aging society requires not a quantitative adjustment of its population but a qualitative restructuring of its economy, culture, and community (Chang, 2001b). In this respect, South Korea may once again benefit from the "late development effect" by carefully observing the experiences of forerunner aging societies including Japan. Furthermore, fertility decline is only one symptom of South Koreans' defamiliation, and its causes have been much more complex in South Korea than elsewhere due to the extremely compressed and dependent nature of economic and social transformations. Unless the diverse ideologies and concomitantly complicated functions of South Korean families are carefully examined and comprehensively dealt with, no state policy can stop such tendencies of defamiliation. To the extent that the one-sided reliance of the state on private families in welfare, health, education, labor, social control, and culture has exacerbated their psychological and material overburdening, a serious will of the state for burden-sharing or even burden-substituting will certainly alleviate many symptoms of defamiliation. Perhaps this is the baseline from which new ideas and programs for social policy should develop in South Korea.

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<Table 1> Population Redistribution between Urban and Rural Areas and Total Fertility Rate Changes (unit: %)

	1960	1970	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
% Urban (*dong*)	28.0	41.2	57.3	65.4	74.4	78.5	79.7
% Rural (*eup, myeon*)	72.0	58.8	42.7	34.6	25.6	21.5	20.3
Total fertility rate	6.00	4.53	2.83	1.67	1.59	1.65	1.47

Note: Total fertility rate indicates the average number of live births to a woman hypothetically assumed to go through fertility chances of all childbearing ages (15-49) in a given year.

Sources: *Tonggyero bon hangugui moseup* (The Image of Korea Seen through Statistics), p.41, p.45; *2001 Annual Report on Live Births and Death Statistics (Based on Vital Registration)*, p.13

<Table 2> Proportion of Social Security Expenditure in Government Budget

(unit: %)

Country	Year	% Social security expenditure
South Korea	1998	10.9
Japan	1997	19.6
United Kingdom	1998	36.3
Sweden	1998	43.5
Canada	1995	42.9
Mexico	1997	18.1

Source: *Main Statistical Indicators for OECD Member Countries*, p.67

<Table 3> Age-Specific Fertility Rate (unit: per thousand women of each age group)

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
15-19	4.7	4.4	4.0	3.6	3.3	3.1	2.9	2.6	2.5	2.2
20-24	82.8	72.7	66.0	62.9	58.8	54.5	48.0	43.5	39.0	31.6
25-29	188.9	178.8	179.6	177.1	167.6	161.5	153.4	148.1	150.6	130.1
30-34	65.1	64.2	68.0	69.6	71.1	73.2	73.2	72.9	84.2	78.3
35-39	12.6	13.8	14.7	15.2	15.5	16.0	15.8	15.4	17.4	17.2
40-44	1.8	2.0	2.2	2.3	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.4	2.6	2.5
45-49	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
General fertility rate	59.6	56.6	56.3	55.0	52.2	50.3	47.3	45.1	46.4	40.4
Total fertility rate	1.78	1.67	1.67	1.65	1.58	1.54	1.47	1.42	1.47	1.30

Note: General fertility rate indicates the number of live births to one thousand women aged 15 to 49.

Source: *2001 Annual Report on Live Births and Death Statistics (Based on Vital Registration)*, p.13

<Table 4> Sex Ratio by Birth Order (unit: males per hundred females)

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
All	113.6	115.3	115.2	113.2	111.6	108.2	110.1	109.6	110.2	109.0
1st	106.2	106.4	106.0	105.8	105.3	105.1	105.9	105.6	106.2	105.4
2nd	112.4	114.7	114.1	111.7	109.8	106.3	108.0	107.6	107.4	106.4
3rd +	194.5	206.6	205.1	180.2	166.2	135.5	145.6	143.1	143.9	141.4

Source: *2001 Annual Report on Live Births and Death Statistics (Based on Vital Registration)*, p.18

<Table 5> Changes in Crude Marriage Rate and Crude Divorce Rate (unit: per thousand persons)

	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	1998	1999	2000	2001
C.M.R	9.2	8.0	10.6	9.2	9.2	8.7	8.0	7.7	7.0	6.7
C.D.R	0.4	0.5	0.6	1.0	1.1	1.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.8

Source: *2001 Annual Report on Live Births and Death Statistics (Based on Vital Registration)*, p.12

<Table 6> Unmarried Proportion of Women in Thirties (unit: %)

	30	31	32	33	34	35
1975	4.2	2.5	2.0	1.5	1.2	1.0
1995	9.7	7.9	6.4	5.4	4.6	3.9

Source: *Population and Housing Census Report*, 1975, 1995

<Table 7> Changes in Productive Population Aged 15-64 (units: thousand persons, %)

	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2030
Productive population	13,698	17,540	23,717	29,701	33,671	34,130
Aged 15-24	4,741	5,838	8,613	8,784	7,662	6,066
proportion	*34.6*	*33.3*	*36.3*	*29.6*	*22.7*	*17.8*
Aged 25-49	6,964	9,179	11,812	16,184	19,822	16,628
proportion	*50.8*	*52.3*	*49.8*	*54.4*	*58.9*	*48.7*
Aged 50-64	1,993	2,522	3,292	4,768	6,187	11,436
proportion	*14.6*	*14.4*	*13.9*	*16.0*	*18.4*	*33.5*

Source: *Tonggyero bon hangugui moseup* (The Image of Korea Seen through Statistics), p.36

<Table 8> Changing Life Expectancy in South Korea and Japan

	South Korea		Japan	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
1960-1965	53.6	56.9	66.5	71.6
1965-1970	56.0	59.4	68.5	73.9
1970-1975	59.3	66.1	70.6	76.2
1975-1980	61.3	68.4	72.8	78.2
1980-1985	63.5	71.1	74.2	79.7
1985-1990	65.8	73.7	75.4	81.2
1990-1995	67.3	74.9	76.4	82.4
1995-2000	70.6	78.1	76.8	82.9

Source: *Main Statistical Indicators for OECD Member Countries*, p.43

<Table 9> Changes in Age Structure and Dependency Ratio

	Age group (%)			Youth dependency ratio (%)	Aged dependency ratio (%)
	0-14	15-64	65+		
1960	42.3	54.8	2.9	77.3	5.3
1970	42.5	54.4	3.1	78.2	5.7
1980	34.0	62.2	3.8	54.6	5.1
1990	25.6	69.3	5.1	36.9	7.4
2000	21.7	71.2	7.1	30.4	10.0
2010	19.9	70.1	9.9	28.4	14.2
2020	17.2	69.6	13.2	24.7	18.9
2030	16.0	64.7	19.3	24.8	28.8

Source: *Tonggyero bon hangugui moseup* (The Image of Korea Seen through Statistics), p.33

A Preliminary Report of Jeju Fertility Survey

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This project was initiated by the request of National Institute of Population and Social Security Research, Japan. The Jeju Fertility Survey was conducted by Social Survey Research Center at the Academy of Korean Studies. The investigator appreciates Dr. Kojima Hiroshi for his concern and encouragement during this research.

I. General Description on Jeju Fertility Survey

Jeju Fertility Survey (hereafter JFS) was conducted by Social Survey Research Center at the Academy of Korean Studies in eight areas of Jeju Island from May 1, 2003 to June 10, 2003. For this survey, 12 undergraduate and graduate students of Cheju National University interviewed 600 ever-married women between age 15 and 65. Fertility survey is usually conducted for women of age 15 to 49 who can reproduce at the time of survey. But this survey included female divers who were usually over reproductive age from two diver's villages because this survey aimed at interviewing female divers who were assumed to show differences in reproductive behavior from non-divers. The fact that most divers were beyond reproductive age in this survey reflects the rapid aging of female divers in Jeju Island.

Table 1 includes the areas where JFS was conducted.

Table 1. Survey Areas in Jeju Fertility Survey

Area	Characteristics
Gu Jeju city (old Jeju city) area: Ildo-dong, Ihdo-dong, Samdo-dong, Yongdam-dong, Ora-dong, Bonggae-dong	Urban area
Shin Jeju city (new Jeju city) area: Yeon-dong, Nohyung-dong	Urban area
Pyoseon-myon Seongeup-ri	Rural area
Namwon-eup Euigui-ri	Rural area
Hallim-eup Hallim-ri	Rural area
Daejeong-eup Hamo-ri	Rural area
Seongsan-eup Onpyong-ri	Diver's village
Gujwa-eup Gimnyong-ri	Diver's village

As a representative urban area, Jeju city was chosen in this survey. Jeju city is the most center of Jeju Island, which is located in the north of the Island. As Jeju city expanded, new city area was developed in the west of Jeju city, which is called Shin Jeju(new Jeju) in Korea. In this survey, about 300 people were interviewed in both Old and New Jeju city areas as representing an urban area.

Four areas such as Seongeup, Euigui, Hallim and Hamo were included in this survey as representing rural areas in east and west of Jeju Island. 50 ever-married females in each area were interviewed about their marriage, childbirth, practice of contraception and family values and so on.

Onpyong and Gimnyong are representative villages of divers in Jeju Island. Most female residents in these two villages work as divers during their lifetime. Jeju's female divers are very famous not only in Korea but also in Japan because they sometimes go to Japan to dive. Despite that they are assumed to have different behaviors and values on fertility from non-divers, few research has investigated their fertility behaviors and values. Because the number of divers diminishes at a fast pace by death or moves to other areas stopping diving, we need to keep recording their fertility behaviors for further study. In this regard, two diver's villages were included in this research.

Actually, 603 ever-married women were interviewed during the survey. 3 cases were completely disregarded for the incompleteness in many variables. 600 cases were used

for the analysis of fertility behavior in this report, but less than 600 cases were usually used for the analysis of each variable because 600 cases did not responded to all questions.

The following Table 2 shows some socio-demographic characteristics of respondents in JFS.

Table 2 Characteristics of Respondents in Jeju Fertility Survey

Variable	Description	n	%	N
Age	-24	9	1.5	
	25-29	64	10.7	
	30-34	117	19.5	
	35-39	121	20.2	
	40-44	124	20.7	
	45-49	99	16.5	
	50-54	31	5.2	
	55-59	23	3.8	
	60+	12	2.0	600
Education	None	18	3.0	
	Elementary	67	11.2	
	Middle	85	14.2	
	High	281	46.8	
	Junior College	79	13.2	
	College	67	11.2	
	Graduate+	3	0.5	600
Marital Status	Currently Married	570	95.0	
	Bereaved	20	3.3	
	Divorced	7	1.2	
	Separated	3	0.5	600
Religion	Buddhism	289	48.5	
	Shamanism	18	3.0	
	Confucianism	1	0.2	
	Protestantism	48	8.1	
	Catholicism	44	7.4	
	Others	8	1.3	
	None	152	25.5	
	Buddhism+Shamanism	36	6.0	596

Most respondents in JFS were in their 30s and 40s. About 77% of the respondents were between age 30 and 49. However, more than 10 percent of respondents were over 50 in JFS because we intended to collect the data from old divers. Proportion of women in their 20s was relatively small, about 12% of the whole respondents.

47 % of the respondents in JFS attained high school education. It is noteworthy that 25% of respondents attained the education at the level of junior college and above. On the other hand, 25% of respondents attained only elementary and middle school education. 3% of respondents never went to school during their lifetime.

At the time of the survey, 95% of respondents were still married with spouse. 3% of respondents lost their spouse and lived without spouse. Only 1.7 % of respondents were in divorce or separation from their spouse.

The dominant religion in Jeju Island was Buddhism according to Korean Census of Population in 1985 and 1995. 48.5% of respondents said that their religion was Buddhism. The next category to which respondents belonged was none. 25.5% of respondents said that they did not have religion. Christians including Catholicism and Protestantism consisted of 15.6 % of respondents. Interestingly, 6% of respondents said that their religion was both of Buddhism and Shamanism. Some people, usually women in Jeju frequently say that they go to "Dang(堂), a kind of shrine. Among those whose religion is Buddhism, it is not unusual to go to "Dang" in Jeju.

II. Age at Marriage and Family Formation

Childbearing in Korea is usually accomplished within marriage. The current lowest low fertility is mostly rooted in postponement of marriage by younger generations in addition to the decline of childbirth within marriage. Out-of-wedlock is negligible in Korea. It can be said that marriage precedes childbearing in Korea. In this regard, timing of marriage is a very significant determinant of fertility level in Korea.

In this survey, however, we asked about timing of first union rather than timing of first marriage. In most surveys in Korea, timing of first marriage rather than timing of first union is questioned. However, when marriage is preceded by cohabitation without formal marriage ceremony, people are apt to report their timing of marriage as the time when they had formal marriage ceremony. Therefore, we wanted to know when they formed a union within which conception and childbearing were possible.

Before we investigated the timing of first union, we asked respondents when they had first sexual intercourse irrespective of their spouse. Although sexual intercourse is assumed to begin with marriage, it is in fact frequently made irrespective of marriage even in Confucian Korea. The following Table 3 shows the distribution of age at first intercourse.

The earliest age at first intercourse was 15 in JFS. Three respondents experienced first intercourse at age 16. Generally, the number of women who had intercourse before age 19 was not so impressive. As for the respondents in JFS, however, age 19 seems to be the pivotal timing to have intercourse. The proportion of women who had intercourse first swiftly increased after age 19. The number of women who had intercourse at age 19 jumped up to 37, 6.2% of all respondents. For the respondents in JFS, the peak age that most women had intercourse first was 25. 85 women (14.2% of the respondents) had their first intercourse at age 25. After age 25, the proportion having first intercourse began to decrease.

Table 3 Age at First Intercourse

Age	N	%
15	1	0.17
16	3	0.50
17	2	0.34
18	7	1.17
19	37	6.20
20	52	8.71
21	67	11.22
22	70	11.73
23	72	12.06
24	79	13.23
25	85	14.24
26	36	6.03
27	41	6.87
28	16	2.68
29	16	2.68
30	4	0.67
31	4	0.67
32	1	0.17
33	1	0.17
34	1	0.17
38	1	0.17
43	1	0.17
Total	597	100.00

Age at first intercourse can vary by birth cohort. Table 4 illustrates the relationship between age at first intercourse and birth cohort.

Table 4 Percentage Distribution of Age at First Intercourse by Birth Cohort

Birth Cohort	- 19	20-21	22-23	24-25	26-27	28-29	30+	N
-1954	13.25	33.73	34.94	8.43	6.02	2.41	1.20	83
1955-59	8.13	26.83	27.64	26.83	8.94	0.81	0.81	123
1960-64	7.03	17.19	17.97	36.72	12.50	6.25	2.34	128
1965-69	2.78	14.81	22.22	27.78	18.52	9.26	4.63	108
1970-74	6.25	12.50	16.96	33.04	18.75	9.82	2.68	112
1975+	23.26	13.95	30.23	23.26	9.30	0.00	0.00	43

For an earlier birth cohort who was born before 1955, the experience of first intercourse concentrated on ages 20 to 23. Nearly 70 percent of the birth cohort had their first intercourse in this age bracket. 13 percent in the birth cohort had intercourse first before age 20. For the birth cohort 1955-1959, age at first intercourse increased when compared to the earlier birth cohort. The proportions having first intercourse are

nearly evenly distributed for the age categories of 20-21, 22-23 and 24-25. For the birth cohort 1960-1964, age at first intercourse once again increased slightly. Among this birth cohort, 36.7% had their first sex at ages 24-25. The proportion to experience first intercourse at less than age 25 decreased when compared to the birth cohort 1955-1959. 12% had their first sex at ages 26-27. For the birth cohort 1970-74, the experience concentrated on ages 24-25 again. 33% of ever-married women in this birth cohort reported that they had intercourse first at these ages.

The youngest cohort, however, shows much earlier pattern of first intercourse. Women of birth cohort 1975 and after had an intercourse earlier than women of older cohort. For instance, 30% of this cohort experienced first sex at ages 22-23. 19% of this birth cohort had sex first before age 20. But we have to be careful in interpreting the result for this youngest cohort. First, the number of women for this birth cohort is smaller than any other birth cohort. Second, women from this birth cohort who ever-married at the time of this survey were likely to have a propensity to have sex and get married earlier than other women in the same birth cohort. These seem to produce a somewhat skewed result for this youngest birth cohort.

We may draw a conclusion from Table 4 that age at first intercourse also goes up as marriage comes late. We, however, are not sure that age at first intercourse keeps going upward as it has been so. It is likely that sex becomes separated from marriage even in Confucian Korea primarily because of value change. In addition, as people become more sexually active at younger ages, age at first intercourse is rather likely to keep decreasing slowly but steadily in modern Korea.

The trends toward separation of sex from marriage can be examined through the following Table 5.

Table 5 Percentage Distribution of Age Difference between First Union Formation and First Intercourse

	Age Difference					
Birth Cohort	-1≥	0	1	2	3+	N
-1954	4.8	81.9	7.2	1.2	4.8	83
1955-1959	2.4	80.5	12.2	2.4	2.4	123
1960-1964	0.8	66.4	16.4	5.5	10.9	128
1965-1969	4.6	61.1	17.6	3.7	13.0	108
1970-1974	3.5	60.2	18.6	7.1	10.6	113
1975-	2.3	60.5	20.9	11.6	4.7	43

Table 5 shows the lag between first union formation and first intercourse. Positive value in age difference means that sex preceded first union formation. Logically, negative value in age difference between first union formation and first intercourse cannot occur because first intercourse should at least coincide with the timing of first union if sex does not precede first union. Therefore, negative value in age difference in Table 5 may be attributed to poor memory or false response.

The apparent feature in age difference between first union formation and first intercourse is that the coincidence between two events for younger birth cohorts becomes less than for older birth cohorts. At least one year before the first union

formation, about 40 percent of women had sex for younger birth cohorts. We are not sure that the partner of the first sex continued to be that of the first union in Jeju. The one thing we remember is that time lag between first sex and first union exists and seems to be expanded, which may indicate that sex will be more likely to be separated from marriage in Confucian Korea in the near future.

Table 6 shows mean age at first union by birth cohort.

Table 6 Mean Age at First Union Formation by Birth Cohort

Birth Cohort	-1954	1955-1959	1960-1964	1965-1969	1970-1974	1975-
Mean Age	22.18	22.99	24.58	25.10	24.96	22.84
S.D.	2.48	2.94	3.13	2.78	3.04	2.56

Mean age at first union for the oldest birth cohort was 22.2. It went up to 23.0 for birth cohort 1955-1959. It continued to increase up to 24.6 and 25.1 for birth cohorts 1960-64 and 1965-1969, respectively. It seems in Table 6 that the increase in age at first union halted for recent birth cohorts. But this might occur because those who might marry late could not be included in the survey. Thus, it may be more correct to interpret that formation of first union has become late for recent birth cohorts.

Another interest concerning union formation lies in the sequence leading to marriage. This may be called a sequence of family formation. The following Table 7 shows several types of sequence of first union formation.

Table 7 Sequence of First Union Formation by Birth Cohort

Birth Cohort	Cohabitation	Cohabitation with Marriage Certificate	Cohabitation First and then Marriage	Marriage	Total
- 1954	0 (0.0)	1 (1.2)	8 (9.5)	75 (89.3)	84(100.0)
1955-1959	1 (0.8)	6 (4.8)	19 (15.3)	98 (79.0)	124(100.0)
1960-1964	2 (1.6)	4 (3.1)	23 (18.0)	99 (77.3)	128(100.0)
1965-1969	2 (1.9)	5 (4.7)	17 (15.9)	83 (77.6)	107(100.0)
1970-1974	4 (3.6)	5 (4.5)	20 (17.9)	83 (74.1)	112(100.0)
1975 -	4 (9.5)	4 (9.5)	6 (14.3)	28 (66.7)	42(100.0)

First union can take the form of cohabitation or marriage. It is frequent that cohabitation cannot be clearly distinguished from marriage. The distinction depends on how to define a living status as cohabitation or marriage. In JFS, the proportion of cohabitation was so low for older birth cohort. But it increased slightly for younger birth cohorts. Cohabitation with marriage certificate was also increasing for younger birth cohorts. The most striking feature to the researcher is that the proportion of sequence of cohabitation and then marriage was very substantial for almost all birth cohorts. For instance, the proportion was 18% and 17.9% for birth cohorts 1960-1964 and 1970-1974, respectively. Although the proportion seems to be lowering for the

most recent birth cohort, it is never decreasing if we consider higher proportion of cohabitation and cohabitation with marriage certificate for the most recent birth cohort. This is also reflected in the lowest proportion of marriage for the recent birth cohort. To sum up, women's path to first union gets diverse in Jeju. Unlike a social norm on first union formation, cohabitation before marriage has been substantial in Jeju. Union formation only by marriage is slowly losing its dominant place because of increasing cohabitation before marriage.

III. Childbirth

As fertility has been lowered at the national level, fertility level has also decreased in Jeju. This is clearly shown in Table 8.

Table 8 Mean Number of Children Ever Born by Birth Cohort

Birth Cohort	Mean	Minimum	Maximum
-1954	3.33	0	7
1955-1959	2.60	1	6
1960-1964	2.25	0	4
1965-1969	2.10	1	4
1970-1974	1.60	0	4
1975-	1.17	0	2

For women born before 1955, mean number of children was 3.33 in JFS. The range of the number of children was between 0 and 7. Mean number decreased to 2.6 for birth cohort 1955-1959. Maximum number of children was 6 for this birth cohort in JFS. Mean number of children was lowered to 1.6 for birth cohort 1970-1974. Because those women appearing in Table 8 had the possibility to give a birth after the survey, we cannot say that the mean number of children might be equal to cohort fertility rate. However, it is evident that fertility level has been substantially lowered for women in Jeju. The comparison of fertility between Jeju and other areas in Korea is necessary, but it will be done in next research.

Parity distribution by birth cohort is presented in Table 9.

Table 9 Parity Distribution by Birth Cohort

Birth Cohort	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	N(%)
-1954	2(2.4)	3(3.6)	15(17.9)	29(34.5)	23(27.4)	5(6.0)	6(7.1)	1(1.2)	84(100.0)
1955-1959	0(0.0)	9(7.3)	54(43.5)	46(37.1)	10(8.1)	3(2.4)	2(1.6)	0(0.0)	124(100.0)
1960-1964	1(0.8)	11(8.6)	75(58.6)	37(28.9)	4(3.1)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	128(100.0)
1965-1969	0(0.0)	12(11.2)	75(70.1)	17(15.9)	3(2.8)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	107(100.0)
1970-1974	7(6.3)	45(40.2)	47(42.0)	12(10.7)	1(0.9)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	112(100.0)
1975-	6(14.3)	23(54.8)	13(31.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	42(100.0)