationship of a family and between families is recognized as important. Also, filial piety is understood as the mechanism to strengthen the relationship between families and relatives.<sup>13</sup> Thus, the family system in a direct line and filial piety are still functioning as an ideological system and are understood as useful survival tactics or the meaning of welfare that a family can take under structurally rapidchanging socio-economic circumstances (Choe 2006: 253).

## 2. Meaning of Filial Piety within Korean Familial Culture

The characteristics of the Korean family changing to the nuclear family system and based on the family system in a direct line make filial piety an important and influential virtue in Korean familial culture. Filial piety is an essential norm in familial relations and is considered important in itself, functioning as a norm in the relation of real sons, including the hierarchical and intimate relationship. The

<sup>13.</sup> It is recognized that the ceremony of sacrifice after a parent's death means basically the courtesy toward dead parents and is essentially needed for maintaining a relationship among the living kinsmen. In every sense, to satisfy these two functions, the ceremony of sacrifice after a parent's death is taken as filial piety.

filial piety in Korean familial culture functions not only as the most important value adjusting the attitudes and behaviors of the younger generation toward parents and the aged, but also as influential familial norms and social moral norms regulating family life. Therefore, a virtue of filial piety becomes a condition considerably affecting the establishment of various policies to respect and treat the aged and is also regarded as an important virtue reproducing familial values.<sup>14</sup>

In a Korean familial culture affected strongly by traditional Confucian culture, filial piety is recognized not only as an obligation of sons but also as a virtue perfecting oneself morally. The one who doesn't practice filial piety properly in Korean society cannot be treated as a normal person even though he has become a success socially. In this context, the government, schools and every enterprise prepare a prize for filial conduct affecting the college entrance examination. The contents of filial conduct are mainly composed of respect for parents and physical and economic sacrifices for parents, but also contain responsibility toward parents, gratitude, familial harmony, sympathy toward parents, support for the aged parents, and accomplishment of difficult tasks for parents.

The motivation to emphasize filial piety in Korean familial culture can be found in the moral and social elements of expectation and the relation of give-and-take (Seong 2005:85-94). Sons and daughters brought up in a culture that has strongly socialized the norms of filial piety toward parents take it for granted to respond positively to the aged parents, and the motivation to practice filial piety is greatly generated because parents also expect it. The relation of give-and-take such as 'parents' nurturing sons and daughters vs. sons' and daughters' supporting the aged parents' occurring for a long period works as the motivation filial piety is emphasized. Thus, the thought that sons and daughters should support the aged parents becomes internalized as a strong moral norm.

<sup>14.</sup> It is a characteristic of traditional Confucian society that filial piety isn't simply confined to familial ethics but is discussed from the national point of view. In a Confucian society, the emphasis on the family system and filial piety was laid by national encouragement and enforcement, which means the institutionalization that the next generation should respect and support the dependent aged and the emphasis on filial piety by the state is closely related to the welfare of the aged of a society. It can be explained well in the fact that the land system that was the basis of public welfare during the Joseon period had been arranged for 100 years between kings Taejo and Seongjong and at the same time various relief systems were carried out together with various welfare policies for the aged. Thus, the emphasis on filial piety becomes an element regulating differently the social viewpoint on the aged and the viewpoint on the aging (Choe 2004).

Thus, considering the characteristics of Korean traditional familial culture laying a strong emphasis on the degree of adhesion to family and the meaning of supporting parents, an attitude to discuss the problem of the aged as a familial discourse has a reasonable foundation. Such a discussion is supported by the situation (Morney 1976:15-20; Song 1999:81; Seong 1995:19) that emphasizes that the function of self-help to protect and support their family members and that the community should be strengthened considering the report on the limits of the capacity to support the aged based on the welfare system of Western society.

Meanwhile, it cannot be ignored that Korean society is facing a situation where it is difficult to continue the traditional ideology of filial piety owing to the preference for the small-family system, an increase of employed women, and an increase in the number of unmarried people. According to the present situation, it is difficult for the Korean family to maintain the traditional ideology of filial piety in reality and to abandon it. That is, in a Korean family where the nuclear family is prevalent externally, but the habitual system of a large family is widespread internally, the values of filial piety exist ideologically and so does a certain social pressure that makes it impossible to think about familial relations without filial piety. While encouraging the affirmative meaning relating to the humanism traditional filial piety has, is it possible to reinterpret the meaning in accordance with modern society? If possible, how should it be composed?

## Filial Piety as Ethics of Care and Criticism about Feminism

To take care of others means to care about and look after the safety and peace of others. This is a theory of taking the viewpoints of others, which is morally valuable. However, all the acts of care don't become spontaneously ethical. The acts of care that presupposes neither mutual care nor self-nurture nor ethics of impartial care cannot become ethics of real care and cannot meet ethics of feminist care either. The ethics of care coming from only intimate emotions can be misused as the mechanism to mass-produce sacrifice and oppression. The filial piety of Confucian philosophy is a typical example.

The filial piety of Confucian philosophy is 'a kind of' ethics of care because it presupposes the acts of taking care of parents by sons and daughters.<sup>15</sup> It is more than a matter of considering whether traditional filial piety can be regarded in the same light as 'ethics of sincere care.' <sup>16</sup> Because the focus on a private area emphasized in traditional filial piety is apt to miss impartiality and to connect accomplishing the acts of care with a particular sex is prone to force unilateral acts of care. Therefore, an excessive emphasis on unilateral sacrifices and services will make it impossible to consider self-nurture.

Nevertheless, the establishment of a relational self through filial piety is absolutely necessary and its reconstruction is needed. While never overlooking that the context filial piety produced and encouraged was androcentric ethics and could not help but bring about the oppression and sacrifice of women, it is necessary to make an effort to reconstruct filial piety as ethics of sincere care. Ethics of sincere care, or ethics of feminist care, should recognize ethics of care and, above all, should consider the problem of equal construction lest care could be used in a society of sexual discrimination. Afterwards, the filial piety as ethics of sincere care will be able to be discussed.

## 1. Filial Piety as Ethics of Intimate Care and Criticism about Feminism: For Ethics of Impartial Care

The filial piety in Confucian philosophy begins with kinship and is based on private intimacy. Moreover, it is also needed to extend benevolence to others unrelated by blood. It is needed to extend love between relatives to humans and all things. When it is extended from intimate ones to distant ones, from relatives to non-relatives, and from the same kind to the rest of creation, it is said that real Confucian love, or *jen*, will be realized. According to Mencius, "If we serve others' old people like ours and love others' children like ours, to rule the world will be as easy as turning the hand" (Mencius, Chapter 1). "Even though morality is near, people search for it in the distance; even though all things are in an easy place, people search for them in a difficult place. If everyone loves his parents and serves the senior with great care, the world will be peaceful" (Mencius, Chapter 7). The above sayings about *jen* and filial piety in Confucian scriptures show this very well.<sup>17</sup>

Though the Confucian theory of relatives says that intimacy should extend to more distant social relations, the filial piety in traditional Confucianism criticizes

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<sup>15.</sup> Refer to footnote #2.

<sup>16.</sup> This paper regards ethics of sincere care in the same light as feminist ethics of care. Though ethics of care and responsibility is important and necessary in feminist ethics, it should be noted and stated that femininity is not feminism in a male-dominated society.

Motzu's (墨家) theory of love for all and the importance of impartiality of Legalism (法家), and idealizes the favor of oneself and intimate ones, while strongly presupposing the exclusiveness of intimacy. To practice filial piety and brotherly love at home is preferred than to practice them outside, which is apt to result in discord and conflict caused by familial egoism. Though the Confucian familial ideology based on patriarchal order and ethics of filial piety and brotherly love is expected to play a mediate role connecting an individual with family or relatives and family with the state, it actually ignores individual rights and has the danger of fostering familial egoism without considering the whole profit of the state. While filial piety can be presented as a kind of ethics of care owing to the characteristics of filial piety in Confucian philosophy, it also contains a danger of ignoring the principle of impartiality.

On the contrary, ethics of feminist care emphasizes the search for a way to promote consideration toward other people in addition to close people (Heo 2004:274). In order to make filial piety ethics of sincere care, we will have to use the general idea of filial piety as an extended idea to social relations, beyond using it as an effective meaning only in kinship. Though emotions occurring from special relations cannot be ignored, it will be ethics of sincere care not to restrict the product of emotions to special relations but to extend it to distant relations. Thus, in order to extend the emotions of concern, sympathy, and consideration between the people especially connected with one to social relations, a new modern meaning of filial piety and the filial piety as ethics of care that presupposes impartiality will be provided.18

If we want to establish meaningful filial piety in a modern society, filial piety should be discussed not only in the phase of care coming from intimate emotions but also in connection with the rights, equality, and justice among the people who give and take acts of care. The fact that intimacy 'means the promise of democracy' (Giddens 1993:271) and filial piety is basically founded on intimacy seems to enable filial piety to be discussed in relation to democracy. However, when "it should be emphasized that intimacy is not simply mutual exchanges of emotions but should presuppose rights," filial piety becomes so far from the true

<sup>17.</sup> Confucain jen means to begin with the love of parents and children and reach the love of all things. In this context, Confucian jen can be presented as ethics of care. In particular, Nel Nodings' argument that the most intimate situation of care begins with natural relations and it is the most powerful care which can be compared to the Confucian jen. (Nodings 1986).

<sup>18.</sup> For further information, refer to Kim 1998.

meaning of democracy (Giddens 1995:281). Right will be helpful only when it will be led to an equilibrium of obligation by accomplishing responsibilities toward other people.

## 2. Filial Piety as Ethics of Unilateral Care and Criticism about Feminism: For 'Ethics of Reciprocal Care'

The filial piety of traditional Confucianism assumes the aspect of a typical patriarchy forcing authoritative hierarchy by making obedience of the next generation an obligation, thus creating a vertical hierarchy between generations. Such an order of rank continues both during one's lifetime and after death of the former generation and demands the practice of obligations of the next generation, sacrifice and the maintenance of the intention of the deceased. No mutual relation between the former and the next generation, but a unilateral relation is apt to be established. It is pursued that the acts of feminist care should not be unilateral, but bilateral care. Therefore, when the acts of care are performed unilaterally, feminists warn that spontaneous sacrifice of the caretaker will be forced. Though the acts of care are morally valuable, the lack of enough consideration toward caretakers will be an intolerable burden to them.

The true meaning of ethics of care is that the ethical acts of both caretaker and beneficiary should be demanded.<sup>20</sup> That is, ethics of care should not be the case of giving and taking care unilaterally but should be accomplished in the phase of 'mutual care'. It is because human dignity can be protected only when every individual respects the right of others. In this sense, unless the beneficiary meets the acts of care properly, it cannot be the acts of real care.

Thus, ethics of care is not accomplished simply with the acts of a caretaker but is accomplished only when the caretaker receives compensation corresponding to the acts of care from the beneficiary. It is because reciprocity in the acts of care should be essentially accompanied. When we try to understand filial piety in the category of ethics of care, the basic characteristics of filial piety, such as 'willingness of service' and 'willingness of taking care of other people', should be accomplished not unilaterally but bilaterally and be accomplished with simultaneous and present recompense.

<sup>19.</sup> Baby-care, family-care, support for the aged and the senior, and sacrifice-offer.

<sup>20.</sup> Nel Nodings develops this discussion using the term, 'ethical care'.

In fact, many people, especially women, freely give away spiritual services and substantial support because of filial piety. Very often, the acts of taking care of others become obligations beyond the phase of consideration, and respect toward parents also becomes something negative consuming oneself. Many women in a unilateral relation to her parents are living without knowing how much they are depleted in the name of filial piety. The acts of taking care of others are invaluable ones that cannot be under-evaluated. However, it is necessary, to a certain degree, for us to be free from the obsession that only taking care of others is moral and responsible acts. It is because ethics of care can secure genuineness through reciprocal care.

### 3. Oppressive Care under Pretense of Altruism and Criticism about Feminism: For 'Ethics of Self-nurture'

There are often people who regard reproachfully the acts of self-nurture as selfish. However, this must also be changed because self-nurture is also a moral and responsible act. Those who are obsessed with the idea of continuous services toward other people regard taking time to take care of themselves in the same light as egoism, not to do what they should do, idleness, or pursuit of private pleasure. The idea that self-nurture is selfish is especially prevalent in women who support the aged or take care of children. There are few selfish women who disguise self-satisfaction as self-nurture, if any (Domar 2002:73-4).

The role of women who do unilateral and sacrificial acts of care is often disguised as affection and altruism. The situation is not quite different when performing filial piety. This makes both the beneficiary and the caretaker unable to live subjectively. In general, the act of caretaker is praised as an admirable type of human being who has an altruistic life. However, according to psychology, the one who leads his life not subjectively but sacrificially is actually in a kind of 'dependent characteristic disorder' (Chang 2004:167-9). Though a dependent characteristic disorder is often considered living like a child who is totally dependent on others, it is said that all dependent characteristic disorders don't appear only as 'the child type'. In case of the one who has low earning power, it appears as 'the child type'; in case of the one who has high earning power, it appears as 'the sacrificial type'.

The one who doesn't take care of oneself but takes care of others is clearly in outward appearance the one who leads a sacrificial life. However, such a person can't look after his own right and can't be a subject of his own life. The reason

such a person helps others positively is that he can transfer the responsibility of his acts to others. It is said that when such a person meets one in need of care, he doesn't worry about "whether he may help the one in need or not," but worries about "how he can help the one in need" (Chang 2004:167-9). The one who leads such a life thinks from the standpoint of others but not his own and thinks highly of the necessity and emotions of others but not his own emotions and judgment.

In fact, the traditional meaning of filial piety doesn't regard the acts that aren't self-caring as filial piety. "It is the beginning of filial piety to value them because arms and legs, skin and even hair are inherited from parents" (Book of Filial Piety, Chapter 1) is a typical saying that emphasizes the care of his own body. "Don't stand under a dangerous rock or a crumbling wall" (Mencius, Chapter 13.) and "Don't go along the narrow path" (Analects) show the warning against injury of the body. "According to the mourning rites, one should neither become as thin as a lath owing to sorrow and pain, nor become weak-sighted nor lose hearing" and "One should wash his hair when he hurts on the head, take a bath when he has a boil on the body, wash his hair when he becomes ill and should drink and eat meat when he has an illness. When he recovers from illness, he should return to the original condition. Owing to the sorrowful loss of parents, to neglect the medical treatment, to lose one's life and not to wear mourning is not benevolence to posterity and impiety to parents" can all be understood as filial piety in the phase of self-care (Book of Rites, Chapter 1).

Though ethical love is open toward all human beings, it should start with self-respect and self-care. In order to truly love other people, one should be entitled to a man of ethical character, should love himself first of all and then should realize his real nature. Also, not the simple emotional phase of intimacy but the problem of right and equality considering oneself and other people altogether must be discussed. The love of oneself and the love of other people are not in opposite relation but are inseparably related to each other. To establish 'self-care and the dialectic of taking care of other people' is the way to construct ethics of sincere care.

#### Conclusion

Care means to look after or to have an interest in the sick, the aged and children, and the acts of care are performed in various human relations.<sup>21</sup> The feminist dis-

cussion appears variously whether maternity inheres in women.<sup>22</sup> Anyhow, women perform the acts of care in actual life; therefore, it will be possible to view care as femininity. Care is not an androcentric and activist ethics but should be developed as an ethics to accept and sympathize with emotions, and an ethics to think highly of concrete human relations. Also, if ethics of care is needed by us as an ability of care is a characteristic of femininity, it must be something that is needed by both men and women and should also be performed by men and women.

Meanwhile, acts of care have been regarded as activities in unequal human relations rather than in equal human relations. Therefore, individual responsibility and sacrifice have always been emphasized in the acts of care. Filial piety is also in this context. Filial piety can be a useful virtue in modern society. As filial piety was provided in the family system of unequal patriarchy, there are some limits to filial piety to be used as a useful virtue in modern society. Though the altruism and humanism innate in filial piety toward parents are essential in modern society and are worth reviving, they cannot be called moral and ethical if oppressiveness and inequality cannot but inhere in them.

The discourse on filial piety in modern society should be discussed in a way to minimize various problems coming from the emphasis on the consciousness of traditional filial piety while encouraging the ethical aspect of care filial piety has. The discourse should not be confined to familial relations nor should be confined to maternity; on the contrary, it should be enlarged and applied to the male area beyond sex and social relations. Then, it can be sublimed into a public ethics of care<sup>23</sup> beyond private image of spontaneous care; therefore, the public ethics of care to foster relations to whom spontaneous care hasn't occurred can be established.

Also, when performing filial piety, the responsibility<sup>24</sup> and self-care attendant on difficult tasks should be premised. The acts of care are not what 'the true character given naturally' appears 'spontaneously'. Even though such true character is given naturally, it is a kind of 'project'25 accomplished through a certain

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<sup>21.</sup> In actual life, they appear in relations between parents and children, between doctors and patients, between old parents and sons and daughters, and between teachers and students.

<sup>22.</sup> The feminists who regard the interest in care as a basic motto of feminist ethics are Carol Gilligan, Nel Nodings, Joan Tronto, and Nancy Chodorow. Through 'care', they try to develop not the existing androcentric ethics but a new feminist ethics as empathy and sympathy.

<sup>23.</sup> For Nel Nodings' ethics of care, refer to the Association of Korean Feminist Philosophy 2005.

effort. Such a project is not something completed but a process of efforts to complete it.<sup>26</sup> Though the intimacy coming basically from the love of kinship and the filial piety based on it are regarded as spontaneous human real nature, they are not something gained naturally. They are something obtained through continuous efforts and cultivation of the mind, where self-care should also be considered.

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<sup>24.</sup> The responsibility mentioned here is different from the idea inherent in oppressiveness like duty and obligation. Joan Tronto calls it 'willingness' that may be distinguished from duty and obligation (Tronto 1993).

<sup>25.</sup> Even in Confucian philosophy, which understands to keep filial piety in mind is one's innate true character, it is recognized that the true nature is not obtained of itself but is obtained through incessant development of good real nature.

<sup>26.</sup> Such a project is an idea connected with time. It is a form of act to make a plan and change and get over the present state.

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