

KOREAN PATTERNS OF WOMEN'S LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION DURING THE PERIOD, 1960-1980

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This article investigates how the patterns of Korean women's labor force participation have changed during the 1960s and the 1970s of rapid economic development and social changes. The discussion focuses on the comparison of three sets of cross-sectional data derived from the 1960, 1970 and 1980 Korean censuses. Although not dramatic, the gross rates of women's labor force participation show an upward trend. A very high and rapidly increasing rate of rural women's labor force participation did not result in a big increase in the total rate because of the significant rise in the proportion of the population living in urban areas. However, the employment structure and patterns of women's labor force participation have changed significantly, especially in urban areas.

INTRODUCTION

Economic growth and social change have proceeded rapidly in Korea since the early 1960s. These economic and social changes have produced a broad and extensive transformation of the society. For many developing countries, contact with industrialized countries contributes to urbanization and industrialization. The emergence of towns and cities and the accompanying growth of population requires the establishment of various industries and factories. The opportunities for work as a result of industrialization extend not only to men but to women as well. For some women, those opportunities materialized; for others, the potential was not realized. Cultural factors, inadequate personal qualifications, and discriminatory company policies work against female participation (Boserup 1970).

As the society has been modernized, there has been a growing trend toward equal status of women in productive activities such as repatterning of sex and occupational roles in society (Springer and Gable 1981). During the 1960's and 1970's the increase in the employment of both men and women was quite evident (Lee and Cho 1977; Cho and Koo 1983). And there were also clear indications, at least in two ways, that Korean women are in the direction for the achievement of equality: women had increasing opportuni-

ties for higher education; and a changing pattern of family life, namely the gradual replacement of the extended family by nuclear families, occurred. The housewives, with less burden of managing a large family, were anxious about finding ways of expressing their abilities outside the home (Lee 1977).

As well as the modernization of the society, the economic development has brought urbanization and industrialization. Generally speaking, Korea has had an unbalanced urban growth, at least in the earlier period of economic development. The unbalanced expansion of urban areas has brought about some undesirable social phenomena such as heavy migration from rural to urban areas, consequently inducing the explosive expansion of urban population.

Kim (1987), in his study on the urban unemployment pattern in Korea, demonstrated the importance of economic conditions in determining labor force participation rates of males and females, and unemployment rates.

His study clearly indicated that sexual dualism is pervasive in the urban labor market in Korea and market discrimination against women is quite evident. The heavy dependence of women's labor force participation on the conditions of men's employment was apparent. Economic conditions represented by occupational structure and mode of employment affected the rate of female labor force participation.

As the society has been modernized and industrialized, Korean society has experienced an improvement of economic and social conditions. The economic and social conditions have been improved for women in a more favorable way. How has women's status in employment been improved and how has women's labor force participation been related to these changes in economic and social conditions?

This paper investigates the general view of women's labor force participation covering its levels and patterns during the period of rapid economic development, the 1960s and 1970s. Specifically, this paper inquires into the changes in general levels of labor force participation; compositional changes in the labor force; and changes in age and cohort patterns of women's labor force participation. The data used are the public use samples of the 1960, 1970 and 1980 Korean Population Censuses. The 1 percent sample of the 1960 census, 1 percent sample of the 1970 census and 2 percent sample of the 1980 census are used for the analysis.

TRENDS IN TOTAL LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES

As in many countries, Korean women now comprise a large and growing

part of the labor force. As of 1986, 43.1 percent of the female population 14 years and over were economically active (Figure 1). Korean women's labor force participation has shown a gradual increase since the 1960s.

Sinha (1965), discussing the United Nations study on the cross-sectional mean levels of female activity rates in relation to levels of economic development, suggested "the U-curve Hypothesis". This hypothesis states that a typical trend in countries in the process of economic development might be one of decreasing participation by women in the labor force during the early stages and increasing again during the later stages of development. Sinha proposed the hypothesis for general levels of female labor force participation along the following lines.

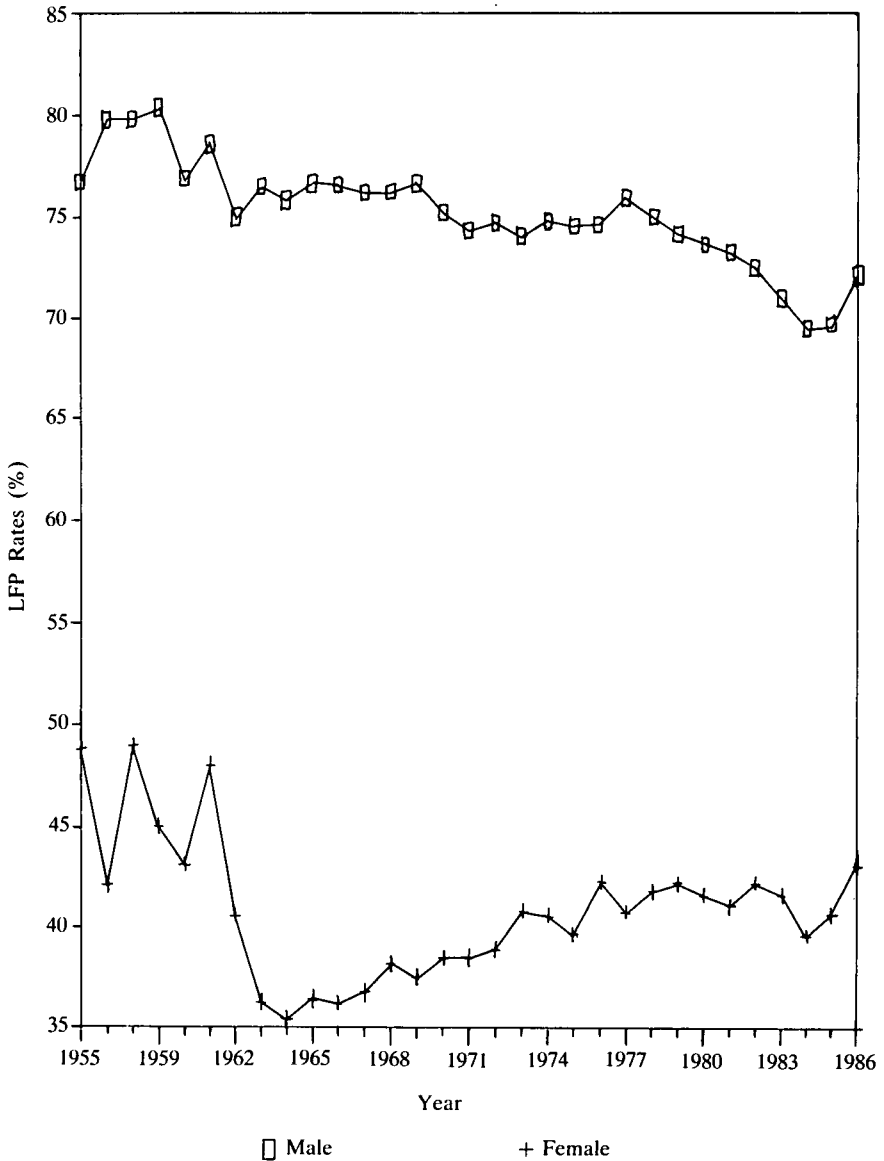
"In early stages of economic development, opportunities for employment for women diminish as a result of the contraction in agriculture and in traditional occupations and industries within the non-agricultural sector. Although demand for labor is growing in other occupations and industries, women are at a disadvantage in competition with men for these jobs under the conditions of unemployment and underemployment that commonly plague countries in early stages of development. At the same time, the rising level of family incomes relaxes pressure on women to be employed as supplementary earners.

The trend of diminishing opportunities is reversed in later stages, when larger growth of labor demand in the modern industries and occupations overbalances the contraction in traditional fields of employment, and women's propensity to take advantage of these opportunities is enhanced by rising wages."

One of the objectives of this paper is to see if the U-curve Hypothesis applies to the case of one rapidly industrializing country, South Korea. For that purpose, the overall levels of labor force participation are examined for years before the early 1960s (before the Five-Year Economic Development Plans started) and the years after the early 1960s.

The data on total labor force participation rates in Figure 1 do not indicate specific upswing or downswing trends in labor force participation of males or females during the period 1955-1986. The male labor force participation rates over three decades show a more or less downward trend with 76.6 percent of men in the labor force in 1955 and 72.1 percent in 1986, although there have been some fluctuations.

On the other hand, the trend in female labor force participation rates during this three-decade period may be divided into two sub-periods, pre- and post-1964 years. Before 1964, women's labor force participation rates had been fluctuating up and down with relatively high rates as compared with



Note : The annual data for male and female LFPRS come from Korean Statistical Yearbooks 1961-1986.

FIGURE 1. TREND IN TOTAL LFPRS: 1955-1986

those in recent years. These fluctuations in women's labor force participation rates before 1964 might be due to the inadequate data in the earlier surveys. Data for the early 1960s indicate rapidly decreasing rates of female labor force participation.

After 1964, women's labor force participation rates show a slowly upward trend. In 1964, 35.4 percent of women (the lowest labor force participation rate during the period 1955-1986) were in the labor force and 43.1 percent of women participated in the labor force in 1986.

The findings on total female labor force participation rates suggest that the U-curve Hypothesis of the United Nations study on female economic activity rates in relation to levels of economic development is somewhat applicable to Korea. The decreasing trend during the early 1960s is associated with the early stages of the economic development while the gradually increasing trend since the late 1960s coincides with later stages of development.

The changes in total labor force participation have been explained so far in relation to economic development in general terms of "development stages" according to the United Nations hypothesis. Now, we consider which parts of the labor force have contributed most significantly to these total changes in labor force participation rates of women. These compositional changes in labor force participation are discussed next.

TRENDS IN INDUSTRIAL AND OCCUPATIONAL COMPOSITIONS OF THE FEMALE LABOR FORCE

The composition of the labor force in terms of industry, occupation and working status classification reflects important aspects of the structure of the economy. These aspects are closely related to the level of the country's economic development and productive efficiency. The rapid economic change of the decades 1960-1980 is well reflected in the drastic industrial and occupational shifts in the composition of the labor force.

Tables 1 and 2 present the industrial and occupational distributions of women in the labor force for the years 1960, 1970 and 1980, using the major classifications of industries and occupations.

It is noteworthy that, accompanied by a remarkable decrease in women working in the primary sector, the proportion of women employed in the industrial sector (production-related industries) and commercial sector increased very rapidly between 1960 and 1980 (Table 1).

The number of female workers in the primary sector has decreased remark-

TABLE 1. INDUSTRIAL COMPOSITION OF THE FEMALE LABOR FORCE BY URBAN-RURAL AREA, 1960-1980

| | URBAN | | | RURAL | | | TOTAL | | |
|--|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 1960 | 1970 | 1980 | 1960 | 1970 | 1980 | 1960 | 1970 | 1980 |
| Major Industry | | | | | | | | | |
| Agri, forestry and fishing | 14.4 | 8.6 | 4.6 | 84.9 | 81.6 | 79.7 | 72.2 | 59.9 | 48.7 |
| Mining and quarrying | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.1 |
| Manufacturing | 18.2 | 20.8 | 35.9 | 3.0 | 7.5 | 6.3 | 5.8 | 14.4 | 18.6 |
| Elec., gas and water | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| Construction | 0.3 | 1.4 | 1.8 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.4 | 0.1 | 0.6 | 1.0 |
| Wholesale and trade, hotels and restaurants | 29.3 | 31.7 | 33.8 | 7.6 | 6.8 | 9.1 | 11.5 | 14.2 | 19.3 |
| Transport and communication | 0.5 | 1.5 | 2.1 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.5 | 0.2 | 0.7 | 1.2 |
| Financing, insurance, real estate, business services | 0.8 | 1.4 | 3.9 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.4 | 0.1 | 0.5 | 1.9 |
| Services | 36.4 | 24.4 | 17.7 | 4.2 | 3.3 | 3.3 | 10.0 | 9.5 | 9.2 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Note : The industries in 1960 were classified into major industrial groups in accordance with the 1970 and 1980 classification for the comparative purposes.

ably especially in urban areas. However, large increases in female participation in other sectors have compensated for the decrease in female participation in agriculture, the sector that most women were in. In 1980 almost half of the employed women were in either manufacturing, commerce or services industries. Only 48.7 percent of women were in agriculture in 1980 compared to 72.2 percent in 1960 even though the largest proportion of women were still in the agricultural sector in 1980.

The decrease in female employment in the agricultural sector is more evident in urban areas. Female attachment to agriculture was reduced to less than 5 percent of total urban female employment (4.6 percent in 1980 compared to 14.4 percent in 1960).

On the other hand, a high proportion of females were still engaged in the agricultural sector in rural areas. Despite the slight decrease, 79.7 percent were in the agricultural sector in rural areas.

TABLE 2. OCCUPATIONAL COMPOSITION OF THE FEMALE LABOR FORCE, 1960-1980

| | URBAN | | | RURAL | | | TOTAL | | |
|------------------|-------|------|------|-------|------|------|-------|------|------|
| | 1960 | 1970 | 1980 | 1960 | 1970 | 1980 | 1960 | 1970 | 1980 |
| Major Occupation | | | | | | | | | |
| Prof/Tech | 3.8 | 4.5 | 7.1 | 0.8 | 1.0 | 1.3 | 1.3 | 2.1 | 3.7 |
| Managers | 2.8 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.8 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| Clerical | 3.3 | 7.7 | 17.1 | 0.2 | 0.8 | 2.4 | 0.8 | 2.9 | 8.5 |
| Sales | 23.3 | 20.9 | 21.4 | 6.8 | 5.0 | 6.3 | 9.7 | 9.7 | 12.5 |
| Services | 37.1 | 27.5 | 18.6 | 3.7 | 3.7 | 4.0 | 9.5 | 10.8 | 10.0 |
| Agriculture | 15.2 | 8.6 | 4.6 | 85.7 | 81.6 | 79.7 | 73.4 | 59.8 | 48.6 |
| Production, etc. | 14.6 | 30.5 | 31.1 | 2.3 | 7.9 | 6.3 | 4.5 | 14.6 | 16.6 |

Note : The occupations in 1960 were classified into major occupational groups in accordance with the 1970 and 1980 classification for the comparative purposes. The detailed major occupational groups are as follows: Professional, technical and related workers; administrative and managerial workers; clerical and related workers; sales workers; services workers; agriculture, animal husbandry, forest workers, fishermen and hunters; production workers, transport equipment operators and laborers.

The female occupational distribution gradually moved away from heavy concentration in agriculture to industrial, commercial and service occupations between 1960 and 1980 (Table 2). Next to agriculture the largest occupational category of female employment were production jobs. These jobs employed almost one-sixth of women in the total labor force, a big increase from 4.5 percent in 1960 to 16.6 percent in 1980. In urban areas, there was a big increase in female employment in production jobs (from 14.6 to 31.1, between 1960 and 1980) and those production-related occupations were the biggest occupational category of female employment in urban areas in 1980.

Comparatively sales and services occupations, the third and fourth largest occupational categories, have not increased as fast. The professional and clerical occupations employed a relatively small proportion of female workers, but these two occupational categories also increased very rapidly. Women were strongly underrepresented in relatively prestigious managerial and administrative occupations.

Contrary to the upward trends in non-agricultural occupational categories, female employment in agricultural occupations has decreased as expected from 73.4 percent in 1960 to 48.6 percent in 1980. Especially in urban areas, only 4.6 percent of female workers were working in the agricultural occupations in 1980. On the other hand, almost 80 percent of rural female workers

TABLE 3. PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE WORKERS BY CLASS OF WORKER, 1960-1980

| Residence/ Year | Working Status | | | | |
|--------------------|----------------|-------------------|------------------|----------|------|
| | Employer | Self- Employed | Family Worker | Employee | |
| Urban | 1960 | | 27.2 | 15.2 | 57.6 |
| | 1970 | 2.5 | 18.5 | 13.9 | 65.1 |
| | 1980 | 3.2 | 19.1 | 12.4 | 65.5 |
| Rural | 1960 | | 21.5 | 72.7 | 5.8 |
| | 1970 | 0.4 | 15.9 | 68.6 | 15.1 |
| | 1980 | 0.6 | 18.8 | 68.2 | 12.4 |
| Total | 1960 | | 22.5 | 62.2 | 15.3 |
| | 1970 | 1.0 | 16.7 | 52.1 | 30.2 |
| | 1980 | 1.7 | 18.9 | 44.7 | 34.8 |

Note : The category self-employed in 1960 includes employers.

were in agriculture, with not much decrease during the period.

Related to the above structural changes in female employment, the working status of female workers has been changed between 1960 and 1980 (Table 3). The proportion of female employees among female workers more than doubled from 15.3 percent in 1960 to 34.8 percent in 1980 while the proportions of self-employed or family workers decreased during the period. However, throughout the period, a large proportion of rural female workers (about 70 percent) were family workers while about that proportion of urban female workers were employees.

The change in the total female labor force, therefore, reflects the increased weight of urban areas. During the period 1960-1980, for instance, the proportion urban among female population has increased quite significantly, from 27.8 in 1960 to 58.5 in 1980 (refer to 1960, 1970 and 1980 Korean censuses).

TRENDS IN PATTERNS OF FEMALE LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION

The participation patterns of women in the labor force take different forms in different countries, and even in different residence (urban and rural) within a country, varying much more than those of males. The life-cycle of women's participation in the labor force is related in different ways to the

life-cycle of marriage and the family. Differences in the phases of the life-cycle of marriage and the family contribute to the variations in patterns of female labor force participation (Oppenheimer 1982).

Durand (1975), for instance, described the general pattern for a cohort of native white American women as having four phases of participation. The first stage extends from the age at which young girls among the cohort first go to work, to a point in early adulthood where the proportion in the labor force reaches its maximum. The second phase is one of decreasing labor market activity which occurs during the period of life from the early 20's to perhaps the middle 30's, when women are marrying and beginning to bear children. This is followed by a phase of gradually increasing employment during the period of middle life when many women experience a lightening of their household duties because their children grow old enough to take care of themselves, and when widowhood forces to seek jobs. The final phase of decreasing employment sets in at an age somewhere in the 50's and continues as the cohort moves on to old age. The similar pattern of female labor force participation is discussed in Fuller's (1979) study on Australian women's work.

The contemporary pattern of the U.S. white women or Australian women cannot be generalized to other countries or other populations because they have different social, demographic and economic settings which are ever changing. The above pattern of female labor force participation in the U.S. or Australia is not true all the time.

Denti (1968) tried to generalize the residential pattern of female labor force participation, based on the analytical studies of the International Labour Office on trends and changes in the structure of the world's labor force. With the unweighted average urban and rural activity rates for 40 countries, including South Korea, he suggested five main patterns for urban areas and six patterns for rural areas even though there was a slightly deviant pattern among each group of countries in each pattern.

The first type of pattern (we call this, Urban Type I) is prevalent in the more developed countries of Europe other than Eastern Europe and characterized by two peaks, the higher one occurring in the age group 20-24 and the lower one in the age group 45-54. The second pattern (Urban Type II) is prevalent in the Latin American countries and some southern European countries and is characterized by a pronounced peak of activity in the age group 20-24, with rates decreasing gradually thereafter. The third pattern (Urban Type III) is found primarily in the Eastern European countries and the curve is characterized by increasing participation rates until the age group 20-24, thereafter a moderate decrease until 45-54 and then a sharp drop for

females aged 65 and over.

The fourth pattern (Urban Type IV), found in the non-Moslem countries of Africa and Asia, shows a curve characterized by increasing activity rates from the age of 15 and up to the age group 45-54, thereafter dropping sharply to relatively low levels. The fifth pattern (Urban Type V) is typical of Moslem countries. The curve is characterized by generally low work rates for all age groups, with no clearly discernible peak.

Compared to urban patterns of female labor force participation, the range of age-specific activity rates for females in rural areas is found to be much greater. A great part of this variation is due to differences in national practice with regard to the classification of females living in farm households. In order to control this variable Denti divided countries into two groups. The first (Group I) comprises of countries with a relatively small number of female unpaid workers in the agricultural labor force, and the second (Group II) comprises of countries with a relatively large number. The rural patterns are described as follows.

In Group I three major patterns are discernible: the first (we call this, Rural Type I) is that of Canada and the United States and resembles Urban Type I, but with lower levels of activity; the second (Rural Type II) is that of Northern Europe and is characterized by high activity rates in the younger age groups, a constant decline to the age of 25, stability to the age of 54 and decline thereafter; the third (Rural Type III), found mainly in Latin American countries, Portugal and Moslem countries, is characterized by very low levels of activity at all ages and generally a gradual decrease with increasing age.

In Group II the first pattern (Rural Type IV) is that the activity rates for the age group 25-44 are lower than those for the age groups 20-24 and 45-54. Therefore the pattern resembles to a certain extent the first pattern Rural Type I. The second pattern (Rural Type V) is found in Japan and the Eastern European countries. The levels of activity are very high for all age groups and, with the exception of the high rate in Japan for the age group 20-24, the pattern resembles a bell curve. The third pattern (Rural Type VI) is represented by the non-Moslem countries of Asia and Africa. It is similar to Rural Type V but is skewed towards the higher age groups, i.e., the rates of activity increase at successive age groups generally to the age of 50 or so and decline thereafter. This pattern resembles Urban Type IV.

In Denti's study on residential patterns of female labor force participation, South Korea is characterized by Urban Type I and Rural Type VI. In urban areas, women's labor force participation was more likely to be that of more developed countries while the pattern of less developed countries is still pre-

valent in rural areas. However, the classification in Denti's study is not a recent one but that of the 1950's and the 1960's. There may be some changes in curves of female age-specific activity rates for decades since then because female activity rates are influenced by social and cultural factors which are ever changing.

Therefore the rest of this paper examines the Korean type of patterns of female labor force participation for the years 1960, 1970 and 1980. By comparing the three years' patterns, it also examines any changes in patterns of female labor force participation over three decades.

TRENDS IN AGE PATTERNS

The participation rates by sex, age and urban-rural residence for the period 1960-1980 are shown in Table 4. In total rates, women were less likely to be in the labor force than men throughout the period, but women's participation rates have increased.

The distribution of age-specific labor force participation rates for men indicates that the somewhat decreasing trend in men's total participation rates was accounted for almost entirely by rates of younger men, especially teenagers. Rates for men aged 15-19 have declined from 40.7 percent to 22.6 percent during the period 1960-1980 while rates have increased for all other adult ages. Among the increases in adult men's labor force participation, increases in rates for young male adults and older men are discernible although participation is at a maximum in the central adult ages.

The significant decrease in rates of teenagers' economic activity seems to reflect mostly the increase in enrollment in formal educational institutions, to the extent that it is a custom in Korea that students do not simultaneously hold jobs. As we can see, there is a downward trend of rates for part-time employment for men in the age group 15-24 (Table 5). The downward trend of working women in part-time employment is very clear among all the age groups, particularly among younger women from 42.9 percent to 5.3 percent of working women in part-time employment between 1960 and 1980.

On the other hand, women's labor force participation has increased at all ages between 1960 and 1980, but there have been significant changes in the age groups accounting for the increase.

Figures 2 and 3 depict the trends in male and female patterns of labor force participation for urban and rural areas. For males, consistently throughout the period, urban and rural patterns of labor force participation were char-

TABLE 4. LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES BY AGE, SEX, AND RESIDENCE, 1960-1980

| Age/Year | URBAN | | RURAL | | TOTAL | |
|--------------------|--------|------|--------|------|--------|------|
| | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male |
| Total 15 and over/ | | | | | | |
| 1960 | 17.2 | 62.2 | 30.2 | 80.3 | 26.6 | 75.2 |
| 1970 | 25.9 | 75.0 | 47.8 | 83.7 | 38.1 | 80.0 |
| 1980 | 27.6 | 75.1 | 53.2 | 80.5 | 38.5 | 77.5 |
| age 15-19/ | | | | | | |
| 1960 | 23.4 | 20.8 | 21.5 | 49.5 | 22.1 | 40.7 |
| 1970 | 38.0 | 34.7 | 41.4 | 54.8 | 39.6 | 44.7 |
| 1980 | 28.9 | 19.5 | 24.7 | 27.2 | 27.3 | 22.6 |
| age 20-24/ | | | | | | |
| 1960 | 25.0 | 38.2 | 29.3 | 80.6 | 28.1 | 67.4 |
| 1970 | 37.7 | 66.3 | 50.6 | 88.1 | 43.6 | 77.1 |
| 1980 | 48.1 | 64.5 | 54.7 | 84.7 | 50.2 | 72.8 |
| age 25-29/ | | | | | | |
| 1960 | 12.6 | 69.5 | 31.4 | 90.1 | 25.8 | 84.4 |
| 1970 | 17.6 | 90.4 | 46.3 | 95.9 | 31.5 | 93.1 |
| 1980 | 20.3 | 93.3 | 46.9 | 96.0 | 28.9 | 94.0 |
| age 30-34/ | | | | | | |
| 1960 | 11.5 | 85.5 | 35.5 | 94.5 | 27.8 | 91.8 |
| 1970 | 17.1 | 97.0 | 51.6 | 97.2 | 36.0 | 97.2 |
| 1980 | 21.3 | 98.5 | 56.1 | 98.1 | 33.2 | 98.4 |
| age 35-39/ | | | | | | |
| 1960 | 16.5 | 89.6 | 37.6 | 96.0 | 31.4 | 93.0 |
| 1970 | 22.6 | 97.6 | 58.0 | 97.7 | 43.0 | 97.7 |
| 1980 | 25.5 | 98.6 | 67.0 | 98.5 | 42.0 | 98.6 |
| age 40-44/ | | | | | | |
| 1960 | 19.2 | 92.0 | 40.4 | 97.0 | 34.6 | 95.5 |
| 1970 | 27.5 | 96.2 | 60.2 | 96.4 | 47.0 | 96.4 |
| 1980 | 29.6 | 98.0 | 72.2 | 98.7 | 49.6 | 98.3 |
| age 45-49/ | | | | | | |
| 1960 | 19.1 | 88.0 | 39.3 | 95.5 | 34.4 | 93.5 |
| 1970 | 29.7 | 93.7 | 59.3 | 96.2 | 48.4 | 95.2 |
| 1980 | 27.2 | 96.6 | 74.0 | 98.2 | 51.4 | 97.4 |
| age 50-54/ | | | | | | |
| 1960 | 17.9 | 81.4 | 37.0 | 94.6 | 32.6 | 91.1 |
| 1970 | 23.1 | 87.0 | 58.4 | 95.1 | 46.5 | 92.3 |
| 1980 | 24.1 | 92.1 | 71.2 | 97.0 | 49.9 | 94.8 |
| age 55-59/ | | | | | | |
| 1960 | 13.7 | 71.8 | 32.7 | 90.7 | 28.7 | 86.7 |
| 1970 | 16.9 | 73.6 | 50.7 | 91.6 | 39.8 | 86.1 |
| 1980 | 18.8 | 81.7 | 65.2 | 94.5 | 45.8 | 89.7 |

| Age/Year | URBAN | | RURAL | | TOTAL | |
|------------|--------|------|--------|------|--------|------|
| | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male |
| age 60-64/ | | | | | | |
| 1960 | 8.0 | 49.5 | 21.0 | 73.6 | 18.3 | 69.6 |
| 1970 | 9.0 | 48.1 | 35.3 | 76.1 | 26.8 | 68.1 |
| 1980 | 10.0 | 61.8 | 50.9 | 86.6 | 34.8 | 78.8 |
| age 65+ / | | | | | | |
| 1960 | 4.3 | 25.5 | 9.2 | 42.8 | 8.3 | 40.3 |
| 1970 | 2.4 | 21.5 | 13.1 | 38.4 | 10.0 | 34.7 |
| 1980 | 3.3 | 35.1 | 21.9 | 56.0 | 15.3 | 50.4 |

TABLE 5. PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS BY PART- AND FULL-TIME STATUS, 1960-1980

| Sex/Age | Full-time workers | | | Part-time workers | | |
|---------------|-------------------|------|------|-------------------|------|------|
| | 1960 | 1970 | 1980 | 1960 | 1970 | 1980 |
| Male | | | | | | |
| Age 15-24 | 83.2 | 96.6 | 95.6 | 16.8 | 3.4 | 4.4 |
| 25-34 | 91.3 | 99.3 | 99.2 | 8.7 | 0.7 | 0.8 |
| 35-44 | 94.9 | 99.5 | 99.6 | 5.1 | 0.5 | 0.4 |
| 45-54 | 94.7 | 99.3 | 99.5 | 5.3 | 0.7 | 0.5 |
| 55-64 | 93.5 | 98.2 | 98.8 | 6.5 | 1.8 | 1.2 |
| 65+ | 89.3 | 92.5 | 95.8 | 10.7 | 7.5 | 4.2 |
| total 15+ | 91.2 | 98.6 | 98.6 | 8.8 | 1.4 | 1.4 |
| Female | | | | | | |
| Age 15-24 | 57.1 | 88.7 | 94.7 | 42.9 | 11.3 | 5.3 |
| 25-34 | 48.6 | 81.6 | 88.5 | 51.4 | 18.4 | 11.5 |
| 35-44 | 55.2 | 82.6 | 88.0 | 44.8 | 17.4 | 12.0 |
| 45-54 | 55.3 | 83.6 | 87.6 | 44.7 | 16.4 | 12.4 |
| 55-65 | 51.3 | 81.0 | 85.8 | 48.7 | 19.0 | 14.2 |
| 65+ | 55.8 | 72.9 | 85.1 | 44.2 | 27.1 | 14.9 |
| total 15+ | 53.8 | 84.2 | 89.8 | 46.2 | 15.8 | 10.2 |

Note: The persons who partially worked are those who were employed but whose major economic activity was other than "working", for instance, "housekeeping" or "attending school".

acterized by the inverted U-shape or bell shape. Rural men's labor force participation rates were higher than those of urban men and the shape of rural curve was flatter, indicating much higher rates for rural younger and older men than urban counterparts.

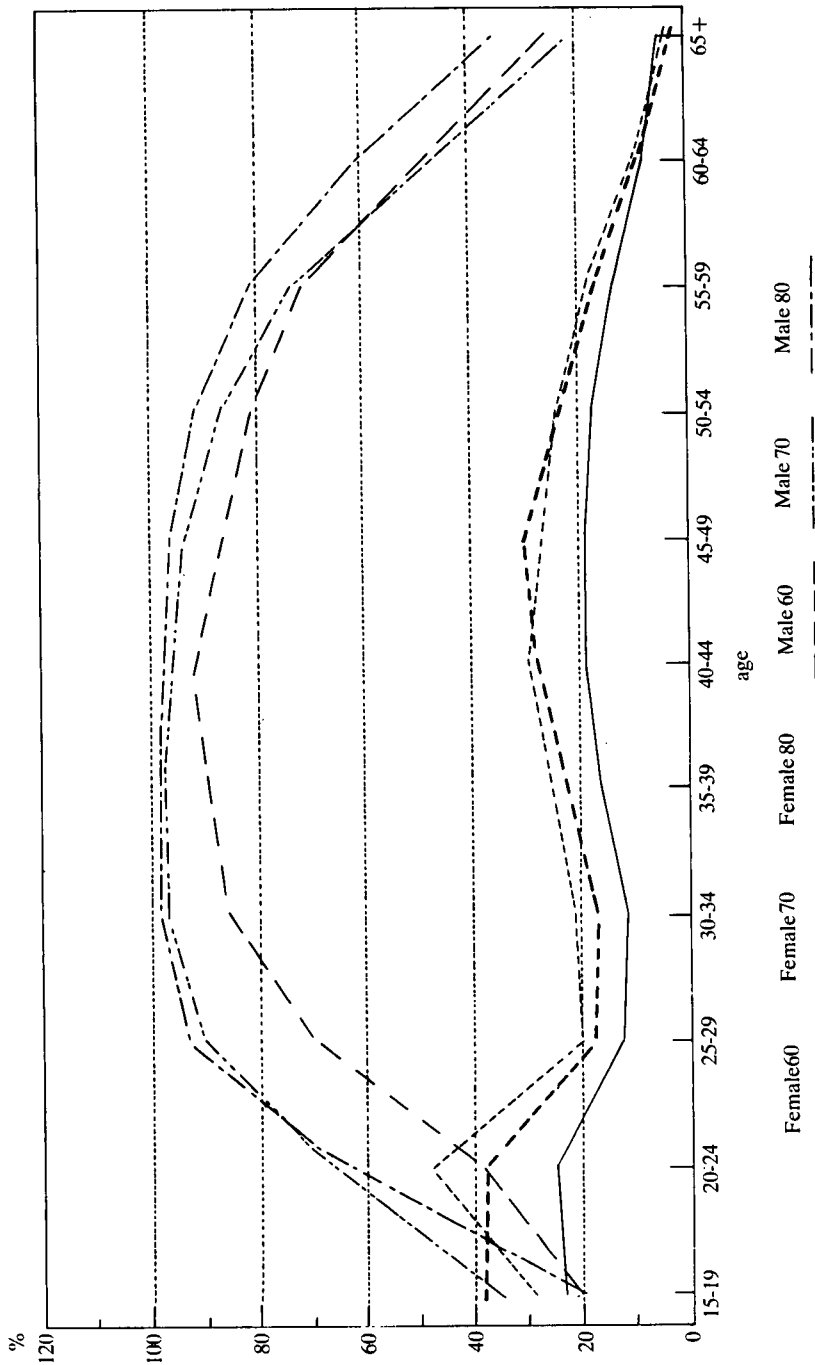


FIGURE 2. TREND IN URBAN AGE-SPECIFIC LFPR

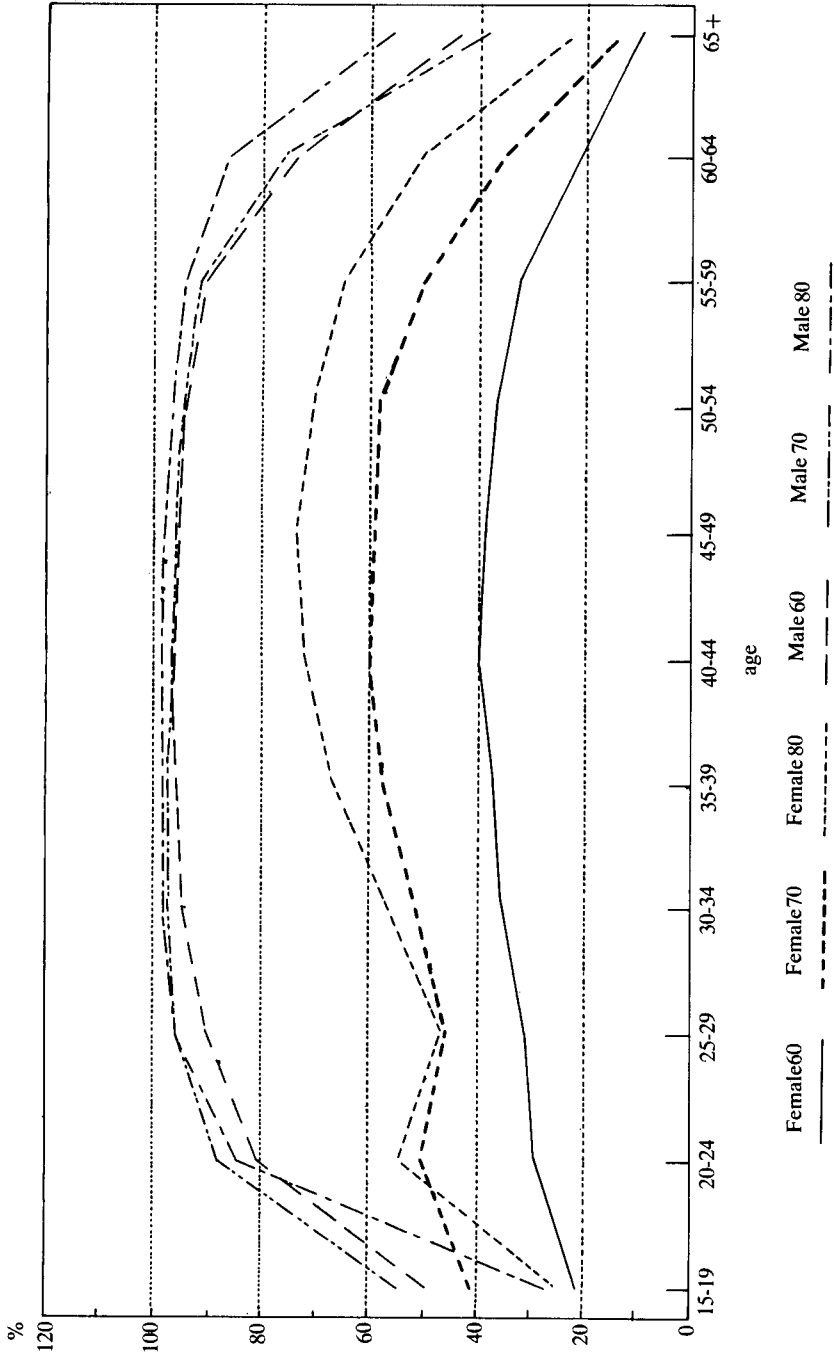


FIGURE 3. TREND IN RURAL AGE-SPECIFIC LFPR

The urban and rural patterns of the female labor force participation show quite clearly the residential differences, especially in 1960. The urban pattern of female labor force participation was similar to Urban Type I which Denti characterized by two peaks, the higher one occurring in the age group 20-24 and the lower one in the age group 45-54. This two-peaked pattern of urban female labor force participation was found for the years 1960, 1970 and 1980 with the changed levels of activity.

On the other hand, rural patterns for the period 1960-1980 are not consistent, indicating changes in distribution of rural female age-specific activity rates. The rural pattern of female labor force participation in 1960 resembled typical male labor force participation except that the curve was skewed toward the higher age groups. The rural pattern of female labor force participation in 1960 was similar to Denti's Rural Type VI where he included South Korea. The 1970 and 1980, the curves were similar, to a certain extent, to the urban pattern except for the higher peak occurring in the age group 45-49 and the lower peak in the age group 20-24.

Compared to male patterns, female patterns of labor force participation during the period 1960-1980 are irregular, although the rural pattern has become similar to urban pattern except for the different peak points. Differences in such factors as institutional environment and standards of living appear to have an important bearing on this irregular pattern of variation in urban and rural areas.

For example, the dip in the participation rates of urban females after reaching age 25 illustrates the situation where married women of these ages in urban areas typically withdraw from the labor force to raise their young children and do the housekeeping. In contrast, the rates of rural female labor force participation do not appear to be affected that much by marital status. This may reflect the particular employment conditions in which women are expected to find time to engage in the labor force in addition to their normal family duties. The trends in female patterns in urban and rural areas seem to reflect these social and familial institutional changes.

TRENDS IN COHORT PATTERNS

When we discuss the patterns of female labor force participation, cohort variable as well as age and period can be considered in a sense that some specific cohort attributes influence a cohort's labor force behavior. For instance, cohort size, cohort-specific socialization influences, peculiar cohort ex-

TABLE 6. LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES OF FEMALE COHORTS, 1960-1980

| Cohort | URBAN | | | RURAL | | | TOTAL | | |
|-----------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| | 1960 | 1970 | 1980 | 1960 | 1970 | 1980 | 1960 | 1970 | 1980 |
| | Age/ Rate | Age/ Rate | Age/ Rate | Age/ Rate | Age/ Rate | Age/ Rate | Age/ Rate | Age/ Rate | Age/ Rate |
| Cohort 1 | | 15-19/ 38.0 | 25-29/ 48.1 | | 15-19/ 41.4 | 25-29/ 54.7 | | 15-19/ 39.6 | 25-29/ 50.2 |
| Cohort 2 | | 20-24/ 37.7 | 30-34/ 21.3 | | 20-24/ 50.6 | 30-34/ 56.1 | | 20-24/ 43.6 | 30-34/ 33.2 |
| Cohort 3 | 15-19/ 23.4 | 25-29/ 17.6 | 35-39/ 25.5 | 15-19/ 21.5 | 25-29/ 46.3 | 35-39/ 67.0 | 15-19/ 22.1 | 25-29/ 31.5 | 35-39/ 42.0 |
| Cohort 4 | 20-24/ 25.0 | 30-34/ 17.1 | 40-44/ 29.6 | 20-24/ 29.3 | 30-34/ 51.6 | 40-44/ 72.2 | 20-24/ 28.1 | 30-34/ 36.0 | 40-44/ 49.6 |
| Cohort 5 | 25-29/ 12.6 | 35-39/ 22.6 | 45-49/ 27.2 | 25-29/ 31.4 | 35-39/ 58.0 | 45-49/ 74.0 | 25-29/ 25.8 | 35-39/ 43.0 | 45-49/ 51.4 |
| Cohort 6 | 30-34/ 11.5 | 40-44/ 27.5 | 50-54/ 24.1 | 30-34/ 35.5 | 40-44/ 60.2 | 50-54/ 71.2 | 30-34/ 27.8 | 40-44/ 47.0 | 50-54/ 49.9 |
| Cohort 7 | 35-39/ 16.5 | 45-49/ 29.7 | 55-59/ 18.8 | 35-39/ 37.6 | 45-49/ 59.3 | 55-59/ 65.2 | 35-39/ 31.4 | 45-49/ 48.4 | 55-59/ 45.8 |
| Cohort 8 | 40-44/ 19.2 | 50-54/ 23.1 | 60-64/ 10.2 | 40-44/ 40.4 | 50-54/ 58.4 | 60-64/ 50.9 | 40-44/ 34.6 | 50-54/ 46.5 | 60-64/ 34.8 |
| Cohort 9 | 45-49/ 19.1 | 55-59/ 16.9 | | 45-49/ 39.3 | 55-59/ 50.7 | | 45-49/ 34.4 | 55-59/ 39.8 | |
| Cohort 10 | 50-54/ 17.9 | 60-64/ 9.0 | | 50-54/ 37.0 | 60-64/ 35.3 | | 50-54/ 32.6 | 60-64/ 26.8 | |

Source : Rearranged Table 4.

periences such as war, and human capital endowments are a few of cohort attributes that might be relevant.

In this paper, since we have only three dates of census period 1960, 1970 and 1980, we can only do a very limited amount of discussion for cohort patterns of Korean women's labor force participation. For discussion, using the period age-specific female labor force participation rates in Table 4, we rearrange the table in cohort format (Table 6).

When we look at the data, generally younger cohort in certain ages (a cohort with a smaller numbering is the younger cohort) tended to participate more in the labor force than older cohort did when they were in the same ages. This was already evident in the previous discussion for change in age patterns of female labor force participation. Women's labor force participation has increased at all ages between 1960 and 1980.

When we look at the urban data in Table 6, we see the decline in participation rate from aged 15-24 to ages 25-34 for the two cohorts (Cohort 3 and 4).

For Cohort 3, the participation rate was higher (23.4 percent in the labor force) when they were aged 15-19 in 1960 than when they were aged 25-29 10 years later in 1970 (17.6 percent); for Cohort 4, participation rate declined from ages 20-24 (25.0 percent) to ages 30-34 (17.1 percent).

However, when we look at the urban younger cohorts Cohort 1 and Cohort 2 we find the different pattern. For instance, the participation rate was increasing as Cohort 1 aged from 15-19 in 1970 to 25-29 in 1980. For Cohort 2, participation rate declined from ages 20-24 in 1970 (37.7 percent) to ages 30-34 in 1980 (21.3 percent).

These findings substantiate the general hypothesis that women tend to drop out of the labor force when they get married and have young children. On the other hand, the decline in participation from the younger ages to the prime ages of marriage and childbearing did not happen to rural female cohorts. But what is more important is that the findings on the cohort pattern indicate that a big drop out of the labor force for urban women occurred later for the younger cohort as compared to that for the old cohorts. This reflects the social changes such as delayed marriage and also delayed childbearing.

Also interesting is that for urban women cohort rates rose over each succeeding decade for those aged 25-29 in 1960. For those 30-34, 35-39 and 40-44 they rose from 1960 to 1970 but then began to decline while for those 45 and over in 1960 there was a decline. However, it did not happen in rural areas. In rural areas cohort rates rose over each succeeding decade for those 15 and over. The urban pattern is of course what one would expect in a situation where the status of employee is important in urban areas while in rural areas most of female workers are family workers.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

To summarize, the findings in this paper address some basic points in trends in levels and patterns of women's labor force participation in Korea during the period 1960-1980.

First, the historical growth of women's labor force participation in Korea during over three decades has followed a U-shaped trajectory in relation to economic progress, in general terms "development stages". The gross rates of women's labor force participation showed a slowly upward trend after 1964 although not so dramatic.

Second, industrialization and urbanization in the economic progress have

had at least two significant impacts on the compositional changes in women's labor force participation. One is the increasing number of female workers into the industrial sector in urban areas, predominantly into the export industries such as manufacturing. The other is that the burden of farming fell disproportionately on women in rural areas. The rate for rural women in agriculture has always been very high, indicating almost 80 percent of rural working women in agriculture.

Lastly, there was an urban-rural difference in the age and cohort patterns of women's labor force participation. A double-peaked pattern of labor force participation (with a higher peak in the young age group 20-24 and a big drop after that) has been emerging for urban women in the context of overall growth in participation rates. On the other hand, rural women's participation rates were growing without any sign of an emerging urban double-peaked pattern.

The cohort patterns of women's labor force participation in urban areas hint that patterns of women's labor force participation have changed into the pattern with the higher peak in the ages 25-29 rather than the younger ages 20-24. These changes in cohort patterns affect the age patterns of female labor force participation in the long run. Therefore, we need to examine the changes in the age patterns with more recent data such as the 1990 census.

The findings of this paper provide one important implication of changes in Korean women's labor force participation during the period 1960-1980. The gradual increases in total women's labor force participation rates were accompanied by a big increase in the proportion of women in the non-agricultural sector work in urban areas. But the total change in women's labor force participation rates did not bring the noticeable compositional changes in rural women's labor force participation. In other words, a numerical increase in rural women's employment in the non-agricultural sector coincided with a big increase in rural women's participation in agriculture.

Another implication of changes in women's labor force participation is that the gradual, not so dramatic, increases in total women's labor force participation rates reflect the increased weight of urban areas during the period of economic development. A very high and rapidly growing rate of rural women's labor force participation did not bring a big increase in the total rate of women's labor force participation. This is because of the significant increase in the weight of urban areas during 1960-1980.

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