

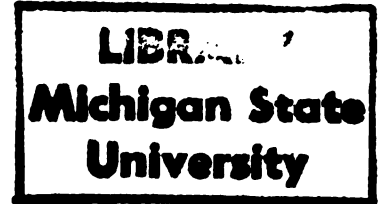
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INDUSTRIAL TRANSFORMATION
AND FEMALE LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION IN
KOREA AND THE UNITED STATES BETWEEN 1963 & 1983

presented by

Sung Hoon Lee

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

M.A. degree in Sociology

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Major professor

Date June 6, 1988

William A. Faunce

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INDUSTRIAL TRANSFORMATION
AND FEMALE LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION IN
KOREA AND THE UNITED STATES BETWEEN 1963 & 1983

By

Sung Hoon Lee

A THESIS

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ABSTRACT

INDUSTRIAL TRANSFORMATION AND
FEMALE LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION
IN KOREA AND THE UNITED STATES BETWEEN 1963 & 1983

By

Sung Hoon Lee

As a historical trend analysis, this study examines the pattern of female employment while being concerned with economic development, transformations of the industrial and occupational structures, and occupational segregation by sex. Thus, the present study basically attempts to answer two principal questions: One is whether the general patterns in the relationship of economic development with female employment in industry sectors will be similar in Korea and the United States during the 1963-1983 period. The other question is whether, as female labor force participation increases, the degree of occupational segregation by sex will be increased in the two countries during the two decades.

Based upon national census data, four major hypotheses were tested using the methods of graphic presentation and the test of significance of difference between proportions. The main findings of this study can be summarized as follows:

1. The general pattern in the relationship between

economic development and female labor force participation was similar in the two countries during the twenty years period.

2. The general pattern in the relationship between economic development and shifts of female employment among industry sectors was also similar in Korea and the United States except that female employment increased in the secondary sector in Korea and decreased in the United States.

3. During the two decades, the degree of occupational segregation increased in Korea, but decreased slightly in the United States.

This is dedicated to my parents.

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INTRODUCTION

One of the most significant features of the economy of Korea today is the markedly increasing labor force participation of women. Particularly, since the 1960s, as Korea experienced rapid and stable industrial development, the need for women has expanded in the labor market. Thus, Korean women began to enter the labor force in unprecedented numbers and played an active role in the national economic development by stimulating the process of industrialization. Meanwhile, through the relatively speedy process of industrialization, there have also been substantial changes in the industrial and occupational distribution and in the socio-demographic composition of the female labor force. It seems to be therefore important to examine the most salient changes in the industrial and occupational structures in order to assess the patterns and characteristics of the increasing female labor force participation.

Thus, in the present study, my major concern is to see how the pattern of female labor force participation in Korea has been changed and to what extent associated with the economic development and transformations of the industry and occupational structures during the 1963-1983 period. In

addition, with a special interest in how the trend of female employment in a developed country has shifted over the same period, I will compare the Korean case with that of the United States. In the present study, two types of comparisons will be made: comparison between Korea and the United States and comparison within each country during the two decades.

Hence, this study is divided into six sections: the first contains the statement of the research problem; the second discusses previous studies of the issues of industrial development, sectoral transformation, occupational changes, and female labor force participation; the third sets forth the hypotheses, data, and measures; the fourth sketches the general overview of female labor force participation in Korea and the United States; fifth uses available data in order to assess the relationships among economic development, industrial transformation, occupational segregation by sex, and female labor force participation; and a final section discusses the findings and draws some conclusions.

I. STATEMENT OF RESEARCH PROBLEM

During the past two or three decades, many developing countries, especially most countries in the Third World have entered a new and critical stage of economic development mainly through the process of industrialization. As one of the new and exemplary industrializing countries among these developing nations, Korea has experienced a phenomenal economic growth within a relatively short time since the early 1960s. In successive five-year economic plans, the Korean government energetically pursued export-oriented, labor-intensive industrialization, based on considerable foreign and highly motivated domestic labor. Thus, in this process, there was widespread demand for female workers and women resources began to be mobilized under the name of national development in an unprecedented number. Consequently, since the 1960s women's labor force participation rates began to increase steadily.

Meanwhile, with the national economic development and its progress in relatively rapid industrialization, Korea began to experience the transformation of the industrial and occupational structures. Like the cases of the developed nations which underwent industrialization in earlier times,

the Korean industrial structure began to shift from the traditional agricultural to secondary sectors, and recently to the tertiary sector. Thus, today the manufacturing and service sectors became the central industrial sectors in the structure of the national economy. As a result, the occupational structure also began to change.

Since earlier times, the United States has also experienced structural transformation of the economy. In the post-war period in the USA, like other advanced capitalist countries, the general nature of the transformations of the industrial and occupational structures was clear, that is, there has been a general shift of employment from extractive industries and manufacturing industries to the service sector of the economy.

In the meantime, today, even though women are entering the labor force in increasing numbers, in fact, the kinds of jobs they are taking tend to be fairly limited. Women are more likely to be in white collar clerical positions than men and also in service occupations. They are less likely to be in blue collar skilled, and white collar professional, technical, and managerial occupations. That is to say, women seem to be in stereotypically female jobs. In such circumstances, in terms of the remarkable expansion of female labor force participation, it can be assumed that the transformations in the structure of the economy might influence the pattern of female labor force participation,

especially in the occupational structure.

Here, three general and crucial questions are raised as follows: First, is there a positive relationship between industrial development and female labor force participation in Korea and the United States during the 1963-1983 period? Second, as the industrial structure transforms from the primary to secondary and eventually to tertiary sectors, does the pattern of female labor force participation also shift toward the secondary and tertiary sectors? And, finally as female labor force participation increases, does occupational sex segregation increase or not? Thus, the main purpose of this study is to answer these three basic questions while comparing the case of Korea and that of the United States.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Among the numerous studies about working women, "previous research on women's labor force participation has operated on the premise that participation increases with economic development" (Semyonov, 1980). Namely, a number of studies demonstrated that when economic development takes place, new opportunities for women to work arise through increased numbers of service and white-collar occupations as well as increased educational opportunities. Such opportunities are coupled with reduced fertility and household responsibilities (Collver and Langlois, 1962; Klein, 1963; Wilensky, 1968). Industrialization, therefore seems to generate both supply and a demand for female laborers (Oppenheimer, 1970). However, even though it can be expected that there is a positive relationship between level of industrial development and rate of female labor force participation, "the empirical findings have been somewhat confusing" (Semyonov, 1980). Hence, with regard to the relationship between women's labor force participation and industrial development, there have been differing views presented in some developed and developing countries. Among these, the arguments by Wilensky (1968), Collver and

Langlois (1962) and Youssef (1972) are worth reviewing briefly.

From a comparative study of the impact of economic growth on non-agricultural labor force participation of women in 34 different countries, Wilensky points out that "all rich countries provide abundant job chances for women outside of agriculture. And level of economic development is far more important than ideology as a determinant of female participation in urban economy" (Wilensky: 236).

On the other hand, Collver and Langlois claim that the notion that women's labor force participation increases with economic development needs to be modified, since some countries remain underdeveloped despite high work participation of women, while others achieve a high level of economic productivity with relatively low female participation. According to the differences in cultural and social context that affect women's labor force participation, they suggest four patterns of work participation of women -- one type primarily occurring in the economically advanced countries, and the other three in the underdeveloped countries.

1. The industrial society pattern: There is found a limited range of variation in the rates of women's labor force participation. In these countries, high wages, the desire for a high level of living, and reduced burden of household tasks tend to induce a relatively large number of women into the labor market.

2. The Latin American pattern: Participation rates of women show a considerable variation. However, this pattern is characterized by a high rate for domestic

participation of young girls, which is commonly higher than non-domestic work participation of women.

3. The Caribbean pattern: Women's work participation is higher than in other groups, although there is also a considerable variation among nations. The high rate of work participation can be partly explained by the economic necessity of women to be self-sufficient at various stages of their lives, due to weakness and instability in the family system and high illegitimacy rates.

4. The Muslim Middle East pattern: Women's economic activity is discouraged, and the rates are very low. "Early marriage and female seclusion" is the dominating life pattern of women, rather than work outside the home.

Youssef (1974) agrees with Collver and Langlois in rejecting Wilensky's approach that characterizes female employment rates as a function of the level of economic development. She tries to identify the factors of social structure and organization that influence women to join the labor force by comparing the patterns of women's labor force participation in Latin American and Middle Eastern societies. She emphasizes the cultural definition of the family role, the role of the kinship unit in the system of social control, and the acknowledgment of economic obligation to female family members as prescribed by kinship institutions, rather than simple family characteristics such as age at marriage, extent of marriage, and fertility rates, as major aspects of social organization and their cultural adjuncts resulting in the regional differentials in women's work participation patterns despite similar economic backwardness.

On the other hand, according to Boserup (1970), industrialization and the emergence of market economies in low income countries reduces female labor force participation. Traditional work opportunities of women on farms and in home businesses are lost as labor becomes a market commodity; moreover, because of family obligations, competition with males, and sexual discrimination, women have difficulty finding employment in the industrial sector of the economy. In advanced industrial nations, however, there is a positive relationship between industrial development and female labor force participation. Continued economic growth and expansion of the tertiary sector of industrialized economies, where female-labeled jobs are concentrated, increases the demand for female workers (Oppenheimer, 1970). With the increased supply of middle-aged women freed from childrearing duties, this high demand brought about by postindustrial growth increases female labor force participation (Land and Pampel, 1980).

In short, it seems that industrial development, by initially reducing work opportunities in home-based production, and later increasing work opportunities for women outside the home, may have both negative and positive effects on female labor force participation.

Meanwhile, such an economic or industrial development brings about a fundamental transformation of the industrial and occupational structures. On this issue, several sociologists have been concerned with the changes of

industry and occupational structures (Lyson, 1986; Singelmann, 1978; Singelmann and Browning, 1980) and their relationship with female labor force participation (Singelmann and Tienda, 1979).

Primarily, the traditional view of industrial transformation was first proposed by Allan G.B. Fisher (1935) and Colin Clark (1951) who called attention to changes in the industry structure of the labor force in the course of economic development. Central to their perspective is the notion of a uniform evolutionary process of development which all societies experience at different times in history. The Fisher-Clark thesis is called the three-sector model of economic development which distinguishes primary industries (agriculture, fishing, forestry, mining); secondary industries (manufacturing, construction, utilities); and tertiary industries (commerce, transportation, communication, services).

Using cross-sectional and historical data, primarily from Western and industrial nations, Clark (1951) called attention to a sequence of changes which take place during the course of development. According to him, industrialization and structural differentiation bring about a shift in the economy resulting in the emergence of the secondary sector as the central domain of employment. Increased productive capacity associated with advanced industrialization further transforms the economic structure due to the relative growth of trade, finance,

transportation, and social services. This process ultimately results in a minute primary sector, a contracting secondary sector, and a tertiary sector in which the majority of the work force is employed.

While working with such a three-sector model, Fisher and Clark arrived at two basic conclusions (Singelmann, 1978): (1) An increase in per capita income historically leads to the movement of employment out of agriculture into secondary industries and subsequently, to a shift from secondary to tertiary industries. (2) A high level of tertiary employment requires a high level of per capita income.

In sum, Clark and Fisher described the decline of agriculture as a source of employment in modern societies and growth of manufacturing and eventually service industries as the dominant source of employment. "The transition from an agriculturally oriented economy to a service economy that is taking place throughout the Western world is bringing with it dramatic changes in the nature of work. More particularly, an overall change in the nature of the occupational structure takes place as the growth of service industries increased the demand for professional, technical, clerical, and sales occupations" (Lyson, 1986).

Contrary to the uniform patterns of development implied in the Fisher-Clark evolutionary model, Lenski and Nolan (1984) have demonstrated that country-specific characteristics and especially the technoeconomic heritage

of societies have unique consequences for their trajectories of development. By distinguishing between "industrializing horticultural" and "industrializing agrarian" societies, they called attention to the importance of internal societal circumstances in affecting development.

In the meantime, convergence theorists, notably Kerr et al. (1960) and Moore (1966), and 'stage' theorists (e.g., Polanyi, 1944; Rostow, 1960) of societal development generally argue that societies tend to show a similar pattern of development in processes of industrialization. According to their core arguments, societies differ a good deal in the early stages of industrialization. But with industrial advance, societies evolve in a common direction. In other words, despite the difference of industrial and industrializing societies, especially the degree of technological development and cultural differences, in the long run, societies increasingly show similar sequences of change in development.

Accordingly, in the course of industrial development, the occupational structure in a society comes to be linked to technological changes, and it can be expected that, nature of the occupational structure may influence the employment pattern of males and females in the labor market.

Today, despite the dramatic influx of women into the labor market during this century, the occupational distribution between men and women has changed relatively little (Blau and Ferber, 1987). As a whole, women tend to

be clearly concentrated into a small number of the traditionally "female" occupations --e.g., nurse, teacher, librarian --and they constitute a very large proportion of certain occupational categories --e.g., "clerical and kindred" and "service workers". On the other hand, men are more likely to be in the traditionally "male" occupations, including "craftmen, engineer, lawyer, and physician". These differences between men and women are often referred to as "occupational segregation" by sex. Namely, "occupational segregation is the prototype for sexual stratification --that is, the allocation of inequalities by gender" (Laws, 1979).

Why women are concentrated in so few sex-segregated occupations has been a matter of interest to sociologists and economists. Some researchers have focused on the existence of occupational segregation by sex as a crucial barrier to the attainment of economic equality for women (Bergmann, 1974; Blau and Jusenius, 1976). Several empirical investigations suggest that the degree of occupational segregation of the sexes has remained remarkably stable in the extent of female labor force participation during that time (Gross, 1968; Oppenheimer, 1970). Using detailed occupational data for the period 1900-1960, Gross (1968) pointed out that the US labor force was highly segregated by sex and that there had been no noticeable change in occupational differentiation by sex during this century. Meanwhile, utilizing comparable

occupational data for the period 1900-1960, Oppenheimer (1970) also indicated that female workers are concentrated in occupations which are predominantly female but that this pattern of concentration remained much the same for the entire period of her study.

One of the crucial theoretical frameworks to explain occupational segregation by sex is the dual labor market theory which pays attention to the structural characteristics of the labor market. Particularly, Piore (1970) and Schrank and Riley (1976) have discussed the existence of two distinct types of labor markets, i.e., a dual labor market.

Piore (1970) has described the characteristics of "primary" and "secondary" labor markets. The primary labor market is characterized by high wages, good working conditions, job security, employment stability, opportunities for advancement and work rules that include due process and equity. On the other hand, the secondary labor market is characterized by low wages, poor working conditions, variability in employment and low chance for advancement, little or no fringe benefits, and arbitrary and random administration of work rules. According to his theoretical perspective, owing to such structural features of the labor market, women are generally clustered in the secondary labor market.

On the other hand, Schrank and Riley (1976) specifically discussed male and female labor markets. The

male labor market covers the whole range of job prestige. Jobs that are very low in prestige, such as unskilled laborer, are dominated by males, as are the highest prestige jobs. Female jobs, in contrast, occupy a narrow prestige range. Women's jobs are clustered at the low end of a prestige continuum. Male and female jobs are also differentiated by their range of tasks. Men's jobs include a variety of tasks whereas women's jobs are clustered in a few task areas.

In sum, according to the dual labor market perspective, when women participate in the labor force, they inevitably come to be involved in the sex-segregated occupations where the circumstances are extremely unfavorable for them mainly because of the structural characteristics of the labor market. As a consequence, women's occupations are characterized by an extreme degree of sex concentration. Women are concentrated in comparatively few occupations, and the degree of concentration is high.

However, in spite of the ascribed structural circumstances in the labor market, it seems to be an interesting question whether occupational segregation by sex will reach a new stage or not with the transformation of the industrial structure. As was mentioned earlier in this section, with economic development, the employment pattern in a society comes to shift from primary to secondary, and finally from secondary to tertiary sectors. Because the agricultural industries, which dominates the primary sector,

are not gender segregated, the movement of female employment into the secondary and tertiary industries creates more opportunities of gender segregation, thus we would expect that occupational segregation will be increased with economic development. Particularly, in the early stages of industrialization, women are likely to be employed in manufacturing industries, for instance, in the textile industry that are traditionally gender segregated. In addition, there are some occupations in the tertiary sector that are also highly gender segregated. Therefore, with the continuing industrialization, the shifts of female employment among industry sectors will increase gender segregation.

III. HYPOTHESES

Drawing upon the above review of literature on economic development, sectoral transformation, occupational sex segregation, and female labor force participation, four major hypotheses are postulated and tested. These are listed below.

Hypothesis 1: The general pattern in the relationship between economic development and female labor force participation will be similar in Korea and the United States.

Hypothesis 2: The general pattern in the relationship between economic development and shifts of female employment among industry sectors will be similar in Korea and the United States.

- (1): With the increase in economic development, there will be a decrease of female employment in the primary sector.
- (2): With the increase in economic development, there will be an increase of female employment in the secondary sector.
- (3): With the increase in economic development, there will be an increase of female employment in the tertiary sector.

Hypothesis 3:

- (1) The proportion of women employed in the secondary sector in 1983 will be higher in Korea than in the United States.
- (2) The proportion of women employed in the tertiary sector in 1983 will be higher in the United States than in Korea.

Hypothesis 4: As female labor force participation increases, the degree of occupational segregation will be increased.

IV. METHODOLOGY

DATA

Utilizing secondary analysis, this study evaluates information and statistics obtained from primary and secondary sources. As the primary sources, data for this study were taken from the 1974 and 1984 Korea Statistical Yearbook, 1984 US Handbook of Labor Statistics and the Yearbook of Labor Statistics (annually published by the International Labour Office) at various years. As additional sources of information, several survey statistics are also used.

For the present study, the 1963-1983 period was chosen for two reasons. The most important reason for taking 1963 as the bench-mark year was that since this year consistent aggregate data are available from the annual Statistical Yearbook. Another crucial reason was that, from 1962, the Korean government attempted to perform the first five-year Economic Development Plans and thus the year was generally considered as the starting point of industrialization in Korea. However, because of the non-availability of comparable data for 1962, the opening year was selected as

1963.

In terms of the classification scheme of the industries and occupations, the industrial distribution of women in Korea and the United States was adjusted to the Fisher-Clark three-sector model, that is, primary, secondary, and tertiary industries. For the occupational distribution of women in both countries, the 7-category ISCO (International Standard Classification of Occupations) classification scheme was used (ILO, 1969).

MEASURES

In this study, economic development was measured by the GNP (Gross National Product) per capita expressed in US constant dollars. Female labor force participation was measured as a share of the total labor force: the number of female participants was divided by the total number of participants and multiplied by 100.

Occupational sex segregation was measured by the most usually used indicator, the "index of segregation" developed by Duncan and Duncan (1955). In any given year, the index of segregation (IS) is computed as:

$$IS = \frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^n |X_i - Y_i|$$

where:

X_i = the percentage of one group (e.g., women) in the i th category of a classification (e.g., a particular occupation), and Y_i = the percentage of the other group (e.g., men) in that same group.

The segregation index, often called the index of dissimilarity, measures the degree to which the distribution of the groups being studied (women and men) across a set of categories (occupations or jobs) differ from each other. Its value represents the minimum proportion of persons of either sex who would have to change to an occupation in which their sex is underrepresented in order for the occupational distributions of the two groups to be identical.

Its value is 0 in the case of complete integration, in which the occupational distributions of men and women are identical, and 100 when every occupation is either entirely female or entirely male (Reskin and Hartmann, 1986).

V. OVERVIEW OF FEMALE LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION IN KOREA AND THE UNITED STATES

In this section, I discuss the general trend and characteristics of female labor force participation in Korea and the United States while paying attention to sociodemographic factors such as age, education, marital status, and the like. The descriptive data in this section may be helpful in understanding and interpreting the analysis in the next section in which data testing the hypotheses are presented. Before starting the discussion, however, it should be noted that because of the difficulty of obtaining comprehensive census data, especially for the description of the socio-demographic characteristics of Korean working women during the 1963-1983 period, some additional data on different periods were taken from survey statistics.

1. Characteristics of Female Labor Force Participation in Korea

Traditionally, under the rigid Confucian-societal constraints and strong patriarchal authority system, women's status in Korea was low and the economic activity of women outside the home has been extremely restricted. Despite such common and deep-rooted societal ideologies, Korean women began to gradually participate in the labor market with the national industrialization process. In spite of the continuing efforts by women themselves for improvements and changes in the actual conditions of women, the traditional value system seems to still exert a significant influence in modern Korean society and, especially, to act unfavorably on women in the workplace.

Nevertheless, Korean women have long played a necessary and important role in the economic structure of Korea. As invisible workers, they have provided the economy with the needed labor force for further economic progress. Since the establishment of the nation's industrialization policy from the early 1960s, women began to be encouraged to participate in the national economy and seek jobs beyond the home and country side. In a sense, "Korea's economic growth undeniably has broadened women's economic and social participation, afforded them more education and allowed greater freedom in their marital and domestic life than ever before" (Lee and Cho, 1978).

Table 1.1 shows the trend of the labor force participation of women during the 1963-1983 period. The female labor force totaled 2,835,000 in 1963 and by 1983 had increased to 5,814,000. In 1963, the labor force participation rate of women 15 years and over was 37.0. That proportion increased to 43.3 percent by 1978 before slipping to 42.8 percent in 1983.

Table 1.1: The Female Labor Force: 1963-1983

Year	Total Labor Force (000's)	Female Labor Force (000's)	Female % of Total	Female LFPR* (%)
1963	8230	2835	34.4	37.0
1968	9541	3392	35.5	39.1
1973	11389	4213	36.9	41.5
1978	13849	5213	37.6	43.3
1983	15118	5814	38.5	42.8

Source: Korea Statistical Yearbook, 1984.

*LFPR stands for the labor force participation rates

Age Structure

Table 1.2 presents the labor force participation rates for women in different age groups during the 1963-1983 period. As a whole, women have changed their age patterns little over the years. They have a bimodal lifetime employment pattern: high participation rates while young (and presumably unmarried), dropping off during marriage age (25-34), then rising again at the age of 35-44, when women

return to the labor market after having completed their childrearing responsibility. The highest participation rates for females were 55.4 percent in 1983 in both the 15-19 and 20-24 year old groups. One possible reason for the expansion of participation rates in these two age groups seems to result from single women's increasing employment in the manufacturing and service industries by dint of the national industrialization policy. The increasing labor force participation rates for the 35-44, 45-54, and 55+ age groups is strikingly like the case of the United States where since the Second World War the activity rate of married women has been rising.

Table 1.2: Female Labor Force Participation Rates
by Age Groups: 1963-1983

Age Group	% of Total Female L.F.					Female LFPR (%)				
	63	68	73	78	83	63	68	73	78	83
15-19	14.4	15.0	17.5	13.3	7.0	41.2	48.1	48.6	50.5	55.4
20-24	15.0	13.9	12.7	16.9	17.9	41.9	46.7	46.7	50.8	55.4
25-34	25.1	23.5	19.3	17.2	21.2	32.1	30.8	29.2	27.6	29.3
35-44	21.9	23.1	23.4	24.3	22.6	33.4	34.5	35.8	35.2	36.6
45-54	15.9	15.6	16.9	18.3	19.8	33.5	33.4	38.3	40.5	41.6
54 +	7.7	8.9	10.2	10.0	11.5	30.1	31.7	36.8	36.7	40.6

Source: Korea Statistical Yearbook, 1984.

Marital Status

Table 1.3 demonstrates that more than half of all working women were currently married in both 1966 and 1975.

Currently married women 30-39 years old, and single women 15-24, constitute the majority of the female labor force. Three times more single women and twice as many married women came into the labor market in 1975 than did in 1966. The biggest increase during the 1966-1975 period was experienced by young single women 20-29 years old. The lowest entry into the labor market was by married women in the same age groups. This difference can be partly explained by the general changes in marital structure in Korea, as shown in Table 1.4. Because during the 1960-1975 period, age at first marriage for women increased from 21.6 to 23.6. The resulting increase in single women in all age groups, especially those 20-29 years old, served to raise the female labor force force participation rates.

Meanwhile, divorced women showed the highest participation rate in both time periods. It can be reasonably assumed that divorced women are still young as well as being responsible for themselves economically. Widows exhibit the lowest participation rates. This may partly be due to their old age.

By 1975, more than half of all single women were working. This represents an 80 percent increase over 1966 figures. Currently married women participated less than single women, although the former contributed more in terms of absolute numbers. Overall, the majority of single women 20-29 years old and married women 40-59 years worked.

Table 1.3: Number & Labor Force Participation Rates
of Women by Age and Marital Status: 1966, 1975

	Number		Rate	
	1966	1975	1966	1975
Single.....	598.0	1723.2	31.0	55.8
15-19	339.4	942.5	27.0	47.9
20-24	{ 252.3	668.4	{ 38.7	70.4
25-29		93.9		67.3
30-39	5.6	93.9	45.1	56.8
40-49	0.4	{ 18.5	30.6	{ 53.9
50-59	0.2		29.1	
60+	0.1		19.0	
Currently married.....	1482.0	2743.5	29.5	44.4
15-19	12.5	17.7	25.1	38.8
20-29	388.9	513.4	25.4	31.5
30-39	515.9	905.7	31.2	44.8
40-49	355.8	790.2	36.0	56.3
50-59	171.4	403.4	31.9	56.5
60+	37.5	112.9	14.7	31.3
Widowed.....	371.1	547.1	27.5	36.2
Divorced.....	41.1	56.9	61.9	68.2
Total.....	2537.6	5072.5		

Source: Hong, S. (1984).

Table 1.4: Percentage Distribution of Women
by Marital Status: 1960, 1966, 1970, and 1975

Marital Status	1960	1966	1970	1975
Age at marriage	21.6	22.8	23.3	23.6
% currently married	60.4	60.1	59.1	57.0
% single	22.6	23.0	24.8	28.5
% single 20-24 yrs.	49.0	51.6	57.2	62.6
% single 25-29 yrs.	4.9	7.7	9.7	11.1

Source: Hong, S. (1984).

Educational Attainment

According to the results of a survey on Korean women's work participation in 1970 (see Table 1.5), the relationship between education and employment in all industrial sectors is rather vague; this means that the labor market for women is highly undifferentiated with regard to educational qualifications. In fact, "almost one half of the total female labor force are unpaid family workers in agriculture, work which hardly requires any special skills. Moreover, a large proportion of non-agricultural jobs in which women are heavily employed, such as production, sales and service jobs, require few or no special skills or provide skills on the job" (Lee and Cho, 1978).

As shown in Table 1.5, unlike the cases in developed countries, the participation rate among college educated women in non-agricultural sectors, 32.8 percent, is considerably lower. In addition, on the whole, Korean women with secondary or higher education seem to be less efficiently utilized. Perhaps, it may be partly explained by the prevalent family system which plays an important part in limiting women's employment. Because, in Korea, the family roles of a women as wife and mother tend to persist strongly among educated women. "Women with higher education (mostly from better-off families) choose to marry to a well-off family and to be a housewife rather than to work in relatively low status, poorly paid jobs" (Hong, 1984).

Table 1.5: Female Labor Force Participation
Rates by Educational Attainment: 1970

	None	Primary	Secondary	College (or More)
All Industrial Sectors	42.9	41.2	31.1	33.5
Non-Agricultural Sectors	7.4	17.6	25.5	32.8

Source: Lee and Cho (1978); Economic Planning Board, 1970
Population and Housing Census Report.

Children

Table 1.6 shows the differential rates of labor force participation among married women according to the presence and age of children in 1974. Obviously, the age of children appears to affect the mother's employability more in urban areas than rural areas. Married women working in urban areas have fewer children in the youngest age-group than those in rural areas.

Meanwhile, as expected, it is noted that women with preschool age children have the lowest participation rates. The highest participation rates are among women with children in each of the three groups: 0-5, 6-13, and 14-17. These patterns are similar in both rural and urban areas. Women with no children under 17 have the second lowest participation rates.

Table 1.6: Female Labor Force Participation
Rates by Age of Children: 1974

Presence and Age of Children	Urban	Rural
Children aged 0-5 only	10.8	41.6
Children aged 0-5 and 6-13	19.0	60.7
Children aged 0-5 and 14-17	23.0	58.3
Children aged 0-5, 6-13 and 14-17	27.8	67.7
Children aged 6-13 only	23.0	65.0
Children aged 6-13 and 14-17	26.1	67.0
Children aged 14-17 only	21.7	59.6
No children under 17	16.7	49.2

Source: Hong S. (1984); Economic Planning Board, 1974.

On the other hand, the number of children is also likely to affect the employability of women. According to Table 1.7, contrary to expectation, women's participation in all industrial sectors tends to increase, although not sharply, as the number of children increases. However, the adverse effect of children upon mother's employability becomes evident in the participation rates in non-agricultural sectors. The rates tend to decrease as the number of children increases. There is an exception however; mothers with four children are more likely to work than mothers with two or three. "A large number of children may force women to work in order to meet the needs of the family, and children may provide care for each other to release the mother to work outside the home. The apparent inconsistency in the relationship between the number of children and women's employment may be attributed to either or both of these factors" (Lee and Cho, 1978).

Table 1.7: Labor Force Participation Rates
of Married Women by Number of Children: 1970

Number of Children	All Korea	Urban	Rural
All Industrial Sectors			
None	28.3	19.6	40.0
1	28.1	18.7	41.5
2	30.4	19.4	45.2
3	30.9	18.8	44.9
4	35.2	20.4	47.6
5	39.4	20.7	50.6
6 or more	43.1	23.4	51.9
Non-Agricultural Sectors			
None	13.3	16.9	9.1
1	12.0	14.8	8.9
2	10.9	13.5	7.3
3	10.0	13.3	7.1
4	9.7	14.3	6.7
5	9.2	14.6	6.3
6 or more	7.9	14.3	5.5

Source: Lee and Cho (1978); Unpublished tabulations from 1 %
of the 1970 Population and Housing Census data.

Industrial Structure

Between 1963 and 1983, the total labor force in the primary sector showed a prominent drop from 63.1 percent to 29.7 percent. The secondary and tertiary sectors demonstrated a remarkable expansion from 8.7 and 28.2 percents to 28.9 and 41.4 percents respectively (see Table 1.8).

There are some noteworthy facts in the characteristics of female labor force participation in terms of industrial structure. First of all, the proportion of females who participate in the primary sector decreased strikingly from 68.8 percent in 1963 to 32.7 percent in 1983. Another

noteworthy fact is that, the labor force participation rates of women in the secondary sector showed a radical increase from 7.4 percent in 1963 to 22.9 percent in 1983. This trend seemed to be mainly due to the rapid rise in employment of women in the manufacturing sector. During the 1963-83 period, the proportion of women in the manufacturing sector represented over 95% of female employment in secondary industries except for 1963 when it was 91.3%. This phenomenon must be directly attributed to the national industrialization policy. Because, since the early 1960s, under the export-oriented industrialization strategy, the Korean government has put a great emphasis on the output of manufacturing products, such as "textiles, leather, rubber, and non-metallic mineral products which consisted of around 60% of the total exports in 1979 and these are industries having a high proportion of women employees" (Hong, 1981).

On the other hand, the participation rates of women in the tertiary industries had experienced a gradual increase from 1963 until 1978, but showed a rapid expansion during the 1978-83 period. It seems to be indicative of the coming of a new phase of service economy in the near future in Korea.

Table 1.8: The Total Labor Force by Industry
:1963-1983

	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
1963	63.1	8.7	28.2

1968	52.4	14.0	33.6
1973	50.0	16.3	33.7
1978	38.4	23.2	38.4
1983	29.7	28.9	41.4

Source: Korea Statistical Yearbook, 1984.

Note: "Primary sector includes agriculture, fishing, forestry and mining; Secondary sector includes manufacturing, construction, and utilities; and Tertiary sector includes commerce, transport, communication & services" (Singelmann, 1978).

Table 1.9: The Female Labor Force by Industry
:1963-1983

	Primary	Secondary (Manuf.)	Tertiary
1963	68.8	7.4 (6.8)	23.8
1968	58.8	12.6 (12.0)	28.6
1973	55.6	16.3 (16.1)	28.1
1978	44.7	24.2 (23.0)	31.1
1983	32.7	22.9 (21.8)	44.4

Source: Korea Statistical Yearbook, 1984.

Occupational Structure

On the whole, prior to the 1960s the occupational structure of Korean women has been characterized by the predominance of agricultural occupations. However, while experiencing relatively rapid industrialization, some noticeable changes occurred in the occupational distribution of female workers during the 1963-83 period. The proportion of females to total labor force varies from one occupational group to the other, as is evident from Table 1.10.

First of all, there was a rapidly rising proportion of women engaged in production, service and clerical

occupations. The most remarkable expansion of female labor force participation has been in the clerical jobs from 11.3 percent in 1963 to 34.2 percent in 1983. Simultaneously, the portion of clerical workers out of the total female work force markedly increased from 1.2 percent to 9.2 percent in the same period. As a result, in 1983 the ratio of female to male clerks was 51.8 and thus clerical occupations became one of the most favorable "female" jobs for Korean women.

Interestingly, it is in the "service" occupations that females formed the highest proportion of all employed persons in all years, while the sales occupations had the second highest proportion of employed females. Also, the remarkable expansion of the proportion of the "production and laborers" female workers is worth indicating since it has increased from 19.6 percent in 1963 to 27.7 percent in 1983. The portion of female production- related workers out of the total female work force rose from 8.1 percent to 20.1 percent. This remarkable increase must be attributed to the young single women's participation in the manufacturing industries.

In the meantime, the steady expansion of the women who worked in professional and technical jobs is also noteworthy, and this seems to be associated with the rise in the number of college graduates. However, the percentage of women holding administrative and managerial positions decreased from 13.3 percent to 2.2 percent in the same period. During the twenty years, the proportion has always

been very low in respect of the "administrative and managerial workers" category, except in 1963. "The abnormally high value observed in 1963 appears to have been caused by the inclusion of part of the clerical and sales workers in the category of administrative and managerial workers" (UN, 1975).

Finally, in the agricultural, forestry and fishery occupations the fraction of women workers out of the total female work force dropped from 68.9 percent in 1963 to 32.4 percent in 1983. At the same time, the portion of females out of the total farming work force increased from 38.1 percent to 43.3 percent.

Table 1.10: The Female Labor Force by Occupation: 1963-1983

Occupation	(%)														
	1963			1968			1973			1978			1983		
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
Professional & technical	1.7	32.4	25.6	1.7	28.3	23.0	1.7	32.8	24.7	2.8	43.2	30.2	4.1	49.6	33.2
Administrative & managerial	0.3	15.3	13.3	0.0	0.9	0.9	0.1	1.5	1.5	0.2	8.9	8.2	0.1	2.1	2.2
Clerical	1.2	13.1	11.3	1.9	17.4	14.8	2.9	21.7	17.8	6.0	38.2	27.2	9.2	51.8	34.2
Sales	12.9	82.8	47.3	16.5	78.4	45.8	13.6	72.3	41.9	14.1	73.2	42.3	18.7	89.7	47.3
Service	6.8	100.0	48.6	8.0	89.2	50.6	10.0	128.3	56.2	10.1	125.7	56.0	15.4	149.5	59.9
Agricultural workers & Fishermen	68.9	62.3	38.1	58.4	68.6	40.3	55.8	72.2	41.9	44.7	79.1	44.2	32.4	76.4	43.3
Production & laborers	8.1	28.5	19.6	13.5	37.5	24.2	15.9	37.3	27.2	22.1	40.4	28.8	20.1	38.3	27.7

Source: Korea Statistical Yearbook, 1974, 1984

Note: I: % of women workers among employed women.

II: % of women to men workers.

III: % of women workers among total workers in the occupational category.

2. Characteristics of Female Labor Force Participation in the United States

Like the case of Korea, there have been remarkable changes in female labor force participation in the United States during this century. From 1900 to 1983, while the total US labor force increased in size by 283.7 percent, the female labor force rose by 811.9 percent. The rise in female labor force in the first half of century was of the order of 200 percent, from 5.3 million to 16.5 million. From 1950 to 1983 the rise was 293 percent, from 16.5 million to 48.5 million (see Table 2.1).

The fact that the female labor force grew relatively more than the total labor force meant that there was an increase in the relative contribution of females to the total labor force. In 1900, under 20 percent of the US labor force were female, and the percentage of the US labor force who were women rose virtually continuously thereafter. Until 1940 the trend upwards was relatively slow, but after 1950 the percentage contribution of females increased at an unprecedented rate.

Thus, dramatic changes in the patterns of women's employment --for instance, the marked expansion of married women's labor force participation-- came after World War II, particularly during the 1960s and 1970s. In this section, let me discuss the general characteristics of American

women's labor force participation while paying attention to the same sociodemographic factors which were sketched in the case of Korean working women.

Table 2.1: The Female Labor Force: 1900-1983

Year	Total Labor Force (000's)	Female Labor Force (000's)	Female % of Total	Female LFPR*
1900	29073	5319	18.3	20.6
1910	38167	8076	21.2	25.4
1920	41614	8550	20.6	23.7
1930	48830	10752	22.0	24.8
1940	53011	12887	24.3	25.8
1950	59643	16552	27.8	29.0
1960	69877	22410	32.1	34.5
1963	71833	24704	34.4	35.8
1968	78737	29204	37.1	39.6
1973	89429	34804	38.9	42.0
1978	102251	42631	41.7	46.4
1983	111550	48503	43.5	48.0

Sources: 1900-1960: US Census of Population, various years.

1963-1983: US Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1984.

*LFPR stands for the labor force participation rates.

Age Structure

Table 2.2 illustrates the change in the age-specific labor force participation for women during the 1963-83 period. In this period, except for the 55+ age group, striking increases in labor force participation took place in all age groups. Specifically, the labor force participation rates for women in ages 25 to 34 have risen dramatically from 37.2 percent in 1963 to 69.0 percent in

1983. Despite being in a peak child-bearing group, the 25-34 age group has experienced the highest increase in the rates of female labor force participation.

Among those over 55, there have been small declines in the 1970s, partly indicating that some women may be choosing earlier retirement.

Table 2.2: Female Labor Force Participation Rates by Age Groups: 1963-1983

Year	16-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55+
1963	38.0	47.5	37.2	44.9	50.6	24.6
1968	41.9	54.5	42.6	48.9	52.3	26.0
1973	47.8	61.1	50.4	53.3	53.7	25.0
1978	53.7	68.3	62.2	61.6	57.1	24.8
1983	50.8	69.9	69.0	68.7	61.9	24.6

Source: US Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1984.

Marital Status

A further demographic feature that has affected female employment patterns has been the increase in the relative size of the married women's participation.

During the 1963-83 period, in three age groups, 20-24, 25-34, and 35-44, married women have participated actively in the labor force. The 16-19 and 45-54 age groups showed the second largest increase, while the 55+ age group experienced the lowest degree of increase among married women over the same period. As a whole, unlike the single women and others, married women showed a striking increase

in participation in the labor force.

On the other hand, single women showed an increase only in the 16-19 age group. In contrast, widowed, divorced and separated women showed a continuous increase in the 25-34 and 35-44 age groups.

Table 2.3: Female Labor Force Participation Rates by Marital Status and Age: 1963-1983

	16-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55+
<u>Single</u>						
1963	23.6	71.9	81.4	82.5	79.2	42.2
1968	37.4	68.7	79.8	77.2	74.9	41.5
1973	43.7	70.7	81.7	73.6	73.8	41.8
1978	48.7	72.5	82.3	77.3	73.8	39.2
1983	46.0	72.6	83.6	81.1	67.7	37.6
<u>Married</u>						
1963	29.8	33.2	30.0	39.8	44.4	18.4
1968	36.3	42.7	36.6	43.9	46.9	20.8
1973	42.3	53.0	44.1	49.3	48.1	20.9
1978	45.2	58.9	55.2	57.5	52.6	21.4
1983	46.6	63.0	62.5	65.4	58.1	22.0
<u>Others*</u>						
1963	36.6	58.1	56.5	66.8	67.8	31.2
1968	51.1	62.0	61.1	68.8	69.2	31.8
1973	38.2	57.7	64.0	70.7	70.0	30.7
1978	48.8	69.0	75.5	75.2	68.0	29.8
1983	45.3	68.4	77.1	77.7	71.8	28.9

Source: US Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1984.

*Others include widowed, divorced, or separated.

Educational Attainment

In terms of educational attainment, a noticeable phenomenon is that during the 1964-1983 period, women who

obtained more than 4 years of high school showed increased participation rates. On the other hand, the women who had less than 1 to 3 years high school educational attainment showed the gradual decline of participation rates.

Table 2.4: Female Labor Force Participation Rates by Educational Attainment: 1964-1983

	Elementary		High School		College	
	Less than 5 years	5 to 8 years	1 to 3 years	4 years	1 to 3 years	4 yrs +
1964	2.4	17.8	18.8	40.9	10.6	9.5
1968	1.9	14.1	17.6	43.7	12.3	10.5
1973	1.4	9.2	18.6	45.2	13.8	12.0
1978	0.9	6.5	16.6	44.5	17.2	14.4
1983	0.7	4.4	12.9	44.4	19.9	17.8

Source: US Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1984.

Children

As Table 2.5 shown, labor force participation rates of all married women with children increased between 1963 and 1983 whatever the child's age, though to differing degrees. The most rapid increase was among mothers of very young children, under 6 years of age from 22.5 percent in 1963 to 49.9 percent in 1983. It is noteworthy that despite the presence of young children, these mothers have experienced a striking labor force participation especially since the late 1970s. During the two decades, the participation rates of these mothers increased 27.4 percent, that is more than doubled, and they were followed by a 22.3 percent increase

among mothers with children 6 to 17 years of age over the same period.

In contrast, the already high participation rates of mothers of old children grew less rapidly compared with the other two groups. In 1983, married women with children 6 to 17 years of age showed the highest labor force participation rates.

Table 2.5: Labor Force Participation Rates of Married Women by Presence and Age of Children: 1963-1983

Year	With no Children Under 18 Years of Age	With Children 6 to 17 Years of Age	With Children Under 6 Years of Age
1963	37.4	41.5	22.5
1968	40.1	46.9	27.6
1973	42.8	50.1	32.7
1978	44.6	57.1	41.7
1983	46.6	63.8	49.9

Source: US Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1984.

Industrial Structure

During the 1962-1983 period, the total labor force in the primary and secondary sectors showed a relatively notable decrease. On the contrary, the total labor force in the tertiary sector evinced a gradual increase from 57.1 percent in 1962 to 68.3 percent in 1983 (see Table 2.6).

The proportion of female workers out of the total female work force in the primary sector has declined

drastically from 4.1 percent in 1962 to 1.9 percent in 1983. In addition, the portion of females who engaged in the secondary industries also decreased gradually over the same period.

On the other hand, during this period participation of women in the tertiary sector of the three industry groupings has shown the most consistent rate of increase and consisted of the highest proportion. This fact is indicative of the growing service economy of the United States.

Table 2.6: The Total Labor Force by Industry
:1962-1983

	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
1962	7.6	35.2	57.1
1968	5.1	35.9	59.0
1973	4.1	33.4	61.5
1978	3.6	31.3	65.1
1983	3.5	28.2	68.3

Source: Yearbook of Labor Statistics, ILO, various years.

Table 2.7: The Female Labor Force by Industry
:1962-1983

	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
1962	4.1	21.4	74.5
1968	2.4	22.3	75.3
1973	2.1	20.0	77.9
1978	2.0	18.4	79.6
1983	1.9	16.5	81.6

Source: Yearbook of Labor Statistics, ILO, various years.

Occupational Structure

Above all, it is striking that the proportion of female clerical workers showed the highest rate, 80.0 percent in 1983 among the total occupational categories, while having experienced a steady increase since 1963 when it was 69.5 percent. Significantly, it may be indicative of a fact that as women have entered the labor force, there has been a strong tendency to enter occupations which already have large percentages of women. It is also noticed that, even though in 1978 it showed a little decrease, the proportion of women employed in service jobs during the 1963-1983 period represented the second highest distribution among the total occupational categories. Thus, the clerical and service jobs can be regarded as the "female" jobs in the United States.

In contrast, the lowest rates of female labor force participation were observed in the category of the agriculture-related workers. The proportion of women employed in that category has dropped from 18.7 percent in 1963 to 16.0 percent in 1983.

Meanwhile, in the professional and technical and sales jobs, women have shown a gradual rise in labor force participation rates over the same period. In 1983, the participation rate of women in those jobs was almost 50% of the total workers. In addition, the remarkable increase of women who engaged in the administrative and managerial

category from 15.2 percent in 1963 to 32.4 percent in 1983 is noteworthy. This phenomenon seems to be attributable to the expansion of labor force participation in the group of college graduates.

In the production-related occupations, women have shown a slight increase from 15.4 percent in 1963 to 18.6 percent in 1983 unlike in the professional & technical, administrative and managerial, and clerical occupations. Perhaps, it seems that the production-related jobs are still "male" dominated occupations.

Table 2.8: The Female Labor Force by Occupation: 1963-1983

(%)

Occupation	1963			1968			1973			1978			1983		
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
Professional & technical	12.8	55.4	35.6	13.9	60.1	37.5	14.5	66.6	40.0	15.6	74.3	42.6	17.4	92.7	48.1
Administrative & managerial	4.8	18.0	15.2	4.5	18.9	15.9	4.9	22.6	18.5	6.1	30.7	23.5	7.9	47.9	32.4
Clerical	30.9	228.8	69.5	33.8	275.5	73.4	34.3	326.8	76.5	34.6	390.2	79.6	29.7	397.5	80.0
Sales	7.3	69.2	40.9	6.9	70.5	41.3	6.9	70.6	41.4	6.9	81.1	44.7	12.8	90.5	47.5
Service	24.1	180.1	64.3	21.8	183.5	64.7	21.6	169.7	62.9	20.7	166.5	62.4	18.9	150.5	60.0
Agricultural Workers & Fisherman	3.5	23.0	18.7	2.1	20.3	16.9	1.6	20.4	16.9	1.3	22.2	18.1	1.3	19.0	16.0
Production & laborers	16.5	18.2	15.4	16.9	20.6	17.1	16.2	21.3	17.6	14.8	22.3	18.3	12.0	22.8	18.6

Source: US Yearbook of Labor Statistics, 1984

Note: I: % of women workers among employed women.

II: % of women to men workers.

III: % of women workers among total workers in the occupational category.

3. Summary and Comparision of Female Labor Force

Participation between Korea and the United States

As shown Tables 1.1 and 2.1, and Figure 1, generally female labor force participation rates in Korea and the United States have steadily increased during the 1963-1983 period, except for the decrease in 1983 in the case of Korea. The growth in the size of the US female labor force has gone from 35.8 percent in 1963 to 48.0 percent in 1983. Meanwhile, Korean women's labor force participation has also experienced an increase from 37.0 percent in 1963 to 43.3 percent in 1978, and after that it dropped to 42.8 percent in 1983. A possible reason for the decrease of the participation rates in 1983 may be attributed to "the remarkable increase in the school enrollment rate in the less than 20 year old group since the late 1970s" (Kim, 1986). According to Kim's data, the school enrollment rates of women in the middle school category have increased from 46.5 percent in 1970 to 92.6 percent in 1980, and in the high school category, also increased from 24.1 percent in 1970 to 62.2 percent in 1980.

In this section, I attempt to make a summary and compare the labor force participation of Korean women with that of American women during the 1963-1983 period. First of all, in terms of age structure, it was noticed that, in Korea the highest labor force participation rates of women

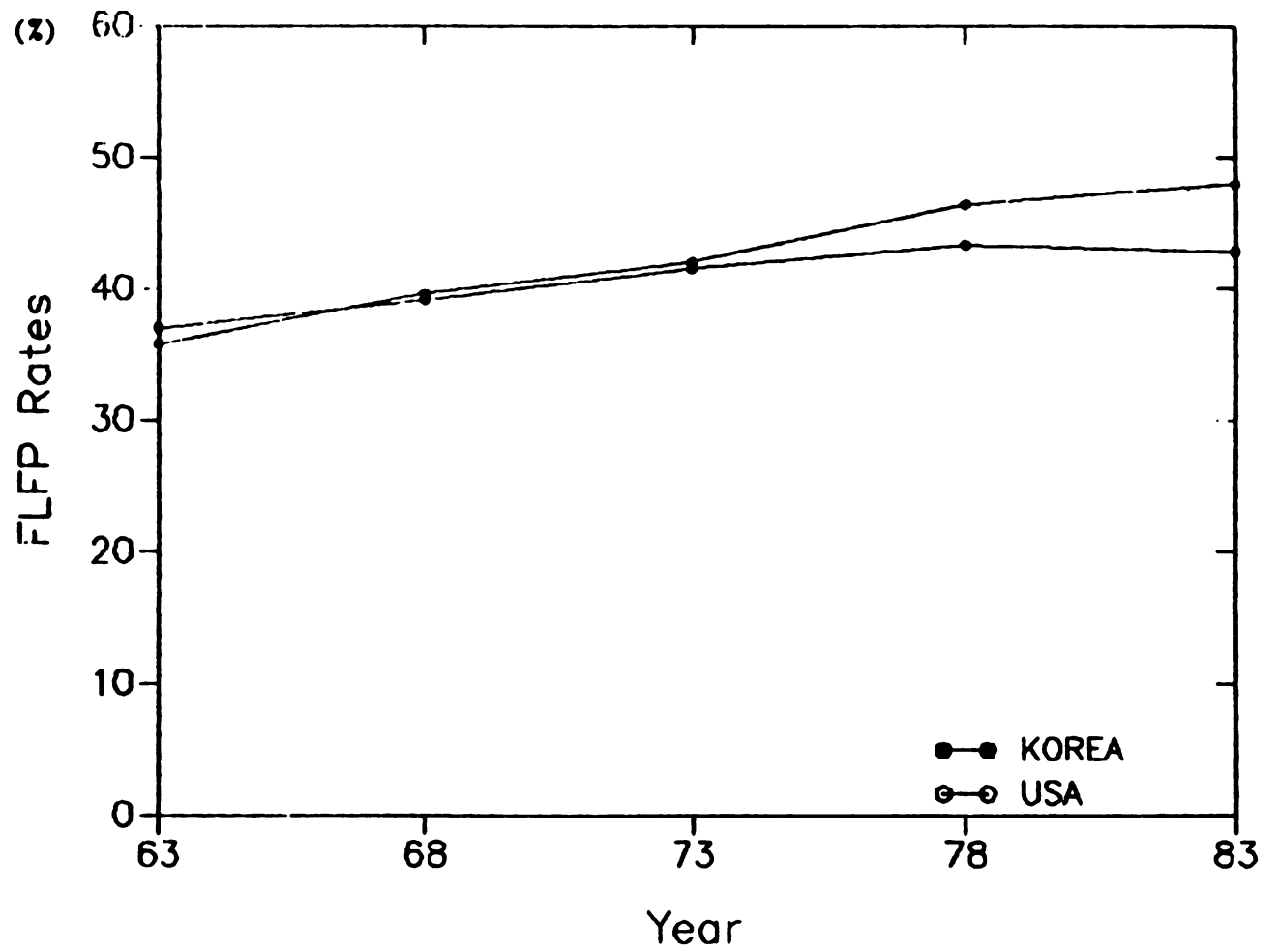


Figure 1: The Female Labor Force in Korea and the USA: 1963-1983

Sources: Table 1.1 and 2.1

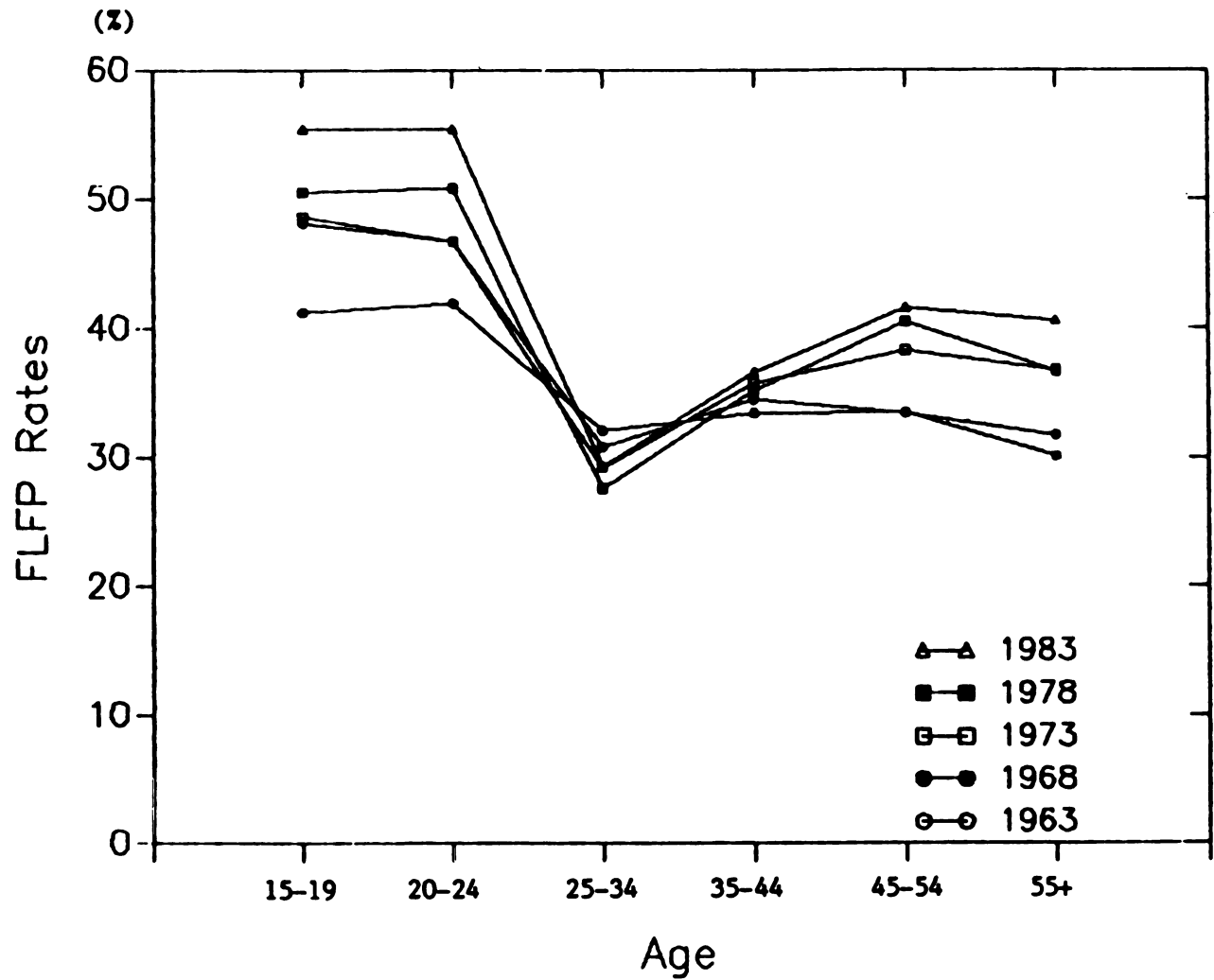


Figure 2: Female Labor Force Participation Rates by Age Groups in Korea: 1963-1983

Source: Table 1.2

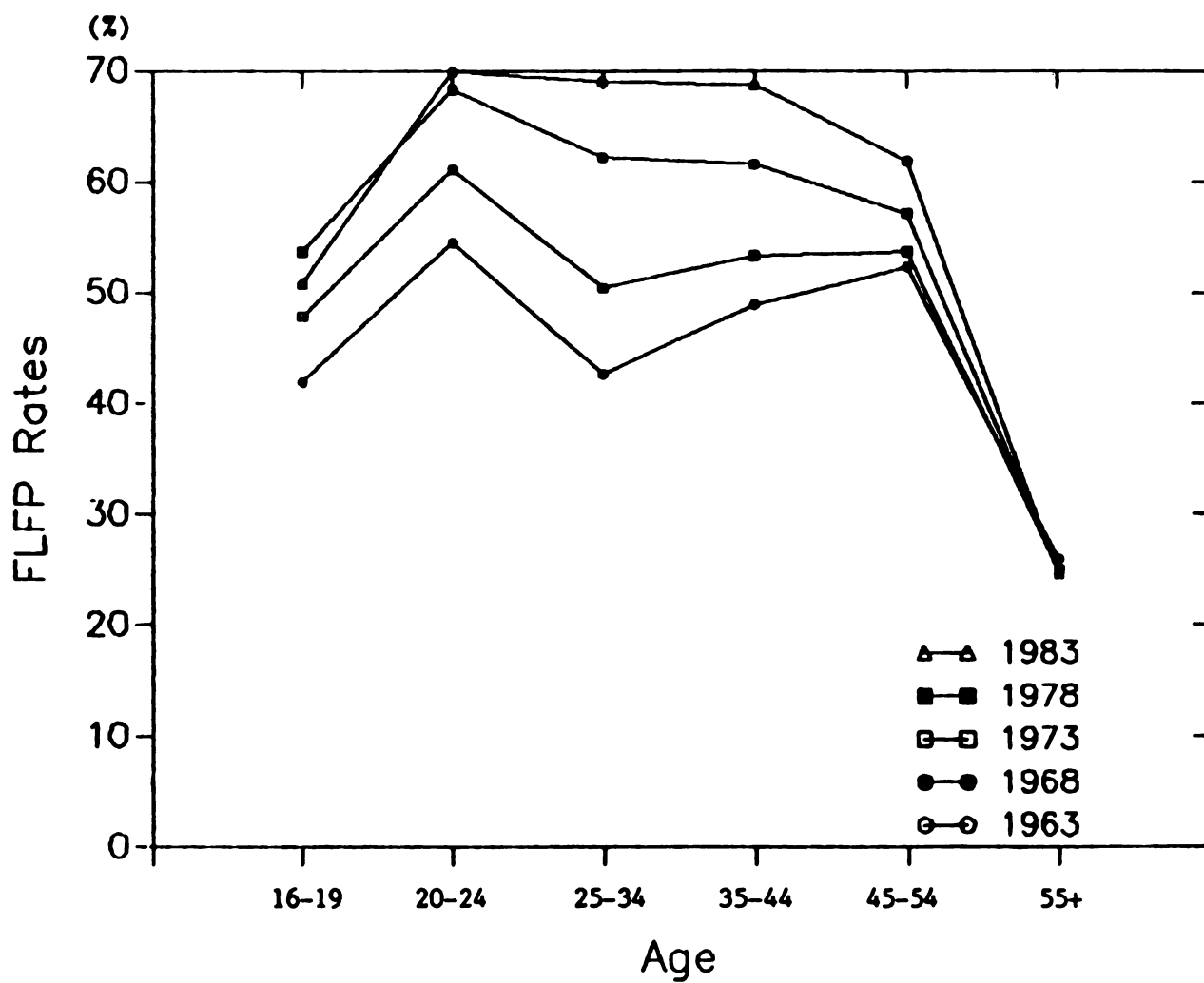


Figure 3: Female Labor Force Participation Rates by Age Groups in the USA: 1963-1983

Source: Table 2.2

were 55.4 percent in 1983 in both the 15-19 and 20-24 year old groups. This seems to be associated with single women's increasing employment in the manufacturing industries by way of the national industrialization policy. In addition, it was a noteworthy phenomenon that the labor force participation rates for the 35-55+ age groups (possibly married women) have gradually increased during the 1963-1983 period. Meanwhile, in the USA, the 25-34 age group showed the highest increase from 37.2 percent in 1963 to 69.0 percent in 1983. Except for the 55+ age group which underwent small declines during the 1973-1983 period, the other age groups showed a dramatic increase in the rates of female labor force participation during the 1963-1983 period. Figures 2 and 3 provide clear profiles of female labor force participation by age groups in the two countries.

Secondly, in terms of marital status, in Korea, married women 30-39 years old, and single women 15-24 composed the majority of the female labor force in 1966 and 1975. Whereas divorced women showed the highest participation rates, widows represented the lowest participation rates. On the other hand, in the USA during the 1963-1983 period, in three age groups, 20-24, 25-34, and 35-44, married women have participated radically in the labor force. Single women only in the 16-19 age group and others (widowed, divorced and separated women) in the 25-34 and 35-44 age groups showed a continuing increase over the same period.

Thirdly, in terms of educational attainment, the patterns of female labor force participation in the two countries revealed an interesting contrast. Unlike the USA where during the 1963-1983 period women who finished college showed increased participation rates, in Korea, partly because of the prevalent family system, the participation rate among college educated women was considerably lower in 1970 when it was 32.8 percent.

Fourthly, in terms of presence of children, in Korea, women with preschool age children have the lowest participation rates, while the highest participation rates are among women with children in each of the three age groups: 0-5, 6-13, and 14-17. Meanwhile, in the USA, the labor force participation rates of all married women with children increased during the 1963-1983 period regardless of the child's age. Particularly, it is a noteworthy fact that unlike the case of Korea, the most rapid increase was among mothers of very young children, under 6 years of age.

Fifthly, in terms of industrial structure, between 1963 and 1983 the two countries (1962 for the USA) experienced a striking decline of female labor force participation in the primary sector, from 68.8 and 4.1 to 32.7 and 1.9 respectively. In the secondary sector, the participation rates of women in Korea showed a remarkable expansion from 7.4 percent in 1963 to 22.9 percent in 1983, whereas those in the USA decreased gradually from 21.4 percent to 16.5. In the tertiary sector, while the USA showed a consistent

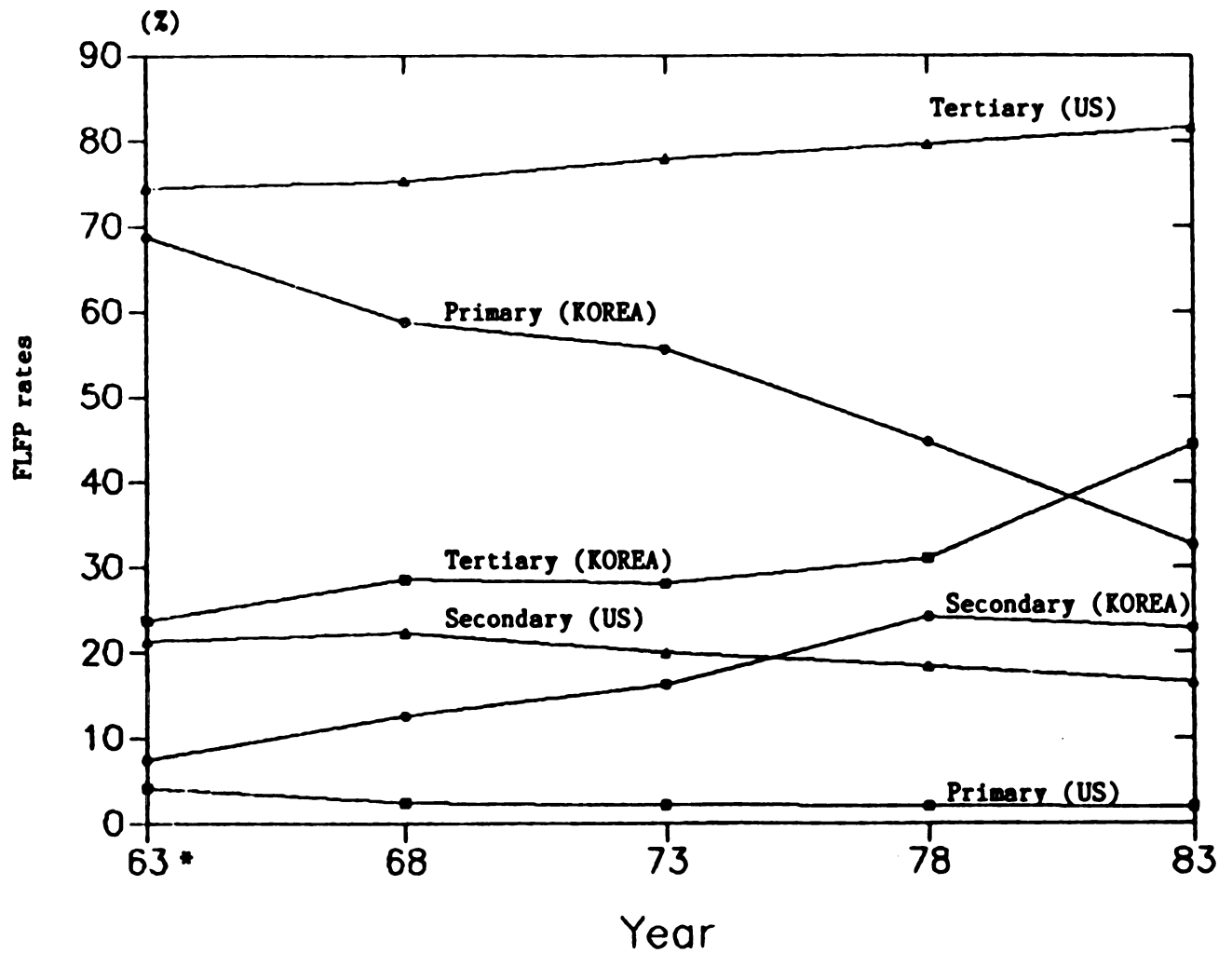


Figure 4: The Female Labor Force by Industry in Korea and the USA:
1963-1983

Sources: Tables 1.9 and 2.7

Note: *1963 is 1962 for the USA.

increase and the highest proportion among the three sectors during the 1963-1983 period, Korea also experienced a gradual rise from 1963 until 1978, but showed a rapid increase during the 1978-83 period. Figure 4 provides a clear picture of female labor force participation in terms of industrial structure in the two countries.

Finally, in terms of occupational structure, in Korea, the proportion of women employed in production, service and clerical occupations showed a rapid increase during the 1963-1983 period, while that of agriculture-related occupations dropped markedly over the same period. The steady increase of women engaged in professional and technical occupations is also noteworthy. But, the proportion of women employed in administrative and managerial occupations showed a decrease except for 1963 when it was 13.3 percent. The underrepresentation of women in the administrative and managerial occupations may be attributed to the deep-rooted ideology of dominance of men over women, which originated from the patriarchal social system.

In the meantime, in the USA during the 1963-1983 period, clerical workers accounted for the highest proportion in female labor force participation rates. Also, despite the fact that the proportion of women employed in the service occupations has dropped since 1978, it has occupied the second highest ratio over the twenty year. In the professional and technical, and administrative and

managerial occupations, female labor force participation rates showed an increase, whereas in agriculture-related occupations the participation rate of women has declined from 18.7 percent in 1963 to 16.0 percent in 1983. Unlike the case of Korea, the participation of women in the production-related occupations showed a slight rise during the two decades. (see Figures 5 and 6)

Thus far, I have discussed female labor force participation in Korea and the United States in terms of six sociodemographic factors during the 1963-1983 period. While there were quite a few similarities in the patterns of female employment in the two countries, some crucial differences also have been observed. In short, the main sources of the differences in the patterns of female labor force participation in the two countries seem to be differences in the social system as well as the level of economic development and industrialization.

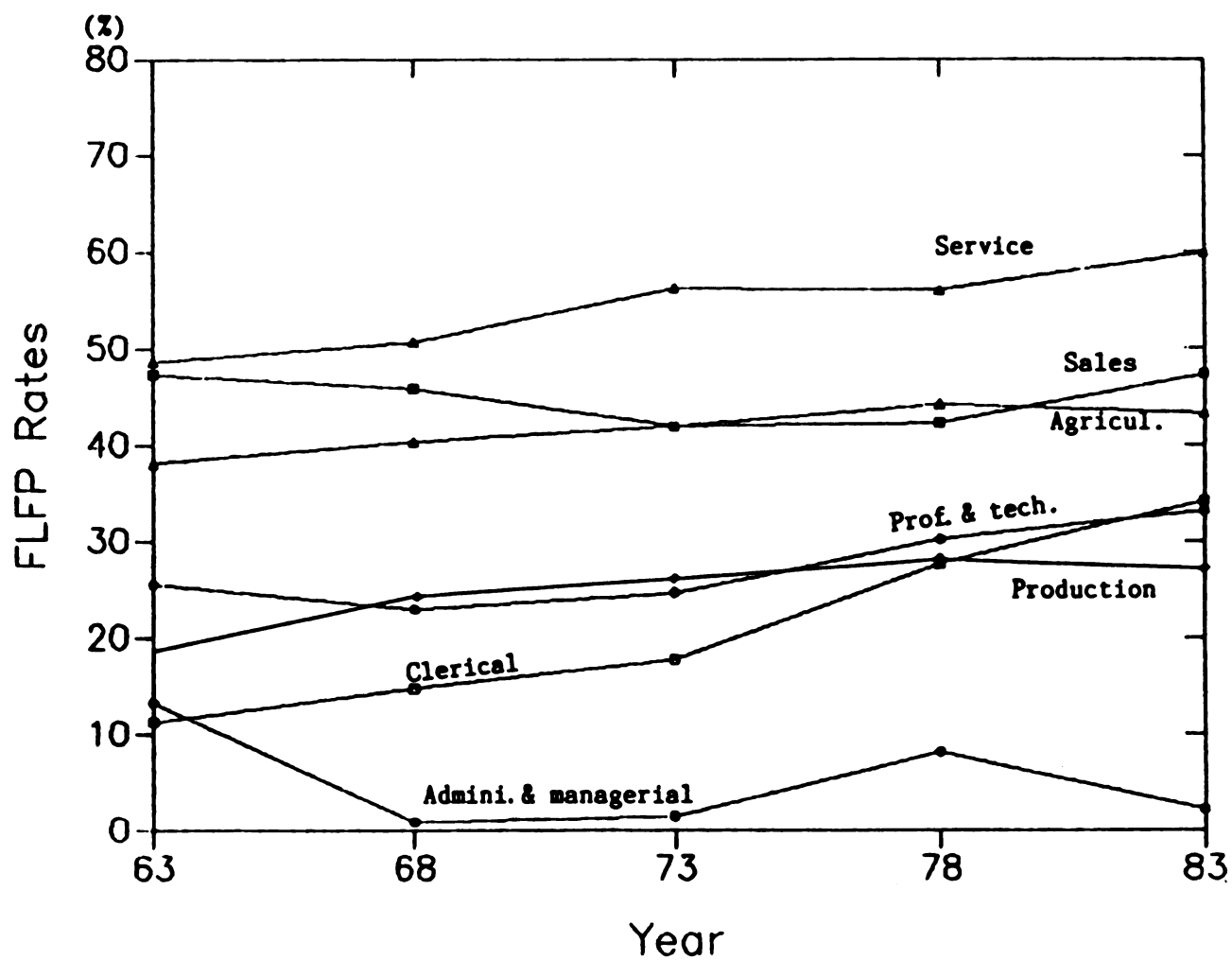


Figure 5: The Female Labor Force by Occupation in Korea: 1963-1983

Source: Table 1.10

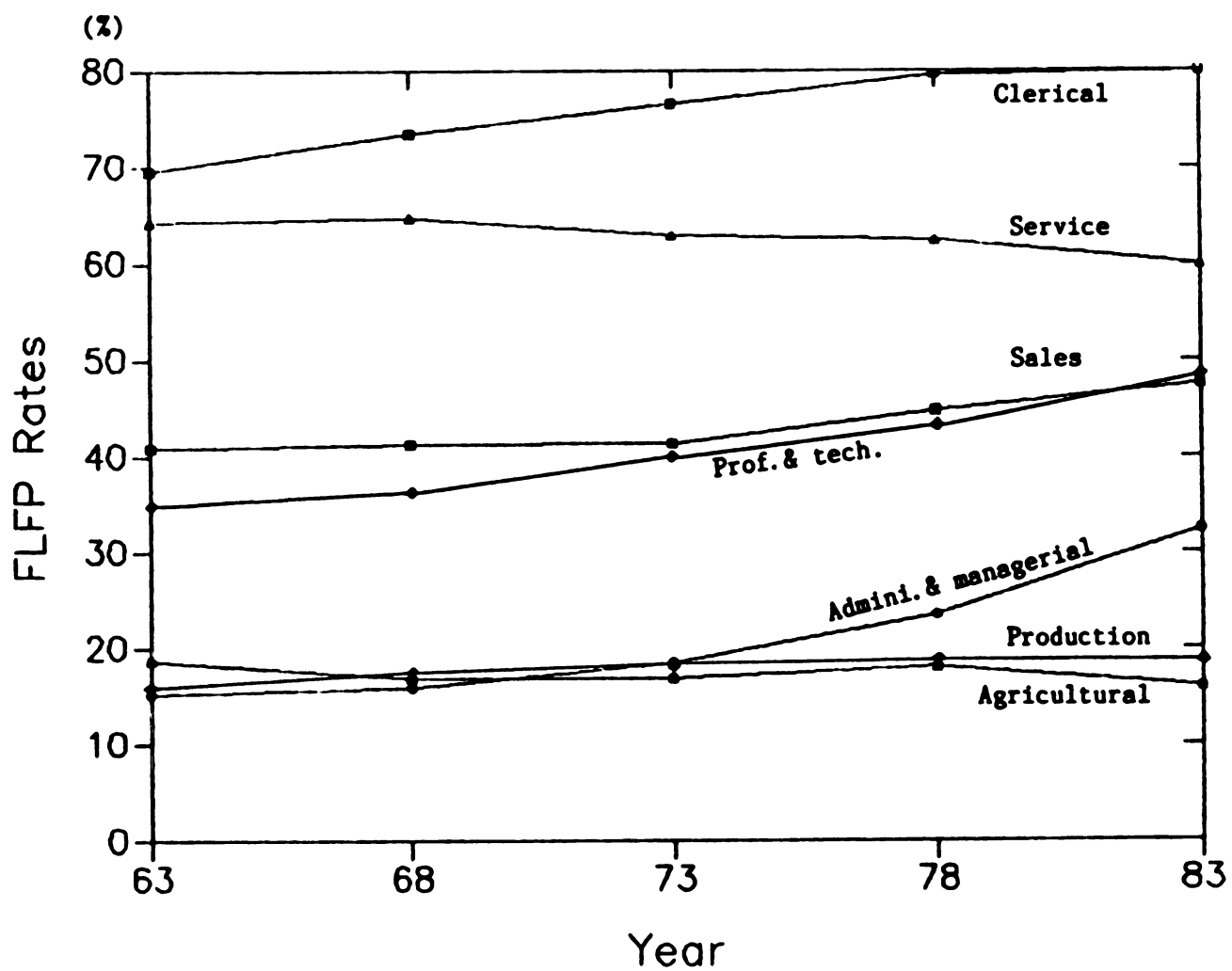


Figure 6: The Female Labor Force by Occupation in the USA: 1963-1983

Source: Table 2.8

VI. DATA ANALYSIS

In this data analysis section, I test the four major hypotheses listed above in section IV, using the available secondary data. In particular, for the purpose of testing the first, second, and fourth hypotheses which describe the historical trends of the variables, the method of graphic presentation was used. The main reason for utilizing graphs is that "they make possible the presentation of quantitative data in a simple, clear, and effective manner and facilitate comparison of values, trends, and relationships" (Schmid and Schmid, 1979). That is to say, graphic presentation can provide a comprehensive vivid picture for problems which deal with a kind of time-series or trend analysis.

First of all, Hypothesis 1 predicts that the general pattern in the relationship between economic development and female labor force participation will be similar in Korea and the United States. As previously observed in the overview section, female labor force participation showed a salient increase between 1963 and 1983 in Korea and the United States. In addition, Figures 1 and 7 present both the historical trends of female labor force participation rates and GNP per capita during the 1963-1983 period in the

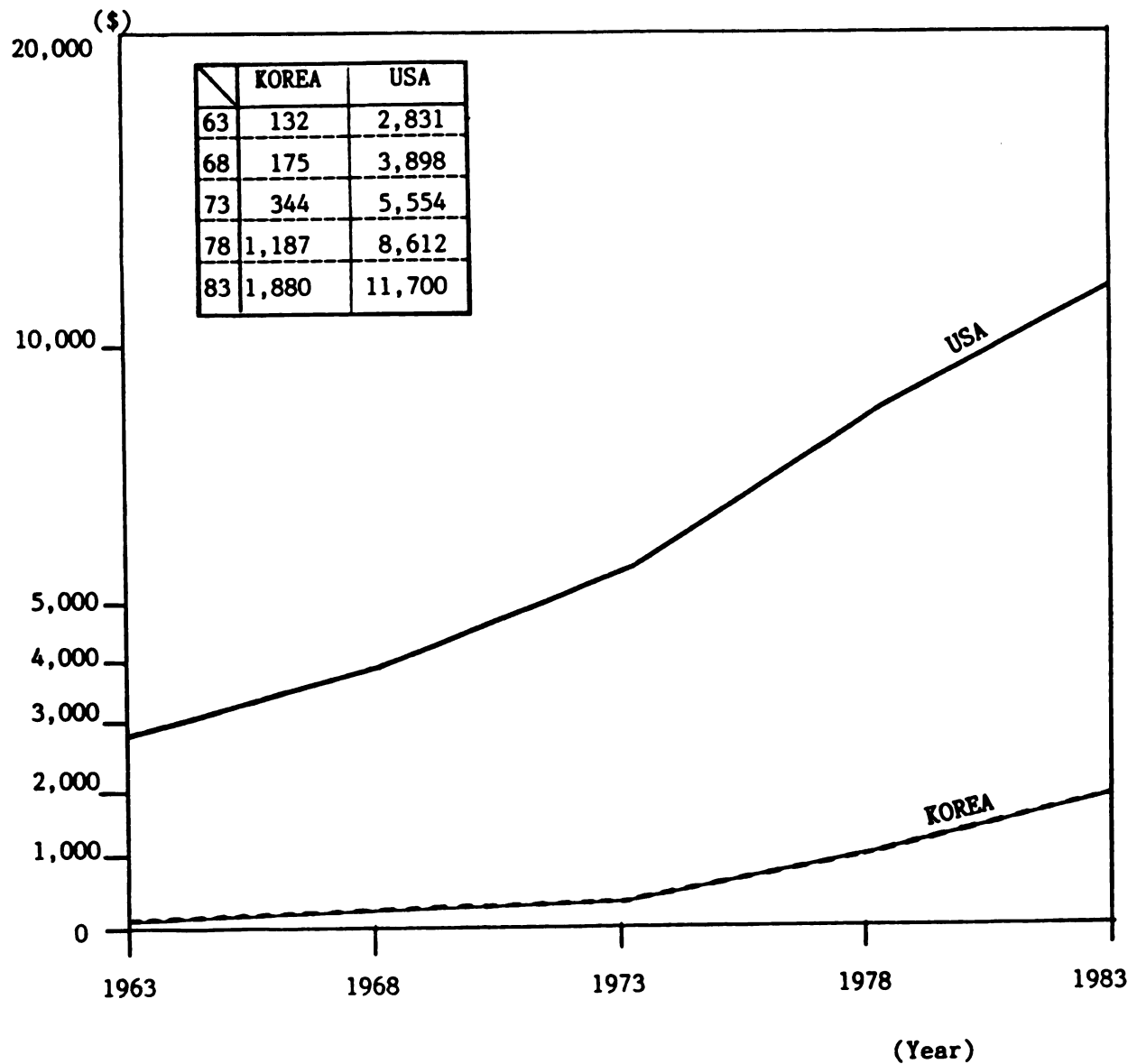


Figure 7: Gross National Product (GNP) per capita in Korea & the USA:
1963-1983 (US Constant \$)

Sources: Korea Statistical Yearbook, 1974, 1984
Statistical Abstract of the United States, various years

two countries. In both countries, the GNP per capita has increased substantially during the two decades. In Korea, the GNP per capita has increased somewhat gradually until 1973, and after that showed a remarkable rise until 1983. In contrast, in the case of the United States, the GNP per capita has shown a relatively stable expansion during the 1963-1983 period.

Meanwhile, female labor force participation rates in Korea and the United States also represented a steady increase during the 1963-1983 period except for the slight decrease in the 1978-1983 period in the case of Korea. As was mentioned in the earlier section, this seems to be attributed to the remarkable increase of the rates of school enrollment in the less than 20 year age group since the late 1970s. In general, the first hypothesis is substantiated by the data except for the 1978-1983 period in Korea. Thus, it is fair to say that the relationship between economic development and female labor force participation showed a similar pattern of increase during the two decades in both countries except for the little drop of female labor force participation rates in the 1978-1983 period in Korea.

The main Hypothesis 2 states that the general pattern in the relationship between economic development and shifts of female employment among industry sectors will be similar in Korea and the United States. It comprises three sub-hypotheses which represent the relations of economic development with each industry sector in the two countries.

Figures 8, 9, and 10 evince the trends of female labor force participation rates by each industry sector during the 1963-1983 period.

Hypothesis 2.1 asserts that with the increase in economic development, there will be a decrease of female employment in the primary sector. As shown in Figure 8, the labor force participation rates of women in the primary sector showed a true decline during the 1963-1983 period in both countries. Whereas female labor force participation rates in the USA have experienced a gradual decrease during the two decades, those in Korea have undergone a relatively striking drop over the same period. Meanwhile, in Figure 7, the GNP per capita also has increased in both countries during the two decades. Thus, we can say that the general pattern in the relationship between economic development and decrease of female employment in the primary sector was similar during the 1963-1983 period in Korea and the United States.

Hypothesis 2.2 declares that with the increase in economic development, there will be an increase of female employment in the secondary sector. However, Figure 9 shows a different picture. In the case of Korea, the participation rates of women in the secondary sector has presented a noteworthy increase between 1963 and 1978, and a slight drop from 1978 to 1983. In contrast, even though the participation rates of women in the secondary sector in the USA showed a little increase between 1963 and 1968, since

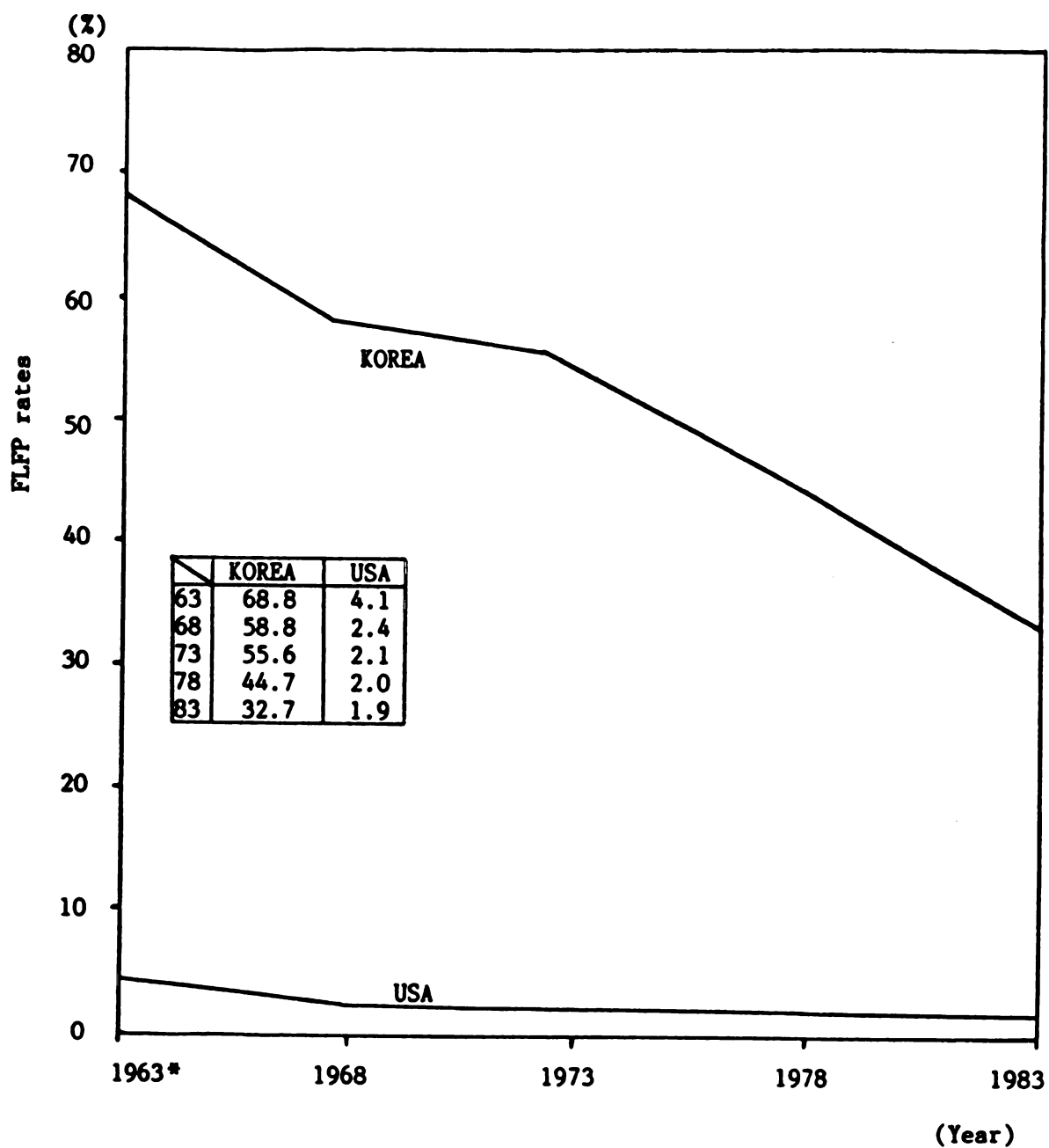


Figure 8: The Female Labor Force in the Primary Sector in Korea and the USA: 1963-1983

Sources: Tables 1.9 and 2.7

Note: *1963 is 1962 for the USA.

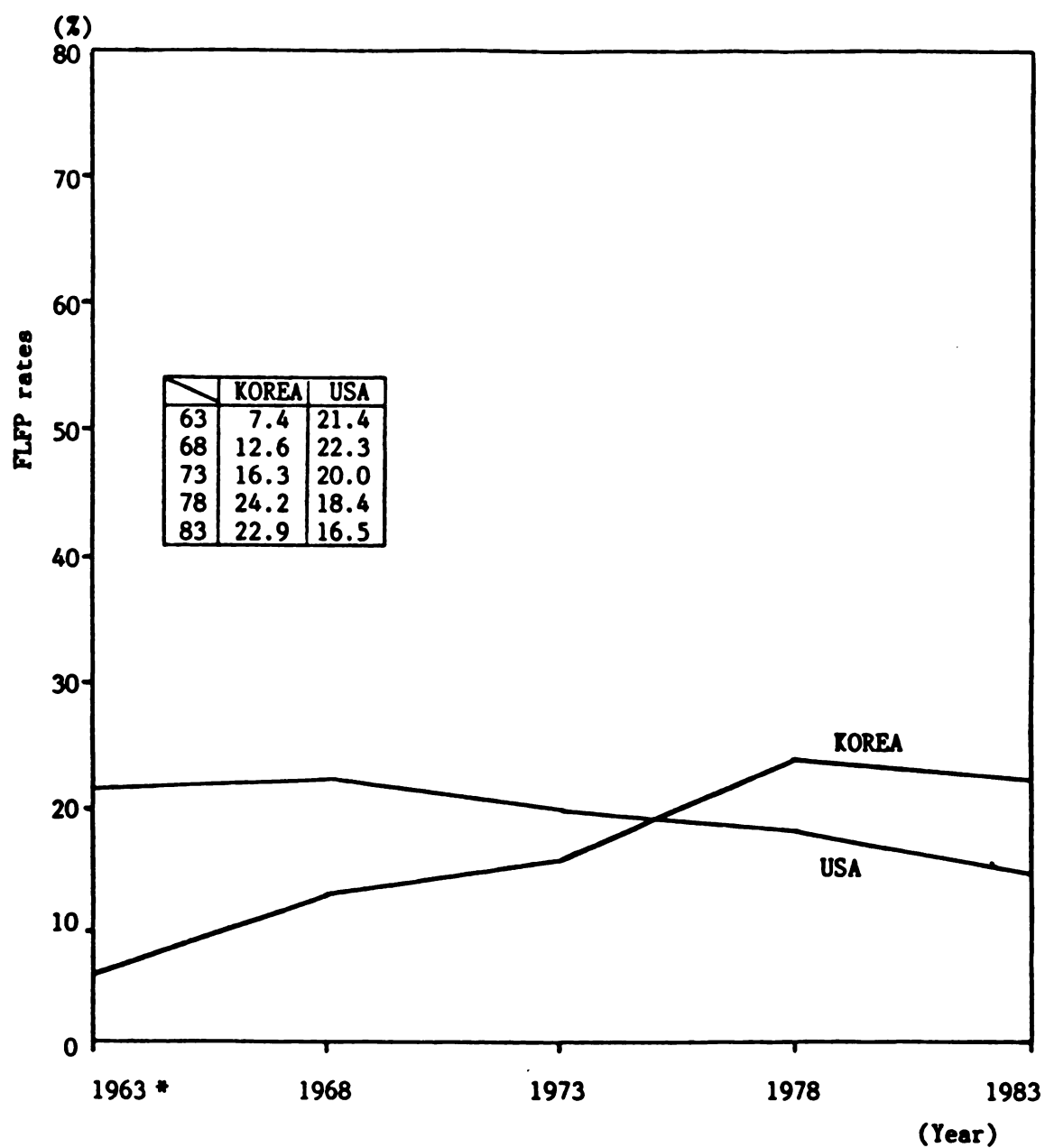


Figure 9: The Female Labor Force in the Secondary Sector in Korea and the USA: 1963-1983

Sources: Tables 1.9 and 2.7

Note: *1963 is 1962 for the USA.

1968 those have undergone a steady decline to 1983. Hence, except for the similar increase during the 1963-1968 period and similar decrease during the 1978-1983 period, the relationship of female employment in the secondary sector with economic development did not show the general pattern of consistent increase during the 1963-1983 period in both countries. Consequently, it seems to be fair to say that Hypothesis 2.2 can not be accepted.

Hypothesis 2.3 reports that with the increase in economic development, there will be an increase of female employment in the tertiary sector. According to Figure 10, in the USA the participation of women in the tertiary sector showed a steady increase during the 1963-1983 period. Korea has also experienced an expansion over the same period except for a slight decline between 1968 and 1973 period. Generally speaking, we can say that there was a similar pattern of increase in the female employment in the tertiary sector in both countries during the 1963-1983 period. Thus, we can accept Hypothesis 2.3.

Hypothesis 3 asserts that in 1983, the proportion of women employed in the secondary sector will be higher in Korea than in the USA, while the proportion of women employed in the tertiary sector will show the opposite pattern. As expected, in 1983, the proportion of women employed in the secondary sector was 22.9 percent in Korea and 16.5 percent in the USA, whereas that of women employed in the tertiary sector was 44.4 percent in Korea and 81.6

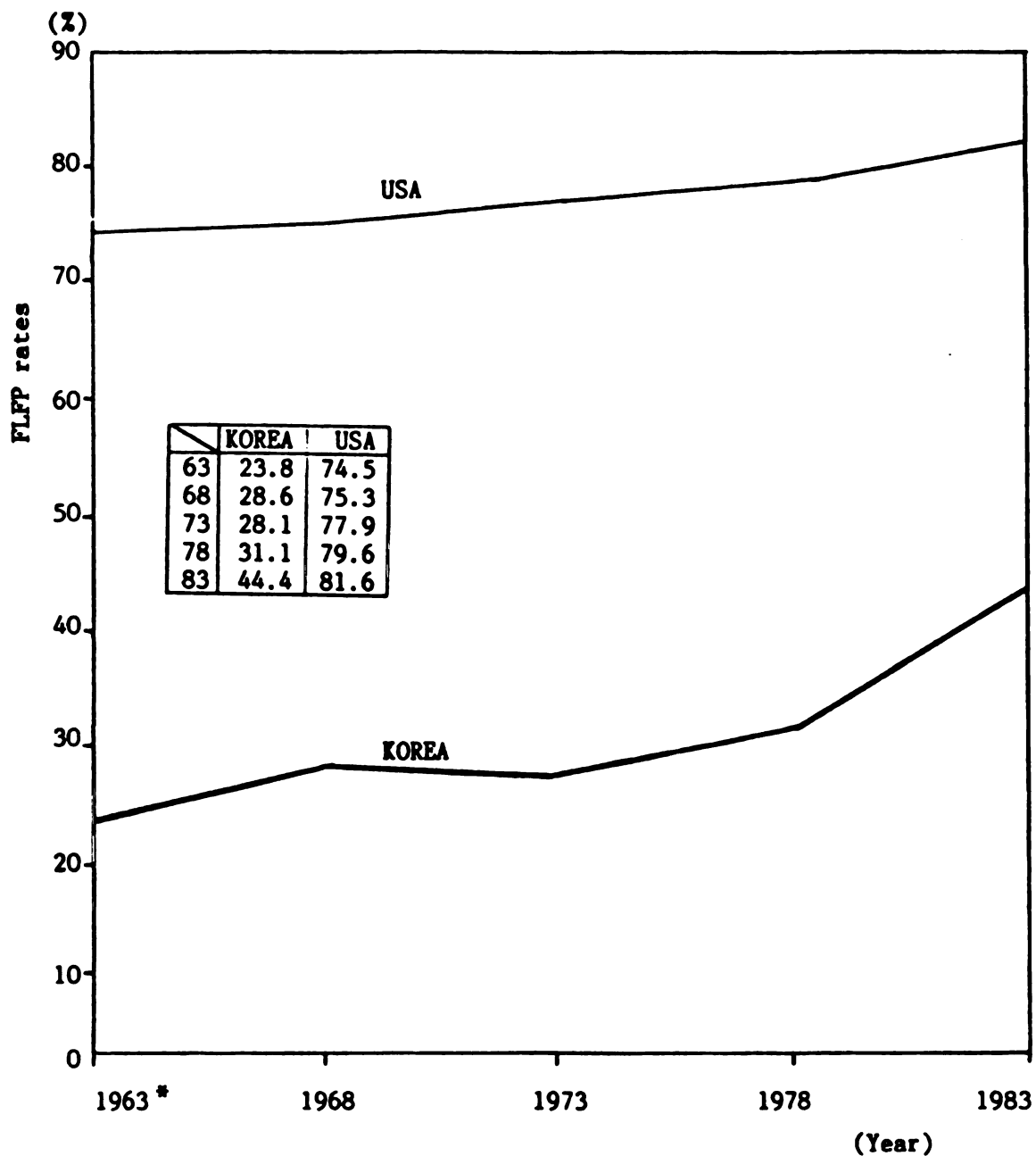


Figure 10: The Female Labor Force in the Tertiary Sector in Korea and the USA: 1963-1983

Sources: Tables 1.9 and 2.7

Note: *1963 is 1962 for the USA.

percent in the USA. In order to find out whether the differences between these proportions are statistically significant, I tested the significance of the difference between proportions.

In Hypothesis 3.1, the null hypothesis was stated as $p_1 (0.0229) > p_2 (0.0165)$, where $N_1=1,299$ and $N_2=7,257$. The significance test was calculated, using the following formula:

$$Z = \frac{p_1 - p_2}{\sqrt{\frac{p_1 q_1}{N_1} + \frac{p_2 q_2}{N_2}}} = \frac{0.0229 - 0.0165}{\sqrt{\frac{(0.0229)(0.978)}{1299} + \frac{(0.0165)(0.984)}{7257}}} = 1.5$$

where:

p_1 = the proportion of women employed in the secondary sector in 1983 in Korea.

p_2 = the proportion of women employed in the secondary sector in 1983 in the USA.

* N_1 = the number of women employed in the secondary sector in 1983 in Korea.

* N_2 = the number of women employed in the secondary sector in 1983 in the USA.

Note: *The unit of actual number is thousands. The numbers were adjusted for ease of calculation.

Since the critical value is 1.645, where $\alpha = 0.05$, the null hypothesis can be accepted and we can say that there is no significant difference between the two proportions. Thus, we can not conclude that the proportion of women employed in the secondary sector in 1983 was higher in Korea than in the USA.

Following the same procedure as in testing Hypothesis

3.1, in Hypothesis 3.2, the null hypothesis was stated as p_1 (0.0816) > p_2 (0.0444), where $N_1=35,924$ and $N_2=2,526$.

$$Z = \frac{0.0816 - 0.0444}{\sqrt{\frac{(0.0816)(0.918)}{35924} + \frac{(0.0444)(0.956)}{2526}}} = 9.25$$

The Z value was 9.25 and the critical value is 1.625, where $\alpha = 0.05$. Thus, the null hypothesis is rejected. We can say that there is a significant difference between the two proportions. As a result, it is fair to conclude that the proportion of women employed in the tertiary sector in 1983 was higher in the USA than in Korea.

The final hypothesis asserts that as female labor force participation increases, the degree of occupational segregation will be increased. In order to test this hypothesis, the index of occupational segregation for each year is presented in Table 3.1 and Figure 11. The comparison between the Korean and the USA figures supports Hypothesis 4, since the indices are higher in the USA each year. Also, during the two decades, the index of occupational segregation in Korea showed a gradual increase from 15.5 in 1963 to 19.1 in 1983 except for the minute drop during the 1973-1978 period. On the other hand, in the USA, the index showed a steady decrease over the same period.

In order to find a clearer picture of sex segregation in both countries, the index of segregation by industry

sector was calculated and presented in Table 3.2 and Figure 12. In Korea, the index of segregation in the secondary sector increased from 2.3 in 1963 to 4.3 in 1983 despite the irregular fluctuation during the period. In addition, the index in the tertiary sector also showed expansion from 1.5 in 1963 to 2.5 in 1983, in spite of the up-and-down movement during the period. On the other hand, in the USA, the index of segregation in the tertiary sector showed a slight decline during the overall two decades, while the index in the secondary has increased between 1963 and 1973, and after that dropped until 1983. Thus, judging from the trends of the index of segregation in occupation and industry sector, Hypothesis 4 seems to be not true in the case of the USA, but is true in that of Korea.

Table 3.1: Index of Occupational Segregation by Sex: 1963-1983

	KOREA	USA
1963	15.5	43.8
1968	17.6	43.4
1973	17.6	43.1
1978	17.5	42.1
1983	19.1	37.7

Sources: Calculated from Korea Statistical Yearbook, 1984 & US Yearbook of Labor Statistics, 1984

Table 3.2: Index of Segregation by Industry Sector
:1963-1983

Year	KOREA		USA	
	Secon.	Tert.	Secon.	Tert.
1963	2.3	1.5	9.9	13.2
1968	2.7	1.3	10.2	12.9
1973	2.3	2.0	10.6	12.4
1978	3.4	1.1	10.5	12.1
1983	4.3	2.5	9.8	11.4

Sources: Calculated from Korea Statistical Yearbook, 1984 & US Yearbook of Labor Statistics, 1984

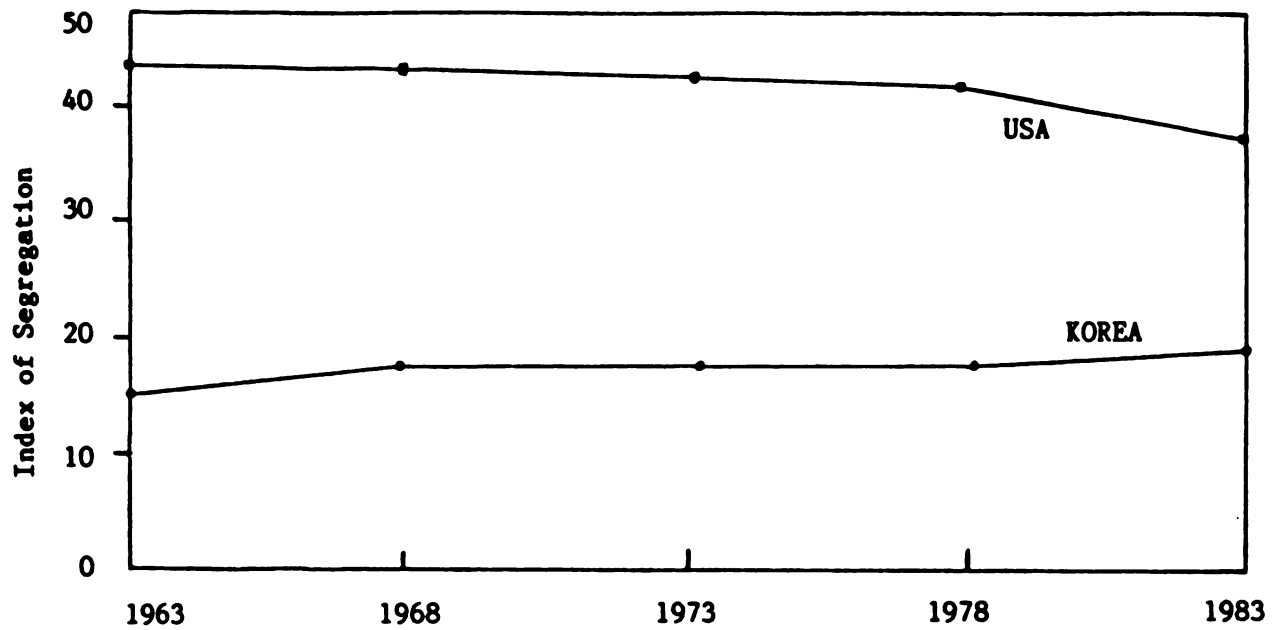


Figure 11: Index of Occupational Segregation by Sex in Korea and the USA: 1963-1983

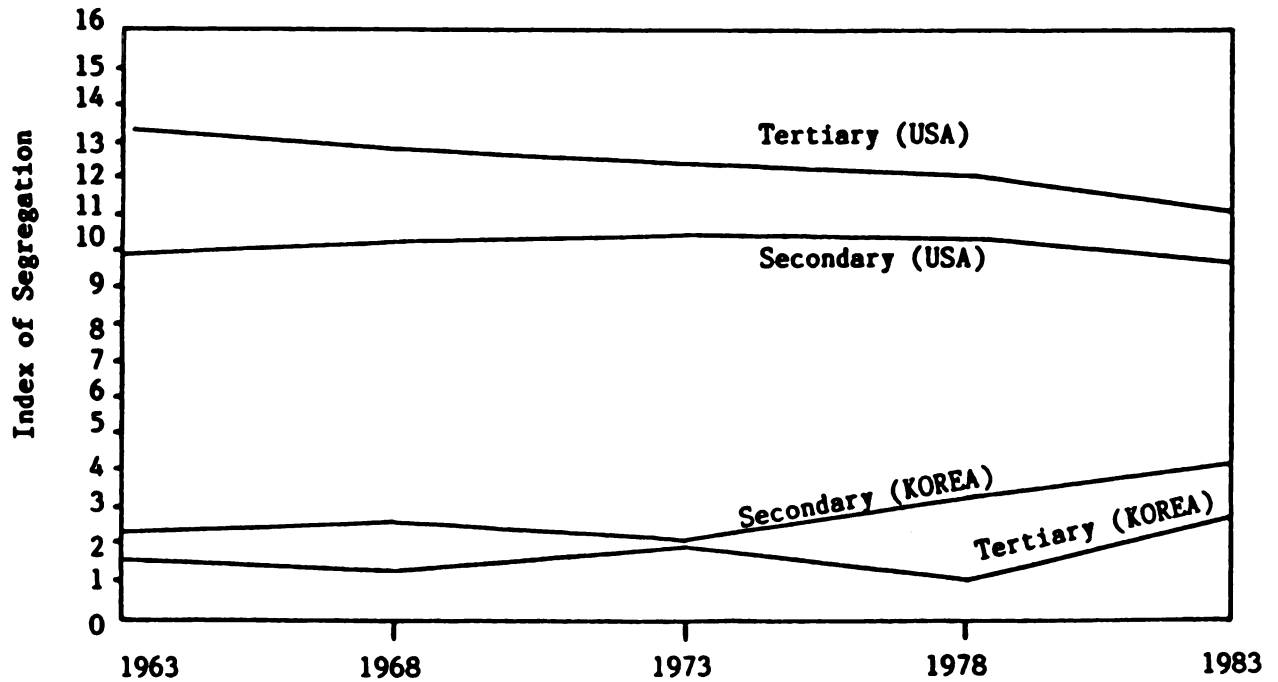


Figure 12: Index of Segregation by Industry Sector in Korea and the USA: 1963-1983

VII. SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Basically, the present study began with two principal questions: One is whether the general patterns in the relationship of economic development with female labor force participation and shifts of female employment in industry sectors will be similar in Korea and the United States. The other question is whether, as female labor force participation increases, the degree of occupational segregation by sex will be increased in the two countries.

As a result of testing four major hypotheses, several crucial points have been made in this study. In this section, I discuss the major findings.

First of all, the general pattern in the relationship between economic development and female labor force participation in Korea was similar with that of the USA during the 1963-1983 period. As a newly industrializing country (NIC) and one of the "little dragons" of East Asia (along with Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore), Korea has showed a prominent economic growth since the early 1960s mainly due to the export-oriented, labor-intensive industrialization process. Between 1962 and 1983 the GNP of Korea rose from \$2.3 to \$75 billion (Bank of Korea, 1984).

Such a rapid economic expansion was coupled with the increase of female labor force participation rates.

Furthermore, the general pattern in the relationship between economic development and shifts of female employment among industry sectors was also similar in the two countries. Namely, with the expansion in economic development, the two nations together experienced the transformation of the female employment structure. First, there was a remarkable decrease of female labor force participation rates in the primary sector. Presumably, in Korea, this phenomenon was partly due to the expansion of urban-ward migration of young single women and their employment in the urban areas. According to Hong's data (1984), more than 60 percent of the women in the 10-29 age group migrated to urban areas in search of jobs or education between 1961 and 1975. Meanwhile, in the case of the USA, a possible reason can be derived from the farm mechanization and technological development.

Second, in the secondary sector, there was a striking increase of female labor force participation in Korea during the 1963-1983 period, while in the USA there was a slight decline over the same period. The main reason for the increase in Korea is the notable expansion of female employment in the manufacturing industries by dint of the national industrialization policy. During the two decades, the participation rate of women employed in the manufacturing sector has increased from 6.8 percent in 1963

to 21.8 percent in 1983, and it also has represented over 95% of female employment in the secondary sector except 1963 when it was 91.3%.

Third, in the tertiary sector, the US female labor force participation rates experienced a consistent rise and has stayed over 70% during the 1963-1983 period. In a sense, this picture in the USA seems to be reflective of the service economy of the highly developed country. Korea has also shown a striking increase from 1973 until 1983. As a noteworthy fact, in 1983 the proportion of women employed in the tertiary sector outnumbered that in the primary sector by 44.4 percent to 32.7 percent. This may be indicative of the coming of a new stage of service economy in Korea.

As an interesting finding in the present study, in Korea, the degree of sex segregation increased as female labor force participation increased during the 1963-1983 period. In 1963, the index was 15.5 indicating 15.5% of male or female workers would have to switch their occupation before there would be no evidence of sex segregation in the labor force. By 1983, the overall level of sex segregation had increased to about 19. This seems to be the result of two processes: i.e., changes in the occupational structure and changes in the sex composition of the occupational groupings. Between 1963 and 1983, in the service, clerical, and agriculture-related occupations, women's labor force participation has grown in relative size. In addition, in those occupations together with sales jobs, the percentage

of female to male workers has expanded remarkably. Thus, the main reasons for the increase in the occupational segregation seems to be explained structurally with the sex-segregated growth of female employment in the occupational structure on the one hand, and culturally with the female concentration in traditionally low-prestige secondary occupations on the other hand.

In contrast, during the same period, the United States experienced a gradual decline in the index of sex segregation from 43.8 in 1963 to 37.7 in 1983. One possible reason for the decrease seems to be the rise of female labor force participation in some occupations that were previously highly sex-segregated by males such as in the professional and technical, and administrative and managerial occupations despite the continuous increase in the "female" occupations, for instance, clerical jobs.

In this section, I discussed the relations of female labor force participation with economic development, the transformations of industrial and occupational structures, and occupational sex segregation in Korea and the USA during the 1963-1983 period. As a whole, together with the increase in economic development and the concomitant transformations of industrial and occupational structures, there is no doubt that, the pattern of female labor force participation has been affected to some extent in both countries. Meanwhile, even though women have participated in the labor force in unprecedented numbers, in fact, they

have entered and now entering the sphere of so called "female" jobs in the secondary labor market. Unfortunately, such a sex concentration or sex specialization in specific occupation is often responsible for a large portion of inequality between the sexes in earnings and power.

VIII. CONCLUSIONS

In this study I have attempted to deal with female labor force participation related to several issues such as economic development, transformations of the industrial and occupational structures, and sex segregation. From this study I can draw several conclusions relevant for future research. First, specifically in the demand side, economic development in a country tends to stimulate women's participation in the labor force. Of course, we can not easily deny the significant fact that there should be some differences in the activity rates of women by virtue of the heterogeneous social and cultural backgrounds in each country. Nevertheless, it is likely to be true that, with economic development, which is usually coupled with industrialization, women may have increasing chances to be associated with the paid employment in the labor market. Particularly, in Korea, economic development provided women lots of job opportunities over the last two or three decades. Also, we can say that without the contributions of women workers, Korea could not accomplish its present rapid economic growth.

Second, despite the difference in the time period, the

general pattern of shifts of female employment in all societies seems to reflect the transformation of the industrial structure, from the primary to the secondary, and eventually to the tertiary sector. For instance, during the 1963-1983 period, the pattern of female employment in Korea demonstrated a prominent decrease in the primary sector, a remarkable increase in the secondary sector, and a steady rise in the tertiary sector. Today, the pattern of female employment in Korea seems to be in the stage of transition from the secondary to tertiary sector.

Third, it is interesting that sex segregation has increased in Korea between 1963 and 1983, unlike the case of the USA where it showed a gradual decrease over the same period. Here, we can draw a feasible conclusion that when a developing country is in the early stage of economic development, women workers tend to be employed especially in the few sex-segregated jobs. This can be attributed to the national industrialization strategy of some developing countries. In Korea, during the 1963-1983 period, female workers participated predominantly in several manufacturing areas (e.g., wig-making, sewing, electronics, and textiles) which were considered especially suitable for women. It can be said that female employment in the manufacturing industries, in a degree, played a role in increasing the sex segregation in Korea. In addition, the continuation of sex concentration in several previous sex-segregated jobs, for example, sales or agriculture-related jobs can be also

partly responsible for the increase of sex segregation.

Finally, two major limitations of the present study should be pointed out in hopes of advancing future research in this area. First, I have used rather broad definitions of industry and occupation in order to accommodate the data that were available. Future research should attempt to analyze data at a more detailed level than the classifications used here. Second, I have not examined the causal relationships among the variables mainly because of the non-availability of comprehensive data. Thus, future study on this kind of research problems should be conducted with more high level statistical methods in order to obtain clearer results.

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