

Roles of Women's Employment in a Divorce Process: An Exploratory Research with the KLoWF Data

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Abstract

In an attempt to explore whether the recent increase in divorce implies transformations in the foundation of the family, this study looks into the roles of women's employment in the process of marital dissolution using data from the first wave of Korean Longitudinal Survey of Women and Family (KLoWF). The research questions involve the effects of women's employment on the incidence of divorce or separation and on living arrangement with their children after divorce or separation. The first analysis focuses on employment characteristics at the time of marriage, and the findings suggest a rather complex relationship with marital stability. A wife's stable white collar jobs decrease, but non-standard jobs increase marital dissolution. Quitting jobs at marriage also decreases marital dissolution. It appears that women work outside home to maximize the benefits for the family but in limited circumstances it may facilitate to break away from the bad marriages. Divorced mothers' irregular employment slightly increases the chance of living apart from at least one child, suggesting that irregular employment does not provide incomes to maintain the family.

The crude divorce rate had increased dramatically during the late 1990s and early 2000s, reaching the peak 3.6% in 2003. Although it has slightly declined since then, the rate remains much higher than a decade before. At the same time, in the past few decades women's educational attainment has increased dramatically and various social measures have been taken place to enhance gender equality, including, most notably, the abolition of the family registration system. In such a context, one wonders if an increase in divorce reflects a transformation in the foundation of marriage from a strictly gender-segregated institution to a more gender-egalitarian one. Motivated by such a broad inquiry, this study explores whether women's employment plays a role in the divorce process. Does employment increase the likelihood of divorce or is employment simply an inevitable choice for women who are to be economically independent after divorce? Among divorced mothers, does employment affect the likelihood of custody of their children, either facilitating or hindering co-residence?

Previous findings on the relationships between women's employment and divorce are inconclusive. Over the past several decades in the West, increases in married women's employment have paralleled with rises in divorce rates, but at the individual level, causal influences between women's employment and divorce are not straightforward. As discussed below, women's employment increases the chance of divorce only under certain circumstances (Oppenheimer 1997; Sayer and Bianchi 2000). It is suspected that the causal relationships are bilateral and occurring at various stages of marital dissolution process possibly in conjunction

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with other circumstances.

In Korea, women's labor force participation rate has increased only slightly over the past few decades and remained stable in recent several years at approximately 50% (KOSIS 2009). The slow growth is partly due to industrialization of the economy where the labor force participation rate is high in rural areas and particularly low among married women in urban areas. Only about 40% of urban married women are working even at their late 30s and 40s when the rates reach the highest among all ages (2% sample 2005 Census). The labor force participation rate goes up considerably after divorce or separation, even though employment opportunities are concentrated on those jobs with relatively poor work conditions and low wages. In urban areas alone, more than 60% of divorced women in their 30s through 50s are working, a higher rate than that of married women by more than 20 percentage points (2% sample 2005 Census). What is less certain is whether married women's employment affects the likelihood of divorce. Longitudinal (i.e., retrospective) data from the first wave of the KLoWF will help to clarify the linkage.

In addition, this study explores how divorced or separated mothers' employment affects childrearing arrangements. The increased level of employment among divorced and separated women may imply the importance of economic independence for the command of motherhood. Given the relatively poor work conditions among these women, however, employment may not help maintain or even deter child custody. In the following, we briefly overview the previous studies and explain the two research questions of this study.

Effects of Employment on the Incidence of Divorce

In the literature, broadly two groups of hypotheses predict that women's employment may increase divorce. The first group assumes employment can be a cause of marital dissolution. In this argument, time is the major mechanism. A wife's long working hours outside home may bring about life dissatisfaction among family members, which increases the probability of divorce (Greenstein 1995; Presser 2003; Spitze and South 1985). Others argue that workplaces may provide married persons as well as unmarried persons with opportunities to meet a person (McKinnish 2004; South 2001; South and Lloyd 1995). The second group of hypotheses postulates that women's employment may not cause but facilitates divorce when marital problems are present (Sayer and Bianchi 2000; Schoen et al. 2002). In unhappy marriages, women with the means of economic independence can leave the marriage. Still other hypotheses are some combinations of the above perspectives, and emphasize the effects of changes in the income or social status balance between the spouses over time. The likelihood of divorce increases when a wife's status or a wife's relative status enhances presumably because the role arrangement formed at the beginning of the marriage is broken (Kalmijn, Loeve, and Mantel 2007; Weiss and Willis 1997). Much of this literature predicting a positive effect of women's employment on divorce is based on the model of gender role specialization and trading, which postulates that the family benefits most when the two spouses specialize in the roles at which they perform best and trade the outcomes (Becker, Landes and Michael 1977; Oppenheimer

1997).

While the positive causal influence of women's employment on divorce is broadly called independence effect in the literature (Ross and Sawhill 1975), its evidence is inconclusive. Forces that may counterbalance the independence effect may include an income effect, which has been proved strong for a husband's incomes. High incomes from a wife's employment may also increase life satisfaction among the family members as do husband's incomes.

In summary, women's employment may represent various social dynamics related to working hours, incomes, workplace circumstances, and role arrangement between spouses. This leads to the hypothesis that the effect of women's employment on divorce will vary by the employment and family related circumstances. A previous study in Korea finds such a rather complex relationship (Lee and Bumpass 2006).

This study attempts to explore those circumstances as much as the KLoWF data allow. However, the first wave survey collected only limited information on life history, not including the characteristics of the husband or family wealth at earlier stages of marriage. Without taking into account those other factors, discussions on the net effect of women's employment are tentative. More refined research will be necessary as the survey continues to supplement those data in the future waves.

Effects of Employment on Living Arrangement with Children

According to divorce registration statistics, among all couples who report their divorce in 2006, approximately 60% had one or more children under age 20 at the time of divorce. If we limit the data to couples who are in their 30s or early 40s at the time of divorce, approximately 80% of them had one or more children under age 20 (KOSIS 2009). Among those couples in which husband's age at marriage is 40 or younger and a wife's age at marriage is 35 or younger - whose marriages are presumed to be the first in their life - and whose marriage lasted 20 years or less, again approximately 80% had one or more such young children (**Table 1**). The figure was almost the same in 1996. If couples divorced between 10th and 20th years since marriage, approximately 95% and 92% had one or more children under age 20 in 1996 and 2006, respectively (**Table 1**). Among those who had at least one child, the majority had 2 or more children (KOSIS 2009). Given the low level of childlessness among married couples in Korea, a large proportion of divorces involve children.

The literature discusses adverse effects of divorce on children's socioeconomic and psychological outcomes, although some argue that stable single-parent families provide a better environment for children than do multiple transitions in the family structure (Fomby and Cherlin 2007). Some of the adverse effects are due to income disadvantages among mother-only families, but they are also due to erosions of emotional ties between parents and children (Amato and Sobolewski 2001). In Korea, opportunities of re-entry or new entry into the labor market for middle-age women with little work experience are mostly restricted to low-wage, irregular jobs in the sales or service sectors. Poor work conditions, such as long working hours, non-standard

work shift, and low wages, may hinder single mothers' living with their young children. Unless the household contains some other members providing childcare services, working mothers may have to let their young children live with the father, grandparents, or other relatives.

In Korea, research on children of divorced parents is in an early stage (Joo and Cho 2004; Kim and Baek 2007) and little has been done on children's living arrangements after divorce or separation. The first wave of the KLoWF collected information about childrearing arrangements after divorce or separation in more details than did any other national surveys conducted so far. This study will explore how many mothers live apart from their young children and whether mother's employment matters for the living arrangement. A major methodological limitation is related to the relatively small sample size of such families in the data.

Data and Methods

The KLoWF Data and Sample: This study uses data from the first wave of Korean Longitudinal Survey of Women and Family conducted in 2007. The survey sample consists of all women aged 19 to 64 living in a nationally representative subset of households selected based on a combination of stratified, cluster, and systematic sampling methods. A total of 10,031 women were interviewed from 9,084 households (KLoWF Brief No 3). For the analysis in this study, the sample is restricted to women aged 20 to 54, excluding 55-64 as their attitudes and behaviors related to family relationships are considered substantially different from those of younger women. We further exclude from the analysis never-married women and currently cohabiting women, both of whom are not exposed to divorce or separation. Women born outside Korea are also excluded as their family experiences may differ from those of native-born women. Among women who are currently divorced, we exclude 8 cases where the divorced marriage was their second or third marriage. Also excluding 7 cases that contain missing values for the key variables such as age at first marriage and education, the final sample consists of 6,717 women.

Variables: The key explanatory variable is employment at the time of marriage. As stated earlier, the first wave of the KLoWF did not ask the full employment history, but asked employment characteristics at the time of several important life events such as marriage, child births, and divorce. For the sample of this study, the only common life event is marriage and we focus on employment characteristics at the time of marriage. A composite variable was constructed using multiple items in the questionnaire including occupation, work status, if paid employee whether the employment type was regular or irregular, contract duration, and whether or not the employment status changed within one year of marriage, i.e., whether the respondent continued, newly started, or quit her employment or continued not working. The six categories include: (i) long-term regular paid employees in professional, managerial, and clerical occupations, (ii) long-term regular paid employees in sales, service, and production occupations, (iii) short-term or irregular paid employees and self employed or family workers of any occupations, (iv) agricultural workers of any employment types, (v) quitting the job within one year of marriage, and (vi) continued not working before and within one year after marriage.

Long-term employment refers to work contract of more than one year. In the rest of the paper, long-term regular paid employees may also be called standard workers, whereas short-term or irregular paid employees and self employed or family workers (i.e., category (iii)) may be called non-standard workers. The last category was used as the reference category in the multivariate analysis of divorce. Data on working hours, workplace conditions that may indicate the opportunities to meet a person, or family relationships at the time are not available in the survey.

Control variables include age, education, childbirth, and parent characteristics at a respondent's age 15. Age at the time of the survey represents birth cohort, and is grouped into three: 45-54, 35-44, and 20-34, born in 1952-1963, 1964-1973, and 1974-1986, respectively. For the parsimony of the model, education is grouped into two, whether or not received a college education. A preliminary analysis shows that the classification of three categories with a further distinction between high school and middle school or less education makes no important difference in the results. Births of the first and second children are time varying covariates, each coded 1 from the month of the birth and 0 for the months before the birth. Children's gender was considered but turned out not important in affecting parental divorce. Parent characteristic at a respondent's age 15 is a composite measure indicating whether or not the father lived with the respondent and education and agricultural occupation of the father's present : middle school or less education with agricultural occupation, middle school or less education with non-agricultural occupation, high school education of any occupation, college education of any occupation, and not living with the father.

Analysis: To analyze the factors affecting divorce or separation, we performed the analysis of event history using the proportional hazard model (Blossfeld, Golsch, and Rohwer 2007). The model requires two dependent variables, the occurrence of the event and the duration between the onset of observation, i.e., the first marriage and the event. The former indicates whether or not the respondent's first marriage ended with either divorce or separation if separation preceded divorce. It is coded 1 if the event occurred, and 0 if not. The latter includes marriages intact as of the survey and marriages ended with widowhood. The duration is measured by the number of months from the date of the first marriage to the date of event or censoring. Censoring occurs at the end of the observation period (e.g., the date of the survey for intact marriages if given no limit in observation periods), and at the date of husband's death for widowed respondents. To examine how women's employment affects marital dissolution at different stages of marital duration, our analysis will apply two different observation periods, 10 and 20 years. The former examines factors affecting divorce or separation occurring by the 10th year of marriage, and the latter by the 20th year of marriage. If an event occurs after the observation period, the case is considered censored at the end of the observation period.

The KLoWF asks all ever-married respondents about the date of the first marriage and currently divorced, separated, or widowed respondents on the date of the transition. For respondents who are currently in their second or higher remarriages, we had to estimate how and when their first marriages ended based upon other information available in the data including childbirths (Lee 2008). The survey plans to probe the full marital history in the later waves. For

now, we performed several preliminary analyses applying different combinations of assumptions regarding whether the first marriage ended with divorce or widowhood and when it ended. The results of the analysis of event history were similar across the assumptions. As the ages of the second marriages are in women's 40s at the latest, we chose to present the results with the assumption that their first marriage ended with divorce. Results based on different assumptions can be provided upon request.

The KLoWF asks divorced mothers about detailed childrearing arrangement for each child under age 18, including with whom each child lives, and if not living with the mother, how often do they see each other. For separated mothers, the survey asks similar questions but not about contact frequency. We first provide descriptive statistics on living arrangements and contact frequency, and then perform logit analysis to analyze factors affecting living apart from at least one child under age 18. The small sample size of divorced or separated mothers poses a limitation in robust analysis.

Sample Characteristics: The characteristics of the sample are presented in **Table 2**. The three birth cohorts comprise 32.2%, 43.5%, and 24.3%, indicating that the third cohort is smaller than each of the first two cohorts although the age interval is larger. In Korea, women's average age at marriage is in the late 20s, and a considerable percentage of women aged 20 to 34 are still unmarried. Thus the third cohort in the sample is not likely to be a representative of all women in that age group, but a selected group of women with relatively young ages at marriage. The percentages of the sample women with a middle school or less education, a high school education, and a college education are 17.4%, 47.1% and 35.5%, respectively. A preliminary analysis shows that a vast majority of women with a middle school or less education belong to the oldest cohort, and they are combined with high school educated women in the multivariate analysis.

Contrary to the recent statistic that about 70 percent of unmarried women participate in the labor force (2% 2005 Census), 43.3 percent of the sample women report that they did not work at the time of marriage, either before or after. Another 29.4 percent quit their job at marriage. Very few women started to work at marriage. The remaining 27.5 percent of women continued to work, and their occupations and employment types varied: regular employees in professional, managerial, and clerical occupations, regular employees in sales, service, and production occupations, irregular employees including self employed and family workers, and agricultural workers comprise 13.8%, 4.5%, 5.7%, and 3.5%, respectively.

Approximately one third of the fathers received a middle school or less education and worked in the agricultural sector. Another 25 percent received the same level of education and worked in the non-agricultural sectors. Together, a majority of the fathers received a middle school or lower education. About one in five fathers received a high school education, and 7.5 percent received a college education. About one in ten respondents did not live with the father at age 15.

Findings

Effects of Women's Employment and Other Factors on Divorce or Separation

To examine how women's employment affects marital dissolution at different stages of marital duration, the analysis of event history of this study applies two different observation periods. The first two columns of the findings in **Table 3** present the determinants of marital dissolution by the 10th year of marital duration, and the next two columns show the results by the 20th year. For each duration analysis, two models are estimated with and without childbirths and parental characteristics. Of 6,717 women in the sample, 193 women experienced their marriages dissolved by either divorce or separation in the first 10 years of marriage. The number increased to 338 by the end of 20th year.

Each figure in **Table 3** indicates the ratio of hazard rates for each unit month of marital duration between the corresponding category and the omitted category. The findings show that the effects of birth cohort and education are consistent across the two observation periods. For both 10- and 20-year periods, women aged 44 or younger were substantially more likely to divorce or separate than were women aged 45 to 54. Across the four models, short and long models for both observation periods, hazard rates among women of recent birth cohorts are 1.7 to 2.0 times that among women aged 45-54 (Columns 1-4 **Table 3**). Between the recent two cohorts, there appears no significant difference in the propensity of marital dissolution. If the substantial differences between the oldest and two younger cohorts reflected the time trend in divorce rates, there could be a difference between the two young cohorts as well. The finding of no difference may be partly explained by the recent plunge in crude divorce rates since 2004. The youngest cohort may be most affected by the fall. However, as discussed earlier, women in the youngest age group are not representatives of all women in the age range but represent only those who marry at relatively young ages. A complete comparison among the birth cohorts needs to wait until the cohort finishes the transition of marriage.

Women with a junior college or higher education are substantially less likely to divorce or separate than are women with a high school or lower education. This finding is consistent with earlier findings (Lee 1997; Lee 2006; Suh 1993). In this analysis, women's education may also reflect husband's socioeconomic status and family wealth, which are not controlled, but the literature shows that a wife's education still has a negative effect on marital dissolution after controlling for those factors (Lee and Bumpass 2006). Future research may explore whether a wife's college education represents effective knowledge and skills of managing family relations or some uncontrolled material affluences in its relationship with lower marital instability.

Controlling for birth cohort and education, women's employment at the time of marriage has significant effects on marital dissolution, but as expected, the effects vary by employment types. Also, some of the effects change over the marital duration. First, by the 10th year of marriage, long-term regular paid employees (i.e., standard workers) in professional, managerial or clerical workers are significantly less likely to divorce or separate than are women who continued not working before or one year after the marriage (ratio of hazard rate is .57, Column 1 **Table 3**).

Not controlling for husband's socioeconomic status and family wealth, this effect of the standard employment in white-collar occupations may be confounded with the better-off financial status of the family, as may be the case for the effect of a wife's college education. However, Lee and Bumpass' (2006) study show the same findings after controlling for those family characteristics. Thus the finding seems to confirm that a wife's having a stable white-collar job, that is presumably relatively well paid, increases marital stability. Regular blue-collar workers are not significantly different in their rate of divorce or separation from women who did not work. On the other hand, non-standard workers - short-term or irregular employees and self-employed or family workers - show a slightly higher rate of divorce or separation than non-working women, but the difference is not statistically significant. Agricultural workers are substantially less likely to divorce or separate than non-working women, probably reflecting their status of family workers who are not paid and who benefit most when remaining in the marriage. Interestingly, women who quit their jobs within a year of marriage are also significantly less likely to divorce or separate by the 10th year of marriage compared to women who continued not working (hazard ratio of .55). Quitting her job may represent either her or her husband's attitudes toward gender-specialized roles or well-off financial situations of the family, such as husband's high incomes, that allow her to quit the job. If quitting were simply due to the labor market barriers to married women, there might not be such a significant gap between those who quit and those who continued not working.

These effects of employment types remain stable after controlling for further characteristics of women, including births of first two children and father characteristics at age 15 (Column 2, **Table 3**). As widely documented in the literature, presence of children significantly lowers the rate of divorce or separation in a given unit month since marriage. Father characteristics do not have any significant effects on the rate of divorce or separation in the first 10 years of marriage.

Columns 3 and 4 show the analogous findings for the ratios of per-time-unit hazard rates of divorce/separation during the 20-year period after marriage. The effects of the explanatory variables are generally similar to those during the 10-year period after marriage, but a few dissimilarities exist. First, non-standard employment (short-term or irregular employees and self-employed or family workers) increases the hazard rate significantly at level $p < .10$ when not controlling for children and father characteristics. It is rather surprising to find that a wife's non-standard employment, which was not significant for the first 10-year period, increases the hazard rate that many years after the marriage although the magnitude change is small. Non-standard work may involve long working hours and off-office-hour shifts such as weekends and nights, and such conditions over a prolonged period may put the family in a higher risk of dissolution as the literature suggests. We speculate that the family circumstances that are associated with a wife's non-standard work, possibly husband's unstable employment or low incomes, may also contribute to marital instability in this latter stage of marriage. Although the magnitude is very small, the lower fertility among women with non-standard jobs seems also contributing to their higher hazard rate, controlling of which makes the coefficient no longer significant (Column 4, **Table 3**). On the other hand, the stabilizing effect of quitting her job at marriage weakens by the

20th year of marriage. The hazard ratio increased from .6 to .8 in both short and long models.

Although the magnitudes of the coefficients for father characteristics are not much different in the 10-year and 20-year analyses, for some reasons, they are significant only in the 20-year equations. The hazard rate of divorce or separation is lower if the father worked in the agricultural sector, and higher if the father was college educated or did not live with the respondents. This effect of father's education warrants future research.

The differences between the findings of the two time periods may imply enduring effects of early conditions in marriage, or they may simply be statistical artifacts, because the number of events is larger in the latter analysis as the events cumulate over a longer period.

Women's Employment and Childrearing Arrangements after Divorce or Separation

Before exploring the effects of mother's employment on childrearing arrangements, **Table 4** first presents the distribution of living arrangements by mother's marital status and by number of children under age 18. The first panel shows that among 255 women who are currently divorced, approximately 1/3 reported having either no child (22 women or 9%) or no child under age 18 (61 women or 24%). Of 172 divorced mothers with one or more children under 18, 78 percent live with all of them. Among divorced mothers with only one child under age 18, the analogous percentage is 85 (**Table 4**).

In the second panel, among 49 women who are currently separated, again approximately 1/3 had either no child or no child under age 18. Among 34 with one or more children under age 18, 76 percent live with all of them, almost the same percentage as that among divorced mothers.

Table 4 also presents the frequency of contacts between divorced mothers and each of their children living apart. The overall distribution of the frequency of contacts shows a bipolar pattern. The frequencies are concentrated on 'more than once a week' and 'less than 1-2 times a year'. Of all 56 dyads, 21 percent contact more than once a week and 46 percent contact less than 1-2 times a year. The rest 33 percent of dyads are roughly evenly distributed across the three categories, 1-2 times a month, 1-2 times every 2-3 months, 1-2 times a year.

Results from the logit analysis of the factors affecting divorced or separated mothers' living apart from their children are presented in **Table 5**. The number of separated mothers is small and none of the variables is significant, but the results are presented for comparison with divorced mothers. The number of divorced mothers is also not large to produce robust results, but nonetheless, the findings are distinctive between the two marital statuses of mothers. This may suggest that divorce is not an extension of separation and that their family dynamics, including childrearing arrangements, may not be alike. Among divorced mothers, those who have two or more children are more likely to live apart from at least one child than are those who have only one child. No such difference is found among separated mothers. Among divorced mothers, those who received a college education are more likely to have at least one child living apart than are mothers with a high school education ($p < .10$). This may reflect higher incomes among the husbands of college-educated women. While separated, mothers with a college education are less

likely to live apart from their children than are mothers with a high school education, albeit insignificant.

It turns out that mothers' employment at the time of divorce does not decrease the odds of living apart from children (Model 2). Those who had regular or white-collar occupations are as much as, and those who had irregular and blue-collar occupations are more likely than, mothers who were not working at the time of divorce to have at least one child living apart. These findings may be confounded with the socioeconomic status of the former husbands or other relatives such as grandparents, but they demonstrate that irregular employment makes it harder for divorced mothers to live with all of their children under age 18.

Discussion and Conclusion

Incidence of divorce has increased rapidly in Korea over the past 15 years or so. During the same period, women's educational attainment also has increased substantially and many efforts have been made by the government and various social groups to raise women's social position. Motivated to fathom whether the recent increase in divorce implies transformations in the foundation of the family, this study asks "what roles does women's employment play in the process of marital dissolution?" Two specific research questions involve the effects of women's employment on the probability of divorce or separation and on living arrangement with their children.

While the evidence has been mixed, the literature predicts that a wife's incomes facilitate marital dissolution, which is called independence effects. Several different versions of the hypothesis exist, but they originate from the theoretical model of gender role specialization and trading between spouses. One hypothesis postulates that women with independent economic means can walk away from their unhappy marriages. Another version argues that when a wife's incomes relative to husband's incomes increase over the marital duration, the probability of divorce increases. Meanwhile, findings have confirmed that husband's high incomes stabilize the marriage, called income effects that operate in the opposite direction from independence effects.

Data of this study are from the first wave of Korean Longitudinal Survey of Women and Family. The analysis focuses on women's employment characteristics at the time of marriage. We find some interesting results and their implications deserve further attention to gender relationships in the family. First, stable white-collar jobs, that are supposedly well paid, increase marital stability. This finding rejects the independence hypothesis, which assumes gender-role specialization and trading between spouses increase marital stability. It turns out that two-earners provide stability in marriages in Korea. Women in the agricultural sector are also less likely to divorce or separate than women who did not work, possibly rejecting the independence hypothesis but actually more of a reflection of the nature of the family economy in farming where the couple benefits most when the two spouses work together.

On the other hand, there is a hint that a wife's non-standard jobs increase marital dissolution, supporting the independence hypothesis. Other evidence consistent with gender-role

specialization is the significantly lower probability of divorce or separation among women who quit their jobs at marriage compared to women who did not work. Whether because of the couple's commitment to gender-role specialization or because of financial affluence of the family, the significant relationship between quitting and marital stability suggests the benefits of a traditional gender-role division. In summary, married women's employment has conflicting relationships with marital stability by its types. We may tentatively conclude that women work outside home to maximize the benefits for the family but that in limited circumstances employment allows women to break away from the bad marriages. For more rich descriptions, full information on marital and employment histories for both spouses will be desirable.

Because of the small sample size, the findings on the childrearing arrangement are tentative. More than 3/4 of divorced or separated mothers who have one or more children under age 18 live with all of them. The multivariate analysis shows that divorced mother's employment does not decrease the chance of living apart from at least one of their children under age 18. Rather, irregular employment slightly increases the chance of living apart from at least one child, suggesting that irregular employment does not provide incomes to maintain the family. In future surveys, an oversample of divorced and separated families may be worthwhile. Also data on full histories of family life including characteristics of divorced spouses will be desirable.

Table 1. Percentage of Couples Who Have One or More Children Under Age 20 at Divorce, by Years of Marriage Duration

	duration of marriage at divorce, in years				
	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-20	0-20
1996					
% having a child under age 20	58.4	87.7	94.7	95.8	81.5
distribution of marital duration	31.5	27.8	23.3	17.4	100%
					n=62,599
2006					
% having a child under age 20	52.7	84.0	92.6	92.0	79.3
distribution of marital duration	27.1	27.5	24.8	20.6	100%
					n=79,427

Data Sources: micro files of 1996 and 2006 divorce registration data

Note: The samples are restricted to the couples in which husband's age at marriage is 40 or younger and wife's age at marriage is 35 or younger in an attempt to select only the first marriages for both spouses.

Table 2. Sample Characteristics (percentages)

Birth cohort (Age at survey)	
(45-54)	32.2
35-44	43.5
20-34	24.3
Education	
(Middle school or less)	17.4
(High school)	47.1
College	35.5
Employment at marriage	
(Not worked around marriage)	43.3
Regular: professional, managerial, clerical	13.8
Regular: sales, service, production	4.5
Irregular, any occupation	5.7
Agricultural	3.5
Quit job at marriage	29.4
Father characteristics at age 15	
Middle school or less, agriculture	36.0
Middle school or less, non agriculture	25.3
(High school)	19.4
College	7.5
Not living with father	11.4
Sample size	6,717

Table 3. Event History Analysis of Factors Affecting Marital Dissolution, Divorce or Separation

	by 10 years of marriage		by 20 years of marriage	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
	Hazard	Hazard	Hazard	Hazard
Explanatory Variables	Ratio	Ratio	Ratio	Ratio
Wife's Characteristics				
Age at survey (45-54)				
35-44	1.78**	1.79**	1.65**	1.69**
20-34	1.99**	1.93**	1.83**	1.81**
Education (High school or less)				
Junior college or more	0.64*	0.55**	0.59**	0.47**
Employment at Marriage (Not worked)				
Regular, white collar a)	0.57*	0.51*	0.60*	0.54**
Regular, blue collar b)	0.77	0.67	0.90	0.82
Irregular	1.31	1.10	1.45 ^	1.24
Agriculture	0.24*	0.28 ^	0.15**	0.17**

Frequency of contact with children living apart	Number of children under age 18									
	Number living apart									
Divorced mothers	1		2						3	
	1		1		2		1		3	
With each child	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%
more than once a week	4	27	2	50	5	15	1	50		
1-2 times a month	1	7			5	15				
1-2 times per 2-3 months	3	20			2	6				
1-2 times a year	3	20			4	13				
less than 1-2 times a year	4	27	2	50	16	50	1	50	3	100
Total number of children	15	100	4	100	32	100	2	100	3	100
(Number of mothers)	(15)		(4)		(16)		(2)		(1)	

Note: The samples in this analysis include only women who are currently separated or divorced at the time of survey.

Table 5. Factors Affecting Living apart from Children under 18 among Divorced or Separated Mothers

	Separated			Divorced					
	Model 1			Model 1			Model 2		
	b	se	Odds	b	se	Odds	b	se	Odds
			ratio			ratio			ratio
Mother Characteristic									
Number of children 18- (One)									
Two or more	-0.64	1.00	0.5	0.99*	0.39	2.7	1.03**	0.40	2.8
Age	0.38	0.36	1.5	-0.14	0.17	0.9	-0.15	0.18	0.9
Education (High school)									
Middle school or less	1.82	1.42	6.2	0.46	0.50	1.6	0.42	0.51	1.5
Junior college or more	-1.24	1.24	0.3	0.81^	0.48	2.2	0.95^	0.49	2.6
Occupation at divorce (None)									
Regular or white collar							-0.25	0.73	0.8
Irregular and blue collar							0.69^	0.41	2.0
Constant	-2.60	1.93		-1.33	0.91		-1.55	0.95	
LR chi2(df)	6(4)			9(4)			13(6)		
Pseudo R2	0.15			0.05			0.07		
n	34			172			172		

Note: The samples in this analysis include only women who are currently separated or divorced at the time of survey.

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