

Values of Children, Parent–Child Relationship, and Social Change in Korea: Indigenous, Cultural, and Psychological Analysis

Uichol Kim*

Chung-Ang University, Republic of Korea

Young-Shin Park

Inha University, Republic of Korea

Young-Eun Kwon

Ansan University, Republic of Korea

Jaisun Koo

Chung-Ang University, Republic of Korea

Les recherches sur les valeurs que les parents attribuent aux enfants se demandent pourquoi les gens décident ou non d'avoir des enfants et s'intéressent au nombre d'enfants qu'ils choisissent d'avoir. On décrit dans la première partie de cet article la relation parents-enfants traditionnelle, la structure familiale et les changements sociaux qui se sont produits ces cinquante dernières années en Corée du sud. On présente dans la deuxième partie les résultats de l'étude de 1972 sur les valeurs attribuées aux enfants réalisée en Corée du sud (Lee & Kim, 1975). Dans la dernière partie, on expose une recherche empirique sud-coréenne portant sur un échantillon de 314 jeunes mères et 395 mères plus âgées. Il apparaît que les bénéfices psychologiques sont les raisons majeures qui justifient le choix d'avoir un enfant et que les contraintes personnelles et financières sont les motifs dominants de ne pas en avoir. Ces résultats mettent en défaut les modèles économiques et utilitaires et soulignent l'importance des facteurs psychologiques, relationnels et culturels.

Research on parents' attribution of value to children examines why people decide to have children or not and the number of children they choose to

* Address for correspondence: Uichol Kim, Department of Psychology, Chung-Ang University, 221 Huksuk-dong Dongjak-ku, Seoul, 156-756, Korea. Email: uicholk@yahoo.com

This article was completed when the first author was a research professor of the German Academic Exchange Service at the Department of Developmental Psychology, University of Konstanz, Germany.

have. In the first part of this paper, the traditional parent-child relationship, family structure, and social changes that have occurred in South Korea during the past 50 years are reviewed. In the second section, the results of the 1972 Values of Children Study conducted in South Korea (Lee & Kim, 1975) are reviewed. In the final section, an empirical study conducted in South Korea with a sample of 314 young mothers and 395 older mothers is reported. The results indicate that psychological benefits are the most important reasons for having a child and personal and financial constraints are the most important reasons for not having a child. These results challenge the economic and utilitarian models and suggest the importance of understanding the psychological, relational, and cultural factors.

INTRODUCTION

When we discuss the topic of the “values of children”, people often express confusion about the meaning of the phrase. We may think about the value of a house or car, but we rarely think about the values of children. It could be paraphrased as the value in *having* or *not having* children. Historically, giving birth to a child is viewed as a natural outcome of marriage, family, and life. People now have greater ability to determine whether they will have children and the number of children they will have. With the advent of medical technology and social change, having a child has become more a matter of personal choice, rather than a biological, religious, or cultural determinate.

This paper examines the value of children (abbreviated as VOC) in South Korea (abbreviated as Korea) and the psychological, relational, social, and cultural factors that influence this value. In the traditional Korean culture, a family was conceived as the basis of self and it served as the prototype for all relationships (Kim, 2001). Giving birth to a child was viewed as a part of the natural life cycle and an outcome of being married. A person was not considered complete, or as an adult, until he or she had a child. Not being able to have a child, especially a boy, was considered a personal and family tragedy. It meant that a person's future was in jeopardy since their children would not succeed them and the family line might come to an end. It was inconceivable that a person would choose not to have children. However, with modernisation, young Korean mothers are choosing to have far fewer children (on the average one child) than their parents (four children) and their grandparents (six children; Korea Statistics Bureau, 2003). Cultural transformations over recent decades have led to the improvement of contraceptive methods and medical technology. In the first section, the traditional parent-child relationship, family structure, and dramatic social changes that have occurred during the past 50 years in Korea are reviewed. In the second section, the results of the VOC study conducted in Korea are reviewed (Lee & Kim, 1975). In the final section, an empirical study conducted with a sample of young and older mothers is reported.

KOREAN CULTURE, FAMILY, AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Confucianism has influenced all facets of Korean society: conception of self, family relationship, education, and organisational life (Kim, 1995, 2001). In Korea, relationships and not individuals are considered to be primary and the parent–child relationship provides the basis of the self. Parental devotion and indulgence are important features of the traditional socialisation practice that still remains in modern Korea (Park & Kim, 2004). In Korea, parents view unselfish devotion and sacrifice to their children as their basic role and duty.

For many Korean women, motherhood is their single most important role (Kim & Choi, 1994; Park & Kim, 2004). A Korean mother's self is not abandoned but extended to her children. The life-goal for Korean mothers becomes intrinsically attached to their children and they see their children as extensions of themselves. Children's accomplishments become their own and they vicariously fulfill their dreams and goals. For Korean mothers, attaining this vicarious gratification is one of the most important personal goals. The relational orientation of Korean mothers is best evidenced by their persistent and enduring support for their children throughout their lives. Even adults report that their parents provide strong social support and are important figures enabling them to succeed in life (Kim & Park, 2003).

Three-generations-under-one-roof was considered the basic family unit in the traditional agrarian communities. Although Confucius considered the father–son relationship to be primary, it is the relationship between the husband and wife that is basic. Through the union of a husband and wife children are born and the family is maintained. In the traditional extended family, the role of each family member is defined and prescribed. As the symbolic head of the family, the father represents a link between the children and the outside world. Through the father, children are linked across time (i.e. through his lineage) and across space (i.e. through his position in a community). One of the prime responsibilities of the father is to have a son, who can continue the family line. The other main responsibility is to educate his son. A father has the authority, duty, and responsibility of handling family property on behalf of the family but not for himself.

A mother, on the other hand, is responsible for raising children, ensuring that children respect and obey their father, taking care of elderly parents and relatives, and managing the household economy. The son is taught to lead and become a breadwinner and the daughter is taught to support her future husband and family. Once the daughter is married, she becomes a member of her husband's family and she is no longer considered a member of her original family. As a grandmother, she is responsible for ensuring that the daughter-in-law is respectful to her son and actively participates in the socialisation of the grandchildren.

The age of 60 represents a full life cycle: it represents a second birth. At this age, the father typically passes his property and power to his eldest son and the son becomes responsible for managing the family affairs. He takes on the role of the grandfather. Similarly, the mother passes her role and responsibility to the eldest daughter-in-law and takes on the role of the grandmother. They no longer hold major responsibilities and they are to be taken care of and indulged like children. In Korea, the conception of past and future are not abstract ideas, but they are relationally based. Ancestors and grandparents represent the past and the children represent the future. Since the children represent the future of the family, tremendous emotional, financial, and social investments are made in them.

Modernisation and Social Change

During the past 50 years, Korea has experienced dramatic social changes. At the beginning of the 1960s, Korea had all the problems of a resource-poor, low-income, illiterate, and under-developed nation. The vast majority of people were dependent on agricultural products produced from the scarce farmland. The literacy rate and educational level was one of the lowest in the world. Korea was one of the poorest nations in the world, with a per capita GNP in 1961 of \$82.

Beginning in 1965, President Park Chung-hee initiated economic, social, and cultural reforms that transformed Korean society. The economy grew at an average annual rate of over 8 per cent, to become one of the fastest growing economies in the world. The per capita GNP increased to \$1,640 in 1981 and by 1997, it reached \$10,000. Currently, Korean students are top performers in international studies of achievements in mathematics, science, and reading (PISA, 2001;¹ TIMSS, 2000²).

With modernisation, urbanisation, and industrialisation, the traditional extended families have virtually disappeared. Currently, less than one in ten families have three generations living under one roof (Korea Statistics Bureau, 2003). In 1975, the average size of the household was five. It had been reduced to four in 1985 and currently it stands at three, even in rural areas. The fertility rate has also seen a dramatic decrease. In 1960, the fertility rate was 6.0, and had been reduced to 1.19 in 2004.

The nuclear family structure has replaced the traditional extended family. Although grandparents no longer play a significant role in family life, the core family structure has remained the same. The father is still the head of

¹ Program for International Student Assessment, PISA, OECD, 2001. www.pisa.oecd.org.

² Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study. TIMSS, 2000. www.nces.ed.gov/timss.

the household. However, the role of educating children has been transferred to the mother. Mothers are financial managers at home, responsible for handling and investing household income. In half of the households, mothers also work outside the home to increase the family income or to pursue their own personal career. In this situation, her workload has doubled, since she is responsible for the family and her career.

In 1990 family law was revised to give greater equality to women (Korean Civil Law, Article 837). Traditionally, the father had the custodial right to the children when parents divorced. With the revised law, a mother has the same right of custody to the child as the father. Similarly, the Korean inheritance law has been revised to guarantee the rights of the wife, sons, and daughters. Although the eldest son is allowed to receive a slightly higher inheritance to perform ancestor ceremonies, the wife and other children have the same rights to the inheritance. They are also responsible for any debt left by the deceased father. Finally, it is the responsibility of the children to take care of parents when they are old. It is not a matter of personal choice but a legal responsibility.

THE VOC STUDY

The 1972 VOC Study

Arnold and Fawcett (1975) launched an international study of VOC in 1972 to examine the values parents attach to their children, the use of contraception, and their relation to fertility rate. In Korea, 378 mothers and fathers (20–44 years old) living in urban and rural areas were interviewed using open-ended and structured questionnaires (Lee & Kim, 1975). The following section is a summary of results of their study.

In terms of background information, 60 couples came from an urban middle-class background with an average of 15.4 years of education, 66 couples came from an urban lower-class background with an average of 8.0 years of education, and 63 couples came from rural farming communities with an average of 6.2 years of education. On average, the respondents from urban areas had one less child than respondents from rural areas. Over 93 per cent of the respondents knew about family planning methods, 90 per cent approved of using birth control, and the majority of respondents were practicing contraception. The use of contraception was the main way that parents were able to avoid unwanted pregnancies.

The results of the 1972 survey provide evidence that economic and utilitarian motives were not the main driving force in respondents' decision to have children. Consistent with Confucian values, emotional and relational values were reported to be the most important across different social classes, residential areas, and sexes. Korean respondents wanted to have children (abbreviated as positive

VOC) because of the happiness, joy, and love that they bring to the family. Children represent the future and many people reported that having children increased their desire to succeed in life. The economic and utilitarian motive played a less significant role than the psychological and relational motive, especially for the urban middle-class respondents. Respondents from rural areas placed a greater emphasis on social values (e.g. continuing the family name) and economic values when compared to their urban counterparts.

As for reasons why people chose not to have children (abbreviated as negative VOC), the most frequently reported response was emotional burden, followed by financial costs, and restrictions on alternative activities. Respondents from the urban lower class were more likely to report financial costs, whereas respondents from the urban middle class and women were more likely to report opportunities costs (i.e. restrictions on activities). These results reflect the life situation of the respondents. Respondents from the lower class focus on financial constraints, while respondents from the middle class, who have the necessary financial resources, focus on the constraints on their personal freedom.

For Koreans, the psychological motive of sharing one's happiness, joy, and love is the primary motive for having children and the emotional and financial burden is the main reason for not having children or for having few children. Relational motives of happiness for the family and continuing the family name emerged next. Economic and utilitarian motives were the least important.

The Current VOC Study

The study was conducted in 2001 and 2002 to examine factors related to positive and negative VOC in Korea. This study is a part of the international collaboration led by Gisela Trommsdorff and Bernhard Nauck. Data were collected from adolescents, mothers of young infants (abbreviated as young mothers), mothers of adolescents (abbreviated as older mothers), and grandmothers. The present paper reports on the results of the two mothers samples. It was expected that older mothers would hold more traditional values emphasising economic, utilitarian, and social VOC, while young mothers would emphasise emotional VOC and negative VOC. The rationale for the design, instruments used, and the sampling have been outlined in Trommsdorff and Nauck (2001).

METHOD

Procedures

The current study has expanded the original 1972 instrument to include other measures, such as cultural values, socialisation values, parent-child relationships, social support, and subjective well-being.

Instruments

The full description of the survey can be obtained in Schwarz, Chakkarath, Trommsdorff, Schwenk, and Nauck (2001). For conceptual and reporting purposes, the results are divided into the following six sections: (1) VOC, (2) values, (3) parenting, (4) parental support, (5) subjective well-being, and (6) background information. A 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = Strongly disagree to 5 = Strongly agree) or Guttman-type scale (ranging from 1 = not important at all to 5 = very important) has been adopted for most of the scales, except for parent warmth, which used a 4-point scale (from 1 = almost never true to 4 = almost always true). In addition, various background and behavioral information was obtained.

VOC. The original 23 items from the 1972 study (Arnold & Fawcett, 1975) were supplemented by 12 items from the Family and Fertility Survey (Pohl, 1995). Thirteen additional items were developed through the pre-test and included in this study. From a total of 48 items, 27 items measure positive VOC and 21 items measures negative VOC. Factor analyses were conducted and the Scree test was used to determine the number of factors.

Values. Three scales measuring values have been utilised. Chan (1994) selected seven items to measure individualistic values and six items to measure collective values from the Schwartz Value Survey (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1990). In addition, a seven-item Family Values scale (Georgas, 1991) measuring responsibilities of children toward family and relatives and responsibilities of parents toward children was used.

Parenting. Four scales have been used to assess parenting and socialisation values: (1) developmental timetable, (2) expectations of a grown-up son/daughter, (3) parenting goals, and (4) parental warmth. Development timetable consists of six items measuring the age at which a mother expects a child to keep their room tidy, travel alone, control their temper, look after younger siblings and family members, and to get married. Expectations of a grown-up son/daughter consist of a 7-item scale that asks respondents how much assistance they can expect from a grown-up son or daughter (e.g. live close to you, help you with housework, provide financial assistance and emotional support). For parenting goals, respondents were asked to rate how important the following five qualities were in the child: obedience, independence, popular with others, being a good person, and doing well in school. Expectations of a grown-up son/daughter and parenting goals come from the 1972 VOC Study. The parental warmth comes from Parental Acceptance–Rejection Scale developed by Rohner (1984). In the present study, a 7-item parental warmth scale that measures mother's support, care, and concern for the child was adopted.

Parental Support. The Parental Support questionnaire consists of six items that ask the respondents the degree to which they are willing to tolerate hardships (e.g. financial strain, emotional stress, restrictions, and relational conflicts) for the child and when the child became an adult.

Subjective Well-being. Four areas are assessed in the Subjective well-being section: (1) child rearing stress, (2) filial anxiety, (3) burdensome parents, and (4) life-satisfaction. Child rearing stress consists of three items (i.e. "The child has brought more problems than expected", "raising the child is harder than expected", and "raising the child causes problems"). Filial anxiety consists of seven items assessing the difficulties of taking care of elderly and frail parents (e.g. financial, emotional, relational, and social strains). Burdensome parents asks the respondents whether the financial, practical, and emotional support they provided to their parents during the past 12 months was a burden to them. The Life-satisfaction scale is a modified version of Taft's (1985) Life-Satisfaction scale that assesses the degree to which the respondents felt satisfied with the six aspects of their lives (friendship, health, work, family, husband, and overall).

Sample. A convenient sampling method was used to recruit participants for the study. Mothers of young infants aged 2 to 4 were recruited through nursery and daycare centers in Gyeonggi Province, near Seoul. Mothers of Grade 8 and 9 students were recruited through middle schools in Gyeonggi Province. Mothers were given a small gift for completing the survey questionnaire.

RESULTS

Background Information

A total of 314 young mothers and 395 older mothers completed the survey during the summer of 2001 to spring of 2002. The young mothers were on average 31 years old (older mothers = 41), had 14.5 years of education (older mothers = 12.3), and 91 per cent had a job when they got married (older mothers = 66%), and 60 per cent reported still holding a job (older mothers = 57%). A total of 26 per cent of young mothers had one child (older mothers = 9%) and 67 per cent had two children (older mothers = 72%). In terms of religion, around half of the respondents reported being Christian, and older mothers considered religion slightly more important than young mothers.

In terms of number of additional children, 87 per cent of young mothers and 99 per cent of older mothers did not want to have more children. If they could have only one child, 56 per cent of young mothers and 62 per cent of

older mothers reported that the sex of the child did not matter. Regarding mothers who reported a preference, 19 per cent of older mothers preferred boys and 9 per cent preferred girls (20% and 16% for young mothers, respectively).

Values of Children

For positive VOC, three factors were extracted. The first factor, with 10 items loading and explaining 17.7 per cent of the variance, was labeled as social benefits. Items included economic and utilitarian values and kin group benefits, such as: "To help your family economically", "Children can help when you're old", and "To carry on the family name". The second factor, with 10 items loading and explaining 15.6 per cent of the variance, was labeled as psychological benefits. Items included emotional values of love, joy, companionship, and satisfaction: "Pleasure watching children grow", "Fun to have young children around", and "To feel the love of parent and child". The third factor, with seven items loading and explaining 12.2 per cent of the variance, was labeled as relational benefits. Items included maintaining positive relations with children, kin, friends, and spouses: "Bring parents closer together", "Increases responsibility, develop self", and "Less likely to be lonely in old age". The three scales had high reliability: social benefits ($\alpha = .85$), psychological benefits ($\alpha = .83$), and relational benefits ($\alpha = .78$).

For negative VOC, three factors were extracted. The first factor, with 11 items loading and explaining 27.2 per cent of the variance, was labeled as personal constraints. Items included, "Not as free to do what you want", "It is harder to hold a job", and "Financial burden for the whole family". The second factor, with five items loading and explaining 16.2 per cent of the variance, was labeled as social constraints. Items included, "Causes problems and strains in marriage", "Being mother is not recognised by people", and "You lose contact with your friends". The third factor, with five items loading and explaining 14.9 per cent of the variance, was labeled as external constraints. Items included, "Health does not permit it", "You are or your husband is too old", and "Housing situation is not suitable". The scales had high reliability: personal constraints ($\alpha = .92$), external constraints ($\alpha = .82$), and social constraints ($\alpha = .82$).

The scale mean, standard deviation, and the *t*-test between the young and older mothers are presented in Table 1. In addition a one-way ANOVA was conducted to examine if there are statistically significant mean differences among the three positive VOC and negative VOC for young and older mothers. For positive VOC, psychological benefits had the highest means, followed by relational benefits, and social benefits for both young ($F = 1,315$, $p < .001$) and older mothers ($F = 681$, $p < .001$). Within the subscales of positive

TABLE 1
Comparison of Positive and Negative VOC Between Young and Older Mothers

Scales	Young mothers		Older mothers		t
	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	
Positive VOC					
Social benefits	1.78	(.52)	2.16	(.64)	-8.15***
Psychological benefits	3.68	(.57)	3.47	(.59)	4.58***
Relational benefits	2.99	(.66)	3.12	(.62)	-2.65*
Negative VOC					
Personal constraints	2.79	(.80)	2.49	(.82)	4.52**
Social constraints	1.89	(.58)	1.97	(.73)	-1.51
External constraints	2.66	(.93)	2.65	(.89)	.16

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

VOC, young mothers were more likely to report psychological benefits and older mothers were more likely to report relational and social benefits.

For negative VOC, all three scales were below the mid-point of the scale for both young and older mothers. Personal constraints had the highest mean, followed by external constraints, and then by the social constraints for young mothers ($F = 217, p < .001$). For older mothers, external constraints had the highest mean, followed by personal constraints, and then by the social constraints ($F = 130, p < .001$). Within the subscales of negative VOC, young mothers were more likely to report personal constraints than the older mothers. There were no statistically significant differences between young and older mothers for the external and social constraints.

To examine the influence of background factors, an ANOVA was conducted with positive and negative VOC, with age and education as covariates. Age did not emerge as a significant covariate for either positive or negative VOC. Education emerged as a significant covariate for social ($F = 7.74, p < .01$) and relational benefits ($F = 11.40, p < .01$), but did not influence negative VOC. In other words, mothers with lower education were more likely to report higher relational and social benefits. When the influence of education is partialled out, the difference between the two groups is still statistically significant for social benefits ($F = 36.08, p < .001$), but not for relational benefits ($F = .82, ns$).

Table 2 provides the correlations between positive and negative VOC with psychological and background information. Young mothers who lived in a larger household, viewed religion as being important, had higher family values and expectations of a grown-up son/daughter, and who experienced less child rearing stress reported higher social benefits. Older mothers, who

TABLE 2
Correlation Between VOC and Psychological and Background Variables

	<i>Positive VOC</i>						<i>Negative VOC</i>					
	<i>Social benefits</i>		<i>Psychological benefits</i>		<i>Relational benefits</i>		<i>Personal constraints</i>		<i>Social constraints</i>		<i>External constraints</i>	
	<i>Young mothers</i>	<i>Older mothers</i>	<i>Young mothers</i>	<i>Older mothers</i>	<i>Young mothers</i>	<i>Older mothers</i>	<i>Young mothers</i>	<i>Older mothers</i>	<i>Young mothers</i>	<i>Older mothers</i>	<i>Young mothers</i>	<i>Older mothers</i>
1. Values												
Individualistic	-.07	-.10	.07	.24**	.04	.10	.04	.06	-.04	-.03	-.05	.02
Collective	.07	-.26**	.12	.21**	.19**	.03	-.10	-.11	-.02	-.27**	.02	-.07
Family	.24**	-.09	.24**	.24**	.31**	.19**	-.13*	-.11	-.03	-.18**	-.06	-.09
2. Parenting												
Developmental timetable	-.03	-.09	-.12*	-.11	-.09	-.19**	.14*	-.02	.14*	-.04	-.04	-.05
Expectation: Son	.30**	.31**	.27**	.08	.22**	.16*	.19*	.10	.07	.15	.01	.03
Daughter	.32**	.36**	.21**	.08	.26**	.26**	.08	.00	.00	.14*	-.09	.11
Parenting goals	.07	-.10	.23**	.37**	.16**	.21**	-.02	.00	-.17**	-.13*	.04	.00
Parental warmth	.03	-.02	.20**	.23**	.09	.20**	-.10	-.06	-.15*	-.07	-.12	-.09
3. Parental support:												
Child	.05	.10	.19**	.12*	.11	.10	.09	.09	.06	.02	.16**	.03
Adult child	.06	.20**	.19**	.09	.13*	.22**	-.03	.00	-.02	.03	.19**	-.09
4. Subjective well-being												
Child rearing stress	-.12*	.07	-.15*	.07	-.06	.04	.30**	.21**	.15*	.15**	.13*	.04
Filial anxiety	-.03	.20**	.02	-.05	-.02	.05	.35**	.16**	.15*	.20**	.25**	.16**
Burdensome parents	.04	.19**	-.02	-.10	.10	.06	.06	.06	.16*	.12	-.02	-.03
Life-satisfaction	-.02	.06	.16	.09	.01	.06	-.11	-.11	-.16*	-.07	-.15*	-.09
5. Background information												
Age	.03	.10	.02	-.03	-.13*	.00	-.04	.02	-.08	.03	.06	.04
Education	-.10	-.12*	-.06	.11*	-.20**	-.08	.13*	.04	.03	-.12*	.12*	-.02
Size of household	.16**	.07	.07	.08	.05	-.05	-.12*	-.10	-.09	-.10	-.06	-.06
Importance of religion	.14*	.00	.07	.18**	.02	.08	-.12	-.02	-.12	-.02	-.07	.02
Number of children	.10	.21**	-.01	.06	.02	.05	.05	.03	.01	.01	.04	.05
Have a job	.10	-.12*	.12*	.07	.04	.00	.05	-.10	.05	-.17*	.15	-.01

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

had less education, no job, more children, lower collective values and higher expectations of a grown-up son/daughter, higher parental support to adult children, filial anxiety, and burdensome parents had higher scores on social benefits. The results seem to indicate that those young mothers with traditional family values were more likely to espouse social benefits. In contrast, older mothers who lived in a traditional family structure and had difficulties with their parents, chose to focus on their children and espoused social benefits.

For psychological benefits, young mothers who had a job, had higher family values, expectations of a grown-up son/daughter, higher parenting goals, higher parental warmth, higher parental support for the child and adult child, and lower scores on child rearing stress and developmental timetable, reported higher scores. Older mothers with higher education, who viewed religion as being important, with higher individualistic, collective, and family values, parental goals, parental warmth, and parental support to the child, reported higher scores on psychological benefits. The overall pattern of results was similar for both groups. However, for older mothers psychological benefits were correlated with high individualistic values and for young mothers they were correlated with low child rearing stress.

The overall pattern of results for relational benefits was similar for young and older mothers. For young mothers, those who were younger, had less education, had higher collective and family values, had expectations of a grown-up son/daughter, higher parenting goals, and higher parental support to adult child had higher scores on relational benefits. Older mothers with higher collective values, expectations of a grown-up son/daughter, parenting goals, parental warmth, parental support to an adult child, and lower scores on the developmental timetable report higher scores.

For negative VOC, a different pattern of results was obtained. For the young mothers, those with higher education, smaller household size, higher scores on developmental timetable, expectations of a grown-up son/daughter, child rearing stress, and filial anxiety reported higher scores on personal constraints. Among older mothers, those who reported higher levels of child rearing stress and filial anxiety report higher levels of personal constraints.

For social constraints, those young mothers with higher scores on developmental timetable, child rearing stress, filial anxiety, burdensome parents and lower scores on parental goals, parental warmth, and life-satisfaction reported higher scores. Older mothers with less education, without a job, with lower scores on collective and family values, parenting goals, and higher scores on expectations from their daughter/son, filial anxiety, and burdensome parents had higher scores on social constraints.

For external constraints, young mothers with low education, higher scores on parental support to child and adult child, child rearing stress, and filial anxiety and lower scores on life-satisfaction had higher scores. Older mothers reporting higher filial anxiety reported higher scores on external constraints.

TABLE 3
Factor Analysis of VOC, Psychological, and Background Variables

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Positive family values</i>	<i>Traditional family values</i>	<i>Negative family values</i>
Family values	.70	.01	-.17
Psychological benefits	.69	-.07	.18
Parenting goals	.65	-.05	-.21
Relational benefits	.59	.22	.23
Collective values	.56	-.19	-.31
Parental acceptance	.41	-.26	-.19
Importance of religion	.37	.11	-.13
Parental support to adult child	.19	.17	.06
Number of children	.01	.69	-.07
Age	-.03	.68	-.07
Size of household	-.05	.62	-.20
Expectation of a grown-up son	.30	.57	.08
Expectation of a grown-up daughter	.37	.54	.08
Social benefits	.48	.51	.31
Individualistic values	.21	-.46	.07
Burdensome parents	-.18	.33	.17
Parental support to child	.18	.31	.07
Education	.05	-.26	-.08
Personal constraints	.10	-.06	.84
Social constraints	.10	.19	.77
External constraints	.19	-.10	.62
Filial anxiety	-.16	.11	.47
Life-satisfaction	.34	-.18	-.44
Child rearing stress	-.25	-.18	.35
Developmental timetable	-.14	.12	.33
Have a job	-.03	-.07	.12
% of variance explained	12.4	11.6	11.0

A factor analysis was conducted on positive and negative VOC, psychological variables, and background information. Three factors were extracted and factor labels are presented in Table 3. The first factor, explaining 12.4 per cent of the variance, was labeled positive family values. It includes the two positive VOC (psychological and relational benefits), family values, parenting goals, parental acceptance, parental support to adult child, and importance of religion. The second factor, explaining 11.6 per cent of the variance, was labeled traditional family values. This factor includes features of a large family, social benefits, expectations of a grown-up son/daughter, parental support to child, and burdensome parents, with individualistic values loading negatively. The third factor, explaining 11.0 per cent of the variance, was labeled negative family values. It includes the three negative VOC, as well

as filial anxiety, child rearing stress, and developmental timetable with life-satisfaction loading negatively.

DISCUSSION

In the traditional agricultural communities in Korea, the family served as the unit of survival. People had many children so that they could contribute to the family economically, the family line would continue, to ensure that they were provided for when they grew old, and to ensure siblings would take care of each other after they passed away. Having many children, especially boys, was a source, basis, and symbol of wealth, power, and status. A woman in Korea was relatively powerless until she was married and gave birth to a son. Her children became a basis and source of her power, pride, and influence. Psychological, relational, economic, and social benefits were all tied into having children. In traditional Korean culture, it was inconceivable that anyone would choose not to have children.

Confucianism helped to maintain a conservative, patriarchal, and agrarian structure in Korea (Kim, 1995). Traditionally, power was concentrated in the hands of a few, and only about 10 per cent of the population was able to enjoy the affluent life. The rights of women were virtually non-existent and their identity was defined through their relationship with men (i.e. father, husband, or their sons). Modernisation, industrialisation, and urbanisation helped to transform Korean society.

From 1965, the Korean economy grew at a rapid pace, along with educational, social, and democratic reforms. Many people assume that Korea simply westernised, but this is not the case. Although social structures became modern, the core values of emotional relatedness and family harmony remain strong. The change occurred from the past-orientation of Korean culture to a future-orientation (Kim, 2001). Rather than investing much time and energy on ancestors or grandparents (who represent the past), Koreans now invest in their children (who represent the future). Also, the paternalistic system of favoring the father-son relationship has changed to a more egalitarian viewing of all parent-child relationships as equally valuable. Preference for sons decreased and the economic and utilitarian value of having many children also decreased.

In modern Korea, family, relatives, and children no longer serve as the primary basis for power, wealth, or status. It is much more important to have educational, financial, and professional knowledge. Modern life provides people with more resources, time, and freedom of choice. Koreans live longer, healthier, wealthier lives, and with more modern conveniences than ever before. In Korea, the VOC have changed from social and economic benefits to psychological and relational benefits. The constraints have also changed from biological constraints of not being able to have children to personal

constraints of having children. The values of having or not having children have become a matter of personal choice, with the adoption of contraception methods, especially by women with tertiary education and a career. The psychological aspects have become central in understanding why Koreans decide to have children, when to have children, and the number of children to have.

Although young mothers in this study are only 10 years younger than the older mothers, they grew up in very different social conditions. The older mothers grew up when the per capita Gross National Income was \$249 and the fertility rate was 4.7. The young mothers grew up when per capita GNI increased six-fold to \$1,598 and the fertility rate was reduced to 2.7. The young mothers placed a greater emphasis on psychological benefits and personal constraints than the older mothers. The older mothers placed a greater emphasis on social benefits. This difference could be explained in part by cohort differences and the age of the respondents. Currently, the fertility rate is 1.19 and it is declining; suggesting that newly married couples are most likely to have just one child. Every year, an increasing number of young women delay getting married and having a child to pursue their career (Korea Statistics Bureau, 2003). It is likely that psychological benefits and personal constraints of having children will become much more important. Rather than economic and utilitarian benefits, economic constraint is becoming an important reason for not having children.

The factor analysis reveals an interesting pattern of results. The items in the first factor reveal positive relational and family values. Those respondents who see positive aspects of family also see psychological and relational benefits. The items in the second factor reflect the traditional family structure and values. The size of the household is large. They expect to support their children and they expect their grown-up children to support them in return. They are more likely to see their parents as being burdensome, but see children as providing social benefits. In the third factor, mothers have low subjective well-being in terms of high filial anxiety, high child rearing stress, and low life-satisfaction. They also expect their children to become independent at a later age and hold negative VOC. Correlational analyses indicate that mothers with negative VOC also score lower on family values. These mothers have problems in life and they see family as being burdensome and they are not motivated to have children. The factor structures may reflect three types of family experiences for Korean mothers: (1) positive and close families, (2) traditional patriarchal families, and (3) conflict-ridden and burdensome families. These personal and familial experiences shape the VOC.

The decline in fertility rate, coupled with the delay in getting married and having less children, may suggest that Korea is following the Western model. Also, the divorce rate in Korea, which was below 10 per cent 20

years ago, has increased rapidly to pass 30 per cent in 2002 (Korea Statistics Bureau, 2003). However, even with the dramatic social change, the importance and value of family has not changed in the past 100 years. In a study of 2,789 adolescents, adults, and elderly, Kim, Park, Kim, Lee, and Yu (2000) found that respondents, regardless of age, sex, or socioeconomic status, view harmonious family as the most important life-goal. This pattern of results has been found in numerous studies over the past century (Park & Kim, 2004).

Although the present study provides an interesting pattern of results, it has several limitations. The current study is an expansion of the 1972 study, but direct comparison is not possible since the sample and the survey instrument used are not identical. Second, although the young and older mother samples provide useful comparisons, they differ in cohort experiences and age, making direct comparisons tenuous. Finally, these samples are cross-sectional samples and it is difficult to infer causal relationships from the data. To explore the relationship among VOC, psychological variables, and background information, the present authors are currently conducting longitudinal studies, with multiple cohort groups.

REFERENCES

- Arnold, F., & Fawcett, J. (1975). *The values of children: A cross-national study*. Honolulu, HI: East-West Population Institute, East-West Center.
- Chan, D.K.S. (1994). Colindex: A refinement of three collectivism measures. In U. Kim, H.C. Triandis, C. Kagitcibasi, S.C. Choi, & G. Yoon (Eds.), *Individualism and collectivism: Theory, method, and applications* (pp. 200–210). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Georgas, J. (1991). Intrafamily acculturation of values in Greece. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 22, 445–457.
- Kim, U. (1995). *Individualism and collectivism: Psychological, cultural and ecological analysis*. Copenhagen, Denmark: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies.
- Kim, U. (2001). Culture, science and indigenous psychologies: An integrated analysis. In D. Matsumoto (Ed.), *Handbook of culture and psychology* (pp. 51–76). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kim, U., & Choi, S.H. (1994). Individualism, collectivism and child development: A Korean perspective. In P. Greenfield & R. Cocking (Eds.), *Cross-cultural roots of minority child development* (pp. 227–258). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Kim, U., & Park, Y.S. (2003). An indigenous analysis of success attribution: Comparison of Korean students and adults. In K.S. Yang, K.K. Hwang, P. Pedersen, & I. Daibo (Eds.), *Progress in Asian social psychology: Conceptual and empirical contributions* (pp. 171–195). New York: Praeger.
- Kim, U., Park, Y.S., Kim, M.U., Lee, K.W., & Yu, S.H. (2000). Intergenerational differences and life-satisfaction: Comparative analysis of adolescents, adults, and the elderly. *Korean Journal of Health Psychology*, 5, 119–145.
- Korea Statistics Bureau (2003). *Annual statistics*. Seoul, South Korea: Government of Korea.

- Lee, S.J., & Kim, J.O. (1975). *The value of children: A cross-national study, Korea* (Vol. 7). Honolulu, HI: East-West Center.
- Park, Y.S., & Kim, U. (2004). *Parent-child relationship in Korea: Indigenous psychological analysis of self-concept and family role*. [in Korean] Seoul, South Korea: Kyoyook Kwahaksa.
- Pohl, K. (1995). *Design und Struktur des deutschen FFS. Materialien zur Bevölkerungswissenschaft: Familienbildung und Kinderwunsch in Deutschland* [Design and structure of the Germany FFS: Materials of demography: Creation of family and desire of a child in Germany] (Heft 82a). Wiesbaden, Germany: Bundesinstitut für Bevölkerungsforschung.
- Rohner, R.P. (1984). *Handbook for the study of parental warmth and rejection*. Storrs, CT: University of Connecticut.
- Schwartz, S.H., & Bilsky, W. (1990). Toward a theory of the universal content and structure of values: Extensions and cross-cultural replications. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 58, 878–891.
- Schwarz, B., Chakkarath, P., Trommsdorff, G., Schwenk, O., & Nauck, B. (2001). Report on selected instruments of the values of children (main study). Unpublished manuscript, University of Konstanz, Konstanz, Germany.
- Taft, R. (1985). The psychological study of the adjustment and adaptation of immigrants in Australia. In N.T. Feather (Ed.), *Australian psychology: Review of research* (pp. 364–386). Sydney, Australia: Allen and Unwin.
- Trommsdorff, G., & Nauck, B. (2001). *Value of children in six cultures: Eine Replikation und Erweiterung der "Value-of-Children-Studies" in Bezug auf generatives Verhalten und Eltern-Kind-Beziehungen. Antrag an die DFG* [Value of children in six cultures: A replication and extension of the "Value-of-Children-Studies" with respect to generative behavior and parent-child relationships]. Proposal to the German Research Council (DFG). Unpublished manuscript, University of Konstanz, Konstanz, Germany.