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## Labor Force Participation of Married Women in Contem- porary Korea\*\*\*

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### I. Introduction

This paper presents some results from the 1986 Family Life Survey of Korea. This survey was the first that was conducted in Korea with the specific purpose of understanding women's life cycle beyond marriage and fertility.

During the last half century, Korea has undergone dramatic social, political, and economic changes which are believed to have affected family life of most of the population, especially for women. Better understanding of the interrelationships among the various factors that affect dynamics of family structure and family life can provide valuable information to those who are concerned about the welfare of the population in general, as well as better utilization of human resources and better provision of social services such as child care and the care of the elderly.

The basic components of the 1986 survey consist of data on women's life cycle including marriage, child bearing and contraceptive use, health, and employment. A

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probability sample of 3,400 households representing the whole country were selected. Interviews of ever-married women of ages 15 to 64 from these households constitute the main part of the survey. The survey collected information on household composition with basic characteristics of members of household including health status. From ever-married women, survey also collected information on marriage history including how husbands were selected, pregnancy history including the age of children when they first left home and reason for leaving home, contraceptive use, health, and women's employment at different stages of life. (Korea Institute for Population and Health, 1987)

## II. Background

### 1. Changing Family Structure

Traditionally, Korean families were of extended type, three generations living under one roof being the norm. Among upper class families, horizontally extended families consisting of more than one married couples of same generation were also observed, although not frequently. The mean number of persons in a household was 5.2 in the 1925 census<sup>1)</sup>. The mean number was slightly higher in the urban areas, being 5.3 persons compared to 4.7 persons in the rural areas. The proportion of nuclear families has increased in recent years due to (1) rural to urban migration of young people for the purposes of education and employment, (2) inter-urban migration due to employment, and (3) intergenerational economic independence within families<sup>2)</sup>.

The number of households consisting of 3 generations were 28.6 percent of all households in 1960<sup>3)</sup>, but was reduced to 16.2 percent in 1985<sup>4)</sup>. The two generation families increased from 63.9 percent to 72.3 percent during the same period, while

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1) Government General of Chosen, *Population Census Reports*, 1925.

2) Kong, Sae Kwon, et al., *Family Transition in Korea*, Korea Institute for Population and Health, 1987.

3) Economic Planning Board, *1960 Population Census Report of Korea*, 1962.

4) EPB, *1985 Population and Housing Census Report*, 1987.

one generation households increased from 7.5 percent to 10.9 percent<sup>5)</sup>.

We classify the 3,400 households surveyed into 7 categories as follows<sup>6)</sup> :

A. Family Formation Phase

Period from marriage to the birth of first child. 3.9 percent of the households surveyed belong to this category and the mean household size is 2.1 persons.

B. Family Expansion Phase(two generations)

Period from the birth of first child until the time first child leaves home. 50.3 percent of the households belong to this category and the mean family size is 4.2 persons.

C. Contraction Phase

Period from the time first child leaves home until the time last child leaves home. 16.8 percent of the households surveyed belong to this category, and the mean size is 4.0 persons.

D. Three Generation Households

13.5 percent of the households belong to this category, and the mean size is 5.9 persons.

E. Empty Nest Phase (one generation)

This is the period after last child leaves home. About 4.0 percent of the households belong to this category and the mean size is 1.8 persons.

F. Single Persons Household (non-institutional)

8.1 percent of the households belong to this category and the mean size is 1.8 persons.

G. Others (including one parent households)

3.4 percent of the households belong to this category and the mean size is 1.1 persons.

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5) Kong, Sae Kwon, et al., *ibid*, 1987.

6) Kong, Sae Kwon, et al., *ibid*, 1987.

## 2. Marriage and Fertility

The average age at first marriage for women went up from 16.7 in 1925 to 23.7 in 1975, and 24.3 in 1985-1986<sup>7)</sup>. Average age at first marriage for men were 3 to 4 years older than women<sup>8)</sup>. Due to the typical age difference between husband and wife and higher male mortality, the proportion of women widowed is high among the older women. Our survey found that about two thirds of women over age 65 were widows.

Women used to meet future husbands through formal introduction by older relatives (usually parent's generation) or parent's friends, who played a role of match maker. Among women who married before 1950, this type of meeting was the mode, about 96 percent having gone through this process<sup>9)</sup>. Of the 1980-1986 marriage cohort, this type of introduction is reduced to 45 percent<sup>10)</sup>. More women met their future husbands through less formal occasions such as at school, at work place, or through introduction by their own friends or co-workers. The final decision on who should be the husband used to be decided by parents. Seventy-two percent of women who married before 1950 had their parents make decision<sup>11)</sup>. Of the 1980-1986 marriage cohort, the majority of 75.8 percent made their own decision on whom they would marry and obtained parent's approval<sup>12)</sup>.

The ideal family size was 4 children in 1965 but was reduced to 2 children in 1985<sup>13)</sup>. The total fertility rate declined from 6.0 in 1960 to 1.8 in 1985<sup>14)</sup>. The significant fertility decline started, around 1975 reaching the below replacement level in 1985.

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7) Y. S. Chang, *Population in Early Modernization : Korea*, Ph. D. thesis, Princeton University, 1966 ; EPB, *1975 Population and Housing Census Report*, 1978 ; Kong, Sae Kwon, et al., *ibid*, 1987.

8) Kong, Sae Kwon, et al., *ibid*. 1987.

9) Kong, Sae Kwon, et al., *ibid*. 1987.

10) Kong, Sae Kwon, et al., *ibid*. 1987.

11) Kong, Sae Kwon, et al., *ibid*. 1987.

12) Kong, Sae Kwon, et al., *ibid*. 1987.

13) Kong, Sae Kwon, et al., *Family Planning in Korea : 1961-1980*, Korea Institute for Population and Health, 1981 ; KIPH, *1985 Fertility and Family Health Survey*, 1985.

14) KIPH, *ibid.*, 1985.

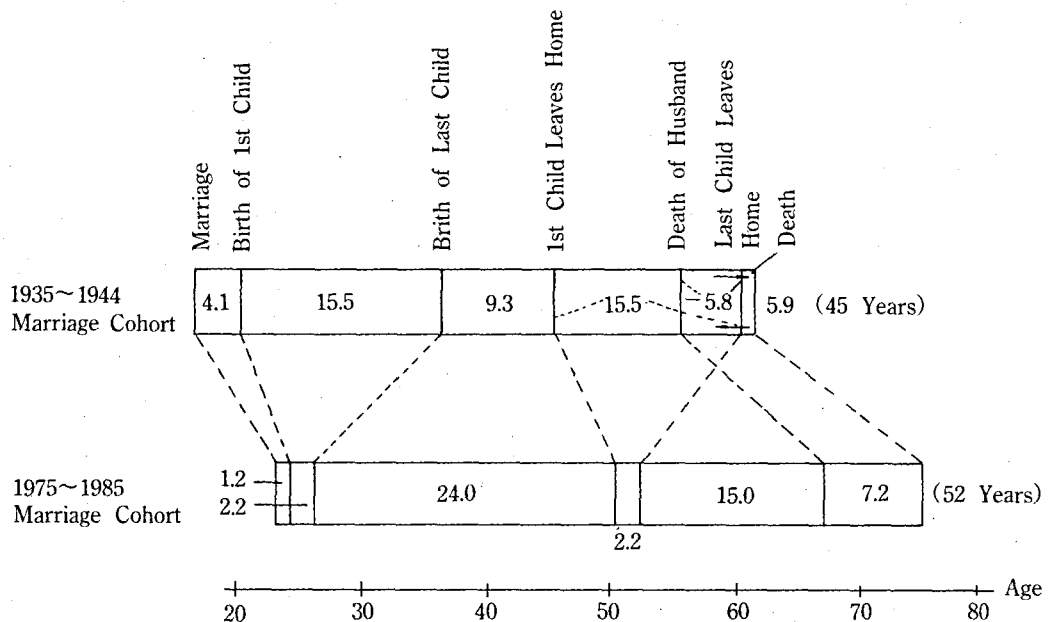
### 3. Family Life Cycle

The declines in fertility and mortality and later age at marriage resulted in substantial changes in average women's life cycle.

Comparison of 1935-1944 marriage cohort and 1975-1985 marriage cohort shows the following changes in the life cycles.<sup>Note-1)</sup> The life cycles of the two marriage cohorts are also presented in a schematic diagram in Figure 1.

- A. The average length of ever-married life changed from 44.5 years to 51.8 years.
- B. The average first birth interval (interval between first marriage and birth of first child) changed from 4.1 years to 1.2 years.
- C. The average length of family expansion period (from birth of first child till the birth of last child) changed from 15.5 years 2.2 years.
- D. The average length of period between the birth of last child and the time first child leaves home changed form 9.3 years to 24.0 years.

**Figure 1. Schematic Diagram of Life Cycles of Married Women in Korea, 1935~1944 and 1975~1985 Marriage Cohorts**



- E. The average length of contraction period (from the time first child leaves home till the time the last child leaves home) changed from 15.5 years to 2.2 years.
- F. The empty nest period (from the time last child leaves home till the time husband dies) changed from -5.8 years (husband's death precedes the time last child leaves home) to 15 years.
- G. The average length of widowhood changed from 5.9 years to 7.2 years.

### III. Role of Women and Labor Force Participation

#### 1. Changing Role of Women

The post 1960 period in Korea is characterized by rapid industrialization, which is believed to have resulted in changes in the family structures from the traditional form. The proportion of rural population was about 80 percent before 1960<sup>15)</sup>, and family used to be the unit of economic activities including production, and consumption including educational expenditure and health care.

Women's role used to be generally limited to within a household. Virtuous women were defined in terms of their roles within family. They were expected to follow prescribed norms of child bearing and rearing, and providing care for husbands, their parents, and children. Ideal woman used to be labeled as "wise mother, good wife." The purpose of educating women was to provide them with necessary skills to carry out their duties as wise mother and good wife<sup>16)</sup>. They were expected to learn to read and write and be informed of culture and history but not to learn occupational skills or trades.

However, the rapid industrialization of the country drew many women to work places from their homes. The higher level of compulsory education (9 years now) raised over all level of female education and resulted in different aspirations among young women. In recent years, the proportion of female students who advance to

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15) Bureau of Statistics, *1955 Population Census in Korea*, 1959.

16) Lee, Hung Tak, *Women Sociology*, Bupmoonsa, 1986.

college level education increased rapidly<sup>17)</sup>.

## 2. Patterns of Labor Force Participation

Women's employment used to be limited to those occupations that do not interfere with their usual duties within the family. Female workers typically were helping husbands in the farms or small businesses. In the 1960s, in urban areas, young female workers began to be employed in clerical areas, but their employments were typically limited only until the time of their marriage before 1970. Women employed in the managerial or professional occupations were rare and have not changed much today.

Since 1960, faster industrialization brought about higher rate of female employment in certain industries as well. Fast expanding textile and electronics industry relied on female labor force, drawn mainly from the pool of unmarried women in rural areas<sup>18)</sup>.

In summary, female labor force participation in Korea in the recent past can be characterized by the following factors. (1) It increased rapidly since 1960 concurrent with the rapid growth in certain industries. (2) It was mainly limited to the young unmarried women. (3) Increased labor force participation of women was first observed in production, then in services and sales, and then in clerical, technical, and professional occupations.

According to the definitions used in the national census, the female labor force participation rate was 34.5 percent in 1965 and 39.6 percent in 1985. Table 1 shows the labor force participation rates of women by 5 year age groups from 1966, 1975, and 1985 censuses.

Of the women in labor force, the majority was unmarried women before 1970 but the proportion of married women increased rapidly in the 1980s. The increase in the proportion of married women among all women in labor force is the result of two factors. On one hand, the employment of younger unmarried women declined because of higher rate of secondary school enrollment among females. Table 1 shows

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17) Roh, Mihae, *Korean Women's Employment Survey*, Korean Women's Development Institute, 1986.

18) EPB, *Report on the First Employment Structure Survey, 1984*; EPB, *1985 Annual Report on the Economically Active Population Survey, 1986*.

**Table 1. Trend in Age-Specific Labor Force Participation Rates of Women in Korea**

Age	Percent in Labor Force			Change in 1966~1985
	1966	1975	1985	
15~19	33.5	33.4	19.0	-14.5
20~24	36.8	41.6	51.6	14.8
25~29	31.0	28.8	35.3	4.3
30~34	34.5	36.2	43.2	8.7
35~39	43.1	48.6	52.3	9.2
40~44	47.8	53.1	57.8	10.0
45~49	46.0	53.3	59.0	13.0
50~54	41.3	54.3	52.3	11.0
55~59	31.6	56.7	47.1	15.5
60+	11.5	18.3	19.2	7.7

Sources : 1. Bureau of Statistics, Republic of Korea, *1966 Population Census, Report of Korea 12-1*, 1967  
 2. Bureau of Statistics, Republic of Korea, *1975 Population and Housing Census, Volume 2, 3-1*, 1977.  
 3. Ministry of Labor, Republic of Korea, *1985 Labor Statistics*. 1986

that the labor force participation rate of women aged 15 to 19 decreased substantially during the 1966 to 1985 period.

On the other hand, the labor force participation among the married women increased substantially. Table 1 shows that the labor force participation rate of women aged 20 to 24 increased in the 1966 to 1985 period. Young women who completed education, before marriage and child birth are participating in the labor force in increasing rate. The most significant increase in labor force participation is found among married women of ages 35 to 54. The labor force participation rate increased by more than 10 percent during last 20 years reaching 55 percent at the time of survey.

The occupational distribution of married female workers are concentrated in farming, consisting of 42 percent<sup>19)</sup>. Occupations in sales and service take 33 percent of married female workers, while 16 percent of them are in production. Of the rest, 5 percent are in professional and managerial occupations and 4 percent are unskilled laborers.

19) Kong, Sae Kwon, et al., *ibid*, 1987.



In terms of class of work, 33.2 percent are employees, 21.2 percent are self employed or employers, and 45.6 are engaged in family operated businesses.

Female labor force participation shows distinctly different pattern by marital status. While about 90 percent of young women have some experience of labor force participation before marriage, the labor force participation rate drops sharply with marriage, and reaches the lowest level of about 10 percent by the time of birth of the first child. The labor force participation rate rises after childbearing as children age.

The labor force participation rate among married women vary greatly by their residence and level of education. In general the participation rate is higher in rural areas than in urban areas, among less educated than among more educated. Figures 2A through 2C show the labor force participation rates among married women by age for three groups of women ; rural women, less educated urban women (junior high school or less), and more educated urban women.

Figures 3A through 3C show the labor force participation rates by the marriage duration for the same groups of women. The top line shows the proportion of women who have any experience of work and the second line shows the proportion of women currently in labor force.

The proportion currently in the labor force are classified by the class of work. The bottom portion represents the workers who are employees, the middle portion represents the employers and the self employed workers, and the top portion represents the other class including (mostly) workers in family owned businesses.

We see that in rural areas, most women have work experiences, and many return to work soon after child bearing, if they stop during early years of married life. Large proportion of married women are working as workers in family owned businesses, most likely in family farms. Labor force participation of married women in rural areas are believed to be associated with the traditional method of farming requiring intensive labor combined with the tendency of men and younger women to migrate to urban areas.

Among the less educated urban women, the proportion who ever worked is high but lower than that of rural women. While they are somewhat less likely to stop working right after marriage compared to the rural women, they are also less likely

Figure 2A. Percent of Married Women in Labor Force by Class of Work by Age of Women, Rural Area.

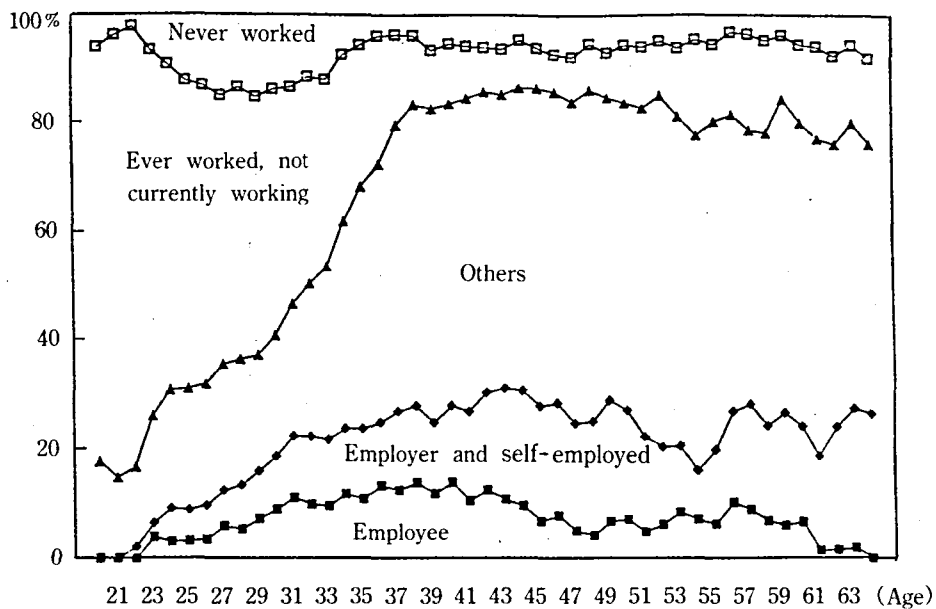


Figure 2B. Percent of Married Women in Labor Force by Class of Work by Age of Women, Urban Area with Low Education.

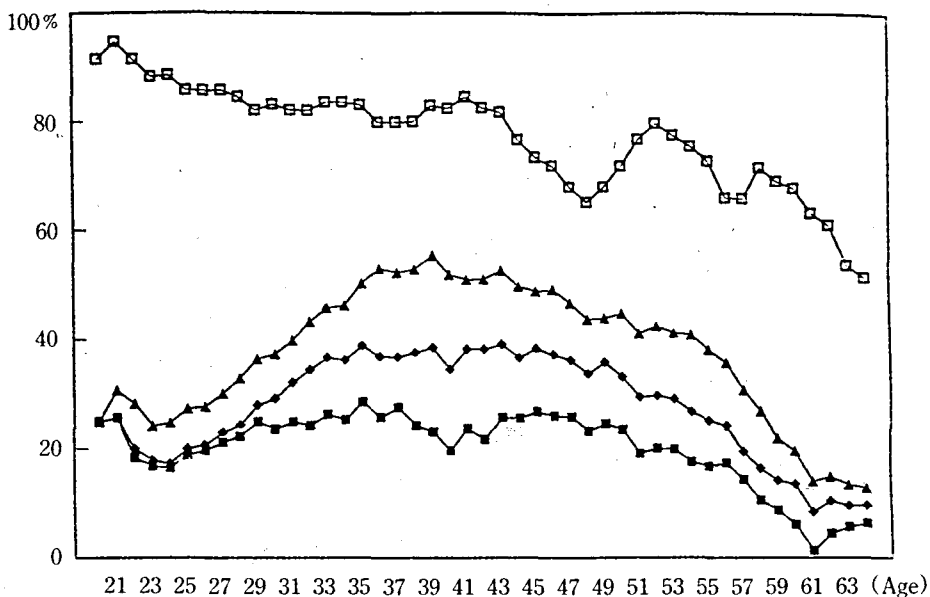


Figure 2C. Percent of Married Women in Labor Force by Class of Work by Age of Women, Urban Area with High Education.

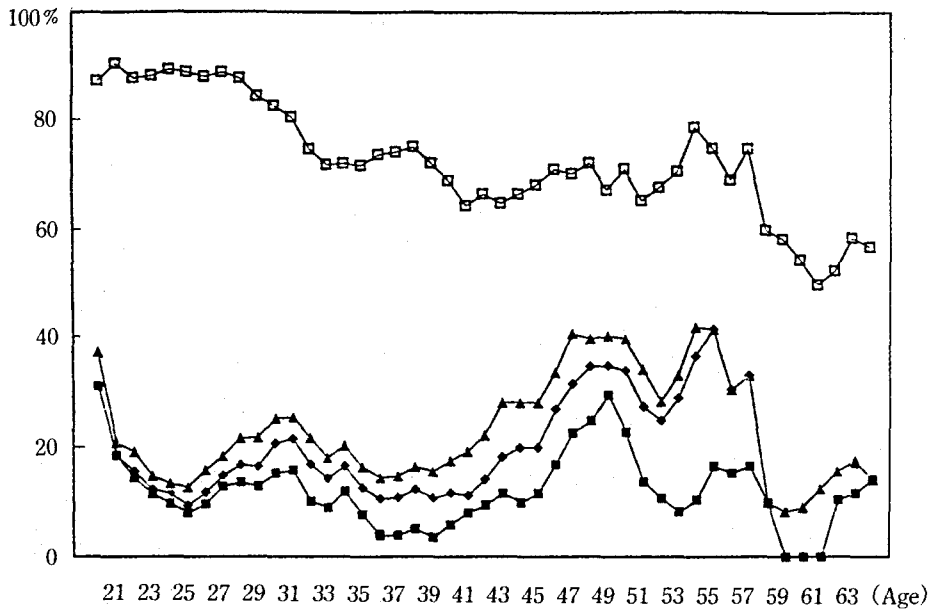


Figure 3A. Percent of Married Women in Labor Force by Class of Work by Marriage Duration, Rural Area.

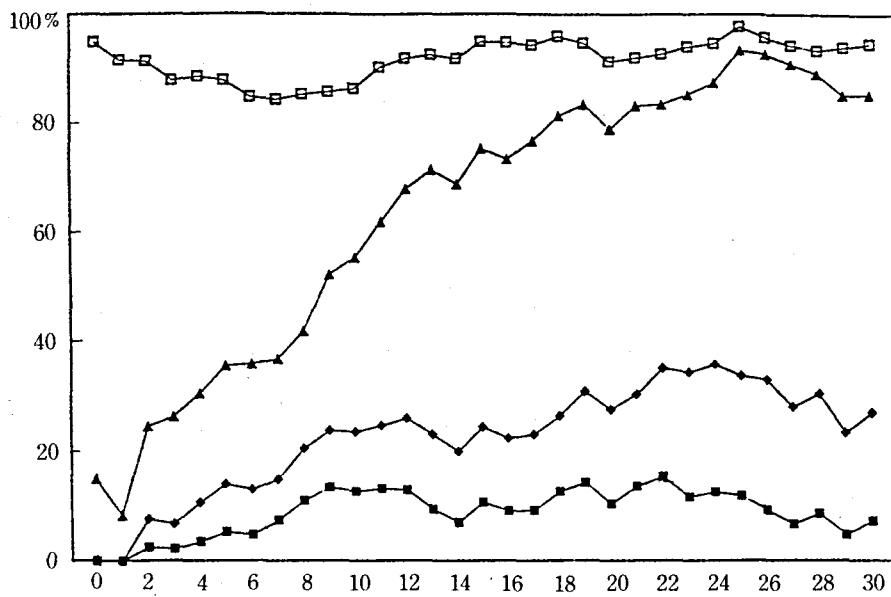


Figure 3B. Percent of Married Women in Labor Force by Class of Work by Marriage Duration, Urban Area with Low Education.

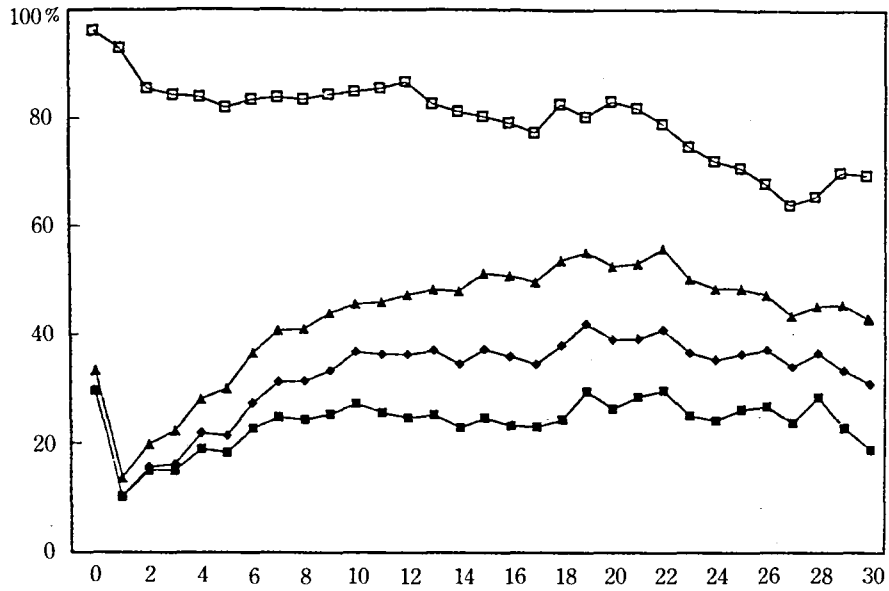
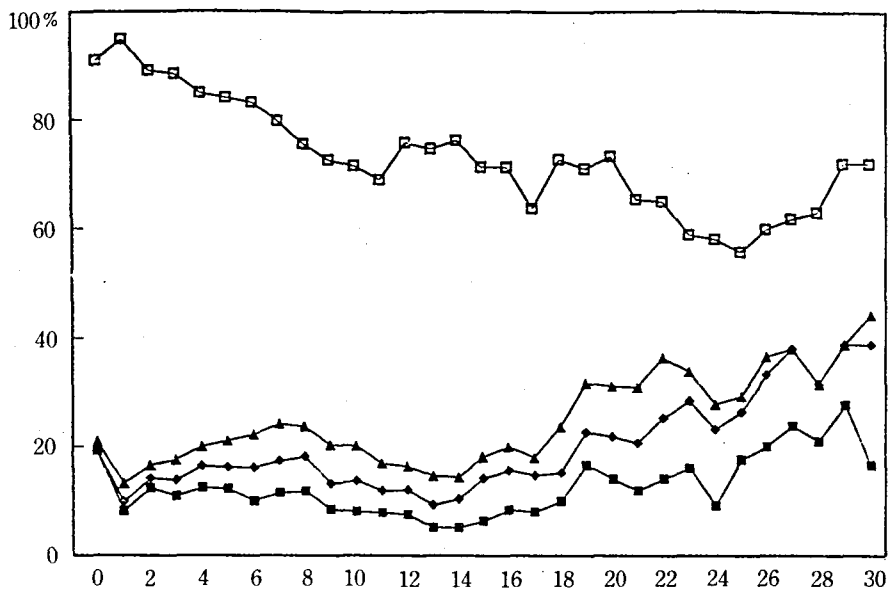


Figure 3C. Percent of Married Women in Labor Force by Class of Work by Marriage Duration, Urban Area with High Education.



to return to work after child bearing. The distribution of workers in different classes are about even among the current workers. Among lower class residents in urban areas, the labor force participation of married women seem to result from the desire for larger expendable income, especially for housing and the high cost of children's education.

The labor force participation rate is the lowest among the more educated urban women, especially after marriage. For these women, the labor force participation rate does not change much by marriage duration. Among the current workers, the proportion of employees is somewhat larger than workers in other categories.

The survey also found that the preference for labor force participation is stronger among married women than among their husbands. While 7.8 percent of women were against labor force participation of women in general, and 18.2 percent were against the labor force participation of married women, larger proportions of their husbands were against women's labor force participation. Among their husbands, 24.8 percent were against labor force participation of women in general, and 43.7 percent were against the labor force participation of married women. It has been documented that the working women in contemporary Korea often face discriminations in wages and benefits<sup>20)</sup>. Our data also show that most of the working married women carry full responsibilities of child care housework.

### **3. Determinants of Labor Force Participation**

Many factors seem to determine married women's labor force participation in contemporary Korea. Women's own opinion about married women's labor force participation would affect whether she chooses to work or not.

Opinions about married women's labor force participation held by other members of the family, especially women's husband and parents-in-law may also be an important determinant of whether a woman works or not. Confucian philosophy, which forms the basic norms of social behavior in Korea, places more importance in collective

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20) Yang, Byong Moo, *Wage Differentials and Occupational Structure in Korea*, Population Institute, East-West Center, 1990

interest of a social unit such as family, clan, and local community than in individual's interest.

The place of residence is also considered an important determinant of married women's labor force participation because economic structure and social norms are very different in urban and rural parts of Korea.

Woman's level of education may determine labor force participation in many ways. Higher level of education is likely to provide skills necessary for different occupations and increase the probability of finding work when a woman wants to work. On the other hand, if women perceive discriminations in employment, higher level of education would not necessarily raise the probability of finding work. More educated women may be more sensitive to discrimination, and the kinds of work preferred by more educated women may practice discrimination more frequently.

Presence of children under age 6 in the household and presence of elderly members of household would make married women less likely to work because care of children and elderly are considered to be responsibilities of women in Korea.

Household economic condition is also thought to be a determinant of married women's labor force participation. Economic necessity is among the most important determinant of labor force participation of anyone. In our data, the household economic condition is estimated by subtracting woman's average monthly income from average monthly household expenditure.

The effects of these determinants on the labor force participation are estimated by fitting the binary logistic regression model<sup>Note-2)</sup> The model is estimated separately for urban and rural residents. Only women under age 50 are included in the estimation to minimize the effect of retirement. Table 2 shows the list of determinants used in the model, together with their means for urban and rural residents. Woman's age or marriage duration is not included in the model because after limiting the analysis to women under age 50, and including the variable indicating whether children under age 6 are present in the household, the effect of age or marriage duration is believed to be minimal.

We notice that urban residents have higher level of education, and better economic conditions. In urban area, fewer households have members aged 65 and over. While

**Table 2. List of Variables used in the Multivariate Analysis of Determinants of Labor Force Participation of Married Women in Korea, 1986**

Variables	Mean Values	
	Urban Areas	Rural Areas
Level of Education (1 to 7)	3.20	2.50
Household Member under Age 6 (0=no, 1=yes)	.47	.45
Household Member over Age 65 (0=no, 1=yes)	.10	.17
Own Opinion about Labor Force Participation of Married Women (0=for, 1=against)	.15	.20
Husband or Parents-in-Law is against Labor Force Participation of Married Women (0=no, 1=yes)	.53	.53
Economic Condition of Household (in 100,000 Won)	1.70	1.20

Notes : 1. Only women under age 50 are included.

2. Economic condition of the household is computed by subtracting woman's average monthly income from the average monthly expenditure of the household.

more rural women oppose married women's labor force participation compared to urban women, there is little difference in degree of opposition in married women's labor force participation among husbands and parents-in-law.

Table 3 shows the estimated logistic regression coefficients and their statistical significances. Education is a statistically significant determinant of labor force participation of married women, women with higher education being less likely to work both in urban and rural areas. The absolute value of coefficient is larger in rural areas, showing stronger effect of education on labor force participation in rural areas. Why are more educated women less likely to work, especially in rural areas? One reason may be that, the good match of available work and available worker is more difficult to be found for more educated women, especially in rural areas. Another reason may be that the tendency among women to follow the norm of not working is higher among the more educated.

**Table 3. Estimated Logistic Regression Coefficients of Determinants of Labor Force Participation of Married Women under Age 50, Korea 1986**

Determinants	Coefficients	
	Urban Areas	Rural Areas
Level of Education (1 to 7)	-0.34***	-0.85***
Household Member under Age 6 (0=no, 1=yes)	-0.88***	-1.59***
Household Member over Age 65 (0=no, 1=yes)	1.00***	0.99***
Own Opinion about Labor Force Participation of Married Women (0=for, 1=against)	0.37*	0.50
Husband or Parents-in-Law is against Labor Force Participation of Married Women (0=no, 1=yes)	-0.43***	-0.65**
Economic Condition of Household (in 100,000 Won)	-0.81***	-0.50***

Notes : 1. Economic Condition of the Household is computed by subtracting woman's average monthly income from the average monthly expenditure of the household.

2. \* : statistically significant at 5 percent level

\*\* : statistically significant at 1 percent level

\*\*\* : statistically significant at 1 percent level

Women are less likely to work if there are children aged less than 6 years in the household, both in urban and rural areas, and the relationship is stronger in rural areas. The difference in urban and rural areas may be due to different types of work married women do, availability of alternative child care provisions, and different norms about labor force participation of mothers with young children.

Women are more likely to work if there are elderly members aged 65 or older in the household. The finding suggests that elder members of the household are likely to help with housework and child care and enable younger married women to work. It is possible that the result would be different if we classify the elderly members of the household in more detail, separating the very old members and incorporating the health status of the elderly members of the household.



The variable indicating whether the woman is against labor force participation of married women in general is positive and is statistically significant for urban women. It implies that women who are against labor force participation is more likely to work. This implausible result is likely due to a reverse causation. It is likely that women who are currently in the labor force find their conditions so difficult that they form the opinion that married women should not work. Given this interpretation, it is not then surprising that the relationship is not statistically significant in rural areas but significant in urban areas. The working conditions in urban areas are less likely to be compatible with other roles women are expected to play at home.

Unlike the seemingly paradoxical relationship between women's opinion about work and labor force participation, opinions of husbands and parents-in-law have expected effects on labor force participation. When husbands and parents-in-law are against married women's labor force participation, women are less likely to work.

As expected, the economic condition of the family is a statistically significant determinant of woman's labor force participation, the relationship being stronger in urban areas.

Although the analysis model presented here is not perfect, the results of the multivariate analysis provide some information about factors associated with married women's labor force participation. It has been shown that, in contemporary Korea, the labor force participation of married women is determined mostly by family characteristics such as household composition, economic conditions of the household, and opinions of other members of family about women's work. There are indications that when married women work, their life is quite difficult. Many married women who work think that married women should not work. They may have come to such conclusions because of their experience of difficulties. They may have been subject to difficult and discriminating working conditions and may have had hard times at home managing housework and caring for other members of the household with limited time.

#### **IV. Summary and Discussion**

Recent changes in the level of fertility, level of female education and other socio-

economic conditions in the country brought substantial changes in the family structure and women's role. At the same time, the rapid changes in these external factors do not seem to be accompanied with changes in the norm about ideal women's role. Within this context, expected role of women in contemporary Korea seems to be complex. While many women have to work because of lack of labor force within family for family owned business or farming, or because of economic necessities, they are expected to perform all of the roles assigned to women in traditional Korea.

The contrasting labor force participation rates between the more educated urban women, less educated urban women, and the rural women are remarkable. While most women in lower socio-economic class seem to return to work after child bearing women in upper class rarely do so.

A typical contemporary Korean woman marry at age 24 and have two children within three and half years after marriage. She is about 47 years old when the youngest child leaves home, and is expected to live about 23 more years. Many of these women have work experience before marriage but not after marriage, especially if she is an urban resident with high level of education. How do these women utilize their time and talent?

We need to learn more about why women are working or not working and how women consider the working or non-working conditions. The multivariate analysis of the determinants of labor force participation found that women's opinions about labor force participation does not have statistically significant effect on actual work in rural areas, and in urban areas the relationship is statistically significant but in negative direction. It implies that some working women would rather not work and some non-working women would rather work. Labor force participation of married women presupposes the understanding of their husbands and other members in the family, especially when the work place is away from home, and some kind of arrangements are necessary for child care and housework. Given the fact that large proportion of married women are in the labor force, it is important that they receive the support of the family and community to make their participation as productive and pleasant as possible.

What conditions would facilitate labor force participation of married women if they

would rather work? Is it possible to improve utilization of human resources and maintain "good family life?" What do we really mean by "good family life?"

Is women's role really changing in Korea? Has the norm of ideal woman, "wise mother, good wife" really changed? How is education related to labor force participation? Is education of women different from the education of men in terms of preparing them as future workers? Do some women who have high level of education and are not participating in the labor force feel that they are wasting their potentials? How do employers perceive women workers?

Our current data can be analyzed further to answer some of the questions raised above. It is also clear that we need to continue collecting additional data to understand the interrelationships between demographic change, dynamics of family composition, role of family, role of women within family, and interrelationships among different members of family. Women's labor force participation should be analyzed together with their changing roles at different stages of life cycle.

### **Acknowledgements**

The authors wish to thank the East-West Population Institute staff for assisting in this study. In particular, we would like to acknowledge the contributions of Dr. Lee-Jay Cho, Director, East-West Population Institute, for assistance in the Korean family life survey data analysis.

### **Notes**

1. The expected duration of life in different stages of life cycles are estimated by life table methods using the duration specific probabilities of events at the time of survey.
2. Basic assumptions of the binary logistic regression model are as follows : Suppose that the dependent variable  $y$  is a binary variable taking values of either 0 or 1. Let  $p$  be the probability that  $y=1$ . With  $x_1, x_2, \dots, x_k$  as predictors of  $y$ , the logistic regression model specifies

$$\ln\left[\frac{p}{1-p}\right] = b_0 + b_1x_1 + b_2x_2 + \dots + b_kx_k$$

The model is fitted to the observed data by a maximum likelihood method. The estimated coefficient  $b_i$  measures the amount of change in logarithm of the odds for the response  $y=1$  associated with one unit change in  $x_i$ . The positive coefficient  $b_i$  is associated with higher probability of getting  $y=1$  when the value of the factor  $x_i$  increases. For more details, see Aldrich and Nelson(1984)<sup>21)</sup>, Maddala(1983)<sup>22)</sup>, and Walker and Duncan(1967)<sup>23)</sup>.

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- 21) Aldrich, John H. and Forrest D. Nelson, *Linear Probability, Logit and Probit Models*, Sage University Paper Series 45 ; Bererly Hills, London, New Delhi, Sage Publication, 1984.
- 22) Maddala, G. S., *Limited Dependent and Qualitative Variables in Econometrics*, Cambridge ; Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- 23) Walker, S. H. and D. B. Duncan, "Estimation of the Probability of an event as a Function of Several Independent Variables", *Biometrika*, 54, pp. 167~179, 1967.

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## 最近 韓國 既婚婦人の 勞動參與

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이 논문은 1986年 韓國人口保健研究院이 실시한 『全國 家族生活週期調査』資料를 기초로 韓國 既婚婦人の 勞動參與 樣相을 분석한 결과이다. 社會變動과 관련요인을 단적으로 설명하기는 어렵지만 産業化·都市化 그리고 近代化에서 뭉뚱그려져 진행되는 社會·經濟的 興件變化는 教育水準의 향상과 出産力의 저하를 촉진시키고, 家族構造내지 機能의 변화는 女性에게 役割創出로서 就業率의 증가를 엿보게 한다.

이러한 急變狀況에서 傳統價値나 規範 또는 制度和 같은 內的 要因이 社會·經濟的 興件變化에 뒤따르지 못할때 葛藤과 混亂은 불가피해 진다. 여기서 우리는 바람직한 女性의 役割이 무엇이며, 무엇을 어떻게 해야 하는지에 혼돈을 느끼게 되며, 또 특정 役割이 社會制度的으로 保障을 받지못한 상태에서는 正當한 평가를 받기 어렵다는 것을 생각할 수 있다.

그럼에도 불구하고 대부분의 女性들은 家庭內에서의 傳統的인 役割을 모두 감당해야 한다고 믿고, 産業化에 따라 모자라는 일손을 위해서 家庭單位의 事業이나 農業, 또는 家庭과는 독립된 職場을 갖는 傾向이 높아지고 이러한 가운데서 二重的 役割葛藤이나 激務에 어려움을 겪게되는 것이다. 이처럼 女性의 役割變化는 변화되는 社會構造에 적응하기 위한 方편으로 생각할 수 있지만 産業化에서 人的資源이나 個人과 家庭福祉를 위해서도 취업에 따르는 문제는 制度的 改善내지 補完이 뒤따라야 하는 課題를 안게된 것이다.

최근의 既婚婦人の 勞動參與는 都市의 高學歷과 低學歷層, 그리고 農村婦人에서 현저히 높은 수준을 나타내고, 또한 家庭·經濟水準이 낮은 경우는 出産後 再就業率이 그러지 않은 婦人에 비해 현저히 높다. 물론 이러한 樣相은 아직도 韓國婦人의 낮은 教育水準과 就業를 위한 專門教育이 미비해서 女性就業이 보편화 되지

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못한 점과, 家事와 병행되는 單純勞動의 參與에서 비롯되는 점이라 하겠다.

그러나 최근의 韓國女性은 教育機會의 확대로 높은 教育水準을 원하고, 또한 평균 結婚年齡이 약 24歲로 늦어지면서 結婚後 3年內에 2명정도의 子女를 두고 斷産하려는 추세에 있다. 또 이들 婦人은 結婚時 平均壽命에서 볼때 약 47歲에서 막내 자녀를 分家시키게 되며, 그후 약 23年을 더 살게될 것을 추정할 수 있다. 그러나 대부분의 婦人은 結婚前에 就業經驗을 갖고 있지만 結婚後에는 그렇지 못한 실정에 있으며, 특히 都市의 高學歷 婦人에서 就業을 않는 경우가 높다고 할때 이들의 時間과 勞動 潛在力은 어떻게 活用되어야 할지? 이는 國家的 人力資源面에서 의문을 제기할 수도 있다.

이 研究는 婦人들이 왜 일을 하거나, 하지 않으며, 또한 就業에 대한 관심은 어떠한지에 초점을 두고 분석한 것이다. 就業의 動機와 그 樣相을 단순히 설명하기는 어렵지만 農村婦人의 경우 개인적인 意思와는 관계없이 勞動에 參與할 수 밖에 없는 실정에 있으며, 都市婦人은 개인의 意思와 就業은 有意한 관계를 나타내고 있지만 그 意味는 신뢰성이 매우 약한 것으로 나타나고 있다. 이러한 점에서 女性이 就業을 한 경우는 就業하지 않는 편을, 非就業中인 경우는 就業을 選好하는 逆說的인 意味가 단적으로 女性就業의 不安定性을 제시하는 점이라 하겠다.

특히 女性의 就業은 既婚의 경우 男便이나 家族의 理解와 協助下에서 가능할 수 있으며, 家庭과 독립된 직장을 갖는 경우는 子女의 養育과 家事가 就業에 부정적인 관계에 있음을 엿볼 수 있다. 이러한 점에서 既婚婦人의 就業은 家庭과 밀접한 관련을 가지며, 就業의 원활성과 생산성 제고를 위해서 家庭과 職場의 공동노력은 물론 관련 制度의 改善이 요구된다고 하겠다.

물론 이 論文은 家族研究와 관련해서 女性의 役割變化의 하나로서 就業을 다룬 試圖的인 점에 불과한 것이다. 그러나 앞으로의 분석은 “幸福한 家庭生活”이란 무엇이며, 이를 위해서 女性은 무엇을 어떻게 해야 하는지, 賢母良妻란 어떻게 해석해야 하며, 점차 높은 教育水準을 갖는 女性人力을 어떻게 活用해야 하느냐는 점에 관심을 두고, 人口 및 家族構造의 변화와 관련지워 女性의 役割과 就業을 보다 多角的으로 分析할 계획이다.