การเปลี่ยนผ่านสู่วัยผู้ใหญ่ในเกาหลีใต้: กรณีศึกษาของวัยรุ่นจากครอบครัวระดับล่าง

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TRANSITION TO ADULTHOOD IN SOUTH KOREA: A CASE STUDY OF ADOLESCENTS OF LOWER CLASS FAMILY

Miss Phatthira Jittkasame

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts Program in Korean Studies
(Interdisciplinary Program)
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จุดประสงค์ของงานวิจัยนี้คือเพื่อศึกษาการเปลี่ยนผ่านสู่วัยผู้ใหญ่ของวัยรุ่นที่ได้รับความ ช่วยเหลือจากโครงการ National Basic Livelihood Security Program (NBLSP) ซึ่งถูกมองว่า เป็นชนชั้นระดับล่าง โดยให้ความสนใจกับ 3 ประเด็นได้แก่การสำเร็จการศึกษาการเข้าร่วม ตลาดแรงงานและการสร้างครอบครัวนอกจากนี้ยังศึกษาอิทธิพลของความสัมพันธ์ในครอบครัวซึ่ง ได้แก่ความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างสามี— ภรรยาและความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างพ่อแม่— ลูกต่อการเปลี่ยนผ่านสู่ วัยผู้ใหญ่ของพวกเขาด้วยงานวิจัยนี้ใช้วิธีวิจัยเชิงคุณภาพด้วยการใช้ข้อมูลการสัมภาษณ์เชิงลึกซึ่ง เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของโครงการวิจัยการเปลี่ยนผ่านจากวัยรุ่นสู่วัยผู้ใหญ่ 2 (청년기에서 성인기로의 이행 과정 연구 II) ดำเนินการโดยสถาบันนโยบายเยาวชนแห่งชาติ (한국 청소년 정책 연구원) สาธารณรัฐเกาหลี

ผลการวิจัยนี้พบว่าวัยรุ่นจากครอบครัวระดับล่างของประเทศเกาหลีใต้มีความพยายามจะ เรียนให้สูงขึ้นเพื่อเป็นประโยชน์ในการหางานที่ดีและมั่นคงเมื่อเข้าสู่ตลาดแรงงานแต่สถานะทาง การเงินของครอบครัวเป็นอุปสรรคสำคัญทำให้พวกเขาเรียนได้แค่ระดับอนุปริญญา (2 ปี)โดยพวก เขาแก้ปัญหาทางการเงินระหว่างการเรียนด้วยการเรียนไปด้วยและทำงานควบคู่ไปด้วยหรือกู้เงิน วัยรุ่นกลุ่มนี้จำเป็นต้องเข้าสู่ตลาดแรงงานค่อนข้างเร็วด้วยการทำงานนอกเวลาเพราะความต้องการ ทางเสรษฐกิจในครอบครัวแต่ในด้านการทำงานแบบเต็มเวลานั้น ช่วงเวลาที่จะเข้าสู่ตลาดแรงงาน ถูกเลื่อนออกไปเพราะระยะเวลาทางการศึกษาที่ยาวนานขึ้น ส่วนประเด็นของการสร้างครอบครัว นั้นวัยรุ่นกลุ่มนี้พิจารณาการอยู่ด้วยกันก่อนแต่งงานในทางบวก พวกเขาทุกคนอยากแต่งงานแต่อายุ ที่เหมาะสมสำหรับการแต่งงานถูกเลื่อนไปถึงประมาณ 25 –30กว่าปี ซึ่งเป็นช่วงอายุที่พวกเขามี ความพร้อมทางเสรษฐกิจแล้ว และหลังแต่งงานพวกเขาวางแผนที่จะมีลูกมากกว่าสองคนขึ้นไป นอกจากนี้การวิจัยนี้ยังช่วยยืนยันได้ว่าความสัมพันธ์ภายในครอบครัวของวัยรุ่นจากครอบครัว ระคับล่างมีผลต่อการเปลี่ยนผ่านสู่วัยผู้ใหญ่เป็นอย่างมากโดยเฉพาะอย่างยิ่งสถานะทางเสรษฐกิจ ของครอบครัว, การปรับตัวเข้าส่สังคมและการสร้างครอบครัว

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KEYWORDS: TRANSITION TO ADULTHOOD / ADOLESCENT OF LOWER CLASS FAMILY / NATIONAL BASIC LIVELIHOOD SECURITY PROGRAM (NBLSP)

PHATTHIRA JITTKASAME: TRANSITION TO ADULTHOOD IN SOUTH KOREA: A CASE STUDY OF ADOLESCENTS OF LOWER CLASS FAMILY. ADVISOR: PROF. CHAIWAT KHAMCHOO, Ph.D., 82 pp.

The objective of this research is to study transition to adulthood of adolescents from National Basic Livelihood Security Program (NBLSP) recipient households, who are considered as lower class by focusing on the three issues: educational attainment, labor force participation and family formation. The influences of family relationship: husband — wife relationship and parents - children relationship, on shaping their transition to adulthood will also be studied. This study applied qualitative research method by the in-depth interview data of "Transition from Adolescence to Adulthood II (청년기에서 성인기로의 이행 과정 연구II)" from National Youth Policy Institute (NYPI, 한국 청소년 정책 연구원), South Korea.

This research found that South Korean adolescents of lower class family tried to attend higher education in order to find a good and stable job when they enter labor force. Since economic status of their family is an important obstacle, they are only able to study in junior college (two years). During educational attainmet, they have to study and work at the same time or rely on loan for education related expenses. Due to family's economic needs, these adolescents were forced to enter labor market quite early by working part – time jobs. However, in the aspect of full – time jobs, timing to attend labor force is extended due to prolonged educational period. As for the issue of family formation, these adolescents consider cohabitation positively. All of them want to get married but suitable age for marriage is delayed until they reached the age 25 – 30s when they have economic readiness. This group of adolescent plan to have more than 2 children when they get married.Besides, this research confirmed that family relationships of the adolescents of lower class family greatly affected the transition to adulthood, regarding family economic situation, social adapability and family formation.

Field of Study:	Korean Studies	Student's Signature:
Academic Year:	2011	Advisor's Signature:

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

In early to mid-1900s, South Korea suffered from colonization due to several wars, not only World War I and World War II but also war among Koreans, the Korean War. Korean Peninsula as a consequence was divided into two separate countries down to the contrast in political ideas of both their leaders. After the war, South Korea during 1960s started to develop its country's economy through main aids from United States. At that time, South Korea was the poorest country in the world due to various reasons. Their limited natural resources were taken since colonization period. Many facilities, especially power plant, were located in the area of North Korea. It can be said that South Korea developed from nothing.

Presently, South Korea changes from an aid recipient country to a member of OECD¹ and one of G-20² South Korea's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) grew from poor level in 1960s to 1.164 Trillion USD in 2011 and ranked 13th of the world economy. The incredible economic growth was successful as a result of their export-oriented policies³. (Central Intelligence Agency)

Changes did not appear only on the economical aspect but also on the society, as the number of middle class grew from 19.6% in 1960 to 48.7% in 2000 (Hong,

¹ OECD is abbreviated from "Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development". The mission of organization according to OECD website is to promote policies that will improve the economic and social well-being of people around the world. The members are many of the world's most advanced countries, such as United States, European countries and Japan, and emerging countries, such as Mexico, Chile and Turkey. (OECD)

² According to G-20 official website, G-20 is an informal forum for discussion between advanced and emerging countries that seek to strengthen international cooperation and ensure global economic stability. The members are consisted of European Union (EU), developed countries such as United States and South Korea, and emerging countries such as China and Mexico. All members together represent around 90% of global GDP, 80% of global trade and two thirds of the world populations. (G-20, 2011)

³ Export – oriented policy is an economic policy aimed for a country's economic and industrial growth by exporting goods that such country has advantage. South Korea adopted this policy after observing intention of USA, aid giving country, that tried to reduce economic aid. During first stage, South Korea exported labor intensive products like fabric and clothing to North America and Western Europe. Later, President Park Jung-hee announced more policies in order to encourage export such as increasing subsidy for export credit, and exempting or reducing taxes like commodity tax, business activities tax and exporter's income tax from export earnings. (Rodrik, 1994)

2003). South Korea's economy was attacked once again by 1997 financial crisis, the so-called "TOMYAMKUNG Crisis⁴". Its result reflects in the increase of lower class as well as widen income gap. Nahm (2008) stated that middle class decreased from 56.3% in 1995 to 55.2% in 1998 and to 44.8% in 2005, while lower class increased from 27.4% in 1995 to 31.8% in 2005. Before 1997, The Gini Coefficience, a measure of income inequality, was at 0.28 (The economist, 2011). After 1997 crisis, it grew up to 0.39 in 1998 and 0.4 in 2006 (Jang and Lee, 2010).

In order to ease this widened gap, South Korea's government therefore introduced "National Basic Livelihood Security Program (NBLSP)⁵" in 2000. This program aims to secure the standard of living for the low-income class or the poor to alleviate poverty and improve qualities of human resources (United Nations, 2002). Ministry of Health and Welfare (2010) reported that 1,549,820 recipients (3.18% of total population) from 878,799 households are receiving benefits from this program.

This research intends to study the life of adolescent from NBLSP households by focusing on transition to adulthood. "Transition to Adulthood" defined as a set of transition events linked between childhood and adulthood (Tanner, 2008), such as completing school, entering to labor force, getting married and parenting; in which all adolescent will have to pass this transition before attaining their adult status. It was introduced to study human development by finding how adolescents themselves think about their adult status. Recently, this topic becomes more attractive in psychology, sociology, anthropology, as well as demography because transition is extending and becomes more complicated than the past. Due to the unsecured and changing society, young people tend to remain in education fields longer because higher education is the most reliable factor that can guarantee their security in the future. Also, it takes much longer time to find well-paid jobs. Cohabitation and delayed marriage are side

⁴Asian Financial crisis 1997 was a big financial crisis of South East Asia region. The starting point was floating rate of Thai Baht declared by Thai government. So, this crisis was – called "TOMYAMKUNG crisis". Asides effects on Thai economy, It also affect other countries in East Asia such as Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines and South Korea. (Money Channel, 2007)

⁵ Kuk-min Ki-cho Seng-hwal Po-jang Chae-do (국민 기초 생활 보장 제도, National Basic Livelihood Security Program or NBLSP) started on October 1st, 2000 after the *Kuk-min Ki-cho Seng-hwal Po-jang Pob* (국민 기초 생활 보장 법, National Basic Livelihood Security Act or NBLSA) was enacted on September 7th, 1999. This program is providing living allowance, resident payment and medical care etc. to those who have income lower than the minimum cost of living that is set by Ministry of Health and Welfare every year, who lack of ability to self-support, and who are unable to maintain living by their own income, property and ability. (Ministry of Health and Welfare, 2009)

effects of former events. These phenomenons are occurring around the world, including South Korea.

Many researches showed that social class had an influence on the transition to adulthood (see for example: Dodson and Dickert (2004); Park and Sandefur (2005); and Berns (2007). Lower class families always engage with the problem of limited financial support which is an important factor in children's human capital development. However, South Korean adolescent in lower class familiy that receives benefits and services from NBLSP seems to be free from that problem and be able to pass the transitional events smoother. This research aside from studying of transition to adulthood in South Korean adolescent in lower class family and influences of family relationship on shaping transition to adulthood are also involved in this study.

Family is considered as the most important social institution in forming identification and independence of children, and in developing socio-emotion of children (Saxena, et al., 2011), and in enabling children to survive and develop into integrated and functioning persons (Sauvola, 2001). The basic relationships found in a family are husband – wife relationship and parents – children relationship. National Scientific Council in the Developing Child (2009) stated that experiences from environmental relationships affect all aspects of child development: intellectual, social, emotional, physical, behavioral and moral; in which experience in early years are the foundation of later development outcomes. There are many researches support effects of those relationships on children outcome. Parke (2003)'s research found that the growth of children living with low-conflict parents is better than those who grew up in broken household. During period of late adolescence until early adulthood, wellbeing outcome of children depends on the marital quality of parents and parents children relationship (Hair, et al., 2009; Moore, et al., 2011; and Knoester, 2003). Positive family relationship is associated with successful transition to adulthood (Cobb-Clark and Ribar, 2009).

This research tends to study the transition to adulthood of South Korean adolescent in lower class family under the NBLSP program through three issues: educational attainment, labor force participation and family formation. Afterwards, examine the influence of family relationship: husband – wife relationship and parents - children relationship, on shaping transition to adulthood.

1.2 Research Objectives

- To identify transition to adulthood of South Korean adolescents in lower class family under the NBLSP program through three issues: educational attainment, labor force participation and family formation.
- To understand the influence of family relationship: husband wife relationship and parents - children relationship on shaping their transition to adulthood.

1.3 Significance of Research

Although transition to adulthood is individual, altering transition to adulthood creates many problems in both short-term and long-term. Higher education provides privilege to choose good and secured job with high-pay, and rejection of 3D jobs: Dirty, Dangerous and Difficult. Business owners nowadays have to import labors from other countries such as Thailand, Cambodia, Indonesia, Philippines etc., creating a major problem in South Korean society. Extended education delays the participation in country's labor force which is an important factor for driving the country's economy. Next consequence is late marriage which causes the changes in social values toward marriage. Many couples prefer cohabitation because they feel unprepared and lack of readiness for marriage. Delayed childbearing, childless and childfree are another changing trend which bring about the decreasing population that is the foundation of economic growth and aging society that government can hardly ignore.

Lower class family is easier to expose to economic problem which is an important element in child-bearing since family members are not skilled labor in the market. Economic problem can lead to other problems like stress, argument, violence and children's poor human capital. Once problem gets better by the help from other sources like NBLSP, transition to adulthood of adolescent in NBLSP recipient family seems to be smoother. Benefits and services from this program will help them invest in human capital, an important factor leading adolescent to an independent adult through higher education.

Another factor for shaping transition to adulthood that cannot be overlooked is family relationship. Family is the basic social group as well as first school for children. Influence of family background plays a significant role in children identity formation. Every social problem always asks to look back into family and considers family as the cause of social problem. Positive relationship between both husband – wife relationship and parents - children relationship can establish good children and high quality population. In contrast, children experiencing negative family relationship may obtain negative perspective towards life, especially their marriage life in the future. These lead to research questions as following described.

1.4 Research Questions

- How do South Korean adolescents in lower class family under the NBLSP program shape their transition to adulthood?
- How do family relationships (husband wife relationship and parents children relationship) affect shaping transition to adulthood of South Korean adolescents in lower class family under the NBLSP program?

1.5 Research Hypothesis

- The transition to adulthood of South Korean adolescents in lower class family under the NBLSP program is smoother according to the ease in economic problem from NBLSP by offering benefits and services, in which the aforementioned problem is a major obstacle during transition. The phenomenon of prolonged education in order for human capital development, delayed labor force participation and late family formation may follow as a general trend.
- Family relationship (husband wife relationship and parents children relationship) have influences how South Korean adolescents in lower class family under the NBLSP program shape their transition to adulthood.

1.6 Scope and Research Methodology

This research aims to apply the data "Chung-so-nyeon Sung-in-ki I-heng Simchung Interview Nok-chi-rok 2011" (청소년 성인기 이행 심증인터뷰 녹취록 2011, Voice record from in-depth interview regarding adolescent's transition to adulthood 2011) Issue 1 – 4, by R and DB Foundation, Seoul National University. Such data is a part of the Chung-nyeon-ki-ae-seo Sung-in-ki-ae I-heng Kwa-jung Yeon-gu II (청년기에서 성인기로의 이행 과정 연구 II, Transition from Youth to Adulthood II) project from Hankuk Chung-so-nyeon Chong-chaek Yeon-gu-won (한국 청소년 정책 연구원, National Youth Policy Institute, NYPI) South Korea. I have acquired this data by the help of Professor Kisoo Eun, Professor from Graduate School of International Studies, Seoul National University. The data, in this case, will be used for identifying transition to adulthood of South Korean adolescents in lower class family under the NBLSP program through 3 issues: educational attainment, labor force participation and family formation. Research findings will later on be analyzed to understand the influence of family relationship: husband — wife relationship and parents - children relationship on how such relationship plays an important role in shaping transition to adulthood.

1.7 Research Limitation

Due to budget constraint, this research therefore is limited to rely only on the data of "Chung-so-nyeon Sung-in-ki I-heng Sim-chung Interview Nok-ch-irok 2011" (청소년 성인기 이행 심층인터뷰 녹취록 2011, Voice record from in-depth interview regarding adolescent's transition to adulthood 2011) Issue 1 – 4, by R and DB Foundation, Seoul National University. Whereas the data is a part of Chung-nyeon-ki-ae-seo Sung-in-ki-ae I-heng Kwa-jung Yeon-gu II (청년기에서 성인기로의 이행 과정 연구 II, Transition from Youth to Adulthood II) project from Han-kuk Chung-so-nyeon Chong-chaek Yeon-gu-won (한국 청소년 정책 연구원, National Youth Policy Institute, NYPI) South Korea.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW AND FRAMEWORK

2.1 Literature Review

Since this study aims to study the transition to adulthood of South Korean adolescents and influences of family relationship on transition to adulthood, the literatures and related researches are reviewed to understand the concept related to transition to adulthood and family relationships and also to create the framework of this study.

2.1.1 Literatures related to concept of transition to adulthood.

1) Transition to Adulthood

Transition to Adulthood is considered as a part of life course (Arnett, 1997), that bridges childhood and adulthood (Tanner, 2008). Life course is a field of demographic study in relation to individual's life events or activities from birth to death and uses for studying demographic behavior (Billari, et al., 2006). It provides important elements for exploring the relations between social and demographical change. Traditionally, transition to Adulthood was defined as a set of role transitions, or milestones, or transitional events to become adult. These are, for example, life events as finishing school, getting a job, getting married and parenting, that all adolescents have to pass before attaining the adult status (Tanner, 2008 and Gonzales, 2011). Recently, this topic becomes more attractive in psychology, sociology, anthropology and also population.

2) Transition to Adulthood in South Korea

Park and Sandefur (2005) introduced "Transition to Adulthood in Japan and Korea: Overview", a research that implements published data to study four transition markers of transition to adulthood: educational achievement and attainment, employment and unemployment status in the labor market, family formation including first marriage and childbearing, and lastly home leaving. Such research

looked into both country-specific patterns and timing of adulthood transition in order to 1) see similarities and differences between Japan and Korea, and also between the two East Asian countries and American/European countries, 2) explore cultural or institutional characteristics and variations on how they shape patterns and timing, 3) identify gender differences in each aspect and countries.

This research found that transition to adulthood in Japan and Korea in comparison with the West is outstandingly different in terms of higher education levels. This is evidenced from the upper secondary graduation rate in 1999 found higher than 90% in both Korea and Japan, while other western countries found less than 80% (except for Germany and the Netherlands). Regarding labor force participation, young Korean and Japanese aged between 15-19 years less entered to labor market compared to the United States, in which more than half decided to join the country's labor force. However, the group of young people between 20-24 years of age and the group of 25 years and older revealed not much difference among all the countries. Another difference showed in M-shaped patterns of female labor force participation in both East Asian countries. This phenomenon can be described through the traditional norm for women with expectation and responsibility of housewives after marriage. The roles of housewife, childbearing and childcare lower down female labor rate during their working ages, and rise higher once again when their children enter to school. In terms of family formation, Korean and Japanese average age at first marriage tends to grow higher likewise to western citizens. Yet, when carefully compared, young people in both Korea and Japan are even more delayed for marriage than those resided in the west. In addition, home leaving rate of young people in Korea and Japan is as well lower. The reason is due to traditional norm and practice that develop the concept to take care their own parents into the young. Less support from the government towards tertiary education level is also the other reason. Contrasting to the fact that higher number of young people choose to continue their study, this leads to why the young from both countries are dependable to their parents as long as they study.

The research concludes in two different patterns of adulthood transition, in which young population of the two eastern countries prefer higher education, continue to work and get married after finishing school. On the other hand, young westerns

prefer for marriage before finishing school, raising children without marriage and also leaving their parent's home earlier. However, differences do not appear only in different cultures. Among commonalities of the two East Asian countries, found some differences in detail. For instance, the relationship between high school and labor market is at minimum level in Korea, while in Japan is at its maximum.

In 2010, Park and Rebeiro applied census data from Brazil, Mexico and South Korea for the research topic of "Cross-Time and Cross-National Comparisons of the Transition to Adulthood: Brazil, Mexico, and South Korea, 1970-2000". This research aims to find out 1) how different national scenes produce very different patterns of transition, 2) which countries show more heterogeneity in status combinations at specific stage of life course, 3) how the patterns have changed over time, and 4) how they relate to the economic development trajectories of these three countries.

The research show that adolescents in these three countries become more standardized and experiences of economic growth lead to primary and secondary education attainment. But economic crisis in Brazil and Mexico forced young labors to enter labor market early since the reward for higher education attainment is uncertain and unevenly distributed. Delayed marriage and household headship, the consequences of earlier transitional events, reduce heterogeneity status in Korea yet can be increased by participation in post-secondary education and closed time between economic and family transitions as appeared in Brazil and Mexico.

In 2010, Han-kuk Chung-so-nyeon Chong-chaek Yeon-gu-won (한국 청소년 정책 연구원, National Youth Policy Institute, NYPI) started to conduct "Chung-nyeon-ki-ae-seo Sung-in-ki-ae I-heng Kwa-jung Yeon-gu (청년기에서 성인기로의 이행 과정 연구, Transition from Youth to Adulthood)". It was a two-year period program (2010 – 2011) which involved two projects: Transition from Adolescence to Adulthood I and II. The main objective of this program is to come up with an appropriate plan together with recommended policy in order to help youth's transition.

There are two reports produced from the research "Chung-nyeon-ki-ae-seo Sung-in-ki-ae I-heng Kwa-jung Yeon-gu I (청년기에서 성인기로의 이행 과정 연구 I,

Transition from Youth to Adulthood I)", which consist of a comprehensive report and an actual situation of a young South Koreans as following described.

• Chung-nyeon-ki-ae-seo Sung-in-ki-ae I-heng Kwa-jung Yeon-gu I: Chong-kwanl-po-ko-seo (청년기에서 성인기로의 이행 과정 연구 I: 총괄보고서, Transition from Youth to Adulthood I: Comprehensive Report) by An, et al. (2010)

The report applied published literatures as well as statistics to analyze actual situations of South Korean adolescent's transition to adulthood and to understand difficulties and necessary support during transition. The analyzed data was compared with transition to adulthood occurred in Japan, The United Kingdom, Canada, and Australia for better understanding.

In accordance with the economic downturn, hiring rate and preferred jobs are respectively hard to find. This is a reason why young Koreans choose to continue their study. The more they study, the more problem occurs when education is too high. High education level consequently leads to slower entrance to country's labor force, aim for marriage and childbearing is also delayed or cancelled. The research found that the pattern is to finish school or graduate, work and get married before leaving parental home. There is also gender difference in labor force participation. High level of women education leads them to enter labor force. But because of gender discrimination in labor market and difficulties in association with their work life and family life, South Korean women are indirectly forced to choose, delay or give up one of them.

This research also revealed the lessons of Japan, The United Kingdom, Canada and Australia in which policy makers shall pay attention to. The phenomenon of delayed transition and non-linearity of life course are found in all four countries. In Japan, period of dependence on parents both psychologically and economically is extended. Therefore, the target of youth policy is expanded to the age of late 30s. Young people in The United Kingdom are experiencing mismatch between employment conditions and level of education, and gap among social classes. The worries about social polarization due to increase of time and expense during transition to adulthood lead Canada to change their policy in response to marriage, childbearing and childcare for the young. Experiences of Australia also

play an important role in establishing policy, by considering socio-economical background, age, gender, and target area for the policy.

• Chung-nyeon-ki-ae-seo Sung-in-ki-ae I-heng Kwa-jung Yeon-gu I: Woo-ri-na-ra-ae Chung-nyeon-ki-ae-seo Sung-in-ki-ae I-heng Sil-tae (청년기에서 성인기로의 이행 과정연구 I: 우리나라의 청년기에서 성인기로의 이행 실태, Transition from Youth to Adulthood I: Actual Situation of South Korean adolescent's transition to adulthood) by Lee, et al. (2010)

Such transition of the young South Korean was studied by focusing on life course perspectives with analysis through major transitional events: transition from school to labor market, family formation according to marriage, childbearing and decision on house separation. Supported data from *Korean Labor and Income study* was divided into two cohorts for comparative analysis.

The comparative result showed that college entrance rate rose remarkably. Now, 80% of South Korean men and women go to college. Age at marriage and parenthood is higher than the past. 60% of people in early 1960s range aged 25 got married while consequently in 1970s range decrease to less than 30%. The research also showed gender difference such as labor force participation rate. The age at first job for men is arriving late. But for women, the age at first job is earlier than in the past because of the increasing college entrance rate, consequently causes in the delay in marriage and motherhood. Research found that the higher possibility for educational attainment, the average age for first marriage is even more delayed. Likewise to higher education, it results in greater possibility of delay or given up on marriage and childbearing. This research adopted Even Sequence Analysis to study sequence of life events or order of life events. The analysis found that sequence of life events on men is various and complex due to military service. Dominant feature of men's life events is graduation, employment and marriage. This feature happened both for men and women and also in both two different groups.

The Research "Chung-nyeon-ki-ae-seo Sung-in-ki-ae I-heng Kwa-jung Yeon-gu II (청년기에서 성인기로의 이행 과정 연구 II, Transition from Youth to Adulthood II)" focus on subjective meaning of "being an adult". Focus group interview and survey were used for data collection. Until now, this project presented three reports.

• Chung-nyeon-ki-ae-seo Sung-in-ki-ae I-heng Kwa-jung Yeon-gu II: Chong-kwanl-po-ko-seo (청년기에서 성인기로의 이행 과정 연구 II: 총괄보고서, Transition from Youth to Adulthood II: Comprehensive Report) by An, et al. (2011)

The research adopted "emerging adulthood", a theory on transition to adulthood presented by Arnett⁶, as main concept to conduct survey for identify the characteristics of South Korean emerging adulthood and the criteria for adulthood.

The research found that recognition of South Korean youth during this period focuses on individualism. Economic background plays a significant role in recognition ways. Youth with high economic background would recognize it as a period to enjoy freedom and to learn ways of thinking by themselves; while youth with low background would recognize it as a period of instability and full of anxiety. While South Korean society accepts those who graduated from 4 years college as adult, South Korean youth think that if they were able to take responsibilities of their own actions, they would be considered as adult. This finding is likewise as appeared in China and Romania which has applied the same research tools.

The suitable time for each transitional event: finishing school, getting a job, getting married, childbearing and separating household, varies on gender and economic background. Men see that it would be more desirable if these transitional events were attained at younger age than women. Youth with low economic background attained transitional events at later age than those whose economic background is high and have no worry about expenses.

⁶ Jeffrey J. Arnett is a research professor in the department of Psychology, Clark University, Massachusetts. In 2000, he proposed the theory of emerging adulthood that referred to the age range from late teens to mid-twenties. (Arnett, 2006)

• Chung-nyeon-ki-ae-seo Sung-in-ki-ae I-heng Kwa-jung Yeon-gu II: Sung-in-ki-ae I-heng-ae Sung-byeol Cha-I Yeon-gu (청년기에서 성인기로의 이행 과정 연구 II: 성인기 이행의 성별 차이 연구, Transition from Youth to Adulthood II: Gender Differences in the Transition to Adulthood) by Chang, et al. (2011)

This research has conducted in-depth interview with both adolescents and their parents in order to identify gender differences in transition to adulthood.

Nowadays, gender different situation is in fact improved but South Korean society still recognizes the limitation that women labor cannot work for long time because of the issues about marriage, childbearing and childrearing. This research also showed that competition in labor market for women is more intense than men. Not only ability but appearance and age are also important. At the same ability level, women with lower age and good appearance often have more advantage. Parents also concern about their daughter more than son since they have more possibilities to expose to dangers than son. After marriage, most women also would have to take care of household chores and childrearing. This brings difficulties to them on balancing work life and family life.

• Chung-nyeon-ki-ae-seo Sung-in-ki-ae I-heng Kwa-jung Yeon-gu II: Chwi-yak-wi-ki-kye-chung Chung-nyeon-ae Sung-in-ki-ae I-heng-ae Kwan-han Yeon-gu (청년기에서 성인기로의 이행 과정 연구 II: 취약위기계층 청년의 성인기 이행에 관한 연구, Transition for Youth to Adulthood II: Vulnerable Youth's Transition to Adulthood) by (Jung, et al., 2011)

This study used adolescent and their parents' in-depth interview to analyze the characteristics of the most vulnerable class of South Korean youth on their path to adulthood. Also, the characteristics of their self – identity will be examined. The study also tried to provide comparative study on parent generations' expectations and attitudes toward their children's path to adulthood in order to understand their pattern and difficulties.

This research found that limited parental support in vulnerable youth's family caused conflict within family and children's stress. Children in this kind of family will be forced to assume any roles of adult at their early age or took any duties of adults. Parental conflict has influences on parent-children relationship formation,

as well as youth's concept of marriage and family formation. In other words, parents are positive and negative model of children in terms of marriage and family formation concept. Parents of vulnerable youth mostly neglect and are not interested in children's education. Some would like to support but it seems impossible due to economic conditions, failure in family relationship, parents' health problems, loss of parental expectation on children, low level of parental education and low-wages with long working labor hours.

Actually, educational institute also take an important role in transition to adulthood. However, vulnerable youth does not get suitable assistance from them. The consequence showed that the surveyed target group feel their future and form their self-identity by social experiences rather than experiences from school. This is a big difference between adolescent from middle class and vulnerable adolescent. Economic conditions force them to enter labor market since early age. Because of low social capital and unsecured job conditions, their transition to adulthood is not smooth and stable. Although vulnerable adolescents are forced to take any roles or duties of adult by any reasons, all of them still do not consider themselves as adult. Lastly, this research identified this group of adolescents as non – student/half – student, ghost worker and outsider/moral adult.

The first period of transition to adulthood related to South Korean adolescent used published data such as census or data from *Korean Labor and Income study* to analyze the changing transition to adulthood of South Korean adolescent and compare with other countries. All researches did not focus on any groups but study adolescent in general. Previous researches showed pattern of transition to adulthood of South Korean young people as to finish their high level graduation first before starting to work and respectively getting married. The consequences to marriage reflect in the delay entrance to labor market. In addition, higher education leads to postponement or giving up in not only marriage but also childbearing. This pattern is different from other countries' transition to adulthood, for example, USA, European countries, Australia, Mexico and Brazil, in which differences occurred from uncommon cultures as well as economic development.

The last research study on transition to adulthood of vulnerable adolescent was defined as National Basic Livelihood security program recipient and low income group all together. However, the present research will study transition to adulthood of adolescent who is National Basic Livelihood security program recipient only. These adolescents are considered as lower class⁷. The family relationship (husband - wife relationship and parents-children relationship) on shaping their transition to adulthood will also be examined.

2.1.2. Literatures related to concept of family relationship.

1) Family Relationship

Good family relationship remarkably benefits to society and country since family is the basic social institution. Strength of family institution, according to the report, comes from warm family in which parents and children must conduct good relationship between each other. Member from warm and cozy family can generate benefits to the community, learning process and capability development which are important for overall country development. (Nuichan, 1987) mentioned that good relationship within a family is able to reinforce well-being, stability and solidarity of the country. Moreover, it can protect children from many problems very efficiently (Suwannathud, 1980; cited by Thanathanya, 1997).

Sawadpanich (1976) stated that the problems of conflict between husband and wife, broken family by reasons of death or divorce, generation gap between parents and children during their adolescence can all leads to bad family relationship. Problems as mentioned can create many negative results such as lack of happiness within family and impact on mental health. Where happiness cannot be found within their family, some may go out and seek for happiness outside home. If that happiness is good activities like going to temples or practicing dharma, these actions may be able to help finding solution. But if that happiness is unfortunately drinking alcohol, gambling or hanging out with bad friends, it can lead to further problems and family relationship might become more estranged. In case of mental health, children from

⁷ Thompson & Hickey (2005) and Berns (2007) defined lower class as those who rely on state welfare due to economic instability.

incomplete family usually express various negative characteristics like distrusting others, lack of responsibility, fail to create friendship or build up bad relationship, which later on can turn into social problems.

Below, I have chosen some of the previous works related to the influence of family relationship on children in order to reflect its importance.

Sripotchanart (2004) reviewed many researches on family relationship and concluded the relation between family relationship and children's adaptability as following. Wongsrihat (1997; cited by Sripotchanart, 2004) studied social adaptation of 9th grade students in Bangkok and found that students facing with social adaptation problems most likely came from families with poor family relationship, low economic background, low level of parental education as well as poor residence. Students with good attitude towards family, proud of their family and able to enhance positive relationship within their family, would be able to adapt themselves to changes. Tuicharoen (1997; cited by Sripotchanart, 2004) conducted the research on family relationship support and resulted that the important factors related to adolescent's adaptation are parents – adolescent relationship. High quality of parents – adolescent relationship would better encouraged adolescent's adaptability than middle and low levels of qualities.

Tam and Yeoh (2008) confirmed the association of parental relationship and parent-child relationship through "Parental Bonding and Parent Child-Relationship among Tertiary Level Students". This research aimed to investigate the relationship between parental bonding and parent-child relationship among tertiary level students and differences in gender and race by using survey with two valid inventories—Parental Bonding Inventory (PBI) and Parent-Child Relationship Survey (PCRS). The strong parental bonding promotes better parent-child relationship. Father should be more positive affected, more father involvement, better communication and less anger found between father and children. If father expresses an overprotection, children will be angry. Mother also should be more positive affected more mother identification, better communication and less resentment or role confusion by high level of care. Overprotection from mother leads to problems of poorer communication

and more resentment or role confusion. Since there are gender differences between male and female, the obvious result is that females were found to have better parental bonding as well as parent-child relationship when compared to males. This result is also found revealed in the researches conduct to White, African American, Native American and other ethnicities' context and can be considered as race differences.

Hair, et al. (2009) presented a research brief on the topic of "Marital Quality and Parent-Adolescent Relationship: Effect on adolescent and young adult well-being" which utilized data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, 1997 cohort (NLSY97) to examine how marital quality of parent among intact families interacts with the quality of parent-adolescent relationship, to predict physical health, mental health, use of substance, sexual activity, religious activity, and educational outcomes in middle adolescence and early adulthood. The result showed that high quality of parent's marital relationship and positive parent-adolescent relationship are important to well-being outcomes later in adolescence period and extended in some cases even into early adulthood.

Day, et al. (2009) used the data from National Survey of Families and Households to introduce the research topic of "Marital Quality and Outcomes from Children and Adolescents: A review of the family process literature". The review aimed to show how marital quality, strength, and/or interpersonal protective factors work to enhance the probability that children will do better among families where strengths are higher by focusing on parental marital quality and child outcomes. The finding is that the quality of parental relationship is associated with children's view towards marriage. Divorce and parental discord lead to problems of lower psychological well-being in adulthood and weaker parent-child relationship, in which its effects occur in long-term.

"Parental Relationship Quality and Child Outcomes across Subgroups" of Moore, et al. (2011) attempts to examine links between quality of parent's relationship and positive outcomes for children and families across various population

subgroups, especially disadvantaged groups, by using the 2007 National Survey of Children's Health on parental relationship happiness. The results showed that positive parental relationship is consistently and positively related to better children outcomes across all type of subgroups, including: white, black and Hispanic couples. The results as well presented in all kinds of family structure and family background, regradless to race, ethic, parental education background, economic situation, gender or even child's age.

Swartz, et al. (2011) applied data from the Youth Development Study to investigate how age, adult role acquisition and attainment, family resources, parent-child relationship quality, school attendance and life events influence support received from parents in young adulthood on the topic of "Safety Nets and Scaffolds: Parental support in the transition to adulthood". Here will focus only on the results of parent-child relationship quality. The indicators of this research include both material: housing and financial assistance, and nonmaterial: guidance, emotional nurturance and practical help, etc. The research found evidence for a volitional model of parent-child realtionship that would encourage assistance depending on prior closeness of relationship. Young adults who are closed to their mother will easily ask for help and mother who is closed to her children will be more aware of children needs. All kinds of parental aid (advice, guidance, emotional support, practical help, etc.) were related to children's the ability of becoming self-sufficient.

The above literature review showed the importance of good family relationship. Many researchers found that family relationship, especially parents – children relationship, is related directly to social adaptability of children. Good relationship enables children to adapt themselves to the society more easily. Besides, the quality of husband – wife relationship also affects the quality of parents – children relationship. Negative husband and wife relationship can cause psychological problems on children and can also create negative aspects toward marriage. Closeness between parents and children is related to asking for help and awareness of needs which are important factors during preparation period in order to become self-dependent. If a family can successfully build up positive family relationship, both

husband – wife relationship and parents – children relationship, the outcome of children is expected to be well-being.

2) Meaning of Family Relationship

Saengsrithong (1983, cited by Nuichan, 1987) interpreted "Family Relationship" as relationship by role to other family members. If there were harmony and concord among members, good relationship would occur. If there were conflict and animosity among members, poor relationship would usually occur.

Panichpan (RatanaKosol) (1984, cited by Thanathanya, 1997) stated about "Relationship in Family" that relationship in family is the affection, familiarity and intimacy between father, mother, children, including relatives and others who live together in the house. Relationship in family can either cause benefits or problems.

Chompikul, et al. (2009) summarized that relationship in Family is the relationship between members of a family, relatives or others who live in the same house. This relationship is created through interaction, communication, expression and joint activities. There are good and bad relationship.

The meaning of family relationship can be concluded that it is relationship between members of a family such as husband – wife and parents – children who are bounded by law or bloodline. This relationship is founded from love, affection, familiarity and intimacy which happen through interaction, communication, expression and joint activities. If this relationship was good, it could be advantage for family members. However, if the relationship was bad, it could cause many problems.

3) Types of Family Relationship

The study of family relationship categorizes this relationship into four different types (see for example: Thanathanya (1997); Sripotchanart (2004); Sirivannabood (2007); and Office of Women's Affairs and Family Development (2011) as following.

- *Husband –Wife Relationship:* husband and wife is the starting point of family relationship. When a man and a woman get married and become husband and wife, they have to learn to adjust and adapt their behaviors. This is since characteristics of man and woman from two different families are certainly different. If the couple is able to create good relationship and understand each other, their family will be smooth, stable and family members, especially children will also be happy. But if the couple fails to accept each other's different characteristics, conflicts and problems will occur, and will especially impact children psychologically. Sripen (1971; cited by Thanathanya, 1997) stated that if children witnessed disharmony within family for a long time, it will be more harmful for children's nervous system than parents' divorce.
- Parents Children Relationship: This relationship establishes from husband wife relationship and start when children are born. Saengsingkaew (1967; cited by Thanathanya, 1997) stated that if the relationship between father and mother which is the main relationship was good, children would feel the affection and warmth, and the connection between father, mother and children would be strengthened. In contrast, if this relationship was bad, children would be lack of warmth and might result in a broken family. If children received bad experiences directly, children's mind would be affected (Office of Women's Affairs and Family Development, 2011). Love, understanding and carefulness of parents are necessary for children. The research of Gjerde and Shimizu (1995) about family relationship and adolescent development in Japan found that the personality of boy and girl, who grew up under parental socialization agreement, is more likely to be well developed than those whose parents disagreed on socialization.
- *Sibling relationship:* This is the relationship between children of a family that has more than one child. Sibling often grows up together in the same house. It is another place for children to learn social relations. This relationship enables children on how to interact with others, how to manage disagreements, and how to control their emotions (Howe and Recchia, 2006). Affection and care

between siblings can be developed by parents – children relationship in each person. Olivia and Arranz (2005) stated that high quality of parents – children relationship would leads to positive sibling relationship. At the same time, good sibling relationship is related to social and personal adjustment, while the bad one can cause conflicts and rivalry.

Relationship between other members in family: A nuclear family usually
consists of father, mother and children; opposite to an extended family which
may include grandparents, uncle and aunt, relatives and other children in law.
Once family member increases, relationship within the family may be various
and complex because of generation gaps and role of each member.

This research will study family relationships by focusing on husband – wife relationship and parents – children relationship only because these two relationships are basic relation of a family generated by basic family members: father, mother and children. The trend of family in South Korea is changing from extended family to nuclear family which composes of the married couple and their children. According to 2010 population and housing census resulted that 61.6% of South Korean families are nuclear families with the average number of family members of 2.69 (Kim and Lee, 2011). This can be implied that South Korean family at the present consists of father, mother and a child.

Since, family relationship, especially husband – wife relationship and parents – children relationships, are primary basis and important factors of children's self-development during transition to adulthood. These are brought to the framework of this research to study influences of family relationship on shaping transition to adulthood as to be described below.

2.2 Frameworks

In this part, I will firstly start by explaining the conceptual framework and then analytical framework will be described later.

2.2.1 Conceptual Framework and Definitions

1) Conceptual Framework

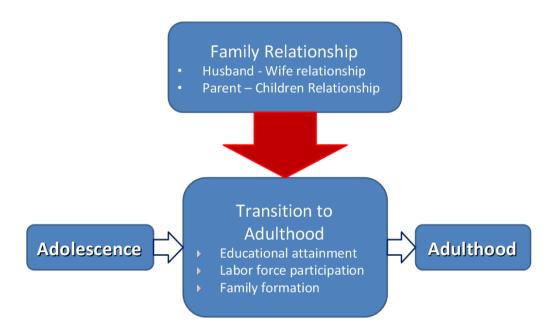


Figure 1: Conceptual Framework of the Research

2) Definitions

Adolescence

Definition of *adolescence* is not easy to define and there is no universally accepted definition. However, there are many scholars and organizations attempting to define this word like the United Nations who defined *adolescence* as individual aged 10 – 19 years (UNICEF, 2011). Jiamnakarin (1996) and Dumrisuk (1982) stated that a girl will enter her adolescence at the age of 13, while a boy will at 15. The end of adolescence for girl is 20 and 21 for boy.

Steinberg (1999) mentioned about definition of adolescence as follows.

"The word adolescence is Latin in origin, derived from the verb adolescence, which means "to grow into adulthood." Adolescence is a period of biological, psychological, social and economic transitions. In all societies, adolescence is a time of growing up, of moving from the immaturity of childhood into the maturity of adulthood."

Cobb (2007) stated the definition of *adolescence* in the book names *Adolescence: Continuity, Change and Diversity* that

"Adolescence is the transitional and often ambiguous period of development between childhood and adulthood. It spans the years from 11 - 19 which is a time of dramatic physical, emotional and intellectual changes."

(Kaewkangwan, 1997) mentioned that adolescence is extended from aged 12 - 18 years in last century to 12 - 25 years because these days adolescences have to longer stay in education field, adulthood with economic independence has been delayed, and maturity of adolescence in modern society is also slower than before.

It can be concluded that *adolescence* is the developmental period from childhood to adulthood. Adolescences in this period will face with biological, psychological, social and economic changes. Age of adolescence spans from 10-25 years. However, the definition of *adolescence* always overlaps with definition of *youth* and the word "*youth*" and "*adolescence*" is always interchangeable (The World Bank, 2003 and WHO: Regional Office for South - East Asia, 2009).

The definition of *youth* also varies but there are two definitions accepted and being use worldwide: the *United Nations'* and the *Commonwealth Secretariat's*. UNESCAP (2007) referred to the United Nations' definition of *youth* that *youth* is individual aged 15 - 24 years which is a period of transition from childhood and adulthood. The definition of *youth* by the Commonwealth Secretariat is individual falling between ages of 15 - 29 years (Ubi, 2007).

For this reason, this research will adopt both definition of adolescence and youth. *Adolescence* in this research defines as individual aged between 10 - 29 years which is the transitional period from childhood to adulthood.

Adulthood

Adulthood starts after adolescent period ended at around the age of 20 - 25 years, and ends at the age of 40 (Dumrisuk, 1982) or 50 - 65 years (Kaewkangwan, 1997). Adulthood is long and complex. Although physical development is ended during late adolescence but along this period, many changes and adaptations may happen in every aspect in order to adjust themselves to their living environment.

Lower Class Family

Berns (2007) stated that lower class family is consisted of semi-skilled and unskilled labors. Mostly, family of this class always face with economic instability and experiences being in debt, being unemployed and being on welfare. This is in accordance with the definition of lower class defined by Thompson and Hickey (2005). Lower class is classified as those who are working for low wage jobs, unemployed, having financial unsecurity or relying on state welfare (Thompson and Hickey, 2005).

This research adopted the definition of lower class family in terms of welfare recipient, as a criterion for sample. The samples of this research are South Korean adolescents who are NBLSP recipients.

2.2.2 Analytical Framework

This research takes a demographic life course approach and focuses on transition to adulthood events in order to see South Korean adolescent's transition to adulthood in low class family.

- Educational attainment
- Labor force participation
- Family formation

These three issues are significant and major events occur that during transition to adulthood. Adolescents have to develop themselves through these events, from parental dependent to building capital in order to independent, and finally turning into the status of self-sufficient adults.

Throughout this research, there is a question of why I choose to study a set of events instead of only an event. First of all, transition to adulthood is better described as a process or an event set of being adult and preparing to achieve full adult status than as an event (Hogan and Astone, 1986). Secondly, those events themselves are also not separable but bound with each other. The outcomes of an event have influences to events afterward continuously. For example, the longer adolescents tend to stay in education field in order to accomplish higher education; the age of marriage is likewise getting higher. The other reason is that, there is an unclear indicator to indicate the adult status. Although many researches have focused on an event as a criterion of becoming adult, there is none that would be able to point out which event is the most appropriate (Shanahan, 2000). Therefore, it is necessary to study these three transitional events all together.

The transition to adulthood of South Korean adolescent from lower class family will be used to analyze the influences of family relationship:

- Husband wife relationship
- Parents children relationship

The influence according to these two family relationships on transition to adulthood can be explained by the Structural and Functional Theory and Social Learning Theory.

1) Structural and Functional Theory

Family is the smallest social unit yet the most important basic institution which paves the foundation for other social institutions and shapes society. Structural and functional theory was conducted to study relationship between minor elements within family such as husband - wife relationship or parents – children relationship because family is considered as a unit of interaction between individuals (Office of Women's Affairs and Family Development, 2011).

This theory describes that every family member has their own roles. If the role was carried out well, family life would be happy, creating a quality society, and the country would be secured. On the other hand, if a member failed to perform their roles properly, problems would occur within family, so would society and country (Thanathanya, 1997)

With reference to document from Office of Women's Affairs and Family Development (2011), family structure means minor element of society and is established when individuals (more than two individuals) live together, related either by law or bloodline. Besides living together, they have to be interdependent both socially and economically. Family function implies as activities or works according to the roles those family members should act to respond the demand of family members and conduct a family life smoothly.

Ogburn and Tibbits (1933; cited by Adsakul (2011) and Office of Women's Affairs and Family Development (2011), stated that there are 6 important functions in the family.

- **1. Reproduction:** to create new members for replacing died members, descending a family, keeping society exist and preserving human race.
- **2. Protection:** especially needed by new born which is care and attention, such as rearing, feeding, providing clothes and shelter.
- **3. Socialization:** to teach suitable behaviors, norms and values of a society to the new members. These are for encouraging good characteristics, proper attitudes and suitable actions in order to develop an adult with high quality.
- **4. Regulation of Sexual Behavior:** every society has their own sexual norms for standardize sexual behaviors.
- **5. Affection and Companionship:** family has duty to provide love, warmth and closed relationship among members, which will enhance member's satisfaction and safety and affect mental health and characteristics.
- **6. Provision of Social Status:** the status of a new born is decided by family's race, ethnicity, social stratification and etc.

The theory suggested that each member of a family will have to conduct their own role or duty, like as a father, a mother or a child. Since family consists of more than two members, interaction among members would definitely occur within a family. Therefore, members of a family will have to intercourse in order to respond the demand of another member. If family members have done well on their own roles or duties, relationship within family can be assumed to be well. The consequence of this will appear as happiness of family.

2) Social Learning Theory

Social learning theory is used for studying of child development in a family based on learning process from their model such as parents or siblings. This is the most influential models of parent – child relationship (O'Conner and Scott, 2007).

Social Learning Theory by Bandara (1977; cite by Foshee, et al., 1999; Pinquart and Silbereisen, 2005 and McLeod, 2011) stated that family environment influences directly and indirectly to children's psychological development through the process of watching and observing. Children will watch and observe their surrounding adults' behavior, for instance, their parents' (Foshee, et al., 1999 and Wallace and Roberson, 2011), and learn how to control emotions, cope with conflicts and maintain relationship with others from their experiences (O'Conner and Scott, 2007). Family is the first source of those behaviors and experiences. If such behavior has reinforcement either by rewarding or punishing, children will imitate and continue performing that behavior (Foshee, et al., 1999 and McLeod, 2011).

(Foshee, et al., 1999) gave an example about violence in family by using Social Learning Theory to explain children's behavior in "Family Violence and the Perpetration of Adolescent Dating Violence: Examining Social Learning and Social Control Processes". If a child has seen father abusing mother and observed the consequence of that behavior as positive, such child is more likely to imitate and use violence to solve problems. On the other hand, if the consequence appears negatively, that child will consider abuse as negative behavior.

A learning method of human is learning from model. Model for children within family is their father and mother which is the most influential directly and also indirectly. Children learn by observing their parents' behaviors or action and keep as their experiences and references. If a behavior or actions is praised or in other words,

children see the positive result of that action or behavior, they will result in doing the same thing. On the other hand, if children observe negative result or reproach of a behavior or action, they will do in contrast.

These are the frameworks and theories applied to study transition to adulthood of South Korean adolescents in lower class family by focusing on three issues: educational attainment, labor force participation and family formation. Then, the influences of family relationship: husband – wife relationship and parents – children relationship will also be examined. The analysis and theories as mentioned above could help understanding the relation between family relationship and transition to adulthood, as well as understanding the importance of family relationship towards transition to adulthood. All in all, they also help answering the research questions that were initially set.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research adopts a qualitative research approach to utilize in the study. It is used to examine characteristic of South Korean adolescents in lower class family and their transition to adulthood, together with the influence of family relationship, here referred to husband – wife relationship and parents – children relationship, on how the relationship shapes their transition to adulthood. This chapter will explain and elaborate on the methodology of this research.

3.1 Data Collection

3.1.1 Documentary Research

Documentary research for the first step was applied by using secondary sources. The work in this part was for building and gathering basic understanding of the concept related to transition to adulthood and family relationships. Previous researches, books, journals, reports, proceedings and websites are the sources of secondary data utilized for this study. Documents as previously described are reviewed and presented in Literature Reviews (Chapter II).

3.1.2 Data

Qualitative research method was applied in this research by means of "Chung-so-nyeon Sung-in-ki I-heng Sim-chung Interview Nok-chi-rok 2011" (청소년 성인기 이행 심층인터뷰 녹취록 2011, Voice record from in-depth interview regarding adolescent's transition to adulthood 2011) Issue 1 – 4, by R and DB Foundation, Seoul National University. This in-depth interview was conducted under the research project of Chung-nyeon-ki-ae-seo Sung-in-ki-ae I-heng Kwa-jung Yeon-gu II (청년기에서 성인기로의 이행 과정 연구 II, Transition from Youth to Adulthood II) project from Han-kuk Chung-so-nyeon Chong-chaek Yeon-gu-won (한국 청소년 정책 연구원, National Youth Policy Institute, NYPI) South Korea. I acquired this data by the help of Professor Kisoo Eun, Professor of Graduate School for International

Studies, Seoul National University. The interviews were conducted in 2011 with the purpose to ask questions to South Korean adolescents about transition to adulthood. The samples of data were selected by using purposive sampling and snowball technique. There are 3 criteria used for sample selection:

- South Korean nationals aged between 19 29 years.
- Those who are receiving benefits and services from National Basic Livelihood Security Program (NBLSP) or those who are lower income class
- Willing to participate in the in-depth interview.

The participants were interviewed two times in which the first interview was expected for them to explain their life history and experiences without advance prepared questions. On the second interview, half – structuralized questions were prepared based on sensitizing concept. Duration of in-depth interview is around 1-2 hours.

This research selected only 21 samples who are receiving benefits and services from NBLSP in order to study characteristics of their transition to adulthood and the influence of relationship in their family on how it shapes transition to adulthood.

3.2 Data Analysis

The in-depth interview data will be analyzed to identify transition to adulthood of South Korean adolescent in lower class NBLSP family through three issues: education attainment, labor force participation and family formation as the first objective. Age selection for this research is considered 19 years of age as late adolescence and 29 years of age as early adulthood. Therefore, the sample group of this research is considered as late adolescent⁸ and also early adulthood⁹.

⁸Adolescence is differentiated into 2 stages: early adolescence (11 - 15 years) and late adolescence (16 - 19 years) (Cobb, 2007) or 3 stages: early adolescence (11 - 14 years), middle adolescence (15 - 18 years) and late adolescence (19 - 25 years) (Dumrisuk, 1982; Jiamnakarin, 1996; Kaewkangwan, 1997; and Steinberg, 1999).

 $^{^{9}}$ Adulthood is differentiated into 3 stages: early adulthood (25 – 40 years), middle adulthood (40 – 65 years) and late adulthood (65 years up) (Wisitsiri, 1984; and Kaewkangwan, 1997).

Findings from the first objective will be later on analyzed to understand the influence of family relationship: husband – wife relationship and parents - children relationship on shaping adolescent transition to adulthood as the second objective.

CHAPTER IV

TRANSITION TO ADULTHOOD

AND FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

This chapter is going to present findings of the study through "Chung-sonyeon Sung-in-ki I-heng Sim-chung Interview Nok-chi-rok 2011" (청소년 성인기 이행 심층인터뷰 녹취록 2011, Voice record from in-depth interview regarding adolescent's transition to adulthood 2011) Issue 1 – 4, by R and DB Foundation, Seoul National University. This data was conducted under the research project of Chung-nyeon-ki-aeseo Sung-in-ki-ro-ae I-heng Kwa-jung Yeon-gu II (청년기에서 성인기로의 이행 과정 연구 II, Transition from Youth to Adulthood II) project from Han-kuk Chung-so-nyeon Chong-chaek Yeon-gu-won (한국 청소년 정책 연구원, National Youth Policy Institute, NYPI) South Korea. Since the data is in Korean, the parts of interview cited in this research will be translated to English. Here, I divided the findings into three different parts. First part is the demographic information of samples and their family background. Second part is discussion regarding transition to adulthood by focusing on three issues: educational attainment, labor force participation, and family formation; and also concept of being adulthood. Lastly, third part is discussion regarding family relationships which refer to husband – wife relationship and parents - children relationship.

4.1 Demographic Information

4.1.1 Characteristic of samples

- The samples of this research are aged between 19 28 years. Individual in this
 age range is considered as adolescence according to the definition of
 adolescence combining with the definition of youth.
- 14.2% of samples are middle school graduates and 85.8% are high school graduates.
- The samples of this research are a member of the household that is receiving benefits from National Basic Livelihood Security Program (NBLSP).

The website " $e-National Indicators^{10}$ " (Statistics Korea, 2011a) mentioned about the meaning of the term NBLSP recipient or *Ki-cho Seang-heal Po-jang Su-kub-ja* (기초생활보장수급자) as a person that recognized income of recipient's household is lower than minimum cost of living per household, a person having no support obligator or having support obligators, yet unable to support as much benefits according to National Basic Livelihood Security Acts. They are unable to maintain minimum standard of living by their income, property and work ability. **Recipients** are selected based on two factors: recognized income and persons under obligation to support. These following details are criteria and minimum cost of living for 2012 announced in Ministry of Health and Welfare website.

Table 1: criteria of NBLSP recipient selection

Criteria (starting 2003 - present)					
Recognized income	Assessed income				
	Converted property income				
Person under obligation to support					

^{*} Recognized income = Assessed income + converted amount of property income

Assessed income = Actual income - Expenses based on household characteristics - Earned income deduction

Converted property income = (Property - Fundamental value of property - Liabilities) x Income conversion rate

In case the recipient has a person under obligation to aupport, he/she should be unable to provide support or be unable to be supported.

Table 2: Minimum Cost of Living for 2012

Household size	1 person	2 persons	3 persons	4 persons	5 persons	6 persons	7 persons
2012 (KRW/month)	553,354	942,197	1,218,873	1,495,550	1,772,227	2,048,904	2,325,580
THB (approximately)	16,600.62	28,265.91	36,566.19	44,866.50	53,166.81	61,467.12	69,767.40

^{*}member of eight and more will be added KRW 276,677 (approximately THB 8,300.31) each.

With reference to the information from Ministry of Health and Welfare, the benefits from this program are divided into seven types: livelihood benefits, housing benefits, self – sufficiency benefits, educational benefits, childbirth benefits, funeral benefits and medical benefits. (Ministry of Health and Welfare)

 $^{^{10}}$ "e – National Indicators" or "e – 나라지표 (e – Na-ra Ji-pyo) is a website that shows present situation of South Korea in various fields such as society, economy, politic, culture, etc. The information is presented in index by using data of government organization.

Livelihood benefits: these benefits are for maintaining livelihood. Allowance will be provided for basic needs such as clothes, food, fuel expenses, etc. This following is how to calculate livelihood benefits per household.

Livelihood benefits per household = Basic cash benefits - Recognized income - housing benefits

Table 3: Basic Cash Benefits

Household size	1 person	2 persons	3 persons	4 persons	5 persons	6 persons	7 persons
(KRW/month)	453,049	771,408	997,932	1,224,457	1,450,982	1,677,506	1,904,031
THB (approximately)	13,591.47	23,142.24	29,937.96	36,733.71	43,529.46	50,325.18	57,120.93

^{*}Basic cash income = minimum cost of living-(educational benefits + medical benefits + subsidies paid under other laws like residence tax etc.)

*member of eight and more will be added KRW 226,525 (approximately THB 6,795.75) each.

Housing benefits: these benefits are for housing stabilization. Allowances will be provided for rental fee, maintenance and repair cost, and other allowances according to presidential decree.

Table 4: Housing Benefits

Household size	1 person	2 persons	3 persons	4 persons	5 persons	6 persons	7 persons
(KRW/month)	87,656	149,252	193,079	236,908	280,736	324,563	368,392
THB (approximately)	2,629.68	4,477.56	5,792.37	7,107.24	8,422.08	9,736.89	11,051.76

^{*}member of eight and more will be added KRW 13,000 (approximately THB 390) each.

Self – sufficiency benefits: these benefits are for supporting to become self – sufficient and starting up self – assistance. Skill training and technical to management guidance start – up training, rental fee for necessary facilities and equipment, work opportunity and job seeking information will be provided.

Educational benefits: these benefits are divided into two cases: high school students and middle school students.

Middle School

Admission and Tuition

Textbooks Fees

KRW 34,900/persons
(approximately THB 1,047)

KRW 48,000/persons
(approximately THB 1,440)

KRW 48,000/persons
(approximately THB 1,440)

Table 5: Educational Benefits

Childbirth benefits: recipients are able to receive medical care for premature birth, before and after childbirth as well. (KRW 500,000 at birth or THB 15,000 approximately)

Funeral benefits: in case of death, recipients are able to get service of postmortem, transportation, cremation or burial and other necessary actions. (KRW 500,000 per decreased person or THB 15,000 approximately)

Medical benefits: recipients can access to medical checkup or examination for diseases, injury, childbirth, medicines and materials for medical treatments, operation and other treatments, prevention and rehabilitation, hospitalization, nursing, transfer and other actions concerned for medical purposes are provided.

4.1.2 Family Background

47.6% of samples grew up in broken family: running away, living separately and divorce. 23.8% lose at least one of their parents.

Only 28.6% are living with two parents. Because of incomplete family, 14.3% of samples have to live with other family members such as grandparents or stepparents. Samples that left their parents' house and live alone are amount to 23.8%.

19% of samples found illness in one parent and were unable to feed the family.
33.3% accepted that economic situation of their family became worse after losing parent no matter by death or separation.

^{*} Middle school students receive only additional textbook fees and stationery charges since compulsory education is free (Ministry of Education, Science and Technology).

23.8% observed domestic dispute within their family and 28.6% were abused by their parents.

4.2 Transition to Adulthood

4.2.1 Educational Attainment

Compulsory education in South Korea is primary school and middle school. Tuition fee for compulsory education is free nationwide since 2004. All of the research samples graduated from middle school and continue their study in high school. Yet 19% dropped out of high school. The reason learned from them is family economic condition which happened after family situation was changed.

KIM 1 (19) is the youngest member of family with three daughters. Her mother ran away and left daughters to live with a father who is alcoholic and acts out the violence. Her eldest sister and she had to drop out of school due to difficulty in family economic situation.

"<Did your sisters and you go to school?> My oldest sister dropped out of middle school. <Why?>According to her, we were struggling to make ends meet, and whereas others brought school supplies, she wasn't able to afford it. That's why she kept skipping school. Back then, education wasn't considered mandatory, so after 40 days, she was to be expelled. <And how about you?> I also dropped out of high school."

When YOON 1 (26) was a third grader in middle school, her mother passed away because of sickness. Her mother had acted as the linkage between father and children. Therefore, when she lost her mother, that connection also disappeared. Her father had no idea on how to raise children, and pass this duty on to grandparents. She did not get any pocket money since her mother was sick. Her father is a construction site worker. Therefore, only his economic support was not enough for the education of two children, and she had to start working for part time job. She found afterwards that it was very tired, so she decided to quit and gave the educational opportunity to her younger brother.

"It was tough attending high school, because I had to work at the same time with part-time jobs. I worked six days a week, with Sundays off. It started in eighth grade, when my mom was sick, and ultimately passed away, and I felt the need to work for the good of the family. That was the year I stopped receiving allowances from my parents, because I felt like I had to be the one making the money for our family. Thus the brutal schedule of school during the day, and work at night, and it really wore on me as time went on. I felt like I may have to quit school and just start working."

In case of those who dropped out of high school, they moved forward to labor market. Later, they experienced discrimination according to the differences in educational degree. So they try to graduate by taking school qualification examination (검정고시) or attending alternative school (대인학교). Experiences of KIM 2 (28) can be raised as a clear example.

KIM 2 (28) was raised by a single mother after his parents divorced when he was in third grade of elementary school. His mother was always busy with her jobs, so she had not much time to take care of him. During his high school, he misbehaved and made many problems that his mother offered him to live independently with only room rental support. KIM 2(28) decided to quit school in order to earn his living; therefore his official educational degree is only middle school graduation. He has shared his own experiences during the time he is employed.

"High school and college, it's really not that different come to think of it, but the difference between a high school graduate and a college graduate is huge. I do feel the gap between the have's and the have-not's in life; for example, when attending a job interview and trying to establish myself in the job market, the companies usually wind up picking college graduates.

When I work with a person who is a college graduate, and I am a high school dropout. The way we're being treated itself is beyond different. If I do exceptionally well at work, maybe then I will be treated with respect, but getting there is difficult. The way the company perceives us is way different. If I make a mistake, then they definitely will give me an eye, as if they are thinking "he's not that well-educated, and it shows on his work"

Bad experiences due to low education do not happen in workplace only. It is an obstacle during the process of family formation too. KIM 2 (28) had broken up with his girlfriend as her parents dislike his educational background.

"Her parents were like "your boyfriend doesn't even go to school, and is doing this instead" and I also discussed this with my other friends, and I wound up realizing that she was stressed, and I was stressed as well. At first, I tried to just avoid conflict, but in essence, she just couldn't handle all of it... I asked her if we could get back together, and she seemed open to it, as well, but only on the condition that I attend college."

Some of this group returned to the education field with an aim for higher educational degree. While some wish to return if they have chance and be able to manage working life along with studying life.

Among those who continue studying high school, the rate of attending general high school is revealed only 19%. While another 52.4% choose to attend vocational school, such as industrial high school (실업고등학교), commercial high school (상업고등학교), and technical high school (공업고등학교), this is since they hope to get jobs right after graduation. Later, they have realized that only high school education seems not enough to get a good job.

"I felt like, going to work as a college graduate would offer so much more opportunity than being a high school graduate, which made me determined to attend college."

(CHOI 1, 19)

"I was determined to go to any college, since being a college graduate, even if the school was small and all, would make it easier for me to get a job..." (WON 1, 20) Decision to continue studying does not take place by their realization only. Experiences of intimate persons like parents or friends also let them see the importance of higher education as in the cases of JUNG 1 (22) and WOO 1 (28).

"Thinking of the tuition that needs to be paid in order for me to attend college, I felt like since I did wind up attending a commercial high school, I could just graduate and get a job right afterwards. Just wishing to make some money? But now that I see friends that do have jobs universally wishing to quit and study instead, I feel like maybe studying is the best option."

(JUNG 1, 22)

"I realized one day from looking at my mom that I will just live from paycheck to paycheck if I am uneducated. I realized that at least in this country, if I were to succeed, I must study first."

(WOO 1, 28)

Therefore, 66.7% decided to continue for higher education. Among these, 57.1% attend two years in college and 19% join 4 years in university. The main reason why most of samples decided to attend only junior college (two years) is tuition expenses. South Korea's university tuition fees are ranked the third highest tuition fees among OECD countries. The average annual tuition fee is around KRW 8,000,000 – 10,000,000 (approximately THB 240,000 – 300,000). Tuition is considered too high even for general students until there was once a university students' protest in order to ask the government for help with high tuition fee problem in around June, 2011. (Korean Human Rights Foundation, 2011) This is a huge obstacle for this research samples who are studying higher education too because benefits offered by NBLSP cover only high school ends. In order to solve this problem, 17.6% try to maintain nice school record in order to acquire scholarship and 35.3% earn their tuition fee from working while another 35.3% rely on loan.

"The whole tuition was paid in loan, and the living expenses were paid through money I saved up from part-time jobs I worked back in high school."
(LEE 1, 21)

"My sophomore year, I had no choice but to get a loan, which was my first. I had taken two loans in my life... The second one, I took out because that was right after I completed my military obligations, and had to return to school with no money earned from the past two years."

(CHOI 2, 24)

Besides tuition, there are several expenses involved such as books, lunches and transportation costs. Every sample who is studying relies on part – time job for those expenses.

The samples realized the importance of higher education in labor market. Therefore, they attempt for as possibly high as they can. Even those who dropped out of high school also try to obtain higher educational degree and wish to study more if there is a chance for them. However, the big problem for them is economic problem because education benefits offered by NBLSP cover until high school only. Their solutions for this problem are 1. Earn by themselves: borrowing money and studying along with working, 2. attempting for scholarship, and 3. attending only junior high school (2 years).

4.2.2 Labor Force Participation

All samples entered to the field of South Korean labor force quite early starting from part-time jobs. 47.6% went to work when they were at high school because it is the range of age allowed by government. 33.3% stated working since middle school and 4.8% started at elementary school. The youngest age for first part-time job is at fourth year in elementary school, whereas, the oldest is at first year of university. The only reason for starting part-time jobs is for pocket money which is another effect resulted from bad family economy.

"I have never really received an allowance in my life, so I never thought much of the concept of allowance, since my mom never really gave it to me. It really doesn't make me look all that great when my friends and I head over to buy some food, and I just stand out there, all alone, not really doing anything inside."

(JIN 1, 21 – started since third grade of middle school)

"I never got the allowance that others got, so I needed something that could work as my "allowance," since I wanted to spend just like my friends, and that was the only way I could fit in. I needed the money to "hang out with my friends," and buy new clothes."

(CHOI 2, 24 – started at fifth grade of elementary school)

"I simply didn't have any allowance for myself, since my mom was so sick. I wanted that money so I could hang out with my friends, and then I see that they are bragging about their latest purchases, which makes me covet those items, which got me determined to work... My dad seemed so focused on tending my mom that I never wanted to bring up this issue, and that's why I started working."

(YOON 1, 26 – started at third grade of middle school)

Economic needs not only force them to join labor force early, it also leaves them no choice to choose the job. Therefore, first job of 33.3%, especially those who started working at elementary school and middle school, is flyer distribution. This job is easy to get hired without worries about limited age to working and get paid daily, although it is a tiring and dangerous job. They were hired by a group of people and earned their wages daily. Their workplace is around crowded areas like market, shopping areas and residential areas like apartments. This job is to hand out advertising flyers to people in the market or shopping area. Unlike in living areas, they will have to drop advertising flyers at every household door.

Like case of PARK 1 (20), she lives with a sick father, her mother works as a cleaner in a hospital and the other 2 sisters. She started working since fourth grade of elementary school. She has shared her decision for first job as flyer distributor as follows.

"I was so young back then that the only job available for me at the time was handing out flyers, and since I needed that money, that's what I did... I would go to an apartment, use the elevator to reach the highest floor, then start putting up flyers from top to bottom. I had blisters on my feet, and it was a really demanding gig."

YOON 1 (26) also started her first job with flyer distribution at third grade of middle school. She found that this job was very dangerous especially for girls.

"I still remember that day. I wasn't getting paid for my work, and I was stewing with my friend, but they were a bunch of grown men that we were going up against, so we just stormed out. In retrospect, that was a dangerous place to work. No one but grown men working there, and with two girls in there... I think it was a scary environment to work in. Yes, scary."

Besides of flyer distribution, other jobs these adolescents experienced were not that simple and safe. (KIM 2, 28) started to work since first grade of high school. He has been working with many businesses such as convenient store, hypermart, bar, karaoke, warehouse, house – delivery service, construction site and also gas station. He mentioned that factory work was the hardest work he had ever experienced. Although factory environment was unbearable till he want to quit, he worked there for eight months because he got high payment.

"The most difficult job I was working at a factory. All those chemicals there... that's what made it such a difficult job. It was a company that produced car films, and the adhesives were applied on the sheets or something, and those really smelled like chemicals. It wasn't just the smell, though; it made me cough as well, and once I kept on coughing, that made me weak, with cold sweat running through my back, and I would just continue to cough non-stop. I couldn't work there any longer."

In addition to jobs mentioned above, part-time jobs that samples have been working are very various. For instance:

Restaurant, coffee shop and ice-cream shop

Stationery shop

Official place: city hall and social welfare center

Pub, bar and karaoke

Company

Hyper mart, department store and convenient shop

Parcel service, moving service and delivery service

Internet café

Problems of pocket money, thereby lead to decision to start doing part – time jobs, as well are able to show that the benefit from NBLSP is not enough to live with expenses. Actually, the program does not allow recipient to earn more money.

"I was indeed given welfare, but if the Town Office ever found out I worked part-time, then I would have to fork over that much back to the government, which meant... I was working under the table. I specifically tell whoever's paying me to pay me in cash."

(SHIN 1, 20)

"I am thankful that I get to receive welfare, but the fact that I can't really legitimately have a part-time job stinks. The government will check up on my bank account, and I can't have money flowing in there. I remember one time, my sister worked and accidentally put in 70,000KRW (around 2,100THB) for that month, and our welfare for the next month was drastically subtracted. My dad found it weird, and checked upon it, only to find out that it occurred because she actually made money. So if we were to actually work based on our need, we'll have to be forthright to our employers and ask them to pay us in cash, minus the insurance coverage."

(JUNG 1, 22)

"I fought a lot with my mom over the fact that I was working. I was supposed to be working at a mall, and my mom was like "are you going to give us that money? If we run out of our welfare, are you going to give us that money?" and I shot back with "why don't you start working if we run out of welfare?" she said no."

(KIM 3, 27)

In case of part – time job, every sample experienced working for such jobs. They were forced to enter labor force early due to economic needs. This becomes their disadvantage when they look for a job. They cannot choose well paid and non risky jobs. According to NBLSP regulations that do not allow recipients to earn more money, they as a result have to work secretly.

In case of full – time job, all of samples wish to have a job after finishing education in order to create their self – sufficient life. Labor force participation in this case is delayed as the consequence of extended educational attainment, even since their level of education is not equivalent to general adolescents. Anyway, 57.1% of samples wish to get job right after graduation, primarily due to financial burdens as in cases of JUNG 1 (22) and CHOI 2 (24).

"A bit of welfare is given by the government as means to be used sort of as a scholarship, and after accounting for that, I will be left with 12,000,000KRW (around 360,000THB) in debt. This is why I was planning on passing the Social Worker Exam, which would lead me immediately to a job. It would help me save up about 1,000,000KRW (around 30,000THB) a month, but people kept telling me that saving up 1,000,000KRW (around 30,000THB) a month is very difficult. I figured, I could do it, and began living under a tight budget, but saving 1,000,000KRW (around 30,000THB) a month was indeed very difficult. After paying for food, transportation, and cellphone bills... <you are left with nothing?> Yeah, so I tried saving at least 700,000KRW (around 21,000THB) at the very least, and keep saving until I reach about

12,000,000KRW to pay off most of my debt. After that, the saving would go directly towards me."

(JUNG 1, 22)

"<Now that you are on your last semester, what's your plan for the future?>
Once I get done with school, it's off to job-hunt. It doesn't matter where I work..."

(CHOI 2, 24)

At the present, competition rate for company entrance in South Korea is very high. According to the survey of *Incruit Corporation*, an internet recruitment company, in 2011, the average competition rate is 55:1. The highest rate is 750:1 while the lowest rate is 27:1 (Money Today, 2011). Therefore, South Korean adolescents will take extra courses after university graduation in order to fit company's requirements. Some of samples (14.3%) also wish to study extra courses in order to prepare for getting a good job.

CHO 1 (20) who is studying in a two years college, talked about his plan after graduation as follows.

"<Any plans after graduation?> Graduating from a junior college won't take me to places. I have a thirst for knowledge, and if I were to continue to pursue the field of computer, then the school offers a two-year additional program, one equivalent of a four-year degree. So either I stay and pursue that, or transfer to a university. For me, it's one of those two."

Lee 1 (21) also study in two years college. She felt that her academic record is not good enough to be accepted, so she planned to take some extra courses by using *self – sufficiency benefit*, a benefit from NBLSP prior to finding a job.

"After I graduate, I plan on studying a bit more, attending various academies to better my standing, because with the skills I have right now, I will not be accepted as a viable member of a company, and I know for sure I would screw up because of a lack of confidence that comes with a comparatively lesser

degree. The District Office pays for academy fees for those that qualify for welfare, so I plan on attending the academy, learning my craft, and apply for jobs once I feel I am ready to contribute."

More than half of samples are still in educational field with the intentions to learn more. Hence, delayed timing affects in entering labor force of full time work. However, economic needs and burdens force most of them to enter labor force job soon after graduated. While some of them think that they still lack of qualifications for a good job. So they decided to take some more extra courses before finally joining labor force.

It can be concluded that samples of this are in labor force by working part – time job. With regards to full – time job, labor force participation is delayed due to prolonged educational attainment.

4.2.3 Family Formation

47.6% of samples grew up in broken family: running away, living separately and divorce. 23.8% lose at least one parent. 71.4% of samples are still living with their parents while 28.6% live on their own and have experienced family formation events like cohabitation and childbearing. Despite many problems in their family, opinion towards marriage of every sample is positive. They consider marriage as a good stage of life and wish to create their own family.

As in the case of SHIN 1 (20), she was raised only by her mother because her father had never been concerned about children. She also experienced domestic disputes as her father incurred debt in order to build up his own business but it always failed.

"Yes, I do want to get married. I want nothing more than to see a baby that looks just like me. Babies... they really fascinate me. When I look at people, and realize the parents and kids do resemble one another, and I find that really fascinating. How can different human beings be so alike? And that's when it dawns on me that I want to have a baby of my own."

LEE 1 (21) lives with her mother and a younger brother after the loss of her father. Her mother has to leave early for work and return home late at night. Therefore, the opportunity for conversation within this family is very few.

"Just seeing moms around, they raise their kids, and the moms boast their kids' latest accomplishments, and... I really want to feel this... satisfaction of raising a child to a level that I would feel proud of. I know it'd be hard, but just raising a child, a child like me... a difficult journey, sure, but once the kid grows up to be a decent person, then I'll feel proud and elated of my accomplishment."

After mother passed away, YOON 1 (26) felt like losing the linkage between father and children. Her father assigned duty of childrearing to grandmother and concentrated only with his work. This makes the gap between father and children become wider. She felt that her father was never there for her because her grandparents raised her up. Therefore, YOON 1(26) prefers to lean on someone by forming her own family.

"Yes, I actually would love to get married. From an early age, I was never really spoon-fed or raised really, by my parents. That's why I felt this wall when trying to communicate with my parents. I also feel perpetually lonely. I desire to own a stable family of my own. I really want one of my own. The fact that I couldn't lean on my dad or my family as a whole is one of the reasons why I want one of my own, so I could finally lean on someone for comfort. I mean, my grandparents were fantastic and raising me, but I really wish nothing more than to have a close-knit stable family of my own."

WOO 1 (28)'s father passed away when she was eight years old, then her mother remarried without any consent from the children. She felt lonely because her mother was taken away from her. She answered the question about marriage that she wanted to get married because family would be able to fulfill her emotional needs.

"Raising my own family brings a dose of stability and comfort, one that I would love to enjoy. I won't be left alone, and the fact that someone other than

my immediate family BECOMES a family of our own and stay by my side would really help me a great deal.

Statistics Korea (2012) reported the average age at first marriage in 2011 is 31.9 years old for men and 29.1 for women. Interestingly, the trend is increasing year by year. This research samples also mentioned about the range of age suitable for marriage at around 25 – early 30s.

"For me to actually become what I want to become when I want to get married, I'll have to be around 26, 27 to do that. I mean, I'll need some money to work with in order to get married."

(RA 1, 20)

"Around 32-33. I think that would be around the right time. By then, I would have had some working years under my belt, with some accomplishments here and there, and I would have done something by then. I don't know, I just feel like by then, I'll be ready to settle down and get there."

(CHO 1, 20)

As seen above, age is not the main factor for them to decide whether they should get married or not. They intend to have couples soon after their economic status is stable. These following examples can reassure that economic is necessary for family formation.

PARK 1 (20) talked about the reason why she wants to get married around 30 – 32 years old.

"Well, around then. By the time I have a stable job, and have enough saved up to actually get married."

SHIN 1 (20) wanted to get married at around 27 and gave the reason as following.

"Well, even with the current notion that people get married late, I feel like that age is neither too young nor too old. And I'll be working alongside my

husband, after I graduate from college. <What do you think you'll need to do in order to get married?> A stable job... or at least some money saved up."

KIM 3 (27) planned to get married next year (age of 28). She talked about necessary stuffs required to prepare for marriage.

"What I need for a married life, a life that includes having a baby and raising a family... is money. Money is needed in order to have a wedding, buy a house, and do everything else. Money, money, money."

In the aspect of childbearing, if married, 95.2% of samples expected to have more than two children, whereas South Korea's birth rate drops to 1.23 in 2010 (Statistics Korea, 2011b).

"I want three kids. I really like babies, and that's why I want three. One son, two girls. Not really favoring either one, but rather have both of them, you know."

(KIM 4, 21)

"I feel like the bigger the family, the more fun it'll be. I don't have many relatives, and even the few I have, we don't really contact one another, so I really envy those with a huge family. Yeah, anyway I think it'll be more fun to have a big family. (Number of kids?) Me? At least two, maybe three, if possible?"

(JUNG 1, 22)

"I actually pity the ones that have been raised as the only child, they all seem lonely, and they really can't share the burden with their siblings if there's a conflict between them and the parents. And even if you share everything with your friends, it's not the same as having brothers and sisters sharing the same blood. I admit having a younger sibling really helped me a lot. In the past, I felt the pressure of having to carry her along, but now that she's grown up herself, we discuss problems with parents, families, and other grown-up

things, and the fact that we can collectively share these thoughts really made me realize how stabilizing having a sibling can mean to the kids, especially as I grow older. So if I am to have kids, might as well about three?"

(WOO 1, 28)

The 2009 National Survey on Fertility, Family Health and Welfare in Korea found that 67.8% of respondents said no for cohabitation even with groom-to-be or bride-to-be. Only 32.1% agreed with question of sex before marriage. (Kim, et al., 2009) While South Korean society seems to be a traditional society, 66.6% of this research sample positively thought about cohabitation before marriage.

"I am a bit scared of cohabitation, but it will definitely change things. It may change the guy, and... I think it's a decent idea. Cohabiting in the same house as a couple is totally different, for sure. Instead of an endless cycle of frivolous dating and breaking up, I think cohabiting with a boyfriend, and seeing if it works out can actually serve as a good barometer. <Do you consider cohabiting with a boyfriend?> If he asks, then I am open for it."

(CHOI 1, 19)

"I think cohabiting is actually a decent idea. I feel like once we get married, and actually begin living together; it'll bring in a gamut of emotion unlike anything else I've ever felt, some good and some bad. That's why I feel like cohabiting can be a good place to start, so we can start adjusting to each other, and communicate before actually getting married, for a smoother marriage."

(SHIN 2, 20)

"I do think cohabiting is important, because there's a chance that a newlywed realizes they can't really live together, at all. In order for the couple to really get to know one another to the intimate detail, I believe cohabiting is a necessary step. Not only based on intimate details, but also seizing up the other's life patterns and whatnot, learning what the other person prefers to

eat, what the person does after eating, and sex is an extension of that feelingout process. I mean, I can't marry someone if I don't know what the person actually likes, and what the person prefers to eat, and etc." (LEE 2, 23)

"Cohabiting isn't marriage, yet, but I do believe it's a form of marriage, a decent facsimile of it. I think it's actually a decent idea. First of all, it offers me a lengthy opportunity to really see my significant other in a light unlike anything I've ever seen. I mean, there are couples that get married, then immediately break up after they start living together. So instead of a hasty divorce, a little preparation before the actually marriage can serve as the catalyst for a prosperous married life."

(KIM 2, 28)

Despite samples of this research received bad experiences from their family, they still want to get married and build up their own family. They answered the question of cohabitation positively. The samples agree that it is good to cohabitate with someone before getting married because dating as lovers is different from living as couples. These adolescents have a tendency to get married earlier than general trend. After marriage, they plan to have more than two children.

4.2.4 Being Adulthood

This section is about the characteristics of each event happened during transition to adulthood. Here, timing and conditions of being adult will be discussed.

33.3% of samples thought that they are adult, especially those who are more than 25 years old. While 47.6% still do not consider themselves as adult, in particularly with those who are less than 25 years old. But age is not the important factor to consider being an adult.

"A decent adult should hold herself accountable for her job, her tasks, and whatnot, and be responsible for whatever cards that were dealt to her. That being said, I don't think I am there yet. I am just an adult in age only. I want to

be a legitimate adult, not just in age only, one that is capable of living an independent life. I think that's key. Also achieving... maybe not economic independence, but at least not be a burden to the family."

(CHO 1, 20)

"I do have this belief that age doesn't necessarily make a person an adult. I think those who is self-sufficient, those who is strong; never fall even there is a big typoon. A rock-solid person."

(KIM 4, 21)

"I don't think it has to do with age. That's why I feel like as an adult, I must understand and do what I want to do, what I need to do, and what I must do. I have friends that still rely heavily upon their parents, asking them for opinions on everything. The fact that a grownup can make an executive decision like that on his/her own means the person is independent from the thoughts of the parents."

(YOON 1, 26)

For the question of adult's conditions, 57.1% replied that those who are working and being economically independent are considered as adult.

"Becoming an adult means having a job, which in turn leads to me not relying on my parents for financial assistance. <You mean, financially independent?> Yes."

(CHO 2, 20)

"I am still receiving welfare, and yes, I have been doing part-time jobs, but I also attend school. That's why I need to get a job. That's when I'll consider myself an adult."

(JUNG 1, 22)

"Being an adult requires that I have a steady income, a steady job, and a certain level of social standing that comes with it. It doesn't have to be something crazy grand. Power is not of utmost importance, but a certain level of social standing, one that can be clearly stated on my business card, indicating my highly-regarded profession. That's what I think an adult should be."

(CHOI 2, 24)

"A grownup must have income, first of all, a steady income that enables a decent living. Marriage? You can, but you don't have to get married in order to become a grownup. If you fight with someone when you were young, they would consider reason of childishness. But if you are adult, you have to take your responsibility on your actions."

(SO 1, 28)

Although group of 25 years old and higher considered themselves as adult, sample interviews showed that age is not the factor of being an adult. However, those who work for full – time jobs, have economic independence and take their own responsibility are adult.

4.3 Family Relationships

This section will show the influence of family relationship on sample's transition to adulthood. Family relationship will be divided into husband – wife relationship and parents – children relationship. The findings will be described as following figure.

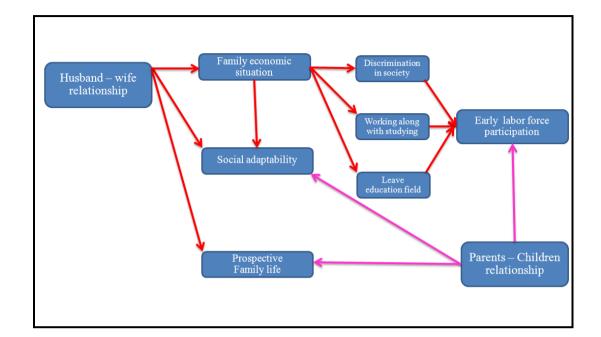


Figure 2: Influences of Family Relationship during Transition to Adulthood

4.3.1 Husband - Wife Relationship

47.6% of samples grew up in broken family: running away, living separately and divorce. 23.8% lose at least one of their parents. 19% of samples found illness in one parent and were unable to feed the family. 33.3% accepted that economic situation of their family became worse after losing parent no matter by death or separation. 23.8% observed domestic dispute within their family. Broken husband – wife relationship affects three issues: family economic situation, social adaptability, and prospective family life.

52.3% of samples replied that their family's economic situation became worse after the change of family structure caused by death and separation. So they have to accept the help from government such as NBLSP. However, children from NBLSP family still struggle with economic problems even though their families are receiving those benefits. Leaving educational field and working along with studying are effects of low economic situation. Case of KIM 1 (19), YOON 1 (26) and KIM 2 (28) mentioned in section of transition to adulthood: education attainment can be examples for bad husband – wife relationship on dropping out of school. Economic need for pocket money and unaffordable tuition force samples to enter labor force and work along with studying in order to maintain student status.

The last effect of low economic background caused by broken husband – wife relationship is discrimination in society. As the case of RA 1 (20) can be a clear example of discrimination in society that samples of this research had faced. His parents were daily workers such as construction site worker. Their family's income was not stable since that time. When he was elementary school, his mother ran away because she could not bear husband's violence. This worsen family economy.

RA 1 (20) graduated from high school and decided to continue his study in university for fulfilling his dream of becoming a singer. He attended private school in order to prepare for university audition. But low economic background limited him to go to a less expensive private school. After attending the university audition, RA 1 (20) decided to give up his university education.

"I was taking an exam there, and there were judges sitting across in straight line. And then they struck the bell after 10 seconds, as soon as I walked in. That's when I felt the gap between the college kids and myself, and that made me wind up giving up college. There are two paths in life, and one of them involve kids spending thousands of dollars in college to earn a specific amount of money after college, while the other involves people like myself spending hundreds of dollars, and presumably taking the same path as the first one, but really it's not the same. There are kids meant to be sent to school, and kids meant to be sent off to become a professional singer, and I figured, since I wasn't going to make it as a singer, why go there? It costs a significant amount of money to even attend college, since I had to pay for the entrance exam, application fees, and others. Attending a Fine Arts college is even more expensive. 50,000KRW (around 1,500THB), or 60,000KRW (around 1,800THB). The cheapest application fee I saw was 30,000KRW (around 900THB). I didn't have money then, so I chose that route, and even that money seem like money that could have been saved, since I wasn't going to make it anyways. So that's how I gave up college. People like I can't even dream about things like that."

Besides, experience of JIN 1 (21) is another example. JIN 1 (21)'s father passed away since he was one-year old. His mother and he moved to grandparents' house (mother side) because of worsen situation in family's economic. Later, they moved out to an apartment under the project of Korea Land and Housing Corporation¹¹, so – called Chukong Apartment (주문아耳트), because there are another two unmarried aunties living together with grandparents. In the point of view of some South Koreans, this kind of apartment is considered as residence for the poor. JIN 1 (21)'s mother had been rejected by a taxi driver with the reason that the place is a begger village. Still, his mother tried to send JIN 1 (21) to private school as the general trend of South Korean parents nowadays. South Korean parents spend around 15% of household expense on private education that tuition fee is ranked highest in the world (Education News, 2011). This amount is 3 – 4 times higher than Japan, a country emphasizing on education (Kim, 2010). JIN 1 (21) had studied at a private school when he was in elementary. He experienced discrimination by being suspected as theft for stealing a teacher's KRW 20,000 (around THB 600).

"And then one day, the worst happened. At this academy I was attending, the math teacher claimed that he was missing 20,000KRW (around 600THB). Of course, the whole class stood silent, and so the teacher asked each and every one of us to open up our pockets. And of course, not one dollar came out, because, well, none of us took it. And this is where it got really bad. The teacher demanded that we take off each cloth, as if we are being stripsearched. So we are stripped to our underwear, and of course, nothing comes out. So he was like, oh well, maybe nothing really happened, made us put our clothes back on, and drove us home. I told my mom about this after a few days, and later I found out that a teacher from a different floor picked up something falling off from our math teacher's bag, and that turned out to be the missing money. Had the teacher found out about this, and apologized, then everything would have been smoothed out, but there was no apology for strip-searching us, and that's when my mom just lost it. Enraged, she stormed into the

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¹¹ Korea Land and Housing Corporation (LH or 한국토지주택공사) is a government organization. The major duty is to construct and supply decent and affordable housing units to the vulnerable and to improve their residential environment, as well as to implement tailored residential welfare programs (Korea Land and Housing Corporation, 2010).

academy, caused a huge fit, and I wound up not going there after just a month or two."

These following interviews are raised as examples of broken husband – wife on social adaptability of children, especially at school. For instance: outcast, teasing and isolation.

KIM 1 (19) talked about school life after her parents got divorce. Her classmates teased and treated her as an outcast because she does not have a mother. Later, she decided to withdraw from school when she was first semester of third grade of high school because of problem of serious outcast combining with problem of low economic situation.

"I entered elementary school, and my dad asked my teacher for a favor, that the teacher never reveal to the kids that I don't have a mother around. The teacher agreed to stay silent, but some kid found out about it, and words quickly spread. From that day on, I became a loser without a mom, and was mercilessly picked on for it. I couldn't really hang out with anyone for a while."

RA 1 (20) experienced isolation because he has no mother and his family economic is also poor.

"You know how Korean kids are, when they found out that I didn't have a mom, the kids can get downright brutal in many ways they made fun of my younger sister and me. Even the adults were less forgiving, in that they pretended to show compassion towards us, but wouldn't do that once they turned around. My sister and I were an outcast. Even if we were missing a parent, if we were at least well off financially, then we could have hung out with kids, but that wasn't the case with us."

Influence of bad husband - wife relationship considerably affects in the aspect of sample's family life very much. Samples tend to act in contrast to their parents so as to create a happy family life of their own. For example, PARK 1 (20) lives with

father, mother and two sisters. But domestic dispute and violence often occur in her family.

"Back when I was really young, I didn't plan on getting married. That was the case from elementary and middle school. I vowed not to get married at all, but as I got older, I made a promise to myself not to live like my mom... wait, like my parents."

SHIN 1 (20)'s family is poor. Her father tried to start a business by borrowing money from many people but his business always failed. That was the starting point of domestic dispute. Her mother could not bear with the large amount of debt, so she decided to divorce and took responsibility for rearing three children. SHIN 1 (20) observed her mother's difficulty of raising a family alone, so she wishes to have a common happy family.

"I really want to spend a regular Sunday with my husband, discussing our family direction, making money together, traveling with our kids, just living a normal life, a normal life that everyone does. A night out with my husband, traveling around, finding great eateries, that kind of life."

SHIN 2 (20)'s family seems to be complete because father and mother still live together. But there is domestic dispute frequently because his father had to pay back for aunt's debt as guarantor. Moreover, when his father came back home, he always got drunk and acted out violently against his mother in order to relieve stress. He intends not to act like his father.

"Seeing my mom and dad made me think a lot of things. I can't really think of the good things they gave me, but their shortcomings were embedded in me. Seeing them at their less-than-best makes me promise to myself never to duplicate that again, and that happened a lot. <Like what?> Like my dad coming home totally sloshed, and proceeding to wreak havoc in our household, and our dad getting all stressed out at work, and letting out the frustration on my mom."

KIM 4 (21)'s father and mother got divorced and then both of them remarried. He lived with his father who acts out violence. KIM 4 (21) was abused frequently especially when his father had a quarrel with stepmother and when his father is angry. Once, he slept with a knife under his pillow because he feared that his father will abuse him again. He dreamed to be a good father that his wife and his children feel glad to see him unlike between his father and him.

"I grew up watching my dad and my stepmom fight, and thus the belief I have in the family, and even in middle school, when the teacher asked me of my future goal, I just wrote "A Good Dad." I just want to raise a good family, with a wife that I love and the kids that would greet me at all times."

The big effect of broken husband – wife relationship is bad economic situation because it creates four other problems: obstacles to education attainment (dropping out of school, unaffordable tuition fees and working along with studying), social adaptability at school (outcast, teasing and isolation), early labor force participation and discrimination in society. Moreover, broken husband – wife relationship also acts as sample's model that they intend to do in contrast to their parents when they have their own family.

4.3.2 Parents – Children Relationship

28.6% of sample replied that relationship between their parents and them is good although their family faces with economic problems. While 33.3% said their parents engage with earning for family living. So, family relationship becomes estranged because of lacking of conversation within family. Another 28.6% are abused by their parents and 14.2% have problems with adaptability to new member of their family due to remarriage.

The finding found that relationship between parents – children also showed its effects on children's social inadaptability, especially at school. Case of CHO 2 (20) is an example. After the divorce of his parents, he lived with his father and was abused by father on daily basis. CHO 2 (20) told why he isolated himself from friends as follows.

"I lived with my dad, and that made me a bit intimidated of the surroundings. I was always being hit, and that in turn killed my confidence, which made me feel hesitant to stand up and voice my opinion. That led me to avoiding people in general, which led to me just avoiding moving in general. <Did you have a good relationship with your friends?> We did, but I hated going to places. <Why?> I just felt ashamed of the fact that my dad was constantly hitting me, and that my parents were divorced."

Influence of parents – children relationship towards labor force participation caused by lacking of ability to feed their children. Structural and Functional Theory stated that parents have their own role or function as father or mother to children. As a father or mother, they are responsible for rearing, feeding and providing clothes as well as shelter to their children. This is a reason force these adolescents to enter labor force early.

For the family formation, it influence appears in their prospective childrearing plan. Those who are happy with the way their parents raise them up; as a result, they tend to rear their own children the same way like becoming friend-like parent. For example, CHO 1 (20)'s mother tries to take care of him by cooking and having conversation during weekend because she is busy during weekday. CHO 1 (20) feels close and comfortable to tell anything to his mother. Consequently, he tends to raise his children as his mother did.

"Even if I find myself completely exhausted, I still want to find time hanging out with my kids. No matter how busy I am leading up to seeing them, I will want to spend some time playing with them. I cannot fathom not being familiar with my kids, which is the reason why I want to spend as much time playing with them as possible, a parent who's more like a friend... like my mom. I feel so comfortable being around with my mom, so comfortable that I can share anything with her. That's the kind of dad I want to become with my kids."

Or case of JIN 1 (21), although he is not a diligent student, his mother never put stress on his study and let him do what he wants to. Thus, he plans to raise his own children like his mother did.

"I don't know if this can be considered a good thing or not, but I don't want to force things with my kids. Just like how my mom raised me, I want to raise my kids freeing them to do what they want to do, giving them the freedom to experience a myriad of things and giving them the choice of picking out the activities they want to do. That's what I want to do for my kids."

LEE 2 (23) feels happy with his family that consists of father, mother, younger sister and himself. Although their family is poor, his father and him always have conversation, especially when they went out for fishing together. His father also let him and his young sister tries to do what they want to do, and give his hand when children are in need. So he expects to have his father as his model in future life.

"I love my family. My family's the kind of family where people look at us and say "this is the kind of family I want to raise." I consider my dad a role-model, one that I hope to emulate as I raise my kids."

CHOI 2 (24)'s family is also poor. Their family had to live at relatives' houses but was always driven out. So, they tried to rent a room. But finally they have to move often because they had no money for rental fee. His parents are daily workers. Debt incurred due to insufficient economic background for living expenses. Nevertheless, his father always takes CHOI 2 (24) and his younger sibling to experience like other children.

"My parents were like, when it came time for me to get a school uniform, I could have just worn something that was passed down from my older siblings, but they still bought me a new one. They did everything they wanted to do for us, even when our family was struggling financially. I remember back in the day, we visited an amusement park, and my parents were like "your friends are all going there, so you should go there as well." And so we went on children's day, and my parents made sure I experienced everything at least once. Other than that, I didn't get my support. No allowance."

On the other hand, bad experiences of unhappiness along with lacking of warmth, guidance and support let samples tend to do in contrast to their parents' childrearing. CHO 2 (20), JUNG 1 (22) and KIM 3 (27) are the examples.

CHO 2 (20) lived with his father after parents' divorce. Later on, he ran away from father to live with his mother since he was abused by his father. This is his childrearing plan.

"For me, I don't have any good memories of my dad. That's why my goal is to get married, have a son, and do things with him that my dad never did with me."

JUNG 1 (22)'s father divorce with her mother since she was in third grade elementary school. He was very busy by being the breadwinner in order to feed his two daughters.

"I think it's important that I provide whatever's necessary for my kid, instruct them before scolding them, and provide emotional and financial support for them. I want to become a parent that encourages her kids, regardless of their performance. <Did you receive that support back in the day?> No, I was just busy doing things. <Maybe because you didn't receive that full support...> Yes, that's why I feel this way. I want to really show my kids plenty of love."

KIM 3 (27) lives with her mother and three younger siblings while her father lives separately since KIM 3 (27) was in middle school. Her mother and she have dispute frequently. As parent, she plans to let her children get what she never gets from her parents.

"I want to really raise my kid well, and provide support my kids as they attend preschool, academies and what not. I want to raise my kid where he doesn't feel like he's losing out on anything. I'll do anything and everything for him. < Why do you want to do that? > Because that's not what I got when I was a kid myself."

Parents – children relationship also affects children's social adaptability. It also affects the aspect towards family relationship as well. If parents – children relationship is good, samples expect to do the same thing. But if the relationship is bad, they intend to act differently with what they have got.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

T This study adopted qualitative research to find the characteristic of transition to adulthood of South Korean adolescents from lower class family by focusing on the three issues: educational attainment, labor force participation and family formation. Samples of this research are adolescents of NBLSP recipient household which are considered as lower class by definition of by Thompson and Hickey (2005) and Bern (2007). Besides, influences of family relationship: husband — wife relationship and parents - children relationship, are also studied. Due to time constraint, the researcher used the data of "Chung-so-nyeon Sung-in-ki I-hengSim-chung Interview Nok-chi-rok 2011" (청소년 성인기 이행 심층 인터뷰 녹취록 2011, Voice record from in-depth interview regarding adolescent's transition to adulthood 2011) Issue1 — 4, by R and DB Foundation, Seoul National University. Such data is a part of the Chung-nyeon-ki-ae-seo Sung-in-ki-ae I-hengKwa-jungYeon-gu II (청년기에서 성인기로의 이행 과정 연구 II, Transition from Youth to Adulthood II) project from Han-kuk Chung-so-nyeon Chong-chaekYeon-gu-won (한국 청소년 정책 연구원, National Youth Policy Institute, NYPI) South Korea. The follows are the findings of this research.

5.1 Conclusion and Discussion

5.1.1 Transition to Adulthood

1) Educational Attainment

Firstly, these adolescents want to get a job as soon as possible. So, they decided to study in vocational school because they are able to work right afterthe graduation. Later, they realized the importance of higher education and observed different treatments between lower educational degree and higher one. They decided to continue studying in higher education. While most of general adolescents tend to graduate from a university (four years) and some of them continue to pursue a master degree and even a doctoral degree in order to find a good and secured job. The adolescents in this research can study only two more years in junior college. The big obstacle to their educational attainment is economic support caused by low economic

background of family. Change of family structure by separation or death is an important reason of worsen economic situation until their families have to accept government help such as NBLSP. Anyway, NBLSP's benefits on education cover until high school only. In order to study higher, these adolescents have to study along with working. Some of them have to rely on loan because income of part – time job is not enough for high tuition and related expenses such as books, lunch, transportation and etc.

Besides of those high education related expenses as mentioned above, the competition of university (four years) entrance in South Korea is fierce. Most of South Korean students have to study various extra courses with high costs for preparation. Low economic background made these adolescents cannot approach to that kind of private education. They decided to study at junior college (two years) that the competition is lesser.

2) Labor force participation

P art - time job

Economic needs for education is not the first reason to enter labor force for these adolescents. They started part – time jobs before this. Some of them enter labor force at the age that is unable to work legally. The important reason of starting part – time jobs is that they do not have a pocket money, which caused by low economic background of their family.

Working part – time jobs for these adolescents firstly is for socialization. They are unable to do as their friends do like buying snack, shopping or sightseeing. They decided to attend labor force in order to find pocket money for those expenses. Secondly, higher education is required for human capital development. Even general adolescents still feel that they lack of the ability that they tend to take extra courses for company entrance preparation. Some of them continue studying for a master or doctoral degree in order to meet with the requirements or qualifications of a good company. The adolescents of this research also realized this. Therefore, they try to study as higher as they can, although they have to study and work at the same time and their educational degree is not as high as general adolescents.

Full – time job

As mentioned above that the adolescents tend to prolong their education, it then results in the delay of the labor force participation for the full-time jobs. Comparing with general adolescent that has tendency to delay graduation and stay out of labor force after graduation in order to build up their qualifications, these adolescents enter labor force for full – time job earlier because they choose to study two more years only. Most of them intend to find a job right after graduation because of the economic burdens like loan for tuition. On the other hand, some of them feel unready or unprepared for work. Hence, they want to take some extra courses for building up the qualification before entering labor force that is highly competitive as the survey of *Incruit Corporation* found. In this case, Adolescent of NBLSP recipient household is able to use self-sufficiency benefit, a benefit of NBLSP. But it is limited amount. Therefore, it can be implied that they have to work while taking extra courses.

Since the next target of their life is family formation, this can be implied that working full – time jobs for these adolescents is for being economic independence and creating their own life becoming economically independent and being able to create their own life.

3) Family Formation

Despite the fact that these adolescents have faced with bad experiences within family such as separation, death, discord or abuse, those experiences did not lead them to negative aspects toward family formation at all. However, they think that the cohabitation before marriage may be needed in order to learn and adapt themselves to their couples. This appears conversely with general trend in South Korea that still considered cohabitation as unacceptable. This can be implied that they learn from their observed experiences and aware of family problems that can occur after living as a couple not a dating lover.

Problems caused by low economic background like doing part – time job, studying along with working and unable to study high as general adolescents, make them expect to form their own family after getting economic stability. They stated that

25 – early 30s is a suitable age range for marriage because at that age, they may have job to do and have economic independence. This issue appears contrarily to average age at first marriage surveyed by Statistic Korea that has a tendency to delay year by year.

Another difference is the aspect toward childbearing. While the birth rate of South Korea is decreasing gradually to 1.23 in 2011 (Statistic Korea, 2011), these adolescents expect to have more than two children. They gave the reason that family with many members seems to be happier and more joyful. Having many siblings means that there are more people to share the same situation, to understand and to help out during the hardship.

The results discussed above help me conclude the pattern of transition to adulthood of South Korean adolescents of lower class family as follows.

These adolescents prolong their educational attainment but it is not as high as general trend of transition to adulthood in South Korea. Labor force participation, in case of full – time job, is delayed as consequence of prolonged educational attainment. Anyway, it can be said that they enter labor force faster than those from higher class. While, in aspect of part – time job, they are already being a part of labor force. Lastly, all of them wish to form their own family with more than two children. This against general trend that the higher educational attainment, the higher possibility to delay or even give up marriage and childbearing. These adolescents agree to delay timing of family formation until they gain economic independence and stability. Nevertheless, they still have tendency to get married earlier than the general trend.

I hypothesized that transition to adulthood of these adolescents is smoother than other adolescents of lower class family because their family is receiving benefits and services from NBLSP. But the results show otherwise because the economic insufficiency still affected their transition. For example, these adolescents have to enter labor force earlier and are forced to work while study in order to get higher education. Moreover, becoming NBLSP recipients seem to be a problem for them. According to NBLSP's regulations that do not allow recipients to receive money from

other sources, these adolescents have to work secretly and face with the disaccord in their family.

5.1.2 Family Relationships

1) Husband – wife relationship

Broken husband – wife relationship is the important reason that had worsen the economic situation in these adolescents' families. It creates three other problems: Leaving educational field, working along with studying, discrimination in society and social adaptability.

Broken husband – wife relationship caused by malfunction of family members. As structural and functional theory stated, family members should act as their own function in order to create the happiness of family. Family members in this case are husband and wife, the most basic structure of a family. If husband and wife in these lower class families perform their functions properly, especially function of affection and companionship, husband – wife relationship may not break until creates other problems.

Besides, the effects of broken husband – wife relationship these adolescents observed, become their negative model, which they intend to do in contrast with their parents when they have their own family. This result can be explained by Social Learning Theory, which stated that if a behavior or action is rewarded or those who observed it feel good with it, they will follow. But if a behavior or action is punished or those who observed feel bad, they will do in contrast.

2) Parents – children relationship

The research found that adolescents who face with bad parents — children relationship feel ashamed and try to isolate themselves although friends group does not isolate them. It can be concluded that social inadaptability also can cause by bad parents — children relationship. According to structural and functional theory, especially function of socialization, parents are the first teacher of children who have duty to teach suitable behaviors, norm and value of a society by creating family relationship. This will help children when they come out of home to society and create other kinds of relationship in society.

For the function of protection, as structural and functional theory stated, is the answer forthe question why these adolescents have to enter labor force early. Since their parents are unable to rear, feed and provide to children, children have to go out and find by their own.

Parents – children relationship have influence on aspect toward family formation especially childrearing plan. These adolescents adopt childrearing method of their parents to be used as positive and negative model. This influence also can be explained by Social Learning theory as influence of husband – wife relationship on aspect toward family formation.

The discussions on family relationship above are able to show and confirm that the influence of family relationships affect greatly on shaping transition to adulthood as I hypothesized earlier. Bad family relationships create both direct (aspect toward family formation) and indirect (4 other problems caused by worsen economic situation after changes of family structure) results.

5.2 Limitation and Suggestion

Since the sample group of this research is small, the result can show only a rough picture of transition to adulthood of South Korean adolescents of lower class family under NBLSP. The result also cannot explain clearly the difference of transition to adulthood between this group and other group. I would suggest for the further study that the future research relevant to this one should conduct both quantitative and qualitative method with bigger group of data sampling.

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