

An Experimental Trial for the Recategorization of Family Pattern in Korea**

I. The Frame of Reference

II. Recategorization

III. Evaluation and Conclusion

I. The Frame of Reference

I have adopted two concepts as axis for recomposition of the typology of family. One is the concept of generation, and the other is the family life cycle. Ever since antiquity, the concept of generation has been held as a biological, and consequently in a geneological, sense of regular descent of a group of organisms from a progenitor. But since the early 19th century, there has developed a social and historical concept of generations as comprising the structure not only of families but also of societies and of history. So it has meant that the kinship descent within a family in a society has attained importance in sociological theory of generations. Auguste Comte, the founder of modern sociology, considered the duration of human life a decisive element in determining the velocity of human evolution and therefore the passing of one generation to another. And the German historian Wilhelm Dilthey also found the idea of generation useful for studying the culture of an epoch, and he applied it in many of his writings. According to him "a generation is a space of time, an internal material concept of

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human life of about thirty years' duration, and a contemporary relation of individuals to each other.¹⁾

Even though the various studies about the concept of generations has left us in obscurity regarding questions of what generations are, why they exist, how long they last, and how they are determined, the concept of generation is still crucial enough to be used as a tool of measuring the social process.

The concept, family life cycle has been used as a helpful device for comparing the changes in the family structure, composition, family formation variables, and behavior that accompany the inevitable progression from birth to death. Starting with Forter's work there has been a series of important efforts to reconstruct the longitudinal aspects of co-resident group structure. For example the following sequences followed in present day western societies ; (I) the courtship phase ; (II) the initial phase of marriage ; (III) the child-bearing and child-rearing phase ; (IV) the phase of disintegration. But the most classic and most frequently used family life cycle is the one divided into eight stages as follows :

1. Beginning families—married couple without children.
2. Child bearing families—oldest child : birth to 30 months.
3. Families with pre-school children—oldest child : 30 months to 6 years.
4. Families with school children—oldest child : 6 to 13 years.
5. Families with teenagers—oldest children 13 to 20 years.
6. Families as launching centers—first child gone to last child leaving home.
7. Families in the middle years—empty nest to retirement.
8. Aging families—after retirement.

In this case, quite obviously, the cycle does not apply to childless couples or to those who delay marriage and childbirth to much later than averages or to those divorce and remarry.

1) I introduce his original thought briefly;“..... The relationship between individuals denoted by the term generation, is therefore one of simultaneity. We say that certain people belong to 'the same generation' when they have, in a certain sense, grown up together, passed through childhood and youth at about the same time, and enjoyed their period of maturity during more or less the same years. It follows, then, that such people are bound together, in their impressionable years, they have been subject to the same leading influences. (Withelm Dilthey, *Gesammelte Schriften*, Vol.5, p.37)

But even in consideration of these kinds of conceptual shortcomings, there are enough reasons in using the two concepts, generation and family life cycle. For practical purpose devising more sophisticated concept of generation is expected. As shown in the table 1 below the three generational family which has been the ideal type of family in Korea, has experienced a drastic disintegration during the last two decades especially in the urban area as a consequence of rapid economic growth and urbanization.

As a result, needless to say, demand for family welfare in which the generational gap, the problem of adolescents and the problem of the aged, are actively being discussed among the Korean civilians to draw attention of the social scientists to pay attention to the generational concept. On the other hand, for the purpose of analysis, a modified scale of family life cycle can be not only as a supplementary tool to elaborate the categorization of the family pattern in accordance with that of a generation, but also as one of the most suitable instruments through which constantly changing social characteristics can be measured.

Table 1. Composition Rate of Family by Region and Type

Unit : %

	1960	1966	1970	1975	1980	1985
Whole Country						
1 generation family	7.5	5.7	6.7	7.0	8.8	10.9
2 generation family	63.9	67.7	70.1	71.9	73.1	72.9
3 & over gen. family	28.6	26.6	23.2	21.1	18.1	16.2
Urban Area						
1 generational family	9.3	8.1	9.2	8.7	9.7	10.4
2 generational family	71.6	74.3	75.4	76.3	76.4	76.5
3 & over gen. family	19.1	17.6	15.4	15.0	13.9	13.1
Rural Area						
1 generation family	6.8	4.3	5.0	5.4	7.6	10.9
2 generation family	60.8	64.1	66.0	67.6	68.3	67.0
3 & over gen. family	32.4	31.6	29.0	27.0	24.1	22.1

Sources : EPB, Population and Housing Census.

II . Recategorization

1. Data Source

The data which I use for recategorization of family pattern is from "The study of Family life in Korea" which was done by the Korea Institute for Population and Health in 1986. It consisted of 3,400 households, forming 0.04% of the Korean households chosen on the basis of random sample through out the country, and this data was collected individually by the survey specialists. A total number of 13,338 respondents out of 3,400 households has been interviewed.

First of all, from the data base, I have sorted the non-family, and have divided them into two parts namely as the unmarried household and the disorganized household, according to the marriage experience of these households.²⁾ Accepting these patterns as a part of the transitional form of family, three more kinds of large categories have been made : the one generational family, the two generational family, and the three and more generational family.

2) The concepts of 'household' and 'family' are often confused because of their close relationship to each other and because of the lack of unambiguous definitions for either of them. According to the United Nations, *Multilingual Demographic Dictionary*, the household is socio-economic unit, consisting of individuals who live together. On the other hand, the *Dictionary* defines the family primarily by reference to relationship, which pertain to or arise from reproductive processes and which are regulated by law or by custom. There is no uniform and universally acceptable definition of the family as a sociological-anthropological concept, partly because of differences in the structure and function of family organization in various parts of the world and partly because of the many different approaches and schools of thought among sociologists, anthropologists and others.

According to one definition, the family is a social group characterized by a common residence, economic co-operation and reproduction. It includes adults of both sexes, at least two of whom maintain a socially approved sexual relationship, and one or more children born to the sexually cohabiting adults or adopted by them. (G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, p.1). This definition, which embodies the concept of the "nuclear family", has been the most widely cited definition in the sociological literature of the family, particularly in view of its emphasis on the morphological characteristics of the family, namely, its residential base and the fact that its coherent members are related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption.

Conclusively speaking, a person alone cannot compose a family. Family can be interpreted in a limited sense as a group of two or more persons who live together and share the same housing unit. (United Nations, *Methods of Projecting Households and Families*, p. 5-10)

Figure 1. Categorization of Family Pattern

<p>1FG 135 f. (283p) m = 2.1 4.0%</p>	<p>2EG 1710f. (7,190p) m = 4.2 50.3%</p>	<p>3G 458f. (2,683p) m = 5.9 13.5%</p>	<p>UN 276h (491p) m = 1.8 8.1%</p>
<p>1DG 136f. (284p) m = 1.8 4.0%</p>	<p>2DG 570f. (2,284p) m = 4.0 16.8%</p>		<p>DIS 115h (122p) m = 1.1 3.4%</p>

m : average number of each family, f : families, h : households, p : persons.

And again, I divided one generational family into two parts, the newly forming one generational family and the decreasing one generational family, and the two generational family into the expanding two generational family and the decreasing two generational family on the criteria of its cyclical stages(See the figure 1 above).

Needless to say, each typology has its own distinguishing features, but the main feature of this categorization lies on the interpretation of the structural characteristics of the family in Korea. Korean families have been undergoing drastic changes in their outer form accompanied

Table 2. Compositional Rate of Family Patterns by Region

Unit : %

	Whole Country	Urban Area	Seoul District	Rural Area
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(r. N)	(3,400)	(2,328)	(808)	(1,072)
UN	8.1	9.8	9.8	4.3
1FG	4.0	5.0	5.1	1.8
2EG	50.3	56.4	57.3	36.9
3G	13.5	10.8	10.5	19.3
2DG	16.8	13.0	11.8	25.0
1DG	4.0	2.4	2.6	7.5
DIS	3.4	2.6	2.1	5.1

with social change but still they are thinking of the three generational family the most idealistic way of life, through which family culture can be transmitted to each successive generation by socialization. Of course the generational problem can be found in other sectors of social organizations as well, but still the importance of generational classification of family can not be overlooked, considering that the family is basic unit of social organization.

In this context, we can find some interesting phenomena in the recategorized family pattern by regional variances. (See table 2)

2EG is in the position of almost half of families in the whole country, and its compositional rate is higher in urban areas than in the rural area. Comparing 43 per cent of 2EG derived from The Fertility Survey in Korea in 1974,³⁾ we should realize the increase of the number of families in the phase of child birth, which should be the object of policies on family planning. Meanwhile 3G or 2DG is concentrated on rural areas reflecting imbalanced development in the middle period of industrialization in Korea when most of the young generations have left behind their parents in the rural areas. Contrasting this with the two family patterns, the concentration of UN households in urban area can be explained in the context of job-seeking and educational purpose. With these simple examples we shall proceed to analyse the recategorization, when a more interesting phenomena will emerge in the process of concrete analysis of each family pattern.

2. UN : The Unmarried Household

The UN household (490 persons out of 260 households) is composed of a single person alone or more than two persons who have never experienced marriage. These households are difficult to be called a family. In most of the cases these households are composed of a person or persons who have left behind their family for the time being with the purpose of commencing work or doing schoolwork, even though we can not neglect small number of persons who have made their own household independly. Accordingly, these households, which accounts for eight percent of the whole interviewed household, can be absorbed into

3) In this report, the author, Kang has devided the young two generational nuclear family, the expanding two generational family, the two generational compound family which all belong to the 2 EG which I am introducing.

Table 3. Age Distribution of Unmarried Household

Unit : %

Age	Whole			Urban			Rural		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(r. N)	(490)	(223)	(267)	(415)	(187)	(228)	(75)	(36)	(39)
5~9	#	7.3	#	#	-	#	#	-	#
10~14	7.3	6.7	7.9	3.9	4.2	3.5	26.7	19.4	33.3
15~19	24.4	23.8	25.1	25.1	25.1	25.3	21.3	16.7	25.6
20~24	41.2	33.6	47.6	44.6	37.4	50.4	22.7	13.9	30.8
25~29	19.6	28.3	12.4	19.3	25.1	14.5	21.3	44.4	-
30~34	4.1	4.5	3.7	4.3	5.3	3.5	#	-	#
35~39	1.4	2.2	#	1.4	#	#	#	#	#
40~44	#	#	-	#	#	-	-	-	-
45+	#	-	#	#	-	#	-	-	-
Ave. Age		22.0			22.3			22.0	
Sex Ratio		83.5			82.0			92.3	

Real number 5 below.

a main family or can be transferred to a new family, namely a family of procreation if they accomplish their own expected goal, or some times can be remained permanently of an unmarried person. Because of these problems, the age of the householder is calculated from the second half of the teen-years to the first half of their twenties, with the average age of 22. Regionally speaking, 85 percent of the UN households are distributed in the urban area, and the rate of spinsters is considerably higher than that of bachelors, especially in urban areas. (See table 3) They are spread all over the age groups in the urban areas than rural. All these characteristics can be part of urbanization where diversity is melted in.

Not almost every UN household is single household which is made up of only person. Mearly 68 per cent of the total UN households were single households, and the rest showed pattern of sharing the same house with more than two persons who are either related by blood or through friendship or for economic purpose. This is one of the special characteristic of the Korean society to have such a high proportion of single households.

3. 1FG : The Forming One Generational Family.

This pattern comprises of a couple who has established a branch family or who has no main family, and who still has no children (283 persons out of 135 families). Accordingly, family members comprise of young generations in their twenties. And 4 per cent of the total interviewed families belong to this category.

As shown in table 4, 70 per cent of these family members were distributed in their twenties, with the average age of 28 in the whole country, 29 in urban area, 26 in rural area. And in contrast to the UN household, both sexes are composed with the same rate. And for their independent situation forming of the only couple in the pre-stage of fertility, this family pattern allows 10 per cent of persons living together with them. but even in this case, the person who share the same house is either a collateral relation (7 per cent whole country, 6 per cent

Table 4. Age Distribution of the Forming One Generational Family

Unit : %

Age	Whole			Urban			Rural		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(r. N)	(283)	(146)	(137)	(224)	(124)	(118)	(41)	(22)	(19)
10~14	#	#	-	#	#	-	-	-	-
15~19	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	-
20~24	28.3	13.0	44.5	28.1	12.9	44.1	29.3	#	47.4
25~29	41.7	45.9	37.2	42.6	47.6	37.3	36.6	36.4	36.8
30~34	17.3	24.0	10.2	16.5	22.6	10.2	22.0	31.8	#
35~39	3.5	4.1	#	3.3	#	#	#	#	#
40~44	2.1	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#
45~49	2.1	#	#	2.5	#	#	-	-	-
50~54	#	#	#	#	#	#	-	-	-
55+	#	#	-	#	#	-	-	-	-
Average Age		27.7			28.8			26.0	
Sex Ratio		107.0			105.0			116.0	

Real number 5 below

urban area, 16 per cent rural area) or his wife's relatives (3 per cent urban area), who are in a relationship of distant relative not that of near one. Taking care of these phenomenon, it can be interpreted that once strong emotional relationship among the relatives is still prevalent in the rural area and new pattern of relationships with the wife's relatives, which were not traditionally considered as desirable in traditional thought has started to appear in urban areas where anonymity is guaranteed.

4. 2EG : The Expanding Two Generational Family

The 2EG family which occupies almost half of the whole interviewed families is typical pattern of the nuclear family comprising of a couple and their unmarried children, which is on the

Table 5. Age Distribution of the Expanding Two Generational Family

Unit : %

Age	Whole			Urban			Rural		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(r. N)	(7,190)	(3,609)	(3,521)	(5,472)	(2,747)	(2,725)	(1,718)	(866)	(852)
0~4	14.6	13.9	15.3	14.2	13.5	14.9	15.9	15.2	16.5
5~9	14.3	15.7	12.6	13.6	15.2	12.0	16.6	17.7	15.5
10~14	11.8	11.7	11.8	11.5	11.5	11.6	12.7	12.5	13.1
15~19	7.6	7.4	7.6	8.0	8.4	7.8	6.1	4.6	7.5
20~24	5.4	4.2	6.5	5.6	4.4	7.1	4.5	4.2	4.8
25~29	11.5	8.8	14.3	12.0	8.8	15.1	10.1	8.5	11.7
30~34	11.5	11.6	11.5	11.3	11.5	11.2	12.1	11.3	12.9
35~39	9.1	10.4	7.8	9.3	10.6	8.0	8.4	9.6	7.3
40~44	6.0	7.0	5.0	6.3	7.2	5.4	5.1	6.7	3.9
45~49	4.0	4.8	3.2	4.3	5.0	3.6	3.0	4.2	#
50~54	1.4	2.4	#	1.9	2.8	#	1.3	#	#
55+	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	-	#
Average age		22.2			22.4			21.6	
Sex ratio		102.0			101.0			102.0	
Child - women ratio		66.1			60.4			78.9	

Real number 5 below

expansion of family members through fertility behaviour. The average number of family members are 4.2 which means at least 2.2 children belong to this type of family.

Considering age distribution, 40.7 per cent from the age group 0-14 (39.3% from urban area, 45.2% from rural area), and 32.1% from the age group 25-39 (32.6% from urban area, 30.6% from rural area) are concentrated binarily. And in the case of Child-Woman Ratio, the rural (78.9%) shows outstandingly higher proportion than urban are (60.4). Sometimes this result can be misinterpreted as the higher fertility pattern in rural area, but it can be judged immediately as the fallacy of statistics soon after we observe the distribution of population by region and age shown in table 5. Because there exists regional variation and age distributional gap between the real distribution and statistically assumed strata of child bearing women.

As previously mentioned, binary age structure of the 2EG family indicates the relationship between parent and children. But in this type of family small number of families who are in the child bearing years or preventing child birth, and hence some families comprise of daughters-in-law of the first son who still has not born any child.

Of the families belonging to this category, 6 per cent(6% in urban area, 5% in rural area) of household heads of this type of families were female, and 8% (7% in urban area, 9% in rural area), of all the 2EG family households, are living without his/her spouse because of death, divorce and separation.

5. 3G : The Three Generational Family

The most complicated and diversified composition among the types of families are the three

Table 6. Age Distribution of the Three Generational Family

Unit : %

Age	Whole			Urban			Rural		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(r. N)	(2,683)	(1,237)	(1,446)	(1,495)	(689)	(806)	(1,188)	(549)	(639)
0~4	8.6	9.8	8.2	8.9	10.7	7.5	8.8	8.7	9.1
5~9	8.9	9.5	7.8	8.6	9.8	7.6	8.5	8.9	8.1
10~14	11.9	13.4	10.6	10.7	11.8	9.8	13.5	15.8	11.6

Table 6. Continued

Age	Whole			Urban			Rural		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
15~19	8.9	9.1	8.7	9.1	8.9	9.1	8.7	9.3	8.1
20~24	6.0	6.5	5.6	7.2	7.2	7.1	4.5	5.6	3.6
25~29	8.1	8.2	8.0	8.4	8.9	8.0	7.6	7.3	7.8
30~34	6.6	8.5	5.1	7.1	8.0	6.1	6.0	8.9	3.6
35~39	5.7	5.4	6.0	6.5	6.7	6.3	4.8	3.8	5.6
40~44	5.3	5.6	4.9	5.1	5.4	4.9	5.5	6.0	5.0
45~49	4.5	6.0	3.3	4.9	7.2	3.0	4.0	4.4	3.8
50~54	4.4	4.4	4.4	3.9	3.7	3.9	5.1	4.9	5.2
55~59	4.2	3.5	4.8	3.9	3.2	4.6	4.5	4.2	5.0
60~64	3.8	2.8	4.4	3.4	2.2	4.5	4.2	3.8	4.5
65+	13.1	7.3	18.2	12.3	6.3	17.6	14.3	8.4	18.9
Average age		32.4			31.9			33.1	
Sex ratio		86.0			86.0			86.0	
Dependency ratio		74.2			68.4			82.7	
Aging depend. r.		23.0			20.8			26.0	
Child-women r.		56.4			51.2			64.0	

Real number 5 below

generational family of which is composed of following members ; parents, their sons and daughter- in-law, and grandchildren. Accordingly age groups are distributed from 0 to 65 years old and over with relative uniformity, and the average age (32.4 in whole country, 31.9 in urban area, 33.1 in rural area) of this type of families is approximately 10 years older than the expanding two generational families. Moreover, this type which possesses 13.5 per cent of total interviewed households shows the average number of family member as 5.9 persons, the biggest one among seven categories. And sex ratio is 86 which means that life expectancy of female is much longer than that of male. And dependency ratio also is the highest one among all family patterns which connotes the heavy burden of householders. Especially in case of aging dependency rate shows much higher in rural area(26%) than in urban area

(20.8%) which reflects aging phenomenon of rural area after the young generation has left to urban area for the purpose of job-seeking, education or marriage.

Sharing a house with several generations, the rate of partnership in this pattern of family is considerably low. And among this type we can find some families with excessive number of family members like lineal descendant, ascendant, collateral relation (15%), wife's relatives (3%), and non-blood relation (4% in whole country, 6% in urban area, 1% in rural area). And we find 6.6 per cent of female householders out of this type of family, of which the rates are almost similar with the 2EG family (6%), which means that they are leaving with their family members without their husband quite amount of them are separated with death.

6. 2DG : The Decreasing Two Generational Family

The 2DG family which amounts 17 per cent of total interviewed families, in the phase of leaving their children after stopping childbearing, accordingly the average number of family is 4 persons which is smaller than that of the 3G families and similar with that of the 2DG families. Similarity with the 2EG family, the age structure of 2DG family shows binary composition of the aged and the young, but it is basically different in its inner structure. Concretely speaking, the age distributions of both children and parents are concentrated intensively of 15-24 age group and 45-54 age group respectively which are lower than that of the 2EG

Table 7. Age Distribution of the Decreasing Two Generational Family

Unit : %

Age	Whole			Urban			Rural		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(r. N)	(2,284)	(1,181)	(1,103)	(1,223)	(612)	(611)	(1,061)	(569)	(492)
0~4	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#
5~9	2.4	2.7	#	1.6	#	#	3.3	3.7	2.8
10~14	13.3	13.9	12.6	9.1	9.8	8.3	18.1	18.3	17.9
15~19	15.5	17.4	13.2	16.4	18.2	14.9	14.3	16.7	11.6
20~24	14.6	15.7	13.4	17.4	16.3	18.7	11.3	14.9	7.1
25~29	7.0	9.7	4.4	9.3	13.4	5.2	4.4	5.6	3.1

Table 7. Continued

Age	Whole			Urban			Rural		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
30~34	1.2	#	#	1.8	2.1	#	#	#	#
35~39	1.3	#	#	#	#	#	1.8	#	2.9
40~44	4.9	#	8.1	3.1	#	5.6	6.9	3.3	11.0
45~49	12.3	9.8	14.9	11.6	8.3	14.9	13.0	11.4	14.8
50~54	12.5	10.7	14.5	13.9	12.9	14.9	10.8	8.3	13.8
55~59	8.8	8.1	9.5	9.1	8.2	10.0	8.5	8.1	8.9
60~64	4.0	4.8	3.9	3.9	4.7	3.3	4.1	4.9	3.3
65+	1.9	2.7	1.5	1.5	2.6	#	2.2	2.6	#
Average age		33.5			33.9			33	
Sex ratio		107.0			100.0			116.0	

Real number 5 below

family. (See table 7) And the imbalanced sex ratio by region (100 in urban area, 116 in rural area) denotes the over-population of male in rural areas caused from the overflow of female into urban areas, which has resulted in the marriage problem of males who reside in rural areas and accordingly, a temporary decrease in the fertility rate in rural areas.

Meanwhile the highest rate (18%) of female householder who are in their middle life after seperation of death or divorce, also can be found in this pattern of family. The diversity of family members like collateral relation (6%), wife's relatives (2%), and non-blood relation (6%) also is found in this pattern of family.

7. 1DG : The Decreasing One Generational Family

The decreasing one generational family which is less than 5% of all the families is a completely reduced type of family in which householder has given away his/her daughter in marriage or has let his/her sons leave the main family to have a separate establishment or has never experienced childbearing. The average family members are 1.8 persons. And the average age is 57 years old (53.4 in urban, 59.9 in rural area) showing big variation by region

Table 8. Age Distribution of the Decreasing One Generational Family

Unit : %

Age	Whole			Urban			Rural		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(r. N)	(284)	(141)	(143)	(123)	(60)	(63)	(161)	(81)	(80)
15~19	#	-	#	#	-	#	#	-	-
20~24	2.1	#	#	4.9	5.0	#	-	-	-
25~29	2.5	#	#	4.9	#	#	#	-	#
30~34	#	#	#	#	5.0	#	#	#	-
35~39	2.5	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#
40~44	3.9	4.3	#	7.3	8.3	#	#	#	#
45~49	9.9	7.1	12.6	10.6	8.3	12.7	9.3	#	12.5
50~54	16.2	12.1	20.3	10.6	#	15.9	20.5	17.3	23.8
55~59	14.4	14.2	14.7	12.2	11.7	12.7	16.1	16.1	16.3
60~64	16.2	17.7	14.7	16.3	16.7	15.9	116.1	18.5	13.8
65+	3.03	36.9	23.8	26.0	35.0	17.5	33.5	38.3	28.8
Average age		57.0			53.4			59.9	
Sex ratio		97.0			95.0			101.0	

Real number 5 below.

(see table 8). And this kind of family is found more frequently in the rural areas rather than in the urban areas which suggests the phenomena of migration of young generations to urban area or the problem of generational gap which forces the parent to let their oldest son to leave them to avoid trouble. So these conjugal families are empty nest, and tend to share their house with a collateral relation (3% in whole country, 7% in urban area, none in rural area) letting them take care of their housework.

8. DIS : Disorganized Household

The disorganized household which amounts 3.4 per cent among the total interviewed families, is composed of a person, sometimes more than one, who is in a lonely situation without

his/her spouse on account of death, divorce, or separation of husband or wife. Accordingly the average age of household members is 58.8 years old which is the highest one among all types of families, and the average number of members is 1.1 person, which is the lowest type. This type can be found slightly more in the urban area (68%) and the sex ratio of this type is 63 (55 in urban area, 70 in rural area), that is to say, almost every householder of these families are female. This characteristics can be interpreted in connection with the average life expectancy by sexes. On the other hand the reason of disorganization can be explained by age strata, that is, divorce or separation among the lower age group, death of a spouse among the upper age group. As mentioned for above reason almost every member of this household type lives alone independently in the ratio of 26 to 74 by sex, and among them 1 per cent of them, and 5 per cent of them are living together with a collateral relation and non-blood relation respectively receiving the help of housework from them. (See table 9)

Together with the consideration of this type on the aspect of deficiency of family members,

Table 9. Age Distribution of the Disorganized Household

Unit : %

Age	Whole			Urban			Rural		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(r. N)	(123)	(36)	(87)	(68)	(27)	(41)	(55)	(9)	(41)
25~29	#	#	—	#	#	—	—	—	—
30~34	#	#	#	#	#	#	—	—	—
35~39	8.1	#	6.9	13.2	#	14.6	#	#	—
40~44	6.5	13.9	#	10.3	18.5	#	#	—	#
45~49	5.7	#	#	7.4	#	#	#	#	#
50~54	8.9	19.4	#	8.8	18.5	#	9.1	#	#
55~59	4.9	#	#	#	—	#	#	#	#
60~64	18.7	13.9	20.0	16.2	#	19.5	21.8	#	21.7
65~69	42.2	#	55.2	32.4	#	46.3	54.5	#	63.1
Average age		58.8			45.6			64.0	
Sex ratio		41.0			66.0			20.0	

Real number 5 below.

this should be the most urgent and sincere object of welfare policies regarding the economic potentiality for self-reliance, psychological loneliness, and physical weakness.

III. Evaluation and Conclusion

The reason why we use the ideal type for the interpretation of a society is to give the role of the ideas in history and to defend ideas against the encroachments of postivist causal generalization and to chart the particulars of the endless flow that makes up history. The ideal type is not merely a kind of Kantian universals through which we see the historical flux. Ideal types, like other concepts, themselves contain the embryo of scientific generalizations. Categories such as charismatic, traditional, and rational-legal legitimation do not exist merely for the sake of labeling and classifying history ; they are embedded in a larger network of concepts and in an image of how they work. Regarding the characteristics of the ideal type, an experimental effort for recategorization of family pattern has several defaults which should be improved progressively.

First of all the comparative study and case studies are needed. A scale possesses validity when it actually measures what it claims to measure. To fit these requirements one should be clear about the main objectives of what one wants to study. Unless one is aware of the real uniqueness of the object or has a wide ranging knowledge on some topic similar to the focus of the study or it would not be purposeful. For example, Rules of descent in Korea, China, and Japan are characterised by excluding the female offspring in the consideration of inheritance and succession of the family property. Two other important features items in the rule of descent in these three countries are the inheritance of family property and the succession of family headship. Though sharing the same general rule of patrilineal rule of descent, still three countries have different rules and regulations for the perpetuation of family property and lineage. Rule of descent in China is characterized by the equal division of family property. The rule of descent in Korea which is characterized by certain superior features namely right of the descendant based on the transmission of ancestor worship. So if one is not aware of the special characteristics of the rule of descent in China, and if he has not compared them with the Korean pattern, accordingly he will be ignorant of the unique features

of Korean rule of descent. Likewise, this effort of recategorization should be enlarged to encompass a comparative study of different countries. By making these comparisons, the validity of recategorization can be achieved more firmly and forcefully.

Moreover, in order to do this, we need depend not only on qualitative surveys but also case studies to get firm validity and precision. In the previous part of this chapter, I have mentioned two general patterns of family life cycle. But I could not cover the development process of each family patterns accurately due to lack of understanding of the inner dynamics of each family which is growing up through a changing phase. So the comparison could not be made in depth. To give an example, let an old man in a 3G family be the formal householder, but in reality the real household head who is in charge can be his oldest son. And among the UN household, some persons can be an orphan who are supposed to form a new family at a time of marriage, while some person can be directly returned to the 3G family as soon as he/she finishes his/her education. Because of these reasons, the pattern of family life cycle should be re-specified by qualitative methods like in depth interviews, and case studies.

To get reliability on the recategorization of the family pattern, historical analysis also is needed. A scale is reliable when it will consistently produce the same results when applied to the same sample. Of course each pattern of family can be analyzed time-serially according to its stage on the family cycle. And this is one of the goal of this report. But it is only an analogy, and hard to get firm reliability. If the recategorized family pattern has to be reliable to use, it should exist among the families in the past also. If there are no families which belong to any one of the recategorized pattern, the result can be explained into two directions ; the sudden change of a family pattern in a short period or the fallacy of recategorization. But it is very difficult to find the former reason in social science. Of course as nobody has tried this kind of effort, there is limitation of historical data. But despite this limitation, the effort should be continued to get the reliability of this recategorization.

In spite of many shortcomings above mentioned, an experimental trial for the recategorization of family pattern has some good points. First of all, it can manifest and quantify the speed and the degree of social change which is connoted in the cyclical process of family pattern. Especially in the society where the idea on family is highly condensed, the change of family pattern can be directly related to social change. And it is not a picture of a linear trend toward

ever-increasing rationality. Nor is it an evolutionary model of natural selection, in the sense of random selection of the more advanced forms, accumulating through a series of stages. The pattern of relations among the various factors is crucial determining effect on social change. Any one factor occurring by itself tends to have opposite effects, overall, to those which it has in combination with the other factors. Because of this reason conceptual tools which are used in social sciences are expected to be designed to comprise the complicated dynamics of social change. In this context the family life cycle and recategorized pattern of family can be introduced as a suitable conceptual tool for the measurement of social change by measuring the direction and velocity of transmission of a family pattern to another including measurement of its own uniqueness.

Secondly, this recategorization contains advantage of presenting the base for political decision-making on welfare or population as constructed with the framework of generational concept, each family pattern shows clearly the differences of age structure even though more specification is needed. For example, some families are actively involved in the phase of family formation and others in the empty nest phase. For a decision-maker in the welfare sector or in family planning sector, it is too difficult to make a policy which fits for all kinds of families simultaneously. So he needs to make a strategy to deliver the most suitable policies on each concrete type and stages of families. The clearer the target group is, the more effective the policy can be. In this context, the two frameworks, generation and life cycle are the most suitable axis to satisfy the categorization of the object group for family planning policy and family welfare policy. But multi-disciplinary efforts are needed for the elaboration and confirmation of this recategorized family patterns.

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家族形態 再分類를 위한 試論

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한국사회의 사회적 기초를 가족에서 찾는다면 현대한국의 사회적 변동과정은 모름지기 가족형태, 가족기능, 가족에 관한 가치관 등의 변화를 관찰함으로써 파악할 수 있을 것이다.

그럼에도 불구하고 그러한 변동을 적절히 計量化할 수 있는 준거틀(Frame of Reference)을 만드는 작업은 비교적 드물었던 편이다.

이 연구는 급격히 변화하는 한국의 가족형태의 변동과정을 적절히 계량화 할 수 있는 준거틀을 마련해보자는 의도에서 실험적으로 시도해 본 글이다.

가족의 動的인 면을 강조하기 위하여 世代와 家族週期라는 두 개념적 잣대를 조합하고 그 잣대를 7개의 새로운 가족형태를 재분류하여 보았다. 未婚家口, 1世代形成家族, 2世代澎脹家族, 3世代家族, 2世代縮小家族, 1世代縮小家族, 解體形家口 등이 그것이다.

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