

Family, Self or State as a Desired Source of Support for the Elderly*

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ABSTRACT: Family, Self or State as a Desired Source of Support for the Elderly

As Korean society has undergone rapid socioeconomic transformation and reached the final stage of its demographic transition, the central emphasis of population policies in Korea has shifted from fertility and population control to aging issues. Recently, it has been advocated that the Korean government should provide more intensive public services to supplement self-care and family caregiving, heightening the need to know more about the norms and expectations of old-age support and how they will change. Using the Survey of the Living Status of the Korean Elderly in 1994, this study investigates the extent to which the Korean elderly themselves view family, self, or the state as desired sources of support. The multinomial logit model analysis reveals that the elderly without a son are less likely to emphasize the traditional view of family, while economically and physically better off elderly are more likely to favor the view of self-support. However, the idea that the emphasis on the 'state responsibility' may be found among those elderly who are in need of financial help and in poor health is not supported. The implications and suggestions for further research are discussed.

Key Words: Aging, Attitudes, Family Support, Korea

Dataset Used: Survey of the Living Status of Korean Elderly: Korea, 1994

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INTRODUCTION

Until recently, the reduction of population growth has been the focus of population policies in Korea. Due to socioeconomic changes favoring lower fertility, as well as organized national family planning programs, fertility rates in Korea dramatically declined to below replacement level in the mid 1980s (Kim, 1994). In the near future, this decline in fertility will lead to a sharp increase in the proportion of older persons, while limiting the availability of children as potential care providers for the elderly. At the same time, rapid social changes, including industrialization, urbanization and the increase in female labor force participation, have called into question the ability and/or willingness of families to support their elders (Hermalin, 1997; Kosberg, 1992; Hashimoto, Kendig and Coppard, 1992; Martin, 1990; Mason, 1992). Increasing proportions of dependent elderly are faced with the prospect of being unable to rely on their children, and the state will be expected to solve the problems of the needy elderly. This trend has already surfaced, as the central emphasis of population policies in Korea has shifted from fertility and population control to aging issues.¹⁾

Since the early 1980s, the Korean government has promoted the establishment of a welfare state as a national goal. However, deep-rooted principle of 'care by the family first, social security second' remains firm, and the role of the Korean government has been marginal in providing income assistance and health care for the elderly (Choi, 1992, 1996). Recently, it has been advocated that the Korean government should provide more intensive public services to supplement self-care and family caregiving (Choi, 1992, 1996; Rhee, 1994; Rhee, 1999), heightening the need to know more about the norms

1) The major problems related to population aging in Korea include economic insecurity, loss of role due to retirement, difficulties in health care, and social-psychological alienation of the elderly (Choe, 1989; Lee and Cho, 1992).

and expectations of old-age support and how they will change. This information will provide telling indicators of the acceptability of, as well as the potential demand for, support from the government. Based on the Survey on the Living Status of the Korean Elderly in 1994, this study investigates the extent to which the Korean elderly themselves view family, self, or the state as a desired source of support²⁾. While projection of future trends based on a cross-sectional study demands caution, identifying socioeconomic and demographic correlates of attitudes will indicate attitudinal changes of the elderly in the future.

SETTING

Historically, in Korea as in many Asian countries, responsibility for the care of the elderly in both normative and practical sense has fallen on the family, particularly sons(Choi, 1975; Sung, 1990,1991). Literature on family changes(Goode, 1963; Cogwill and Holmes, 1972; Thornton et al, 1994) suggests that ongoing socioeconomic and demographic changes³⁾ in Asia will diminish the social and economic basis of the family, leading to weakening

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- 2) Recently, there has been an increasing number of studies on the issue of care for the elderly in Korea and other Asian countries. Most of these studies focus on the living arrangements among the elderly, because support for the elderly has traditionally been provided by their families within the context of multigenerational household. Compared with this subject, there have been few studies of changes in the normative aspects of filial care for elderly parents in Asia. See Chang and Ofstedal (1991) for Taiwan; Kim and Rhee (1997) for Korea; Ogawa and Retherford (1993) and Tsuya and Martin (1992) for Japan. There are also qualitative studies about the norms of family care in Asia in special issue of *Journal of Cross Cultural Gerontology* (Vol. 10, No 1&2, April, 1995).
 - 3) These changes include industrialization, urbanization, increase in female labor force participation, expansion of formal education, rise in the standard of living, import of Western cultures, improved mortality and lowered fertility.

Table 1. Selected Indicators of Social and Demographic Changes in Korea, 1960-1990.

	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990
<u>Socioeconomic Indicators</u>							
Per Capita GNP (US \$)	82	98	252	594	1592	2194	5659
Industrial Distribution of Labor Force							
% LF in Primary a			50.4	45.7	34.0	24.9	18.3
% LF in Secondary b			14.3	19.1	22.5	24.4	27.3
% LF in Tertiary c			35.3	35.2	43.5	50.6	54.4
total			100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
% Pop. in Urban Area	28.0	33.5	41.1	48.4	57.2	65.4	74.4
Educational Attainment Dist. (age 25+)							
% Primary School Graduate and Under	86.9	79.6	73.4	65.5	55.3	43.4	33.4
% Middle and High School Graduate	10.7	16.1	11.7	28.7	37.0	46.4	52.5
% College and Over	2.2	4.3	4.9	5.8	7.7	10.2	14.1
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Female Labor Force Participation Rate		39.3	40.4	42.8	41.9	47.0	
<u>Demographic Indicators</u>							
Male Life Expectancy	51.1	54.9	57.2	59.8	62.7	64.9	67.1
Female Life Expectancy	57.3	61.0	64.1	66.7	69.1	71.3	73.6
TFR	6.3	6.0	4.6	3.7	2.9	2.1	1.6
% Population Aged 60+	5.0	5.2	5.4	5.6	6.1	6.8	7.6

Note: a. Primary - Agriculture, Fishing and Forestry

b. Secondary - Mining and Manufacturing

c. Tertiary - SOC and others

Sources: Male and Female Life Expectancy - Suh (1992)

TFR - I.K Kim (1987); Lee and Cho (1992); T.H. Kwon (1992).

Per Capita GNP - EPB, Social Indicators in Korea, 1993; APSS Series #89, 1988; T.H. Kwon (1992).

Educational Attainment - I. K. Kim (1987); Social Indicators in Korea, 1993.

Female Labor Force Participation - Social Indicators in Korea, 1993.

Urbanization rate - Population and Housing Census Reports .

Proportion of Population Aged 60+ - Population and Housing Census Reports.

traditional family relations and norms. The socioeconomic and demographic changes in Korea over the last few decades are presented in Table 1. Between 1960 and 1990, per capita income tremendously increased from 82 to 5659 U.S. dollars. The proportion of the labor force in the primary sector (agriculture, fishing and forestry) declined from 50.4% in 1970 to 18.3% in 1990. The proportion residing in urban areas increased from 28.0% in 1960 to 74.4% in 1990. In terms of educational attainment, the proportion of the population aged 25 years and older who have some primary education declined from 86.9% in 1960 to 33.4% in 1990, while the share of some secondary and post-secondary education rose sharply from 12.9 % to 66.6 %. Between 1970 and 1990, female labor force participation rate increased from 39.3% to 47.0%.

In addition to the dramatic socioeconomic changes, Korea has experienced profound demographic changes. As presented in Table 1, life expectancy at birth for males has increased sharply from 51.1 years in 1960 to 67.1 years in 1990; life expectancy for females, from 57.3 years to 73.6 years. During the same period from 1960 to 1990, TFR (total fertility rate) fell from 6.3 children per woman in 1960 to 1.6 children in 1990. The dynamics of these demographic changes, mainly the decline of fertility level, initiated aging of the population; the proportion of the population aged 60 and over rose from 5.0% in 1960 to 7.6% in 1990. The influences of lowered fertility and further improvements in mortality on population aging are made more apparent by population projections to the year 2020; Persons aged 60 and older will constitute 19.5% of the total population (National Statistics Office, 1990).

It should be noted that the relative timing of decline first in mortality and slightly later in fertility led to favorable conditions for the care of today's elderly⁴⁾. Those persons who are currently older experienced high fertility while the

4) See Kim et al. (1996) and Kim (1998) for a detailed discussion of population aging process in Korea.

improvement of mortality was disproportionately concentrated on infants and children. Accordingly, the ratio of adult children to older parents is currently quite high. In other words, the Korean elderly tend to have a large number of adult children. In the future, however, the demographic picture will be quite different. As the current elderly population begins to be replaced with younger generations who have fewer children and as the further improvement of mortality benefits older persons, the ratio of young adults to older persons in the population will decrease. Thus, the ever-growing elderly population in Korea will have fewer family caregivers available to meet their needs.

The pattern of living arrangements among the elderly has drawn special attention from policymakers and social researchers, since residence patterns delimit, to a great extent, the scope and content of family caregiving. Along with the socioeconomic and demographic changes described above, household structures in Korea have shifted away from the stem family household to nuclear family households(Park and Cho, 1995; Kim et al., 1996; Kong et al., 1987; Rhee et al, 1989; Rhee et al, 1994a). Between 1966 and 1990, among the households headed by persons aged 60 and older, the proportion of stem households decreased from 32.2% to 15.7%, while the share of one-person households increased from 6.7% to 17.2%(1990 Population and Housing Census Report).

Despite the dramatic and sweeping socioeconomic and demographic changes, the norms of family responsibility for elderly parents continue to exert great influence on the behaviors of Koreans(Kwon, 1992; Sung, 1991). For instance, substantial proportions of the elderly living apart from their children still receive financial support from their children across household boundaries(Kim and Choe, 1994). Nonetheless, the traditional view of family responsibility⁵⁾ appears to be undergoing changes in the following ways (Rhee et al., 1989): first, decreasing proportions of Koreans emphasize the responsibility of children; second, among those emphasizing the responsibility

of children, decreasing proportions view the eldest son as main caregiver, while increasing proportions believe that all of the children should share the responsibility for their elderly parents. These changes are more distinctive among younger generations and those persons with higher education.

Conceptual Framework and Hypotheses

The conceptual framework in this study is guided by two presumptions. First, as illustrated in the above section, the transition in the norms of familial support under socioeconomic and demographic change is more apparent among particular segments of the population. For example, young men who are more educated and are urban residents have greater accessibility to new ideas than their counterparts. Formal education provides opportunities for involvement in activities outside the family and exposure to life styles and new ideas which might de-emphasize traditional family norms (Thornton et al., 1994). Accordingly, the present study expects that the traditional view of family care would be higher among the oldest, female, less educated, and rural elderly. Another presumption, which directs the main theme of the present study, is that the current socioeconomic and demographic conditions of the elderly influence their attitudes toward old-age support⁶⁾. The conditions focused on in the present study include the

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- 5) Another indicator of changes in the normative aspect of family relations is preferred living arrangements in old age. Increasing proportions of the elderly prefer separate living to coresidence with their children (Kim and Rhee, 1997).
 - 6) One might argue the reverse causal relationship - the attitudes toward old-age support have influence on the current conditions, i.e. more children and economic independence. In the present study, however, this argument seems to stand on weak ground. If we consider the transition of norms quite recent changes, it is highly likely that majority of the current elderly would have kept the traditional view while they were reproductive. It is more likely that, after completing reproduction, the given sex

availability of children and spouse, health status and economic resources. In Korea, with the persistence of cultural norms and in the absence of well-developed social systems for the elderly, the family continues to be the primary source of support for the elderly. The caregivers of the family are mainly the spouse, son and daughter-in-law. An absence of a son would lead the elderly parents to emphasize the importance of family support less than their counterpart and turn to self-care or public assistance⁷⁾.

The elderly with more economic resources and in better health would need less support from their children, thus they would be less likely than their counterparts to emphasize the traditional view of family support and more likely to favor self-responsibility. Also, it is plausible that the elderly in need of financial or instrumental support would be in favor of the view that the state should take the major responsibility for the elderly. It has been found that elderly parents in Korea want to avoid burdening their children if they can (Rhee et al., 1993; Kim and Rhee, 1997; Kim, 1998). If the elderly should rely on their children and they feel guilty about their dependence on their children, those elderly will be more likely to favor state support. The present study, after controlling for background age, sex, education and place of residence of the elderly, will test the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1. The elderly with daughters only are less likely than the elderly with a son to favor the view that the family or

and number of their children would changes their views of old-age support. With respect to economic resources, the focus group discussion (Rhee et. al., 1993) illustrated that the elderly tend to not save economic resources for their old-age, rather than it is a by-product after all. Thus, the current conditions of the elderly would affect their attitudes regarding the old-age support, rather than vice versa.

- 7) The present study excludes the childless elderly from its analysis. Although the proportion of childless elderly are negligible, they are of theoretical and practical importance in the context the family continues to be the primary source of support (Rubenstein, 1987; Siriboon and Knodel, 1993).

children (vs. state or elderly themselves) should take care of the elderly.

Hypothesis 2. Economically better off elderly are more likely to favor the view that the elderly themselves (vs. family or children) should take care of the elderly.

Hypothesis 2a. Also, The elderly in poor economic condition are more likely to favor the view that the state (vs. family or children) should take care of the elderly.

Hypothesis 3. The elderly in fair health are more likely to favor the view that the elderly themselves (vs. family or children) should take care of the elderly.

Hypothesis 3a. Also, the elderly in poor health are more likely to favor the view that the state (vs. family or children) should take care of the elderly.

Data

The data for this study comes from the Survey on the Living Status of the Korean Elderly, conducted by the Korea Institute for Health and Social Affairs (KIHASA) in 1994⁸⁾. The analysis is based on 1,840 persons aged 60 and older and who have at least one surviving child. The childless elderly are excluded from the analysis because support from children is not an option for them.

8) For more information on the survey, see Rhee et al. (1994b).

Table 2. Definitions and Means of Variables Used in the Empirical Analysis.

Variables	Definition	Mean (n = 1,840)
<i>Dependent Variable</i>		
Attitudes toward old-age support	Self-Responsibility: Elderly should take care of themselves. State Responsibility: Government should take the responsibility Reference -Family or Children Responsibility: Family or Children should take the responsibility	51.3% 17.9% 30.8%
<i>Background Variables</i>		
Age	Age in single years (range from 60-91 years, with standard deviation 6 years)	68 yrs
Male	1 if the respondent is male; else 0	41.3%
Education		
primary education	1 if the respondent had attended primary school; else 0	28.9%
secondary education	1 if the respondent had attended secondary school (junior high to graduate school); else 0	12.5%
Rural Residence	1 if the respondent lives in rural area; else 0	65.2%
<i>Availability of Spouse & Children</i>		
Currently Married	1 if the respondent is currently married; else (widowed, divorced or separated) else 0.	60.4%
Absence of a Living Son	1 if the respondent does not have a living son; else 0	4.5%
<i>Health Status</i>		
Limitation in ADL	1 if the respondent has difficulty in performing ADL; else 0.	24.8%
<i>Economic Condition</i>		
Degree of Econ. Dep. on Children	4 points scale with the highest being most dependent on their children	2.6
Ownership of Dwelling	1 if the respondent or his/her spouse owns the house of current residence; else 0	60.8%

Table 2 presents the definitions and means of the variables employed for the multinomial logit modelling. The dependent variable, 'attitudes toward old-age support', has three categories : (1) 'self-responsibility' (51.3%), (2) 'family responsibility' (30.8%), and (3) 'state responsibility' (17.9%). This attitudinal measure is derived from the question: "Who should take the most responsibility for old-age preparation?" The five responses were: 1) elderly themselves, 2) family or children, 3) the state, 4) social security system (i.e. pension) and 5) others. For the analysis, the choices 3) and 4) are put into one category under 'state responsibility', since both categories reflect public support. The choice 5) and the response "don't know" are joined under 'family responsibility'⁹⁾.

Background characteristics of the elderly include age, sex, education and place of residence. Of the sample selected for the analysis, the average age is 68.3 years; 40.9% are male; 28.7% have some primary school education and 12.2% have secondary school education; 64.4% live in the rural areas. The availability of family members as potential caregiver is assessed by the current marital status of the elderly and the absence of a son : 60.4% are currently married and most of the unmarried are widowed. Of the sample, 4.5% have only daughters¹⁰⁾.

Health status is assessed by whether the elderly has any difficulty in performing activities of daily living(ADL): bathing, changing clothes, eating, standing and sitting, walking, and using the lavatory. Of the sample, 25.1%

9) About 5 % of the sample responded "don't know", whereas a negligible proportion responded "others". The reasons for the inclusion of "don't know" under "family responsibility" are the following: first, it is assumed that the respondent who did not specify the responsible party would be closer to the traditional view than to the new view; second, according to the preliminary examination, the distribution of "don't know" response by selected demographic characteristics, such as age and sex, have patterns similar to those of 2) family or children.

10) The fact that a small fraction of the elderly are without a son reflects higher fertility in the past.

have limitations in their daily activities. Economic condition is assessed by homeownership of the respondent or his/her spouse and by the extent to which the elderly are economically dependent on their children. In the sample, the proportion who or whose spouse owns the dwelling unit is 60.3%. The degree of economic dependence on children is measured in terms of the source of income. This measure has a 4 point scale, the higher the score, the greater the economic dependence on their children: 1) the elderly has their own source of income through job, pension and interest from saving, and they do not receive any financial help from their children; 2) the main source of income is not the children, but the children provide supplemental financial support; 3) the main source of income is children, but they have supplemental sources such as job, pension, and interest from savings; 4) the only source of income is children. The average of economic dependence on children among the sample is 2.58.

Multinomial logit models, of which the logit indicates the log-odds of 'self-responsibility' or 'state responsibility' relative to 'family responsibility', are employed, since the dependent variable is in the form of categorical responses. First, we examined the participants' attitudes according to their background characteristics of age, sex, education and place of residence. Then, controlling for these variables, we investigated the effects of the presence of spouse and son, and the economic and health status, by comparing L2(Likelihood Ratio) and the degree of freedom for a series of nested models. Based on the preferred model, we interpret the effects of explanatory variables on the attitudes in terms of predicted marginal probabilities and their changes with respect to given level of an explanatory variable.

Analysis

Table 3 shows the four nested models of attitudes toward old-age support. In Table 3, the coefficients indicate the effects of the variables on the logit (log-odds) of favoring 'self-responsibility' versus 'family responsibility' and the logit of favoring 'state responsibility' versus 'family responsibility'. Model 1 presents the effects of age, sex, education and place of residence on the attitudes toward old-age support. According to Model 1, while age, sex, and education have an influence on the attitudes, place of residence does not. By adding presence of spouse and son into Model 1, Model 2 examines the significance of the added variables. The difference in $L2(18.0)$ and the degree of freedom (4) between Model 1 and Model 2 indicates that, given the variables in Model 1, the presence of spouse and son together have a significant effect on the attitudes. To test the importance of health status, given the variables in Model 2, Model 3 include limitation in ADL. The difference in $L2(15.2)$ and the degree of freedom (2) between Model 2 and Model 3 confirms that, controlling for the variables in Model 2, the limitation in ADL has a significant effect on the attitudes. There seems to be no substantial changes in the effect of the variables between Model 2 and Model 3. Model 4 expanded Model 3 by adding economic conditions, the degree of economic dependence on children and ownership of a dwelling unit. The difference in $L2(51.4)$ and the degree of freedom (4) tells that these new variables together are statistically significant.

According to Model 4, other things being equal, age of the elderly have no effects on the logit of 'self-responsibility' or 'state responsibility'. Male as opposed to female significantly increases the logit of 'self-responsibility' or 'state responsibility'. Having primary education or secondary education, as opposed to no formal schooling, increases the logit of 'self-responsibility'

Table 3. Coefficients and Stand Errors (in Italics) of the Multinomial Logit Analysis of Attitudes Toward Old-Age Support (n = 1,840)

Variables	Effects on the Log Odds of Self or State Responsibility relative to Family Responsibility											
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 3		Model 4	
	Self	State	Self	State	Self	State	Self	State	Self	State	Self	State
constants	3.981	-0.159	3.496	0.018	2.877	-0.386	2.244	-0.724	2.244	-0.386	2.244	-0.724
Age	-0.060**	-0.013	-0.055**	-0.016	-0.044**	-0.099	-0.021*	0.000	-0.021*	-0.099	-0.021*	0.000
	0.009	0.011	0.010	0.012	0.010	0.013	0.011	0.013	0.011	0.013	0.011	0.013
Male(Excluded = Female)	0.693**	0.548**	0.557**	0.581**	0.519**	0.556**	0.359**	0.505**	0.359**	0.556**	0.359**	0.505**
	0.130	0.161	0.145	0.180	0.146	0.180	0.150	0.184	0.150	0.180	0.150	0.184
Primary Education (Excluded = No Formal Schooling)	0.676**	0.995**	0.642**	0.999**	0.626**	0.990**	0.602**	0.9638	0.602**	0.990**	0.602**	0.9638
	0.142	0.176	0.143	0.176	0.143	0.177	0.146	0.178	0.146	0.177	0.146	0.178
Secondary Education (Excluded = No Formal Schooling)	1.460**	1.760**	1.401**	1.775**	1.3638*	1.752**	1.267**	1.697**	1.267**	1.752**	1.267**	1.697**
	0.242	0.274	0.243	0.277	0.244	0.277	0.246	0.278	0.246	0.277	0.246	0.278
Rural Residence (Excluded - Urban)	0.090	-0.193	0.057	-0.181	0.073	-0.176	-0.158	-0.323**	-0.158	-0.176	-0.158	-0.323**
	0.118	0.150	0.120	0.152	0.121	0.152	0.128	0.159	0.128	0.152	0.128	0.159
Girls Only (Excluded = Having a son)			0.761**	0.638*	0.741**	0.623*	0.722**	0.613*	0.722**	0.623*	0.722**	0.613*
			0.284	0.336	0.285	0.337	0.288	0.338	0.288	0.337	0.288	0.338
Currently Married (Excluded = No Limitations)			0.367**	-0.058	0.365**	-0.057	0.077	-0.250	0.077	-0.057	0.077	-0.250
			0.137	0.175	0.138	0.175	0.150	0.187	0.150	0.175	0.150	0.187
Limitations in ADL (Excluded = No Limitations)					-0.535**	-0.302*	-0.493**	-0.305*	-0.493**	-0.302*	-0.493**	-0.305*
					0.137	0.172	0.139	0.172	0.139	0.172	0.139	0.172
Degree of Economic Dependence on Children							-0.303**	-0.093	-0.303**		-0.303**	-0.093
							0.056	0.070	0.056		0.056	0.070
Ownership of House (Excluded = No Own)							0.421**	0.400	0.421**		0.421**	0.400
							0.139	0.907	0.139		0.139	0.907
L ² & d.f.	3503.6	10	3485.6	14	3470.4	16	3419	20	3419	16	3419	20

**P < 0.05 *P < 0.10

or 'state responsibility': the effects are much greater for having secondary education than for having primary education. With respect to place of residence, living in rural areas as opposed to urban areas decreases the logit of 'state responsibility', while it does not show a significant effect on the logit of 'self-responsibility'. In general, these findings are consistent with the previous findings on the socioeconomic and demographic correlates of traditional attitude (i.e. Cogwill and Holmes, 1972; Thornton et al., 1994).

Having daughters only as opposed to having a son increases the logit of 'self-responsibility', while having a spouse as opposed to having no spouse shows no significant effect. Being limited in performing ADL (as opposed to not being limited) reduces the logit of 'self-responsibility'. The greater degree of economic dependence on children reduces the logit of 'self-responsibility'. Owning a dwelling unit as opposed to not owning increases the odds of 'self-responsibility'. As a whole, except for marital status, these results support the hypotheses about the negative association between the absence of a son and favoring 'family responsibility' (Hypothesis 1) and the positive association between better economic and health status and favoring 'self-responsibility' (Hypothesis 2 and Hypothesis 3). However, the hypothesis that the elderly in need of help would be more favorable to 'state responsibility' than 'family responsibility' (Hypothesis 2a and Hypothesis 3a) are not supported.

To help the understanding of the coefficients in Model 4, Table 4 presents the predicted marginal distributions and their differences for the given levels of the explanatory variables. It should be noted that, given the nature of the logistic curve, the magnitude of predicted probabilities and their changes would be different depending on the points at which they are estimated. The discussion of Table 4 is limited to the significant coefficients in Model 4 (at $p < 0.05$ level).

The proportion of male elderly favoring self-responsibility and favoring state-responsibility is greater than the corresponding proportion of the

Table 4. Predicted Marginal Distributions of Attitudes Toward Old-Age Support and Their Changes for the Given Level of Explanatory Variables (Based on Model 4 in Table 3).

Explanatory Variables and Changes in their Level	"Who should take the most responsibility for old-age preparation?"			
	Self	Family	State	Sum
age : 68 years	50.8%	31.3%	17.9%	100.0%
age : 72 years	-1.9%	1.1%	0.8%	0.0%
female	49.7%	34.0%	16.2%	100.0%
male	3.4%	-7.4%	4.0%	0.0%
no formal schooling	48.7%	37.2%	14.1%	100.0%
primary education	5.0%	-13.6%	8.7%	0.0%
secondary education	7.0%	-29.9%	22.9%	0.0%
urban residence	51.2%	29.0%	19.7%	100.0%
rural residence	-0.5%	3.7%	-3.2%	0.0%
having at least one son	50.3%	32.1%	17.6%	100.0%
having daughters only	9.9%	-11.5%	1.7%	0.0%
currently unmarried	48.0%	31.4%	20.6%	100.0%
currently married	4.1%	0.3%	-4.4%	0.0%
no limitations in ADL	53.0%	29.2%	17.9%	100.0%
limitations in ADL	-8.5%	8.5%	0.0%	0.0%
economic dependence on children : level 3	54.5%	28.1%	17.4%	100.0%
economic dependence on children : level 2	-6.3%	4.7%	1.6%	0.0%
having no dwelling unit	47.2%	36.0%	16.8%	100.0%
owning a dwelling unit	6.0%	-7.9%	1.9%	0.0%

female elderly by 3.4 % and 4.0%, respectively. Compared to the elderly with no formal schooling, the proportion favoring 'self-responsibility' is greater by 5.0% among those with primary education and by 8.7% among those with secondary education; proportion favoring 'state-responsibility' is greater by 7.0% among those with primary education and by 22.9% among those with secondary education. These findings suggest a positive effect of education on favoring 'self-responsibility' and 'state responsibility' versus 'family responsibility', with the stronger effects observed for 'state responsibility'. While the difference in favoring 'self-responsibility' between the rural and the urban elderly is not significant, the proportion favoring 'state responsibility' is lower by 3.2% among the elderly in rural areas than among the elderly in urban areas.

With respect to the presence of a son, the proportion favoring 'self-responsibility' is greater by 9.9% among those with daughters only than among those with at least one son. Compared to those who do not have any limitations in performing ADL, the proportion of favoring 'self-responsibility' among those with limitations in performing ADL is lower by 8.5%. The proportion favoring 'self-responsibility' among the elderly whose main source of income is children while they have supplemental source of their own is lower by 6.3% than the corresponding proportion among the elderly with their own source of income but have a supplemental support from their children. Compared to those who do not own a house of current residence, the proportion favoring 'self-responsibility' is greater among those who own or whose spouse own the house by 6.0%.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study reveals that female elderly, less educated elderly, and rural elderly are more likely to hold the traditional view of familial support. In

particular, the level of education has been found to be strongly associated with the attitude favoring 'state responsibility' as well as 'self-responsibility'. Also, the absence of a son, being economically better off, and fair health of the elderly are positively related to the attitudes favoring 'self-responsibility', while rejecting the idea that the emphasis on the 'state responsibility' may be found among those elderly who are in need of financial help and in poor health.

These findings have important implications for projecting the direction of attitudinal changes regarding old-age support¹¹⁾. For instance, the educational levels of the succeeding cohorts of the elderly are expected to be much higher than those of the current elderly(Hermalin, 1998). In addition, due to lower fertility, the proportion of the elderly in the future without a son will be substantial. With respect to economic conditions, it is suggested that the elderly in the future will be better off(Mason, 1992). Other things being equal, these changes in education, fewer children, and the economic status of the elderly will be expected to increase the proportion of the elderly favoring self-care or state-assistance over family support. Thus, an increasing proportion of Koreans will try to meet their needs by self-sufficient sources or by governmental support, rather than by their children. It follows that the Korean government should evaluate methods to help the elderly prepare themselves financially as well as to consider providing direct governmental support.

Regarding health status, it is still premature whether the improvement of mortality will lead to healthier and longer life or longer but care-demanding life for the elderly. Nonetheless, the finding of the

11) Another factor, which is not included in the study but would become important as Korean society develops, would be the role of the Korean government in promoting programs and policies for the elderly. The extent and intensification of governmental programs for the elderly would increase the acceptability of such programs among the elderly.

relationship between poor health of the elderly and favoring family responsibility provides important clues on how to provide health care for the elderly. The elderly in poor health appear to prefer support and care from their families rather than from the government. From the perspective of the Korean government, it would be more cost-efficient for family members to take care of their elderly parents rather than an institution-based care. Thus, one issue for the government is how to motivate and assist the family in providing appropriate care for the elderly. Another question is how to support the elderly in poor health who do not have any familial support (i.e. children or spouse).

It is hoped that future studies will advance the present study in the following ways. The measure of attitudes toward old-age support in this study is quite general and crude. Perhaps more elaborate measures of the attitudes would produce clearer and more meaningful results. For instance, the Korean elderly today may want governmental assistance in economic terms, but prefer familial care for instrumental help. The specification of types of support would enhance our understanding of attitudes among the elderly. Moreover, the presence of a son or spouse does not guarantee that the son or the spouse is able or willing to support the elderly. While these family members serve as potential caregivers, the socioeconomic and health status of the son or the spouse would be more important than their mere availability.

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노후부양의 바람직한 자원으로서 가족, 자신 및 국가에 관한 한국 노인들의 태도.

김정석, 이가옥

급격한 사회변동을 경험하고 있는 한국사회가 인구변천의 마지막단계에 진입하면서 인구관련분야의 정책의 핵심은 출산과 인구통제에서 노령인구의 문제로 옮겨지고 있다. 최근 들어 국가가 자가부양(self-care)이나 가족부양(family care)을 보완하기 위해서는 공적 서비스(public service)가 확대되어야 한다는 주장들이 강조됨에 따라 노인부양규범이나 의식의 현황 및 변화에 관한 이해의 필요성이 증대되고 있다. 본 연구는 1994년 보건사회연구원이 실시한 <노인생활실태조사>를 이용하여 노부모들이 어느 정도로 가족, 자신 그리고 국가를 바람직한 노후생활의 부양원으로 보는가를 알아 보고 있다. 다항로지모형에 근거한 분석결과에 의하면, 아들이 없는 노부모인 경우 가족이 노인을 부양해야 한다는 전통적인 견해가 약하고, 경제나 건강상 여건이 좋은 노인일수록 자가부양의 견해가 높은 것으로 나타났다. 한편, 경제적으로 열악한 상황에 있거나 건강상태가 양호하지 않은 노인들이 국가의 책임을 강조한다고 가정한 가설은 본 연구결과 지지 받지 못했다. 본 연구의 정책적 함의나 추후연구를 위한 제안 등은 결론에서 다루어지고 있다.

핵심단어: 노년 생활, 노후 부양 태도, 가족 부양, 한국